Towards Freedom

Documents on the Movement for Independence in India

1947

Part 2

edited by
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Towards Freedom
Documents on the Movement for Independence in India, 1947 Part 2

The Towards Freedom series is an endeavour to document the years leading to Independence. It goes beyond the overtly political activities of the time and the notion of Independence as ‘transfer of power’. The volumes of this series underscore the fact that the struggle for Independence was not just about attaining freedom from a colonial power—it also comprised efforts to seek social justice, economic empowerment, and cultural autonomy. With meticulously selected historical material from 1937 to 1947, the volumes bring to the fore the activities, attitudes, and ideas of diverse sections of Indian society.

The 1947 volume, published in three parts, covers the major socio-political processes of that fateful year. The first part highlights the main political events that took place in the three-way conflict between imperialist, nationalist, and communal forces. The story continues in the second part, which takes up the partition award and the actual process of partition, the settlement of boundaries, the rehabilitation of refugees, and the developments in the princely states. The third part brings to the fore themes such as the future of the Congress, peasants’ and workers’ struggles, caste, minorities, language and literature, the position of women, the economic consequences of partition, foreign relations, and the celebrations of 15th August.

In this part, the second in the 1947 volume, the story of India’s independence and partition unfurls through documents ranging from newspapers, private papers, and letters, to speeches, maps, cartoons, and a wealth of materials from the colonial archives. The documents relate to the Constituent Assembly, the partition award, partition in Bengal and Punjab, the referendum in the Northwest Frontier Provinces and Sylhet, and the princely states, as also those on the Interim Government and the Indian Independence Bill. This part also highlights the problem of communalism which became so pronounced in several regions of India during this period that even the parties which stood for unity, such as the Congress, had little option but to accept partition.
Towards Freedom
For Bipan Chandra
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General Editor’s Preface

It gives me great pleasure to place in the hands of readers Part 2 of the tenth and last volume of the *Towards Freedom* series of the Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR). The project taken up by the Council many years ago is at last approaching completion. Since the volumes in the series have been published at intervals of months and sometimes years, a part of the General Editor’s duty has been to state at the beginning of each volume the objective and the general guiding principles of this endeavour. I shall address that task first, as it is customary in this series, and then share with the readers a few thoughts which crossed my mind as I read the present volume.

The agenda of an endeavour such as this series of volumes defines itself in part through editorial practice and partly through attempts towards a statement of objectives. The historical context in which this project developed initially is generally known. While we must not overestimate the influence of that historical conjuncture on the academic inputs which went into the making of the project’s agenda, one has to take that into account as one of the formative factors. After the vertiginous years leading to 1947, there came a time when historians turned their attention to those years and archives began to acquire and provide access to source materials. The last years of ‘British India’ began to be addressed by professional historians and indeed the theme attracted national attention both in India and in Britain. In June 1967, the British Prime Minister Harold Wilson made an important statement in this regard in the House of Commons: ‘In view of the great interest now being shown in historical circles in the last days of British rule in India,’ there would be published ‘documents from the India Office records on the Transfer of Power and the events leading up to it.’¹ The announcement included the assurance that ‘the editors will be independent historians who will be given unrestrained access to the records, and freedom to select and edit the documents for publication’. The outcome of the project thus framed at the highest level in England was the series known as *The Transfer of Power* edited by Nicholas Mansergh, Smuts Professor of the History of the British Commonwealth at Cambridge. In addition to the announcement made in Parliament, Mansergh, as ‘the Editor-in-Chief’, stated that the ‘purpose of the series’ was ‘to make available to scholars in convenient printed form the more important British historical records relating to the transfer of power in India’.²

Arguably, there is an obvious inadequacy in the notion that all that happened in 1947 was a ‘transfer of power’. In Indian perception the attainment of Independence was a significant moment in the history of the struggle against British rule in the subcontinent. The representation

of the emergence of independent India and Pakistan as transfer of power, solely an alteration of constitutional relations, tended towards the occlusion of that history. The focus on the legalistic notion of power transfer and the discourse of modalities of transfer marginalized the more significant part of the historical processes at work. Likewise, the self-imposed limitations of the British documentation enterprise left many issues unaddressed: the project was to select documents from British state papers relating to the constitutional arrangements from the Cripps Mission of 1942 to 15 August 1947. In that discourse, in the official archives and the Viceroy’s papers the Indian voice was recorded only in so far as a few important spokesmen of political parties were among those present in negotiations with the British Indian government. The Indian institutions, personalities, and events were included in the documentation only to the extent the official papers took cognizance of them.

That is not to say that the task of documentation in the twelve volumes produced between 1970 and 1983 by the HMSO was not competently handled by Professor Mansergh and his editorial assistants. These volumes were products of the best of British scholarship. But the initial conception of the project was delimited to certain issues and historical sources. I recall that in 1971 when I invited Sir Penderel Moon, a brilliant officer of the Indian Civil Service and later a member of Mansergh’s editorial team, to a seminar at St Antony’s College, Oxford, a number of us questioned him about this and he pointed out that perhaps we had not paid attention to the subtitle of the Mansergh volumes, ‘Constitutional Relations between Britain and India’. Clearly the agenda for any Indian endeavour towards the documentation of the years leading to independence in 1947 would be different. How it would be different was suggested by Professor Sarvepalli Gopal in a luminous editorial Preface to the first volume produced under the present project. He said that the projected volumes aimed to ‘present, within limits set by the sources, documents relating to the activities, attitudes and ideas of the diverse classes and sections of Indian society, all of which contributed to the attainment of Indian independence with partition’.

It is significant that the title chosen for this series was ‘Towards Freedom’. While the subtitle emphasizes the focus upon the ‘movement for independence’, the title evokes discourses in other domains as well—the struggle for social justice, for economic empowerment against exploitation, and for cultural autonomy. These were also prominent discourses within the overarching framework of the Indian people’s struggle for freedom. One is reminded of the words of Mahatma Gandhi in an essay he wrote in the Harijan a few days before his death, on 27 January 1948: ‘The Congress has won political freedom but it has yet to win economic freedom, social and moral freedom.’ This awareness of different categories of freedom allows space for a conception of the freedom struggle far wider in amplitude than the textbook approach to the struggle for independence from British rule. It makes a struggle for freedoms of many kinds thinkable. And it broadens the idea of a history of freedom struggle. This is how I understand the choice of the title for this series: Towards Freedom.

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4 M.K. Gandhi, ‘Congress Position’, Harijan, 1.2.48, Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. 90, p. 497. Also see ‘His Last Will and Testament’, Harijan, 15.2.48, where he spoke of economic, social, and moral dimensions of independence, beyond the political independence which had been attained (Gandhi, Harijan, p. 526). This document was written c. 29 January 1948, shortly before Gandhi’s death, and it was also referred to in the AICC papers as ‘Draft Constitution of the Congress’.
To sum it up, the present series of volumes focuses upon not just the legal processes of the transfer of power and the overtly political activities which brought that about, but also the struggle for freedom in different domains—economic, social, and cultural. The agenda of the series, therefore, is open to the entry of themes relating to the struggle of the peasantry, the working classes, and different sections of people as well as to a broad spectrum of political organizations who in their own light worked towards attainment of freedom.

To anyone interested in the craft of history a pertinent question will be how the documentation will reflect this agenda. The selection of appropriate documents is not an easy task. We are here looking at long-term historical processes such as the slowly evolving ideas about nationhood or class solidarity, the dynamics of popular participation in political movements, the links being forged between movements of the peasantry, the industrial labour and the freedom struggle, the youth and student movements with regard to the political parties, the changing social hierarchy in caste terms in relation to electoral and agitational politics, the gender relationships evolving from the traditional patriarchal structure towards developments that had liberating potentials, the anti-feudal and anti-British movement in the princely states, and the interface between all these trends in the ideational and cultural domains. The instantiation of these long-term processes through events as reflected in documents is the task at hand. The documents reflect fragments of the events which constitute links in the chain of certain historical processes of long duration.

It was decided years ago at an early stage of this project to distribute the work among editors on a purely chronological basis, that is to say each of the volumes in this series would relate to a particular year assigned to an editor. This opened the project to the possibility that the long-term processes would be lost sight of in the depiction of the particularities of the year each editor is taking care of. I incurred unpopularity in the ICHR when I suggested many years ago that a thematic division of labour between the various editors, rather than a chronological one assigning one year to each, would have been a better organizing principle. I will not elaborate that point again. Whatever the drawbacks or merits of the chronological frame for assigning editorial responsibility might have been, it has been in operation for twenty years and hopefully it will enable us to complete the task before us. For the volume editors the limitation of chronological framework has been probably an irksome constraint. On the whole, the volume editors, each a distinguished historian, bore with fortitude the limits set on their temporal range, and they situate the particular historical conjuncture of a given year in the broader perspective of the long-term processes as they see them in the Introduction to the volume. The Editor’s Introduction is thus a bridge between the narrative of events and the narrative of the freedom struggle as he or she sees it. The editor’s introductory observations also provide a space for the presentation of his or her approach to the themes and issues the volume addresses and the explication of that approach.

As regards the sources from which the documents are collected for the volumes in this series, Professor Sarvepalli Gopal, in his General Editor’s Preface, remarked in 1997: ‘Although some of the volumes contain documents drawn from regional language sources, a fully comprehensive selection from these sources merit a separate project.’ This was an accurate prediction of the


future output, that is, the volumes now coming out. In deciding on what non-English and regional language sources will be collected the volume editors have exercised their judgement in deploying the research assistance they were provided. Judging by volumes produced till now and the manuscripts now being received from editors and being processed in the editorial office at the ICHR, the editors possibly felt that on most of the themes addressed there exist sufficient source material in the English language and in translation. A more systematic search for and selection of non-English sources would have made this collection more complete, but it was evidently not found to be feasible. We are committed to a schedule which requires us to complete as early as possible the project undertaken in 1988–9 rather than to expand the scope of the editors’ search to new sources.

One more point needs to be made about the sources. Probably, in the last decade of the Raj, specially during the World War, perspicacious observers began to sense a debilitation of the imperial powers and the impending decolonization process on a global scale, and the consequent shift in the power relationships—this altered their perception of the politics of independence struggle radically. This was happening globally in old empires, among the people and leaders in the imperial metropolises as well as their colonial peripheries. On the latter process we do have some documentation in the present series, but not much on the shift in the imperial metropolis. This is because \textit{ab initio} the project was meant to be mainly for the collection of sources in India. This was probably because it was clear from the beginning that we have our hands full if we look at the Indian archival sources alone. The mass and density of archival sources generated by the government in India will be evident to even a layman who glances at the following pages. Moreover, as I mentioned earlier, unlike similar enterprises in England, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka to collect sources throwing light on the last days of the British Raj, this series includes a great many activities and events which are not overtly political or constitutional.

A few words on the editorial apparatus in these volumes may be in order. The chapters are thematically organized while the sequence of placement of documents in each chapter is strictly chronological. There are two guides for the reader, first the Calendar of Documents indicating the subject of each document and the source, and second, the Index at the end of the volume. An effort has been made to make the volumes as ‘reader-friendly’ as possible. In some collections of this nature the editorial practice has been to provide a synoptic account of the contents of each document. This has not been the pattern in this series chiefly because it would increase the size of the volumes. As it is each volume in the series is quite bulky and those editors who tried to trim the size down are to be applauded.

I would like to put on record the annoying delays this project was subjected to on account of political interference to the detriment of academic autonomy. One result of such interference was that the ICHR authorities appointed no successor to the General Editor, Professor Sarvepalli Gopal, when he passed away in April 2002; in fact, all work on the project was suspended for about five years. I was asked in 2006 to take up the task initiated by Professor Gopal, my senior colleague at Jawaharlal Nehru University. Upon accepting this position, an honorary one, my first task was to assemble an editorial team at the ICHR and to request the editors of the different volumes to resume the work.

The disruption in the production of the volumes in the series for several years was tantamount to political censorship of academic work. It is interesting to note here that the British developed a system which prevented political parties’ interference in such matters.
The British project for the documentation of the Transfer of Power was processed through a mechanism which ensured inter-party consensus in parliament. For this purpose a standing inter-party group of Privy Counsellors was appointed and it included a minister of the ruling party and representatives of the Conservative Party as well as the Liberal Party; thus, once the project was passed by that committee, the task was left to experts duly appointed and no political interference occurred. In the light of what happened in our country on account of governmental changes, one might say that there was much that was commendable in the mechanism devised in Britain.

It is hoped that the agenda outlined above makes it amply clear what have been and remain the principles of documentation in the *Towards Freedom* series. The editors of the volumes have had the freedom to exercise their choice within certain parameters and they focus upon the themes which emerge from the selected documents. An editor of a volume in this series stated what most other editors would endorse: this is not ‘an attempt to provide materials for an “official” or “definitive” statement on the history of the freedom movement’. I accepted the responsibility of being the General Editor of this series since I believe that although the Government of India has funded this enterprise, like many other research projects and institutions in this country, the output of the project is the work of autonomous minds of scholars guided by standards of the discipline of historiography. As I have said in the beginning, not only agenda statements like the one I have attempted now, but practice has defined principles as well, and that is how an academic community works.

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**Part 2 of the Volume on 1947: Re-constituting India**

The present collection of documents, the second part of the volume on 1947, covers the ten weeks between 3 June and 15 August 1947 in the first eight hundred pages and there follows a section on the affairs of the princely states from the beginning of 1947 to 15 August where again most of the important documents relate to the same ten weeks. The editor of this volume Professor Sucheta Mahajan has ably and profusely documented a crucially important period. What is the central theme in the political discourse in these days leading to Independence? Perhaps we can say that it was in plain words the re-constitution of India. We see in these days leading to Independence different conceptions about how India was to be re-constituted, consequent contestations, and we see, as it were, in the microcosm of the documents of those days the vast canvas of the preceding freedom struggle where diverse elements were at work. When I say that this is perhaps the central theme, I have in mind the three major segments of the political discourse which the documents in this compilation focus upon. First, we have documents relating to the lineaments of the *foundational ideas of the constitution of the Republic of India* which was to emerge after the attainment of Independence. These are the documents in chapters 25, 27, 28, and 30. Second, we have a large number of documents on *the Partition and the integrally related communal problem* in chapters 26 and 29, and chapters 31 to 37. While constitution-making and the Partition were obviously part of the reconstitution of India, there

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was a third element, the *redefinition of the status of the princely states*, eventually leading to their incorporation, which is the subject of chapters numbered 38 to 44. It may be useful for the readers of this large compilation to bear in mind this thematic structure.

In the Preface to the first part of this volume, I had tried to pose and answer two frequently unasked questions: How was Independence imagined by various participants in the political processes gradually leading to Independence? And, second, how was the Partition negotiated towards general acceptance? I thought that if we failed to ask those questions of the vast mass of documents, we would miss the wood for the trees. These two questions do not fade away in this second part of the volume and the consequent continuity between these two parts will be evident in the discussion later. But in the present collection some new elements also come into focus. For one thing, from 3 June 1947, when the policy statement on ‘immediate’ Transfer of Power was issued by H.M.G., the earlier debates on the formation of successor states began to assume a new urgency. Second, while politicians had been talking about Partition, for or against it, for quite a while, when it became imminent the vertiginous speed with which the subcontinent was divided and the consequential actions at state level and the disastrous conflicts in civil society were not anticipated. Third, the lapse of British paramountcy with regard to the princely states was a new challenge to political leaders and managers. Thus the present collection in Part 2 offers much that is new and documentation is also more intense, often going down to the regional and local levels (for example, chapters 31 to 33 on the partition process, 35 to 37 on communal problems, as well as chapters 40 to 44 on political transactions in the princely states).

**Making the Constitution**

One can get in the documents in the following pages some glimpses of the foundational principles of constitution making for post-Independence India. The big question was whether the Constituent Assembly would lean towards centralization of power or towards autonomy of the provinces. Authorities like Sir William Ivor Jennings, Granville Austin, and Indian constitutional lawyers have expounded the view that the eventual outcome was a federal structure with strong unitary characteristics.9 Jawaharlal Nehru was the chief proponent of that model. As the Chairman of the Union Powers Committee he wrote to the President of the Constituent Assembly, Rajendra Prasad: ‘The soundest framework for our constitution is a federation with a strong centre.’10 He had the intellectual support of Sardar K.M. Panikkar: ‘The idea which has gained prevalence that the Indian constitution must be of the federal type is definitely dangerous to the strength, prosperity and welfare of India.’11 Like Nehru, he believed that the rationale for a federal structure had been the accommodation of Muslim-majority Provinces and thus the Act of 1935 was framed. But the Partition removed that necessity and for the ‘Hindustan area’ he recommended that the ‘basic principle of the constitution should be a unitary one, with large devolution of power to the provinces and suitable provisions for

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9 Sir William Ivor Jennings, *Some Characteristics of the Indian Constitution* (Madras: Oxford University Press, 1953); Granville Austin, *The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002). Jennings was probably the first constitutional expert to point out the essentially unitary character of the Indian Constitution, despite an apparently federal structure.

10 Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Rajendra Prasad, 5.7.1947, Chapter 25, Document No. 8. (References later, unless specified otherwise, are to the present collection of documents, Part 2 of *Towards Freedom 1947*.)

the Princely States'. C. Rajagopalachari pushed this line of thinking further in respect of the princely states in arguing that the idea that the paramountcy of the British India government over princely states would lapse with the transfer of power, was a spurious doctrine; he thought, like many political leaders of the day, that the fissiparous tendency in India had to be strongly controlled. There were opponents to this line of thinking. For instance, in the Constituent Assembly, Maulana Hasrat Mohani stated: it was not enough to talk of a limited autonomy for the provinces; there was 'an inherent right of all members of all these constituent provinces to demand a provincial Republic for every province' within a ‘Union of Indian Republics’. His amendment motion was, of course, negatived. Or again we see strong opposition to the unitary principle from some Assembly members representing princely state interests. Diwan Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar of Mysore State urged the Constituent Assembly to concede to 'provincial administration ... widest possible power' and to the princely states 'even wider power'. The Congress leadership, by and large, were opposed to such a view, they emphasized the need for a strong centre. And at that juncture—with the communal issues intersecting with the Partition process, as well as suspense regarding the accession of princely states after 15 August to India or Pakistan—their position is understandable. In fact, otherwise laudable proposals like the principle of proportional representation were rejected on the same grounds. Jawaharlal Nehru stoutly opposed that idea: 'I can think of nothing more conducive to creating a feeble ministry and a feeble government than this business of electing them by proportional representation.'

The constitution making process brought to surface many sentiments that otherwise lay hidden in nationalist rhetoric. The North–South divide surfaced in many forms. A member of the Constituent Assembly from Mysore proposed that the President should be elected 'by rotation either by the North of India or the South of India', to ensure 'fair representation' to people who desired that 'their man should be elected'. This was opposed by, among others, H.V. Kamath who pointed out the danger inherent in such an approach 'when fissiparous and centrifugal tendencies are holding the field ... and most of us want to see the unity of the country restored to its pristine condition'. Nehru likewise opposed the proposal and it was defeated by vote. Inevitably the special claims of the Schedule Castes also figured prominently. The most important instance of this was the note of dissent by H.J. Khandekar, member of the Sub-Committee on Minorities; he was in favour of 'statutory provisions being made for reservation of seats in the Central and Provincial Cabinets for the minorities', chiefly the Scheduled Castes. His contention was that the resolution of the Constituent Assembly declaring untouchability an offence was only 'declaratory and not mandatory' and did not ensure that 'in the matter of sharing power, justice will be done to the Scheduled Castes'. The majority of his Sub-Committee did not accept this view, though they made provisions for 'reservation of seats for different recognized minorities in the various Legislatures', initially for a period

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12 Article by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, 9.6.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 35.
13 Constituent Assembly Debates, 15.7.1947, Chapter 25, Document No. 10.
14 Constituent Assembly Debates, 25.7.1947, Chapter 25, Document No. 20.
16 Speech by T. Channiah, 23.7.1947, Chapter 25, Document No. 15.
17 Constituent Assembly Debates, 24.7.1947, Chapter 25, Document No. 16.
18 Minute of dissent by H.J. Khandekar in the Sub-Committee on Minorities, 25.7.1947, Chapter 25, Document No. 21.
of ten years and to be reconsidered thereafter. Eventually, a compromise was proposed, subject to the future decision of the Assembly in the Report of the Advisory Committee on Minorities’ Fundamental Rights, chaired by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: a convention might be provided, borrowing from instructions issued to provincial governors under the Government of India Act on 1935, to use their ‘best endeavour’ to ensure that the ministers included ‘as far as practicable members of important minority communities’. As regards reservation or quota in the government services, Patel’s Committee writes:

A proposal was made to us that there should be a constitutional guarantee of representation in the public services of the minority communities in proportion to their population.... We consider, as a general proposition that any such guarantee would be a dangerous innovation. At the same time, it is clear to us that consistently with the need of efficiency in administration, it is necessary for the State to pay due regard to the claims of minorities in making appointments to public services.

Matters were left at this stage on 8 August 1947, awaiting numerous interventions in later times.

While the above-mentioned constitutional issues had long-term implications, there were other legal and constitutional questions which were important only in the short run. Nevertheless, they too occasioned the expenditure of much ink and passion. ‘I got an urgent message’, writes Viceroy Mountbatten to Secretary of State Listowel on 27 June 1947, ’that Nehru had blown up and was determined to resign unless the Interim Government were dismissed.’ The Viceroy’s call for the resignation of the Interim Government, the resistance of Muslim League members to that move, the reconstruction of cabinets, the singular decision of Mr. M.A. Jinnah to become the Governor General of Pakistan, the modalities of transfer of power down to details like what flags should be flown by the new Dominions, etc., were just transitional arrangements. One curious fact is worth noting. There were last-minute attempts to salvage the imperial pretensions by conservative elements in Britain. Most notable were the objections of Winston Churchill and the Conservative Party to the nomenclature of the ‘Indian Independence Bill’ (they failed to get their preferred term, ‘self-governing’); claims of UK and Mr. Jinnah to the Andaman and Nicobar islands (rejected again by H.M.G.); and the new doctrine of lapse of Paramountcy rendering the princely states sovereign entities (this was statutorily established, but the conquest Balkanization was avoided by their accession). One of the few public men who spoke openly of these manoeuvres was P.C. Joshi in People’s Age, the prominent Indian leaders did not. But the documents in this book bear witness to things now forgotten such as Winston Churchill’s letter to his successor, Prime Minister Attlee, on 1 July 1947 on the ‘Indian Independence Bill’ which signalized Churchill’s defeat in his battle to deny Indian Independence: ‘Dominion Status is not the same as independence, although it may be freely used to establish independence.... This is a measure of great constitutional importance and a correct and formal procedure and nomenclature should be observed. The

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19 Report of the Sub-Committee on Minorities, 27.7.1947, Chapter 25, Document No. 22.
20 Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to the President, Constituent Assembly, 8.8.1947, Chapter 25, Document No. 25.
21 Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to the President, Constituent Assembly, 8.8.1947, Chapter 25, Document No. 25.
22 Telegram from Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel, 27.6.1947, Chapter 27, Document No. 1.
correct title would be, it seems to me, “The Indian Dominions Bill”. That was a man defeated by history quibbling over words.

Partition and the Communal Tangle

Let us turn now to the second major theme of this collection of documents, the Partition of India and the communal tangle. In the preamble to the policy statement of 3 June 1947 His Majesty’s Government (H.M.G.) took note of the decision of the Muslim League not to participate in the Constituent Assembly and more generally the absence of agreement among the Indian political parties as regards ‘a plan of transferring power in British India to Indian hands’. The plan now announced was for ‘the transfer of power this year on a Dominion status basis to one or two successor authorities’. Jawaharlal Nehru in a radio broadcast the same day said: ‘It is with no joy in my heart that I commend these proposals to you.’ Mr. Jinnah, having mentioned the Viceroy and God in that order, expressed his satisfaction that the former ‘was actuated by the highest sense of fairness and impartiality’ and exhorted his listeners to help him to ‘fulfil his mission of the transfer of power’. Thus began the Partition process, accompanied by an unprecedented intensification of communal conflict. This is a subject which has attracted a great many historians. There is little one can add to that in this brief Preface. Further, the present volume offers a thorough documentation down to the regional level in each province of British India. The data here fully endorses the view one obtains in standard works of modern Indian history on the role communalism played in the carnage of 1947 in Punjab, Bihar, and Bengal in particular. What is striking in the narrative that emerges is also the ineffectiveness of the communal parties, Hindu and Muslim, to protect the community they claimed to speak for. However, it may be useful to persist in asking what is there in that narrative which can help answer the question, how was India reconstituted? I propose to look at two aspects that I consider to be elements which helped in that reconstitution after the holocaust of 1947. First, there was a still small voice, that of Gandhi, often unheard or ignored in those days. Second, there was a steady pragmatism in the approach of the leading public men and, above all, in the efforts of the un-heroic common people to cope with the inevitable and to build a future they could live with—a factor scarcely recognized in books of history.

Mahatma Gandhi has often been singled out as one man who took a stand against Partition. That is apparently wrong if you look at some of his statements in acceptance of Partition, in the last few weeks before Partition was effected, and yet that is right if you look at the inner consistency of the universalist values he spoke for. Gandhi’s speeches at the prayer meetings show that from 4 June he had accepted the inevitability of Partition. He told his listeners in plain words: ‘You should not feel sorry that India is to be divided into two. The demand has been granted because you asked for it.’ The next day he raised the question ‘... why I allowed such a thing [Partition] to happen. But should I then insist that the Congress should do everything only after consulting me? I am not so mad.’ His own vision of India was not a divided country, he said on 9 June: ‘If all the non-Muslims were with me, I would not let

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26 Letter from Winston Churchill to Clement Attlee, 1.7.1947, Chapter 28, Document No. 10.
28 Text of broadcast by Jawaharlal Nehru, 3.6.1947, Chapter 26, Document No. 3.
29 Text of broadcast by M.A. Jinnah, 3.6.1947, Chapter 26, Document No. 4.
30 Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 4.6.1947, Chapter 26, Document No. 10.
31 Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting at New Delhi, 5.6.1947, Chapter 26, Document No. 21.
India be divided. But today the general opinion is not with me, and so I must step aside and stay back.\(^3^2\) ‘Today my tongue, my words have lost their power,’ he said despondently.\(^3^3\) But having accepted the fact that the free and united India of his dreams was in jeopardy, Gandhi looked to the future to rebuild on the ruins of his dreams. ‘Let us all,’ he said on 10 June, ‘pray to God that although India and Pakistan have become separate nations our hearts may not be divided’.\(^3^4\) Jawaharlal has suggested Union of Indian Republic as the name for the country [after Independence] ... all will live together here. If a part wants to secede we shall not force it to remain, but those that remain shall live as brothers.\(^3^5\) And he also reiterated quite often at his prayer meetings his old message: ‘True Hinduism embraces all religions.’\(^3^6\) To the AICC meeting on 14 June his message was the same: ‘Hinduism is going to be tested. If you show the generosity of true Hinduism, you will pass [the test] in the eyes of the world. If not, you will have proved Mr. Jinnah’s thesis that Muslims and Hindus are two separate nations.’\(^3^7\)

Thus the general trend of Mahatma Gandhi’s pronouncements from 3 June onwards was to reconcile himself to an unavoidable partition and to start reconstituting India on the ruins of his dreams of a united India. Parallel to this, one can see in the political discourse of those times, as well as in the life of ordinary people affected by Partition, a robust pragmatism and practical sense. A representative instance is the eminent lawyer Tej Bahadur Sapru writing to Sir Sita Ram, then President of the United Provinces Legislative Council:

> Assuming that the Congress has gone wrong in accepting the partition, what is they [critics] wanted the Congress to do?—resign office, start Civil Disobedience and leave it to be dealt with by the Muslim League. It is a practical question which ought to be answered in a practical manner.... For a few days there will be much flutter in some districts and then things will quiet down. If my estimate of the future is wrong then trouble will continue long.... We must not however lose our heads in regard to practical questions.\(^3^8\)

A hard-headed politician, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, exhorted people to

> wipe out from their minds the memories of the past—treat it as a terrible nightmare and look forward with single-minded purpose to make India strong, prosperous and happy. This can only be done by hard work.... In spite of my previous strong opposition to partition, I agreed to it because I was convinced that in order to keep India united it must be divided now... The partition of India is a settled fact....\(^3^9\)

The particular task on which Patel focused was to ensure the accession of princely states to the Indian Union. He appealed to the rulers in princely states to ‘join hands with those who were shaping the future of India’ in the Constituent Assembly.\(^4^0\) Rajagopalachari rejected with ruthless logic the theoretical elaboration of the new doctrine of the lapse of Paramountcy and urged the practical point of view that ‘out of the 565 [Princely] States, more than 330 are just

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\(^3^2\) Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 9.6.1947, Chapter 26, Document No. 31.
\(^3^3\) Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 11.6.1947, Chapter 26, Document No. 38.
\(^3^4\) Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 10.6.1947, Chapter 26, Document No. 33.
\(^3^5\) Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 12.6.1947, Chapter 26, Document No. 44.
\(^3^6\) Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 12.6.1947, Chapter 26, Document No. 44.
\(^3^7\) Gandhi’s speech at AICC meeting in New Delhi, 14.6.1947, Chapter 26, Document No. 51.
\(^3^8\) Letter from Tej Bahadur Sapru to Sita Ram, 22.7.1947, Chapter 27, Document No. 13.
\(^3^9\) Vallabhbhai Patel’s speech during Liberty Week celebrations, 11.8.1947, Chapter 27, Document No. 19.
\(^4^0\) Sardar Patel Appeals to Princes to Emulate Baroda to Join Constituent Assembly, 16.4.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 21.
estates. The so-called rulers of these States have not exercised powers beyond an ordinary
Third Class Magistrate.\textsuperscript{41} Even Jawaharlal Nehru, known for his proclivity to dwell on history
and abstract ideas, spoke of the need to address the practical tasks of the future: ‘There has
been violence—shameful, degrading and revolting violence.... let us bury that past in so far
as it is dead and forget all bitterness and recrimination.... We should not wish ill to anyone,
but think of every Indian as our brother and comrade.’\textsuperscript{42} The Communist Party of India in
the Political Resolutions of their Central Committee in June, 1947, exhorted the Left in this
manner: ‘The Communist Party appeals to all Left Organisations and elements to forget the
partisanship and differences of the past and come together to fight the dangers and realize the
possibilities of the present....’\textsuperscript{43} To erase the memories of the recent past of communal conflicts,
to focus upon the agenda of rebuilding the Indian polity, to establish communal harmony with
a view to constructing a multi-ethnic society—these appear to be main themes in the pragmatic
political discourse of public men. Parallel to that was the effort of tens of thousands of people
in all ranks of society who were displaced from their home and hearth and were now engaged
in rebuilding their lives.

There is little room for doubt that on some matters there was a disconnect between the
pragmatic outlook of political leaders and the Gandhian way of thinking in the days immediately
preceding Independence. As we have seen already, Gandhi himself often observed that neither
the Congress nor the League would listen to his expostulations. Sometimes he took positions
which his own followers in the Congress rejected out of hand. Consider, for instance, his
comment on the communal carnage at a prayer meeting on 15 July 1947:

\begin{quote}
In Noakhali [east Bengal], Bihar, the Punjab and the NWFP [North Western Frontier Province],
wherever there were riots there was only one demand: that the army be sent for their protection.
Why should people who ought to be brave want this?.... [We] have not the courage of non-violence,
for the courage of non-violence is the courage to die, never the courage to kill.\textsuperscript{44}
\end{quote}

That was obviously intended as a statement of a moral principle, but that could not be taken
as a principle of public policy. However, despite the distance between uncompromising
idealism and political pragmatism, there was a common ground in some basic matters. And
no one could put that to the people as clearly as Gandhi was able to do at the prayer meetings:
‘Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians all are Indians. Religion is a private matter.’\textsuperscript{45} That was the
simplest possible statement of the agenda the post-Partition reconstitution of India. That part
of Gandhi’s exhortations was accepted across the entire political spectrum in the Congress. In
asking Patel on 10 June 1947 wrote:

\begin{quote}
I do not think it will be possible to consider Hindustan [an appellation routinely used before the
term Indian Union began to be used] as a Hindu State with Hinduism as the State religion. We
must not forget there are other [sic] minorities whose protection is our primary responsibility.
The state must exist for all, irrespective of caste or creed.\textsuperscript{46}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{41} Article by C. Rajagopalachari, 9.6.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 35.
\textsuperscript{42} Text of broadcast by Jawaharlal Nehru, 3.6.1947, Chapter 26, Document No. 3.
\textsuperscript{43} Political Resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, Archives on Contemporary
\textsuperscript{44} Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 15.7.1947, Chapter 32, Document No. 30.
\textsuperscript{45} Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting at New Delhi, 15.7.1947, Chapter 32, Document No. 30.
\textsuperscript{46} Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to B.M. Birla, 10.6.1947, Chapter 34, Document No. 3.
Similarly Jawaharlal Nehru writes to Rajendra Prasad on the demand for abolition of cow-slaughter: inevitably

majority Hindu sentiment will affect our activities in a hundred ways. Nevertheless, it does make a difference whether we try to think of India as a composite country or as a Hindu country.... You know how strong an advocate of cow protection Bapu is. Nevertheless, so far I am aware, he is opposed to any compulsory stoppage of cow slaughter.\(^\text{47}\)

Nehru believed that ‘narrow sectarian outlook [of Hindu and Muslim communalists] will do injury, not only to nationalism as such but also to the high ideals for which Indian and Hindu culture has stood through the ages’.

**Integration of the Princely States**

Finally, we may look at the third strand of political thinking and decision making towards the reconstitution of India: the integration of the princely states in the Indian Union. The anti-feudal and nationalistic State Peoples’ movement, documented in the previous volumes in the *Towards Freedom* series, continues in the present period and its culmination was witnessed in three developments. Documents on that in this collection fall broadly into three groups. First, there are papers relating to the assertion of princely states’ autonomy and even sovereignty. That was important in that it clearly meant the prospect of the Balkanization of India. Second, we see the entry of some princely states into the Constituent Assembly, often prodded by enlightened and nationalist-minded Diwans. This was accompanied by a debate whether the states’ representatives should be elected or nominated by the princes. Third, the final step taken by most of the princely states was to sign the instrument of accession in accordance with H.M. Government’s policy declaration of 3 June 1947. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel’s greatest contribution in those days was to facilitate and expedite that entire process.

Some of the princely states took the theory of lapse of paramountcy somewhat too seriously. Some of them began with a bang by asserting their newly found powers, eventually that ended in a whimper. The General Conference of Princely Rulers on 29 January 1947 conditionally accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan and declared: ‘The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded by them to the [Indian] Union.’\(^\text{48}\) However, the Cabinet Mission having failed, the princely states awaited further developments. In the meanwhile some of the major states began to join the Constituent Assembly. The lapse of paramountcy upon termination of British rule, declared by H.M.G. in their 3 June 1947 policy statement, obviously contained the possibility of Balkanization. Even prior to this the Nawab of Bhopal had been trying to secure a special status as a British Dominion and he had met Viceroy Wavell; Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer also floated a balloon, a South Indian Federation with Travancore state in the lead.\(^\text{49}\) Diwan Sir B.L. Mitter who brought Baroda into the Constituent Assembly as its Diwan, apprehends about this time that ‘the lure of independence is being held out to various States, with a view to keep them out of the Indian Union’; he does not directly blame the British Indian government but he fears that ‘India is going to be Balkanised’\(^\text{50}\). Indeed there is evidence in Viceroy Wavell’s

\[\text{47 Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Rajendra Prasad, 7.8.1947, Chapter 34, Document No. 16.}\]
\[\text{48 Resolution passed by the General Conference of the Princely Rulers of India, 29.1.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 1.}\]
\[\text{49 Record of interview between Wavell and Nawab of Bhopal and C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, 3.3.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 9.}\]
\[\text{50 Letter from B.L. Mitter to Jayakar, 18.3.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 14.}\]
secret correspondence that he was inclined to discourage princes from joining the Constituent Assembly, however, there is no such evidence about his successor in Viceroyalty, Mountbatten. Nehru had reasons to believe that the Political Department of the British Indian government actively encouraged the idea that princely states were to be independent sovereign states after Transfer of Power. Acharya Narendra Dev declared that the British were trying to create an Ulster in India in the princely states, and ‘in the Indian States the final battle of independence would be fought’. In the meanwhile, Mountbatten received from H.M.G. instructions that Dominion status for Bhopal or any princely state was unacceptable. The Nawab of Bhopal continued his efforts to get independence and tried to get from Jinnah an assurance that princely states can enter into ‘alliance’ with Pakistan, not ‘Union’, and further that they ‘would be independent and ... will not be molested or interfered with by Pakistan in regard to their internal matters’. The Muslim League’s response to this was a statement that Pakistan would refrain from meddling in the internal affairs of the princely states and Congress must cease to coerce them. Hyderabad was reported to be inclined to follow Bhopal while Travancore had a champion of its independent status in its Dewan, Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer. Even Mahatma Gandhi had to join battle and issue a statement condemning these efforts to keep the States out of independent India. Nehru declared in the AICC: ‘We will not recognise any independence for any State in India.’ Mountbatten in the meanwhile wrote to the Nawab of Bhopal a cordially worded letter, signing as ‘Dickie’; the letter was far from being cordial in its contents because it rejected decisively the Nawab’s plea. Mountbatten expressed his satisfaction with the terms offered to princely states by Patel on behalf of the States Department. That settled the matter for the time being, just two weeks before Independence and the story thereafter is not within the purview of this volume.

As regards the princely states joining the Constituent Assembly, that step was generally regarded as a step preliminary to joining the Indian Union. There was a division in the ranks of the princes in this regard, as we have seen already. Apart from that, an impediment to this process was a difference of opinion on the question whether states’ representatives should come through popular election or by virtue of nomination by the princes. It was a hotly contested issue. Radicals like Jai Prakash Narain demanded that ‘none of them should be nominees of the Princes’. Nehru and Patel were in favour of having the majority of such representatives elected, not nominated by the princes. Eventually a compromise was arrived at: not less than 50 per cent of the states’ representatives should be elected by elected members of legislatures.

51 Telegram from Wavell to Frederick Pethick-Lawrence, 18.3.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 13.
52 Jawaharlal Nehru’s speech at All India States People’s Conference at Gwalior, 18.4.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 22.
53 Speech by Acharya Narendra Dev in Sultanpur, U.P., 2.5.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 29.
54 Letter from Frederick Pethick-Lawrence to Louis Mountbatten, 18.4.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 23.
55 Letter from Nawab of Bhopal to M.A. Jinnah, 29.4.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 28.
60 Report in The Hindustan Times, 7.2.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 4.
61 Minutes of the meeting of the States Committee, 24.2.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 8.
or some other electoral collegiums.®^ Radical critics looked upon the acceptance of nominees of princes at 50 per cent as a shameful concession to feudal elements, but probably the election principle was not always workable in the princely states in the absence of appropriate institutions. There remained a bigger problem, the fact that the princes were divided into two camps, for and against joining the Constituent Assembly. Negotiations took place between the Princes’ Negotiating Committee and the Constituent Assembly’s States Peoples’ Negotiating Committee chaired by Pattabhi Sitaramayya. The latter was of the view that the Chamber of Princes did not represent the States as a whole, since several big states had kept themselves out of it. Eventually, Sardar K.M. Panikkar and Maharaja of Bikaner managed to bring about a compromise between princes who were for and those who were against joining the Constituent Assembly.®^ Patel invited the states to ‘join the Constituent Assembly forthwith’; they ‘need not be afraid of the Congress’.®^ So did Nehru at the States’ Peoples’ Conference and declared, somewhat prematurely: ‘All those who do not join the Constituent Assembly now will be regarded as hostile States.’®^ The final act in the drama was the accession of the states to the Union. The business of persuading princely states to join the Constituent Assembly was overtaken by the Accession process under the 3 June 1947 declaration regarding Transfer of Power. After dilly-dallying over niggling little points and occasionally some confused bargaining, the Princes’ accessions came by dribbles which turned into a flood after the Conference of Rulers on 25 July presided over by Mountbatten, followed by a luncheon party on 1 August at the Viceroy’s House. On the latter date, in the presence of the Viceroy, twenty-two princes indicated their willingness to sign the Instrument of Accession. That included Baroda, Gwalior, Patiala, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Faridkot, Cochin, and fifteen others while Bhopal and Travancore were also expected to toe the line.®® ‘It is expected,’ a press communiqué from the Viceroy’s House said, ‘that barring a few who have not finally made up their minds, all the States will have signed the Instrument of Accession by August 10.’ Thus a suspenseful act in the drama came to a neat conclusion, while issues such as Hyderabad and Kashmir awaited a not-so-neat resolution in later times.

I recall Jawaharlal Nehru’s words on the day the imminent Transfer of Power was announced: ‘We are little men serving great causes, but because that cause is great, something of that greatness falls upon us.’®® As I bring this Preface to its end I cannot escape the feeling that it is impossible to be satisfied with it, that it is difficult to be adequate to the great moment when India attained independence, and that much remains unsaid about what I have called the reconstitution of India. However, if the documents of those times help to recall those times, if these volumes in the Towards Freedom series raise new questions and aid and generate research, the objectives of this endeavour will have been served.

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62 Circular letter issued by the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, 10.3.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 11.
63 Resolution passed at the meeting of the princes, Chapter 38, Document No. 17. Letter from K.M. Panikkar to Vallabhbhai Patel, 3.4.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 18.
65 Nehru’s speech at All India States People’s Conference at Gwalior, 18.4.1947, Chapter 38, Document No. 22.
67 Text of broadcast by Jawaharlal Nehru, 3.6.1947, Chapter 26, Document No. 3.
A big project such as this incurs many debts. I would like to thank the editor of this volume, Professor Sucheta Mahajan, the research assistants and the editorial team at the ICHR, Professor Arjun Dev, who acted as the co-ordinator of the project, and Dr. Amit K. Gupta who was co-editor of one volume and a consultant in respect of several volumes in this series. The Chairman of the ICHR, Professor Y. Sudershan Rao, his predecessor in that office, Professor Basudev Chatterji, and Member-Secretary of the ICHR, Professor Ravindran Gopinath, played an important role in pushing forward our efforts to complete the Towards Freedom series.

From the data generated by the publishers it seems that since 2006 when this project was effectively revived and I was asked to be the General Editor, the total output has been as follows: over eight thousand pages of text consisting of documents, and about six hundred pages of editorial research aids such as calendars of documents, biographical notes, etc., have been produced in nine bulky tomes. These figures do not mean very much, these productions are to be evaluated in terms of the extent to which research has been facilitated. That is to be seen in the future but for the present it is a matter of some satisfaction that documents hitherto dispersed in many archives and depositories have been made easily accessible and that a project that began three decades ago is nearing completion.

Needless to say, the Editorial Committee which has met from time to time was of great help. As the General Editor I would like to put on record my indebtedness to my distinguished fellow-editors in charge of different volumes, other than those mentioned above: the late Professors Partha Sarathi Gupta, Bipan Chandra, Visalakshi Menon, and Professors Bimal Prasad, K.N. Panikkar, Sumit Sarkar, and Mushirul Hasan. I would also like to thank Oxford University Press, New Delhi, for their unstinting cooperation through all these years since 2006.

SABYASACHI BHATTACHARYA
General Editor
Editor’s Introduction

Nineteen forty-seven, the year covered by the present volume, was no ordinary year. Two momentous developments stood out, independence and partition. The movement for independence reached its conclusion and new nation states emerged. Important issues to do with nation-building which had been raised during the years of struggle now demanded they be addressed. What would be the nature of the polity? Would India be a secular state or a Hindu rashtra, following upon Pakistan’s creation on a communal basis? What would be the place of minorities in the new state? How would the princely states integrate into the very different polity of erstwhile British India? How would the anti-colonial movement, which had operated as a broad front, transform into an ideologically distinct party?

One of the obvious questions associated with the year 1947 is why the British decided to quit. However, those looking for answers to why the British quit are unlikely to find them in the immediate context of 1947. They would be best off looking for these answers in the long term, in the years of protracted mass struggle against colonial rule. By 1947 what was left to decide were the modalities of to whom and how power was to be handed over.

By the end of World War II, the success of the national movement in the struggle for hegemony over the minds of the Indian people was evident. Nationalist fervour was at a high pitch and the anti-colonial movement had reached hitherto unpolticized sections and areas. The pillars of the colonial state, the army and the bureaucracy, were weakened at their base. At the end of the war, the civil services stood depleted, weary from wartime service and handling nationalist agitations, most recently the 1942 movement. Imperialist hegemony had gradually but firmly been eroded and, equally important, was recognized by the colonial officials and the people to be so.¹

The nationalist strategy of struggle–truce–struggle—phases of struggle alternating with phases of non-struggle—reduced colonial policy to a mess of contradictions. Repression and conciliation alternated as two poles of policy. When non-violent movements were met with repression, the power behind the government stood exposed. Conversely, the government was seen to be too weak when it went in for a truce. Loyalists deserted the sinking ship, as did Indian officials. For loyalists it was a crisis of faith; for the services, the dilemma was one of action. The same set of officials had to implement both poles of policy, repression and conciliation, and found this very confusing and demoralizing.

¹ This section draws upon the understanding elaborated in Sucheta Mahajan, Independence & Partition: The Erosion of Colonial Power in India, New Delhi, Sage, 2000.
Looking ahead at the political prospects in India once the war ended, the Viceroy underlined the primacy of a successful settlement of the Indian question. This was believed to be essential for the future security of the Empire, to ensure British prestige in the East, and to keep India within the Commonwealth.\(^3\)

When the national leaders came out of jail after long prison terms at the end of the War and toured the country, they assured their audiences that it was a matter of time before the British would go, maybe as early as two to five years. By early 1946 the British in turn made it clear that their days in India were numbered. The Secretary of State said as much in his speech on New Year’s Day, 1946. Along with other Congress leaders, Gandhiji realized that the imperial rulers were sincere in the declaration of their intention to ‘quit’ in favour of independent rule by Indians and in turn tried to convince the people of this.\(^4\)

However, the time for exploring avenues for settlement was running out. By mid-1946 a point had been reached where government had the responsibility to keep the peace but little power to do so. The Viceroy commented on the prospect of a revolt by the Congress, this time assisted by its own governments in power in the provinces: ‘We could still probably suppress such a revolt ... [but] have nothing to put in its place and should be driven to an almost entirely official rule, for which the necessary numbers of efficient officials do not exist.’\(^5\)

When given the option of staying on in India by changing the basis of rule to coercion, British Prime Minister Attlee argued against it on the following grounds: lack of administrative machinery to carry out a policy of rule by coercion; lack of troops owing to other international commitments; adverse opinion in the Labour Party; questionable loyalty of the Indian troops and the unwillingness of British troops to serve; adverse world opinion; and an uncomfortable position in UNO.\(^6\)

As colonial rule could not survive on the old basis for long, a graceful withdrawal from India became the overarching aim of policy makers. Of course, the digits of the post-imperial relationship had to be negotiated and modalities of transfer of power worked out. For the British government it was important that withdrawal be presented not as forced dissolution of imperial power but as a step forward in the planned devolution of power. A revised draft of a statement of policy dated 2 January 1947 set out His Majesty’s Government’s (HMG’s) proposed statement as ‘the final stage in their achievement of self government’, which ‘for the past thirty years ... has been the policy of successive British governments’.\(^7\)

A new Viceroy was accordingly appointed as part of a new policy initiative. So Mountbatten went out to India not only as the new Viceroy but also the last Viceroy, with the terminal date for British departure announced for 30 June 1948. Mountbatten even claimed in later years that he introduced the idea of the time limit and that if he had not done so the British may well still be out there! But many before Mountbatten had spoken of a time limit, including Wavell and Attlee, and members of the Cabinet had argued, from different points of view, for having a specific date for withdrawal and its announcement. For Mountbatten to claim sole

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\(^4\) Hindustan Times, 24 February 1946.


credit is clearly without substance. That he insisted on its public announcement is closer to what actually happened.

When the year opened, two developments had taken place. The first was that Nehru and Jinnah had been to London for talks to tease out the contradiction between their varied readings of the Cabinet Mission Plan. Congress saw the scheme as an alternative to partition and accepted the plan without accepting compulsory grouping of provinces. This was partly because Assam and North West Frontier Province (NWFP), both with Congress inclinations, were placed in the zones in the east and north west which would make up the future Pakistan. In contrast, the Muslim League was all for compulsory grouping of provinces and accepted the Mission scheme inasmuch as it implied Pakistan. It is not surprising that there was trouble given the opposed perceptions of the scheme by the two principal parties.

The second development was that the Congress had gone ahead and convened the constitution-making body for its area, given the Muslim League’s refusal to join the Constituent Assembly. But the impasse remained despite Congress accepting HMG’s pro-League interpretation of the Mission scheme in the 6 December 1946 statement. The deadlock in the Interim Government also continued. With the options available exhausted, new initiatives were needed.

The Interim Government was an arena where civil war by other means was waged by the League. ‘Non-cooperate from within’ was Nehru’s phrase for the League’s stance in the Interim Government. The intention of the League seems to have been to open battle on every front in pursuit of the end of Pakistan. Appointments made by Congress ministers were questioned and policy decisions hotly debated. Congress members in the Interim Government found the functioning of the government to be severely compromised. Patel demanded that Leaguers should resign from the government given their intemperate speech.

This went on till 5 February 1947 when Congress members demanded resignation of League members. Though disruptionist tactics of the League members was the main ground for this demand, it was also pointed out that the Muslim League had refused to join the Constituent Assembly which had convened on 9 December 1946. This implied an ambiguous acceptance of the Mission Plan on its part. This in turn meant framing of the constitution was obstructed. The League only accepted the short-term aspects of the Plan, namely the formation of an Interim Government, which it used to reach its goal of Pakistan. When the Muslim League Working Committee met at Karachi on 31 January 1947, it asked for the dissolution of the Plan. This, despite the fact that the 6 December 1946 statement by the government had accepted the interpretation of the League on the vexed issue of grouping and asked Congress to assure that there would be a set procedure for the Constituent Assembly.

A few days before Independence, Patel spoke about his experience in office in the Interim Government. As the Muslim League created deadlocks and were obstructionist, the Congress leaders decided that it was best to control some part of the country rather than have its writ run

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8 Part 1, Chapter 3, Document No. 24.
12 Part 1, Chapter 2, Document No. 35.
Non-cooperation by the League in the Interim Government closed one more door and took the country closer to partition. Apart from announcing a policy initiative, an additional factor behind HMG making the 20 February statement was the Congress demand that Muslim League join the Constituent Assembly or leave the Interim Government.14

His Majesty’s Government hoped the impending February statement would gain time to answer the Congress demand that Muslim League leave the Constituent Assembly. Accordingly the government’s answer to Nehru’s demand was that he should await the policy statement soon to be announced. The constitutional crisis on the cards was staved off by the 20 February 1947 statement.15 Nehru appealed to Liaquat Ali Khan, the League leader, to meet and discuss differences as the British were fading out of the picture but got no response.16 The statement was double edged—on the one hand, it was a response to the decline of authority of the colonial state and its instruments; on the other, it was a notice to the League that agreement had to be worked out by the given time limit. The government wanted to convey the message that it was no longer willing to let the League hold the constitutional process to ransom.17

The statement was not clear about the government to which power was to be transferred. Was it the government emanating from the Constituent Assembly? Would India be united or divided? The League took the cue from the proviso in the statement that in the absence of agreement at the centre, power would be handed over to the authority at the helm in the provinces. The League duly made a bid for power in the Punjab, toppled the coalition government, and set that province on the path to civil war. Congress was convinced of the intention of the British to quit. Gandhiji said that the Congress provinces if wise will get what they want.18

Another aspect that changed in these months was the force of the strategic undertow to the evolution of political policy. Prior to 1947 all policy pronouncements or political settlements were conditional on ensuring military or strategic interests of Britain in the post-imperial scenario. A fixed date for withdrawal meant a change in the game, as it left no scope for awaiting protection of post-imperial strategic interests. The sequence now would be, as Ismay spelt out at a meeting of ministers of HMG, ‘Military arrangements in India must follow the political situation’.19 Over time the realization dawned that a military treaty was unlikely and British interests were best safeguarded by promoting friendly relations, preferably within the Commonwealth.

Congress was in a dilemma about whether India should be in the Commonwealth or not because Congress had always stood for complete independence. In mid-April Nehru and his colleagues had sought clarification on this issue from the government: Can one be a member of the Commonwealth while being an independent state?

13 10 July 1947, Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 77.
15 Part 1, Chapter 5.
17 Part 1, Chapter 5, Document No. 1.
On the British side, the question was: Could the grant of immediate dominion status get India to join the Commonwealth? This was the British hope, predicated on the Congress realization that it might be useful for British troops to stay on for a while till their own armed forces were in place, for which being in the Commonwealth would help. But Mountbatten dishonestly said at one point that the British were not interested in India being in the Commonwealth. This was a bargaining tactic. In reality, India being in the Commonwealth would present Britain in a good light in the eyes of people across the world. Also Commonwealth as a transitional institutional arrangement would suit the British as much or more than the Congress.

His Majesty's Government's assessment of their strategic interests in the subcontinent after independence inclined them to cooperate with the Congress rather than prop up communal forces as they had done in the past. However, the British never pitched fully for a united India; they modified their preference for a united India on strategic grounds to having alliances with two dominions, both of whom would be partners in Commonwealth defence. While Pakistan would be an active partner, India would provide bases, as in the case of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

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The move towards partition is documented in the chapter which details how the new Viceroy explores political alternatives for a couple of months after coming out to India. After discussions with Indian leaders, he realized the Mission Plan was a dead horse. In particular, he found Jinnah stubborn about getting Pakistan and impossible to argue with. The alternatives before Mountbatten appeared to be shrinking and he came around to the view that partition was on the cards.

The date for withdrawal was brought forward by Mountbatten to 15 August with announcement of Boundary Awards fixed for after 15 August. When the date of 15 August 1947 was announced, there were only 72 days to quit and divide. The early date for transfer of power was intended, first, to get Congress to agree to dominion status and, second, to enable the British government to escape responsibility for the worsening communal situation. The concern of the government was primarily how best to come out of the continuing crisis in the eyes of world public opinion. They did not care what happened to Indians.

Policy preferences before HMG were a gracious, smooth withdrawal and getting benefits from both dominions, India and Pakistan. It could be said that partition was not only the closing scene of Divide and Rule but also the first act of the drama of Commonwealth diplomacy.

The intention was to showcase HMG’s intentions in the best possible way. Show of impartiality and fair play was vital, especially as world opinion was not convinced of the necessity of partition. So, since an agreed solution had not been reached, what was an award was dressed up as an agreed solution.

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20 Mountbatten painted a very grim picture to V.K.K. Menon about Pakistan becoming stronger militarily if it stayed in the British Commonwealth and then argued that the only way India could prevent that was by being in the Commonwealth themselves (22 April 1947, Record of Interview between Louis Mountbatten and V.K.K. Menon, Part 1, Chapter 15, Document No. 25). Also see Archibald Nye to Louis Mountbatten, Part 1, Chapter 15, Document No. 35.

21 A brief for negotiations on India’s defence requirements prepared by the Chiefs of Staff of Britain was enclosed in Secretary of State to PM, 24 July 1947, T.O.P., Vol. XII, 1983, pp. 314–21.
A point worth noting is that the 3 June Plan was an award, whatever its projection by the British as a plan agreed to by the Congress and the League.

The British professed that they tried their best to keep India united; in fact they took the easy way out of pleasing everyone, as Gandhiji pointed out to Mountbatten: 'I suggest that the attempt to please all parties is a fruitless and thankless task. In the course of our conversation I suggested that equal praise bestowed on both the parties was not meant. No praise would have been the right thing.'\(^2\)

The British did not really make a bid for unity; they only dressed up division as maximum possible unity. As the main proposition of the Congress, namely unity, was not accepted, the British were all for meeting all its minor demands (for example, its stance on Hyderabad or on Andaman and Nicobar Islands).\(^3\)

In mid-April 1947, at a conference of governors, it was decided that provinces can join only India or Pakistan—no option of independence was given to them. His Majesty's Government was not happy with closure of the option of independence, given its emphasis on presenting the mode of transfer of power as emanating from Indian and not British will. The Viceroy on his part was clear that partition must be limited to two successor states, and not lead to Balkanization.\(^4\)

Mountbatten proposed that he be Governor-General of both India and Pakistan\(^5\) to ensure a modicum of unity between the two dominions by virtue of his being a common link. He was confident that Jinnah would welcome Mountbatten’s presence, but Jinnah decided to be Governor-General himself in order to show his independence from the British\(^6\) and refused to relent because he did not wish to appear to be appeasing the British. A joint defence machinery was set up to act as a link between the dominions.\(^7\) But the Kashmir conflict in October 1947 put paid to all prospects of joint defence. The joint defence machinery did not last beyond December 1947.

The documents on the stance of the political parties on the partition of India highlight an issue which continues to be contested—why the Congress and Gandhiji accepted partition. Depending on the ideological bent of the writer, partition is either attributed to the British policy of divide and rule or the age-old rift between Hindus and Muslims. Some left-wing writers have described independence as a deal between the metropolitan and Indian bourgeoisie for which the nation paid the price of partition. Or else that Congress leaders chose to have a strong Centre rather than share power with the League. Or that partition took place because of the Congress leaders’ lust for quick and easy power, leaving the people betrayed and Gandhiji no longer wishing to live for 125 years.

There was one moot point which was most debated in the public domain and which Gandhiji, Nehru, and other leaders had to repeatedly explain and defend. Why was partition accepted by Congress and Gandhiji after years of their resolute opposition to the two-nation theory and the politics of Jinnah and the Muslim League?

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\(^{22}\) 10/11 June 1947, Part 2, Chapter 33 [A], Document No. 13.
\(^{23}\) Part 2, Chapter 28.
\(^{25}\) Part 2, Chapter 30.
\(^{26}\) 3 July 1947, Part 2, Chapter 30, Document No. 1.
\(^{27}\) Record of Interview between Louis Mountbatten and M.K. Gandhi, Part 2, Chapter 27, Document No. 5.
This partly explains the extensive documentation on the Congress relative to the Muslim League, whose stance on partition did not require explanation as it flowed from its earlier politics. Also the stance of the Muslim League is documented in different chapters on the division of Punjab and Bengal, on communalism in the provinces, and on exploring political alternatives. The complete picture can be pieced together by aggregating the documents dispersed across the chapters, which have not been organized according to parties, but on thematic lines, such as the League’s stance, as well as of the Socialists and Communists.

The documents in the present selection indicate that Gandhiji’s position was different from Congress’ but not opposed to it. Gandhiji’s nuanced position is evident in his proposal to the Viceroy that Jinnah be Prime Minister, embedded in the hope that this would satisfy his ambition and wean him away from his insistence on Pakistan. Mountbatten noted that this pleased Jinnah’s vanity. However, the Congress leaders saw the proposal as fraught with too much risk. If the Congress opted out of the constitutional arena, that would leave it open to reactionary forces. Also, many followers would see it as betrayal by the party. Further, the prospect of Pakistan could not be averted by appeasing Jinnah since even he could no longer call it off. Accordingly, Gandhiji withdrew his offer.

When Gandhiji and Jinnah issued a direct appeal for peace in mid-April 1947, Vallabhbhai Patel pertinently pointed out to the Viceroy that Direct Action had to be withdrawn for the peace appeal to be effective. Patel implied that the appeal for peace by Jinnah was not sincere, an assessment shared by Gandhiji.

By the summer of 1947 the realization had dawned on Congress leaders that conciliation of communalism was futile. Nehru described Jinnah as always wanting more even after accepting what he gets. Elsewhere he said of Jinnah, ‘We are up against something which is neither political, nor economic, nor reasonable, nor logical.’ Patel was clear that there would be no more appeasement of the Muslim League. He also pointed out that new India would not have communal weightages or communal electorates.

An alternative to partition was imposing unity by force. P.D. Tandon, Congress leader and Speaker of the United Provinces (UP) Assembly, was an active proponent of this view, as was Ram Ratan Gupta, Congressman from Kanpur. Both condemned the ‘betrayal’ by the Congress in accepting partition and argued for imposing unity. But Congress leaders chose to accept Pakistan rather than compel unity.

Nehru was clear that use of the sword and the lathi could not stem the communal forces—rather, the ensuing civil war would have long term consequences. He stressed this in his
speech at the All India Congress Committee (AICC) session on 15 June 1947. A couple of months earlier, Congress President Kripalani had told the Viceroy, ‘Rather than have a battle we shall let them have their Pakistan.’ It must be remembered that as Congress did not have state power, the option of unity by force meant fighting it out on the streets against volunteer armies of the communal forces.

Hence when partition seemed inevitable, Congress tried to find a way of accepting the undesirable, not as a communal demand, but as a principle based on self-determination. Gandhi stated that the decision had been arrived at after taking into account the views of the people of all communities, be they Muslims, Sikhs, or Hindus. Nehru explained partition as the outcome of the will of some sections to not be part of India.

At the Congress Working Committee meeting on 1 June 1947, Congress President Kripalani reminded the gathering that since 1942 it had been accepted that no part of India would be forced to stay on in India against its will. At the session of the AICC on 15 June 1947, he again said that acceptance of partition flowed from the clause of no coercion in the Congress resolution on the Cripps Plan.

The fact that the settlement was final was seen as crucial by Congress leaders in accepting partition. Though Patel pinned his hopes on the partition award on the ground that there was no further uncertainty, he also expressed his dismay at Jinnah taking a communal standpoint in his broadcast over All India Radio (AIR) and the All India Muslim League’s response being contradictory and evasive and hence unlikely to be the basis for settlement.

The hope of India and Pakistan being reunited after some years reconciled leaders to the reality of division. The expectation was that once passions subsided, common interests would draw people together and partition could be revoked. Hence Nehru appealed to people to not accept partition in their hearts. This was expressed in his trademark eloquent prose: ‘We have often to go through the valley of the shadow before we reach the sunlit mountain tops.’

However, if the hope of reuniting was to be kept alive, any measure that cemented partition was to be avoided, be it dividing the army, transfer of population, or parliamentary sanction for transfer of power to two dominions. Congress leaders too joined Mountbatten to oppose transfer of population.

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40 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 48.
41 17 April 1947, Part 1, Chapter 15, Document No. 23.
42 Jawaharlal Nehru to Viceroy, reporting on the Congress Working Committee meeting, 1 May 1947; Part 1, Chapter 15, Document No. 33.
43 Part 1, Chapter 16, Document No. 33.
44 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 50.
45 Speech on 9 August 1947, Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 87.
46 Part 1, Chapter 16, Document No. 33.
47 Vallabhbhai Patel to B.M. Birla, 10 June 1947, Part 2, Chapter 34, Document No. 3.
48 Vallabhbhai Patel to Louis Mountbatten, 10 June 1947, Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 34.
50 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 61.
The AICC resolution on the 3 June Plan made it clear that partition was accepted as a temporary measure that would bring violence to an end. This was again repeated in Gandhiji’s and Nehru’s speeches at the AICC meeting on 14–15 June.\(^\text{53}\) Ironically, for a believer in *ahimsa*, Gandhiji had a lesser dread of civil war than his colleagues. He wrote: ‘Let British leave India to anarchy, rather than as a cock pit between two organized armies.’\(^\text{54}\)

The one positive aspect of partition for Congress was that they would get a free hand in the rest of the country. Nehru spoke of 80 or 90 per cent of India moving forward according to the map of India he had in mind and added: ‘Those who stand as an obstacle in our way should go their way.’\(^\text{55}\)

Patel spelt out further what this freedom could be used for—to consolidate the armed forces and have a strong central government.\(^\text{56}\) Jayaprakash Narayan, the Socialist leader, also appreciated the ‘emergence of a strong Union Centre’ following upon the Partition Award and its concomitant division of provinces.\(^\text{57}\)

If the hope was unity at the centre, the apprehension was the opposite. Nehru was concerned that the Plan shown to him in early May 1947 held out the spectre of fragmentation. In other words, it would create many Ulsters in India as a large number of successor states would be allowed to emerge first and then given the option to unite.\(^\text{58}\) Free choice to provinces and states was insisted upon by HMG. But the Viceroy had been in favour of only two dominions in mid-April and, accordingly, the 3 June Plan limited fragmentation to partition into two dominions.

Congress then accepted partition on the grounds that it reflected the will of the people and that it was the only way out.\(^\text{59}\) On 4 June, Gandhiji, after meeting the Viceroy and the Congress leaders, said at his daily prayer meeting that the Congress Working Committee had agreed to the vivisection of Hindustan not under any threat of violence or coercion but as there was no way of getting round the Muslim League.\(^\text{60}\) There was hope that partition was only temporary and could be reversed once the imperialists were out of the picture and once Muslim League realized its folly. Partition was seen by the leaders as better than civil war or Balkanization. This helped leaders accept it. Only options left were waging an anti-communal struggle and using force, both of which could not be taken up. In the end, partition was accepted by Congress as a recognition of the failure of its strategy to draw in most of the Muslim masses into the national movement.

The letters and documents selected on this theme corroborate Gandhiji’s reading of the communal situation that both Hindus and Muslims had moved far away from non-violence. He could not oppose Congress, he said, because Congress represented the people of India who have become communal.\(^\text{61}\)

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\(^\text{53}\) Part 2, Chapter 26, Document Nos 51, 52.
\(^\text{54}\) *Harijan*, 20 July 1947, Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 82.
\(^\text{55}\) Speech at Jallianwala Bagh meeting, 13 April 1947, Part 3, Chapter 10, Document No. 6.
\(^\text{57}\) 25 June 1947, Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 68.
\(^\text{58}\) Part 1, Chapter 16, Document No. 2.
\(^\text{59}\) Jawaharlal Nehru’s speech at AICC, 9 August 1947, Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 87.
\(^\text{60}\) 4 June 1947, Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 9.
\(^\text{61}\) 9 June 1947, M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting, Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 31.
He was asked by some colleagues and sundry elements during his prayer meetings why he did not start a mass movement. According to them, such a movement could either be against the British, whose fallout would be Hindu-Muslim unity or it could be an anti-communal movement. They believed that both movements would bring about unity. In reality, however, the possibility of anti-communal struggle was limited as cadres and the ordinary people were communalized. Gandhiji was aware of his limitations: 'I have never created a situation in my life.... People say that I had created a situation, but I had done nothing except giving a shape to what was already there. Today I see no sign of such a healthy feeling. And therefore I shall have to wait until the time comes.'

It has often been argued that Gandhiji was ignored in the parleys with the retreating imperial power. Gandhiji was believed to be helpless because of his disciples’ alleged lust for power. However, the position of the Congress leaders can best be understood in political rather than personal terms. They wanted early transfer of power to take the country forward out of the impasse created by non-cooperation by the League.

As for Gandhiji’s ‘alienation’ from the Congress, the record seems to suggest otherwise. Gandhiji dismissed any rumours of his disenchantment with Nehru by speaking very highly of him: ‘He renounces things as easily as a snake its slough.’ He was consulted on political developments when in Noakhali. Kripalani and Nehru went to meet him there and asked him to come to Delhi. When he came to Delhi he met the Viceroy and participated in the Congress Working Committee meetings of 1 May, 25 May, 2 June, and in the AICC meetings of 14 and 15 June.

Gandhiji put aside his principled objection to partition and enjoined on Congressmen to close ranks and fall behind Congress in accepting partition. At the AICC session on 14 June Gandhiji explained:

> Our constitution permits it and your duty demands it that if you feel that the Working Committee is in the wrong you should remove it, you should revolt and assume all power. You have a perfect right to do so, if you feel that you have the strength. But I do not find that strength in us today. If you had it I would also be with you and if I felt strong enough myself I would, alone, take up the flag of revolt. But today I do not see the conditions for doing so.

The acceptance of partition by the Congress and Gandhiji was the culmination of a long and arduous period during which all the major leaders of the Congress tried very hard to counter the League’s concerted attempts to create communal violence and prevent agreement on the issue of united India. While the early months of the year saw Nehru and Patel dealing with the League’s stalling tactics endorsed by the British government, Gandhiji toured the riot-affected areas of Noakhali and Bihar. He tried to provide a healing balm to the victims of both Hindu and Muslim communal violence. His efforts and methods were widely reported and debated.

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64 M.K. Gandhi to Prabhavati Narayan, 30 June 1947, Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 73.
65 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 51.
Nehru appealed to Gandhiji when the latter was in Noakhali: ‘But I have an overwhelming feeling that vital decisions are being made and will be made in Delhi affecting the whole of our future as well as of course the present, and your presence at such a moment is necessary.’ Gandhiji acceded to his request subsequently but explained his position: ‘But I proceed the other way. I had learnt when still a child the formula, “As in the microcosm, so in the macrocosm.”’

While Gandhiji’s efforts were heroic, their impact was limited, as even his disciples accepted. Hindu refugees were slow to return to their villages or cast off fear. Muslims in turn continued to be hostile to him in Noakhali and elsewhere. His critics commented on the futility of his method of non-violence and the politics of change of heart. Even some of his own colleagues felt his kind of politics had not yet thrown up a strategy that could counter communal frenzy. Taking off from the Noakhali tragedy the Hindu Mahasabha time and again called upon Hindus to rise to their own self-defence.

Gandhiji’s tour in Bihar and Noakhali not only reflected his efforts at combating communalism with weapons of non-violence and ‘satyagraha’ but also the feelings of fear and distrust that were mutual to both the communities. Complaints of Hindus in Noakhali and Muslims in Bihar were alike and the politics of communalism permeated every aspect of human life, including relief and rehabilitation work, as refugee camps turned into centres of further propaganda and hate speech. Amidst all of this, there were also a small crop of nationalists, both among Hindus and Muslims, who had stood the test of time, braving personal loss and treachery by their colleagues.

Ample documents cover Gandhiji and his struggle against Hindu communalism, especially in Bihar. The success of Muslim League’s Direct Action in Calcutta and Noakhali further strengthened Hindu communal forces as some Hindus came to feel the need to organize on communal lines. The Bihar riots were an example of this politics of reaction, which left 4300–7000 killed, according to one estimate.

The Bihar riots are sometimes perceived as having marked the communalization of Congress on Hindu lines. In reality, the ministry was secular and only some individual Congressmen were affected by communal sentiment and prejudice. Gandhiji insisted on an enquiry commission and on staying in Bihar, despite murmurs that his doing so would reflect poorly on the functioning of the Congress ministry and the image of individual Congressmen. His presence acted as a catalyst to the Congress ministry, despite differences with them on many issues. The simple peasants of Bihar accepted him as their conscience, which helped them along the path of repentance.

If we look at the challenge posed by Hindu communal forces, we find that it took two forms, majority assertion and minority fears. The first could be repressed sternly. But insecurity of

66 Part 1, Chapter 3, Document No. 17.  
67 Part 2, Chapter 34, Document No. 10.  
69 Part 1, Chapter 8 (A), Document No. 4.  
70 Part 2, Chapter 34, Document No. 5.  
71 Part 2, Chapter 34, Document No. 7.  
72 Part 1, Chapter 6, Document No. 7.  
73 Mridula Sarabhai’s eyewitness account, Part 2, Chapter 35 (B), Document No. 2.  
75 Jawaharlal Nehru to Suhrawardy, 1 January 1947, Part 1, Chapter 8 (B), Document No. 1.  
76 Part 1, Chapter 8 (B), Document No. 31.
minorities demanded something more than assurances. Hindu communal elements pressurized
the Congress to place the interests of Hindus first and function as a Hindu body. After the
creation of Pakistan on the basis of the two-nation theory it was not surprising that the demand
for a Hindu rashtra, a Hindu state, became more strident.

Even before the creation of Pakistan, Hindu communal organizations sensed an opportunity
when in some places ordinary Hindus moved away from support to the Congress. This was
largely because the policies of the Congress were perceived by some sections as anti-Hindu.
One grievance was that Hindu rioters were selectively targeted for repression by the Congress
ministries of UP and Bihar. Another grievance was that ministries continued pro-Muslim
policies of the British government such as employment of greater proportion of Muslims in
services.77

The Hindu Mahasabha was heartened by the predicament the Congress found itself in—
namely, facing the challenge of creation of Pakistan and the spread of communal sentiment
within its own ranks. This opened up the threat of Hindu communal elements effecting an
ideological shift in the Congress. The question posed to the Congress was why it continued to
‘sacrifice the Hindus for these handful of so-called nationalist Muslims’, who in any case were
not loyal to the country.78

The demand then was for Congress to accept it was a Hindu, not a national, body. Interestingly,
this was the same as the position of the government, that the Congress should accept that it was a caste Hindu body. Congress leaders had refused to do so, recognizing this
was an issue of legitimacy of its national character, not one of pragmatism as made out by
those who argued for this.

Once Pakistan was announced, the Hindu Mahasabha called for ‘effective steps to build up
a real and powerful Hindu State’.79 In the months after Independence this demand was raised
with greater clamour but firmly opposed. Patel spoke eloquently of how ‘the state must exist
for all irrespective of caste and creed’.80 Congress leaders knew that a Hindu state would be
the real prize for communal forces. This would amount to accepting the two-nation theory,
which the Congress had not agreed to even while it saw the creation of Pakistan as unavoidable
in the given circumstances. This demand by the Hindu communal forces for a Hindu state
was later linked with their call to murder Gandhiji and Nehru who were seen as opposing it.

The relationship between the Congress and the Hindu communal elements was a complex
one. At an individual level, there were failings but not so in the case of party, state governments,
and at the level of the centre. The story was one of the Congress standing its ground and
demonstrating resilience and optimism.

The chapters on communalism in the provinces include documents detailing communal
ideology as well as communal outbreaks in some selected provinces. Punjab and Bengal, being
the ‘scene of action’, are the provinces which generally receive maximum academic attention.
However, the documentation of communalization in provinces other than these two, like
Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, and Sindh, shows that communalism was not restricted

77 Part 1, Chapter 8 (G), Document No. 7.
78 Manmohan to G.B. Pant, 23 June 1947, Part 2, Chapter 35 (G), Document No. 1.
79 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 28.
80 Vallabhbhai Patel to B.M. Birla, 10 June 1947, Part 2, Chapter 34, Document No. 3.
only to the two provinces partitioned in 1947. Communal ideology, more than rioting, had spread widely across regions and areas of public activity and concern.

For the Muslim League, this year saw a new kind of politics—the ‘civil disobedience’ movements in Punjab, NWFP, and Assam. Documents pertaining to these movements have been put together as part of the stories of these provinces which were seen as constituents of putative Pakistan and were hence conflict zones.

This agitation saw an organized Muslim League attack on non-communal ministries led by Congress and its allies. These ministries had been formed after the provincial elections of 1946. However, since these areas were seen as parts of future Pakistan, the Muslim League operated with an urgency to assert its political hold over them. This urgency was exacerbated after HMG’s 20 February 1947 statement was issued. In this statement, the possibility of multiple successors to British authority was envisaged for the first time. It was stated that HMG would demit power by June 1948 to a central authority if all communities reached a compromise but should that not occur, it would consider transfer of power to provincial authorities.

With its leaders in jail and its anti-government stand, these movements were manifestations of the extent to which the Muslim League was able to mobilize its supporters for mass action. As one activist put it, it was an exciting time for Muslim League followers as their leaders were going to jail for the first time. The League’s direct action in Punjab and NWFP came as a surprise to many, including Congress leaders, given Jinnah’s pursuit of constitutional methods till mid-1946. Nehru believed the League leaders were far too reactionary, and being landlords, opposed to social change, to dare to indulge in any form of direct action. Sapru, the Liberal statesman, was of the view that Jinnah could not resort to direct action. Jayakar, in turn, quoted Patel that Congress could create more trouble than Jinnah’s 100 mullahs. 81

The ministries which the League movements sought to overthrow or besiege were those of the Unionists-Congress-Akalis in Punjab and Congress in Assam and NWFP. These ‘movements’ symbolized opposition to non-communal groupings and were, therefore, communal movements in terms of their immediate actions, interpretations, and undertones. The rhetoric and sharp opposition to coalition or Congress ministries was expressed in the pro-Muslim League press, for example, *Dawn*, and it fed into the communal atmosphere of the time.

In Punjab, the ‘civil disobedience movement’ tied in with the communal rioting which started on 4 March 1947, a day after the Coalition Ministry resigned from office. The large-scale rioting rapidly overtook rural and urban areas of the province. The demand for a Muslim League ministry remained unfulfilled since the Governor refused to form a communal ministry amidst widespread communal rioting. Section 93 regime or Governor’s rule was imposed once the caretaker government resigned on 5 March. The attempts to form a ministry on the part of the Muslim League continued without success. After this, Punjab saw continual rioting till it was partitioned. The documents in this section detail the complex environment of political negotiations and widening communal tensions.

In the case of NWFP, to begin with, at stake was the religious status of a girl whose Sikh husband was killed in the Hazara disturbances and who later married a Muslim. When she wished to return to being a Sikh, the League gave the call of Islam in danger. The target of the

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81 7 April 1946, Jayakar Papers, File No. 866, S. No. 35, NAI.
agitation was the Congress Premier in whose residence she had sought refuge.\textsuperscript{82} Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, the League leader, gave a clarion call to all Muslims to oppose the government.\textsuperscript{83} Around March, the Khudai Khidmatgar movement picked up momentum, opposing the agitation of the League. Later they pursued the demand of ‘Pathanistan’ as an option in the referendum.\textsuperscript{84} On the other hand, the League’s agitation went on for two months followed by more arrests.\textsuperscript{85} The Congress consistently complained against Governor Caroe who was clearly pro-League but to little avail.\textsuperscript{86} The League ‘movement’ reached a feverish pitch just before the announcement of the referendum and vitiated the atmosphere completely.

In Assam,\textsuperscript{87} the issue of migrants from East Bengal and their settlement had been a matter of dispute since the decade of the 1920s. With the Cabinet Mission scheme of Grouping and the Muslim League’s desire to have Assam in Pakistan as a contiguous area of Muslim majority, the provincial Muslim League increased its activity in Assam, riding on the issue of eviction of migrants. It criticized the drive to evict illegal immigrants, mostly Muslim, as communally motivated and blamed the government for the sad plight of immigrants. It had a good following in the districts of Dhubri, Nowgong, and Tezpur, where it could easily mobilize from the large Muslim settlements and also from the neighbouring districts of Bengal. Giving the call for a civil disobedience movement, the method of Leaguers and Muslim National Guards was to publicly intimidate authorities through large gatherings and mass mobilization and deter any official procedure of eviction or arrest of any leader. Patel tried his best to salvage the situation by responding to the frantic call of the Assam Premier for military aid. He also wrote to Wavell in order to place the matter on official record.

The documents relating to these Muslim League agitations have been placed together because of the nature of these struggles. The demonstrations, picketings, processions, public meetings, and mass arrests were weapons borrowed from the Congress armoury. The word ‘civil disobedience’ is a term of self-description used in Muslim League newspapers and by Muslim League leaders for this agitation, again taken from the Congress lexicon.

The direct action or civil disobedience movement in Punjab led to the downfall of the coalition ministry in the midst of and followed by violence. This was the context of the Congress Working Committee's 8 March resolution.\textsuperscript{88} Nehru explained to the Viceroy that if Muslims could not be coerced, non-Muslims could not be coerced either.\textsuperscript{89} In the wake of the Rawalpindi riots, by the end of March 1947, the Governor could see clearly that the Sikhs preferred partition of the province to Muslim domination. On 2 April, Central Legislative Assembly members told Nehru that partition was the only solution.\textsuperscript{90} On 27 April, Baldev Singh, Defence member in the Interim Government, stated that the only solution was an immediate division of Punjab.

\textsuperscript{82} Part 1, Chapter 7 (B), Document No. 1.
\textsuperscript{83} Part 1, Chapter 7 (B), Document Nos 2, 3, 4.
\textsuperscript{84} Part 1, Chapter 19 (B), Document No. 1.
\textsuperscript{85} Part 1, Chapter 19 (B), Document No. 3.
\textsuperscript{86} Part 1, Chapter 19 (B), Document Nos 7, 12.
\textsuperscript{87} Part 1, Chapter 7 (C) and Chapter 19 (A).
\textsuperscript{88} Part 1, Chapter 5, Document No. 19.
\textsuperscript{89} Part 1, Chapter 5, Document No. 19.
\textsuperscript{90} Part 1, Chapter 20, Document No. 3.
In Bengal, the demand for partition of Bengal emerged from Hindus’ distrust of the Chief Minister after the riots in Calcutta and Noakhali in August and October 1946 respectively.\footnote{Part 1, Chapter 21, Document No. 47.} The Viceroy thought that the partition of provinces would reveal the limits of Pakistan and tried to convince Jinnah to this effect. Jinnah, on the other hand, saw the demand for partition of provinces as a bluff by Congress. In his meeting with the Viceroy on 8 April 1947, Jinnah tried to make a case against the partition of these provinces in the name of the inviolability of the cultural unity of Bengalis and Punjabis.\footnote{Mountbatten’s interview with Jinnah, 8 April, 1947, \textit{TOP}, Vol. X, 1981, p. 159.} Mountbatten’s reply was that Jinnah’s arguments about Bengali and Punjabi culture applied even more to the whole of India and were so convincing that he was all for revising his ideas about the partition of India. This really drove the old gentleman quite mad, in Mountbatten’s words. In the words of the Viceroy, Jinnah demanded his Pakistan be made viable and threatened to demand the partition of Assam.\footnote{Part 1, Chapter 15, Document No. 17.}

The situation—as Nehru understood it—was that if Punjab and Bengal do not come into the Constituent Assembly, while some parts of these provinces do, then it implied partition of Punjab and Bengal. This is how Nehru explained the decision of the Congress to demand the partition of the two provinces to Gandhiji.\footnote{24 February 1947, Part 1, Chapter 5, Document No. 5.} The division of provinces was the only answer to Pakistan as demanded by Jinnah.\footnote{Jawaharlal Nehru to M.K. Gandhi, 25 March 1947, \textit{SWJN}, 2nd series, Vol. 2, pp. 77–8.} Later, Nehru quipped to Asaf Ali that obviously the two-nation theory was not meant to be applied in Punjab and Bengal.\footnote{14 May 1947, Part 1, Chapter 16, Document No. 7.} Actually, Nehru had anticipated the likelihood of a partition of Bengal and Punjab as early as 1945: ‘If Pakistan is given, then parts of Punjab and Bengal, where the Hindu population is in a majority, will join Hindustan and both the Punjab and Bengal will have to be divided.’\footnote{Speech at Lahore, 26 August 1945, \textit{SWJN}, 2nd Series, Vol. 14, 1981, p. 165.}

Opposed to the demand for partition was the campaign for United Bengal, begun by Suhrawardy, the League Chief Minister of Bengal, and supported by the Viceroy.\footnote{Part 1, Chapter 9 (B), Document No. 10; Part 1, Chapter 21, Document Nos 5, 20, 45, 55.} Nehru was against it, as he feared United Bengal would later ally with Pakistan. Patel said it was a trap to entice the naïve into the Muslim League parlour.\footnote{Part 1, Chapter 21, Document No. 53.} Sarat Bose, Congress leader from Bengal, was of the view that behind the demand for partition was Hindu Mahasabha support and the sentiments of Hindus against Suhrawardy’s government since the Calcutta riots. Sarat Bose warned Patel that future generations would condemn the Congress for supporting division.\footnote{Part 1, Chapter 21, Document No. 57.}

Gandhiji was against partition on any account. He, therefore, saw a ray of hope in the United Bengal scheme, as it would question the two-nation theory. When faced with the apprehension of non-Muslims about Muslim domination, Gandhiji demanded that Suhrawardy convince the Hindus of his sincerity.\footnote{Part 1, Chapter 21, Document No. 57.} However, this did not happen till August 1947, when Suhrawardy needed Gandhiji more than Gandhiji needed him (to ensure the protection of Calcutta Muslims).\footnote{Part 2, Chapter 35 (A), Document No. 12.}
But the possibility of a united Bengal began to recede when its limits became apparent. K.C. Neogy, Congress member of the Constituent Assembly from Bengal, warned Patel that large sums were being spent to purchase votes for unity.\(^\text{103}\) P.B. Mukherji spoke of legislators being bribed.\(^\text{104}\) For Gandhiji, impure means tainted the end of unity for him. He said at his prayer meeting that he could no longer support United Bengal as it had been brought to his notice that votes were being bought by its proponents.\(^\text{105}\) Another weakness of the independent Bengal scheme was that it was a way of bringing in Pakistan through the backdoor. A letter calling upon ‘Muslim Bengal’ to sacrifice for the cause tellingly referred to United Bengal as Azad Pakistan.\(^\text{106}\)

By the end of May 1947, there was already division within the League in Bengal and the matter was referred to Jinnah who came out against Independent Bengal. On 9 June 1947, All India Muslim League Council accepted the 3 June Plan, which included partition of Bengal, though making it a point to say it was not in favour of the partition of the province but accepted it as part of the plan as a whole.\(^\text{107}\)

The Viceroy’s stance was in the end crucial as he was the one who would include unity or partition of Bengal in the plan being formulated. While the plan sketched on 10 April 1947 included partition of Punjab and Bengal, by 1 May 1947 provinces were first allowed to opt for independence, then a week later for partition. However, when shown these draft proposals, Nehru expressed his apprehensions about likely Balkanization in the proposed schedule of successor states first separating and then coming together. The Viceroy then moved away from providing the option of independence, as he was of the view that if the British fell foul of Congress, it would be impossible to continue to run the country.\(^\text{108}\)

On 20 June 1947, Bengal legislators voted for partition of Bengal, 58 for, 21 against. Support to demand for partition of provinces by Congress did not prove to be an answer to the demand of Pakistan, as was hoped. Worse, it opened the Congress to the charge of giving in to Hindu communal sentiments. Curzon must be chuckling in his grave, remarked the Bengal Governor to the Viceroy, referring to the Congress opposition to partition in 1905.\(^\text{109}\) Having been proved powerless to change the state of affairs in Bengal, the Congress had no alternative to offer to those who argued that partition was the only solution in the context of a communal League government in Bengal. Gandhiji pointed out the dangers of forsaking the principle of unity, even if only tactically. For him, undivided India had to be upheld without any compromise.

Given the impending departure of the British, the politically sensitive areas were the territories contested by the Muslim League and Congress—namely Bengal, Punjab, NWFP, and Assam. The situation was very complex and became messier as the momentum towards division gathered pace. Alternative political imaginings were at hand, be they in the form of United Bengal or Pathanistan.

\(^{103}\) 11 June 1947, Part 2, Chapter 32, Document No. 11.
\(^{104}\) 9 June 1947, Part 2, Chapter 32, Document No. 8.
\(^{105}\) M.K. Gandhi to Sarat Bose, 8 June 1947, Part 2, Chapter 32, Document No. 6.
\(^{106}\) Part 1, Chapter 21, Document No. 34.
\(^{107}\) Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 30.
For instance, in NWFP, the Governor claimed that if an election was held, the Congress would win but if a referendum was held, the Muslim League would win. This was because the election was about the issue of governance whereas being part of India or not was a question complicated by the existence of a political strand favouring independence. In the NWFP referendum, a demand for giving three choices—India, Pakistan, Pathanistan—was put forth. Pathanistan was sought to be used as a counter to Pakistan once it became clear that the province could not be part of India. Pathan autonomy and independence in a free Pathanistan as against assured Punjabi domination in Pakistan was the primary demand—an idea which continues to have currency. But the ruling out of the independence option in Bengal precluded its acceptance in NWFP.

Assam’s reaction to the 3 June Plan was complex. There seems to have been general relief at the final rejection of the Cabinet Mission scheme since that would have entailed grouping with Bengal. In Sylhet, the League began to mobilize the Muslim National Guards on the grounds that the referendum could not be held fairly under the provincial Congress ministry in Assam. The documents selected in this volume provide accounts of these processes of political mobilization as well as the politics around the referendum. Accounts of protests, counter protests, rigging, and rioting indicate how the referendum was vitiated by communal politics and also ended up reinforcing it.

In Punjab, after the elections of 1946, some amount of negotiations between Akalis and the Muslim League had been carried out with a possible coalition in mind. This had been unsuccessful and Akalis joined with Unionists and the Congress to form a coalition ministry. The Governor of Punjab, even till late May 1947, was advocating a Muslim–Sikh compromise as the only logical solution to Punjab’s problems. However, the Muslim League agitation against the Ministry alienated the Sikhs and undercut the chances of any settlement. The Sikh demand for a separate non-Muslim province in Punjab became more determined—though doubts beset Akali leaders about their position in a separate non-Muslim Punjab to be demarcated by a boundary commission. Hence, appeals were made to the Viceroy to keep Sikh interests in mind while etching the boundary line and faith was pinned on the sentence in the 3 June statement which declared that factors other than population would also guide the drawing of the boundary. The Sikhs hoped that property, religious places, revenue, and interests in canal colonies would be taken into account in their favour. All this added to the fluidity of the political situation.

The chapter on Boundary Commissions covers the setting up of commissions to demarcate partitioned areas and their mode of operation. The Census of 1941 was taken as the base and population was the criterion for demarcation. The documents span the debate over the unit of territory that was to be taken for demarcation—the village or the thana—and the politics behind it. In the course of demarcation of territory, rivers and shrines were also taken into consideration along with population. The documents carry extensive memoranda from different communities and entities expressing their concerns to the commissions.
The entire operation was both botched and rushed, with the inept handling of the Chairman, Radcliffe, immortalized in the poem ‘Partition’ by W.H. Auden.114 Delaying announcement of the Boundary Commission awards to a period after the date of independence compounded the chaos and mayhem as many a village and town did not know which side of the border it was on. People found themselves on the wrong side of the border on 15 August 1947—flags of both India and Pakistan were flown in regions contested by both communities, Muslim and Hindu.

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However, this story of the colonial–national–communal conflict does not exhaust the diverse themes covered by the documents selected in the first two parts of these volumes. The documents also span the themes of the Constituent Assembly, Indian Independence Bill, minorities, refugees, volunteer bodies, and princely states.

Like independence and partition, and other related institutions like the Commonwealth, Constituent Assembly is again not a routine annual occurrence but special to 1947. It came into being only in December 1946, since when it was a bone of contention between the Congress and the Muslim League, with the League dismissing it as unrepresentative and the Congress demanding that the League join or else quit the Interim Government. Gandhiji’s perspective was somewhat different from that of his colleagues. In his view, the Constituent Assembly should not function under British auspices; it should be convened when Congress has the strength to convene it for the whole country.115

A major issue with regard to the Constituent Assembly was one of representation, a need which was accentuated since it had sovereign powers and functioned as the Legislative Assembly upon transfer of power till new elections could be held and a new government setup. Second, the major concern was the future shape of the Indian polity, to decide which the initial debates and discussions were held in the Assembly. The nature of Centre–state relations in future India was also a much-debated issue in the Assembly, reflecting concern with the autonomy of provinces and the extent of central powers.116 As a result, diverse groups and communities sought representation in this assembly. This anxiety related to representation is another facet which makes this year different. The imminence of freedom and sovereignty elicited demands for representation and claims to minority or other kinds of special status by many groups and communities. In this sense it can be said that the Constituent Assembly was, in this period at least, a political body and not merely a forum for drawing up of the constitution by experts.

A detailed selection from the debates on fundamental rights has been included in the volume since the issues continue to be of relevance today. For instance, the discussions regarding the right to practise religion as a fundamental right flow from an anxiety to reassure the minorities about the secular credentials of the state. The committees which discussed these issues displayed a fascinating diversity of opinion on the nature and terms of safeguards to be provided for minorities.

The debate on abolition of zamindari in the Constituent Assembly in the volume has been included for the diversity of political and ideological strands which it represents. Abolition

116 Part 1, Chapter 1, Document No. 8.
was opposed by pointing out the developmental work undertaken by zamindars. At the other end of the spectrum were Nehru and other socialists who had been demanding abolition of zamindari and nationalization for many years as measures necessary to start the economic reconstruction of free India.

If K.M. Panikkar from Bikaner defended the zamindari system, Hasrat Mohani demanded that provinces of free India be made ‘republics’—the Constituent Assembly, in the period covered in this volume, appears to have been a political arena wherein the contemporary political issues and political ideologies found expression.

Constituent Assembly debates have been presented unedited to preserve the unity of the documents and to give the reader a sense of the complex process of constitution making. Splitting sessions under thematic heads has been avoided consciously so as to preserve the thread of the debates.

The structure of the committees and sub-committees appointed by the Constituent Assembly must be explained so that the context of the different memoranda may become clear. The Constituent Assembly of India appointed committees to look into matters holding vital importance for the future polity of India. As such, separate committees were appointed to look into the framing of the Constitution for the Union and the provinces, minority rights, fundamental rights, and so on. Committees which dealt with more than one subject, such as the Advisory Committees on Fundamental Rights, Minorities, and others, then appointed sub-committees to go into each individual subject. Thus, a sub-committee on minority rights was appointed to report on the nature of minority safeguards recommended for free India. Each of the committees as well as sub-committees held their meetings and debated these vital issues.

In the period which this volume covers, only a few reports were tabled in the Constituent Assembly for discussion, like the Union Constitution Committee’s interim report, the report of the sub-committee on minorities, and so on. All these reports were placed before the Constituent Assembly and were discussed clause by clause, wherein many amendments were suggested and dealt with. The selection of documents presented here is both from the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly as well as from the papers of its committees and sub-committees.

The selected documents point out the concerns of different communities regarding their minority status. It is interesting to note that no one community was a minority—in fact Hindus and Muslims both had a minority status depending on their location. In Bihar the minority community implied Muslims whereas in Punjab, Hindus and Sikhs were the minority.

The chapters on minorities and displaced populations in the volume cover not just religious minorities; recognizing the fluid nature of the term ‘minority’, any group/community that formed the smaller section of the population in an area has been included—such a group may not have been a religious community in every instance.

Furthermore, (religious or other) groups such as Nagas, Jains, Depressed Classes, and Scheduled Castes claimed minority status on demographic grounds—a claim noteworthy because it sought to alter the basis of minority status, from religious to primarily demographic. Different communities and groups, such as Adivasis, Catholics, Gurkhas, claimed minority status.
status keeping in mind different entitlements. This was behind the representations that such
groups made before the Constituent Assembly for minority status.

These minority populations were very often also the ones being displaced on account of
communal rioting. Refugee camps and other means of rehabilitation were also started in this
period which have been documented in these volumes.

Apart from the chapters exclusively on minorities and displaced populations, chapters on
communalism in provinces too have documents on this theme.\textsuperscript{120}

The documents selected for the chapters on volunteer bodies\textsuperscript{121} detail the growth and
expansion of many such organizations affiliated to political parties in Bombay, Sindhu, Orissa,
Punjab, NWFP, and other provinces. The overall increase in their membership and activity
is unmistakable. While, on the one hand, this growth signifies the deepening of communal
tendencies, on the other, it also signifies a leaning towards violent methods for political
ends. The increase in the membership of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Muslim
League National Guards (MLNG) in this period is linked to the increasing communalization
of arenas close to the daily life of people. In Punjab, the involvement of RSS volunteers in
refugee rehabilitation increased its popularity. The MLNG were at the forefront of the Muslim
League–led ‘civil disobedience’ campaigns in Punjab, NWFP, and Assam. The growth of
MLNG led to attempts at formation of Hindu Guards in UP. Similarly, Red Shirts, who
operated on a nationalist, not communal platform, were involved in political activities in the
NWFP. Most of these developments added to the prevailing communal tensions. The details
of the membership and activity of these bodies have primarily come from fortnightly reports
from the governments of the provinces.

Selected documents unravel the process of the making of the Indian Independence Act\textsuperscript{122}
passed by British Parliament of the United Kingdom on 20 July 1947 and the outcome of a
consultative process involving the major parties, the Congress and the League. Some of their
suggestions were incorporated in the draft. The strategic and military interests of the British, as
in the case of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, had to be balanced against the opposition of the
Congress to their being British bases. The term ‘independence’ was objected to by Churchill
on the grounds that power was to be transferred on the basis of dominion status.

The princely states, comprising almost one-third of the area of the subcontinent, were vassal
states and were administered through State Agencies and Residents in clusters. Comprising
an entire section, the chapters on princely states (Part 2, Section IV) carry a diverse range of
documents highlighting primarily how different states became part of the changes happening
in provincial British India, whether it be popular peasant agitation, working class movements,
communalism, or politics of partition. The documents highlight the movements for responsible
government in the princely states, the representation of the princely states in the Constituent
Assembly, and accession to the Unions.

In the princely states, the movement for responsible government gathered momentum
with the imminence of freedom. The peoples’ movements pressed for democratization of their
domains. It is in this context that the All India States People’s Conference (AISPC) sought to
consolidate the widespread streams of resistance in the states.

\textsuperscript{120} Part 2, Chapter 35.
\textsuperscript{121} Part 1, Chapters 10 and 24 and Part 2, Chapter 37.
\textsuperscript{122} Part 2, Chapter 28.
These movements met with stiff resistance from the princes. Some states’ rulers were visionaries and guided their people towards responsible government. But most princes were reactionary and stood as a solid wall blocking the path of political progress. With the paramount power receding, one would have expected the princes to see the writing on the wall. But this was rarely the case. Some even saw the end of paramountcy as a return to pre-paramountcy, that is, to sovereignty, refusing to recognize the altered nature of the reality.\footnote{123 Part 2, Chapters 40, 41, 42, 43, and 44.}

The issue of representation is another aspect of the political developments in the princely states. Different political groups, be it rulers or people, sought representation in the Constituent Assembly, the forum through which they could participate in the formulation of the future polity. The Chamber of Princes agreed to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan conditionally. However, even this Chamber of Princes did not have all the princes as its members. In fact, the big seven states had kept out, which together were entitled to 38 seats in the Constituent Assembly. The AISPC pointed out this basic flaw and questioned its \textit{locus standi} as the representative body of princes. Its conditional acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan and dilly-dallying with joining the Constituent Assembly was criticized in the press. Representatives of different states began to raise their demand for greater representation, citing big population, importance of the state, and so on, as reasons. Then, there were also internal dissensions within the Chamber, as many diwans and high officials within the states were looking to the Congress with an eye on appointments abroad.

Representation in the Constituent Assembly culminated in the accession of the princely states to the Unions of India and Pakistan. However, this was not before many of the bigger states like Travancore and Hyderabad tried their best to negotiate their freedom outside both the proposed new dominions and maintain treaty relations on essential subjects with both Britain and the upcoming dominions. Eventually only accession to two unions took place as demanded by the Congress and its stand on the accession of Hyderabad and Travancore was accepted on the whole.

Broadly the chapters map the long and winding road that was taken to bring these states into the Union of India and Pakistan.

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With impending freedom, communities of various kinds demanded recognition and representation. This was not only about fighting for loaves as often suggested. Many issues which were kept on the backburner—for instance, class—during the course of the freedom struggle now came to the fore with the end of colonialism. Hence, issues related to caste, labour, or agrarian relations acquired salience. This did not just involve positioning for better or more territory and resources. These issues had been there earlier too but were coming to the fore now, as was the question of zamindari. With British rule ending, the emergence of a new polity involved both fashioning of a new constitution and restructuring old institutions. This was part of the process of political churning which the old and new both had to go through.

The selection of documents in Part 3 also covers a range of issues related to the society and economy, ranging from division of assets and institutions to debates about the form and direction of society, politics, economy, the role of the state, governance, and so on.
The chapter on peasant movements\textsuperscript{124} mostly covers the struggles of peasants and workers which were not against the departing imperialist power, but against feudal landowners and princely despots.

Some of the main movements were the Tebhaga, Telengana, and Warli revolts. The demand of the Tebhaga movement was, quite literally, for two-thirds of the produce, plus storing paddy in the bargadar’s (sharecropper) storeroom. The Tebhaga struggle was special because of the participation of women and peasants from both Hindu and Muslim communities. Gandhiji lent support to the movement but warned against use of compulsion and violence. A massive struggle of the Warlis erupted in Western India under the banner of the Kisan Sabha and the Communist Party. Warli tribals were caught in the landlord–moneylender–official nexus and suffered forced debt, slavery, and sexual exploitation. In the course of the movement, the Congress ministry was charged by the Communists with being soft on the zamindars, jungle contractors, and other intermediary elements and repressive against the peasants. The repression against the Telengana movement was most severe in Nalagonda in the state of Hyderabad. Martial law lasted for two months and untold miseries were unleashed by police authorities. The Punjab Kisan Morchas were the result of years of work by the Kisan Sabhas among the peasants in resistance to zamindars and communalism in western Punjab. A Kisan Sabha movement was organized in Karnataka in which activists were targeted and extermed as ‘goondas’ by the reserve police and Section 144 was enforced across the state. This is also the period when the Hind Kisan Sabha was formed which aimed for an agrarian revolution.

This chapter carries a cache of documents highlighting a lesser-known agrarian conflict between Mirasdars and Adi-Dravidas in Tanjore and jagirdars’ onslaught on tenants in Patiala.

The chapter on working class movements\textsuperscript{125} focuses largely on wages, working conditions, taxes, and legislation. It carries accounts of workers’ strikes across the country as well as the different raids, arrests, and repressive measures against the Communist Party of India (CPI) and its allied organizations. The CPI presented the string of arrests of Communists as a sort of witch hunt against the party by the Congress. When the question was raised in the Constituent Assembly, Sardar Patel defended government action stating that the searches and arrests were in connection with a case of stolen defence documents and that appropriate procedure was being followed. In contrast to Communist–Congress clashes was a strike in Kanpur where Communists and Congressmen together led the agitation, which is covered by the documents in this selection.

Apart from this, the Communist Party published elaborate comments on other labour issues in the year such as the Industrial Disputes Bill. The All India Trade Union Congress celebrated the 25th year of its formation. In 1947, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel set up the Indian National Trade Union Congress.

The chapter includes documents which highlight trade union politics embedded in party rivalries. Further, it provides accounts of numerous workers’ agitations and formation of unions in various industrial units, including in distant areas.

\textsuperscript{124} Part 3, Chapter 47.  
\textsuperscript{125} Part 3, Chapter 48.
Nationalism, colonialism, and communalism continued to shape societal developments in the post-independence era. Documents in the category of society in transition have been clubbed under the sections of caste, language, and politics; education and politics; linguistic provinces; religious and social practices; position of women; and cultural expressions.

One of the major movements was against ordering of public spaces along caste lines. A number of temples were opened up to ‘Harijans’ in South India as well as across the country. Most of these temple-entry movements were led by progressive associations from within the Scheduled Caste community. Then, there were others where Congressmen led such movements. The reaction from the upper caste community was mixed. In UP, in some places resolutions were forwarded to the AICC against the temple entry of Harijans. On the other hand, a prominent figure in Maharashtra went on a fast unto death in support of temple entry.

Documents on this theme indicate that the Congress organization and particularly Gandhiji were in correspondence with many of these organizations and movements. Most petitions, letters, and resolutions were copied to the Congress President or the AICC. The Harijan Sevak Sangh had already been active in this area, initiating self-educating and self-supporting institutions, such as community weaving centres. This met with applause as well as criticism from the organizations of Scheduled Castes. Several caste organizations began to work for material improvement in coordination with the government for scholarships, jobs, housing, and so on. There was emphasis on education informed by the Gandhian perspective, which advocated education related to everyday life and to the local economy.

Further, this year saw a major controversy over the national language and the position of Hindi, Urdu, and Hindustani in the new post-independent state. The arena was public spaces such as AIR, public signboards, schools, and so on. While Hindi and Urdu were now seen as languages ‘belonging’ to Hindus and Muslims respectively, Hindustani was preferred as the national language, including by Gandhiji, given the secular character of India and its mixed population. Provincial Congress Committees even adopted Hindustani as their language for correspondence and started preparations for its promotion. However, the conflict between promoters of Hindi and Urdu gradually led to Hindustani taking a backseat. The documents map this crucial debate.

While the debate over the national language assumed some communal overtones, education programmes and establishments too were affected by communalism and partition. The reputed Punjab University, including its famed library, based at Lahore, was partitioned between East and West Punjab. Further, there were battles between colonial, nationalist, and communal positions on this terrain around issues like imparting religious education in schools, use of the Roman script, the position of English language in education, the setting up of a new education system, strikes of primary school teachers in UP and Bengal (specifically in Noakhali), exposure of corruption in education departments, bringing back materials from the India Office in London to India, and the politics of language in literary forms. The last was the predicament of the publishers and editors of *Roshni* magazine who increasingly received articles in Sanskritized Hindi or Persianized Urdu while their policy was promotion of Hindustani.

Other social issues included removal of illiteracy, eradication of untouchability, abolition of beggary, promotion of inter-caste and inter-community marriages, and promotion of *ayurvedic* and *unani* medicine. The battle was on two fronts—to shed colonial elements and promote

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126 Part 3, Chapter 49.
indigenous practices as well as adopt progressive measures to do away with social ills emanating from economic and social conditions. Hence, there were petitions from women’s organizations for prohibiting practices of bigamy, allowing divorce for Hindus, prohibiting the practice of *devadasi*, and enquiring into conditions of working women.

With the coming of freedom and the dissolution of the internal administrative boundaries of the colonial state, the demand for reorganization of states along linguistic lines came up. Linked to this was the demand from linguistic minorities for necessary safeguards.\(^{127}\)

Issues like cow slaughter and religious conversions were raised in the context of the safeguarding of religious and cultural practices. Some of these were consequences of the communalization of society at that time. Documents related to these issues are included.\(^{128}\)

This selection has a cache of advertisements for theatre and motion pictures and documents that highlight trends of artistic expression in those days, the role of progressive cultural organizations like Indian Peoples’ Theatre Association, debates on arts and politics, and the representation of communities in cinema.

The chapter ‘Economic Issues and Policies’\(^{129}\) centres around debates on economic policies and problems of the times. A few months before freedom, all eyes were set on the economic future of India and Pakistan. Like everyone else, industrialists had no choice but to opt for either India or Pakistan. The partition endangered economic assets in both countries and this bred anxieties for those industrialists who were unsettled by it. A number of petitions, resolutions, and letters by these industrialists form a section of this chapter.

Another section is based on the private papers of Indian industrialists which reflect their concerns about nation-building. While Indian business classes predicted a prosperous future for India, Pakistan was perceived with pessimism. A question widely debated was whether Pakistan would be a sustainable self-sufficient economy. Papers relating to this debate are a part of this chapter.

Unlike industrialists, zamindars did not look to the future; they were gripped by their privileged present and its protection. Congress had a firm policy of land reforms at hand. Threatened zamindars wrote a number of letters, passed resolutions, and organized protests against the Congress policy, which are carried in this selection.

On 28 February 1947, Liaquat Ali Khan, then the Finance Minister in the Interim Government, presented the budget statement for 1947–48. The budget speech had mixed reactions. It was believed to have targeted the capitalists, who were seen as supporters of the Congress. Liaquat’s speech alleviated the morale of the poor affected by the widespread black-marketing of necessities, inflation, and shortage of food supplies. The Congress criticized the budget, while the Muslim League welcomed it. The press congratulated Liaquat for a pro-poor budget while the business community condemned him for being anti-business. Some of the sharply divided discussion on the subject is carried in these documents.

During the War, the British had ushered in a period of ‘controls’ and food rationing. In 1947, the question was whether ‘controls’ would continue. The year 1947 also brought freedom for the Indian ‘rupee’ from the bondage of British ‘sterling’. A number of writings, mostly by economists, deal with the future of Indian currency. A few weeks before independence, Indian

\(^{127}\) Part 3, Chapter 49 (D).
\(^{128}\) Part 3, Chapter 49 (E).
\(^{129}\) Part 3, Chapter 50.
and British leadership were caught in difficult negotiations over settlement of the Sterling Balances due to India from Britain. A number of documents pertaining to these talks figure in this collection.

The documents selected in the chapter on Congress reorganization cover themes such as the future role of Congress; a new constitution for the Congress; factions and indiscipline; Socialists and Congress; and activities of the Congress, such as observance of Independence Day and membership drives.

The primary concern of the party was with its future role. Reorganization had taken a back seat given the involvement of the party in negotiations, in parliamentary work, in the Constituent Assembly and Interim Government, among other things. The Congress organization ended up playing second fiddle to the ‘government’ wing, to the distress of the Congress President. With independence, a change in the form of the party was on the cards to meet the new challenges. It was expected that the party, from being a platform for the anti-colonial movement, would come to represent a distinct ideology and interests. While some saw this as implying the winding up of the grand old party, others, like the General Secretary, Sadiq Ali, initiated a debate on the continued relevance of the organization.

The chapter on the provincial ministries highlights the complex position of the Congress as it held office while being a popular organization working for freedom. This dual role threw up a host of issues, ranging from cooperation and rivalry between different levels of the Congress organization to emerging corruption in administration. There are specific episodes which are covered in some detail.

The Congress Committee in Cochin raised the issue of the betterment of wages of workers with the Congress President, asking him to take it up with the Madras Congress ministry. Among the educated public, a lot of people began to approach the provincial ministries through the Congress President, making demands and highlighting areas of neglect, some with a tone of appeal and others with a note of criticism. The Congress Working Committee tried to address these complaints and memoranda received from various concerned members.

The case of the Madras Premier, T. Prakasam, against whom a no-confidence motion was moved is covered by the documents. So is the case from the Central Provinces and Berar where the Congress Premier publicly stated that given the creation of Pakistan, Muslims who remained behind in India would have no political rights or representation in services. His reference to Dr. Hasan, one of his Cabinet members, in this context, generated controversy, into which Gandhiji was also drawn.

Documents in the section titled Foreign Relations cover themes such as Asian Relations Conference, India's delegation to the United Nations, its position on the question of South Africa, Indonesia, Palestine, and Afghanistan, and independent diplomatic missions to the newly emerging countries. Despite its colonial past and the traumatic events in the domestic sphere, the debut of India in international politics began with the image of India as an independent nation with a promising future. This selection outlines the trajectory of India's foreign policy.
Editor’s Introduction

as Indian leaders tried to maintain a precarious balance between cooperation and critical ideological distance from the power politics of those times.

The Inter-Asian Relations Conference, which was the Congress’ way to declare India’s arrival as a new nation, was received both with criticism and applause. The Muslim League saw this conference as a ploy in what it perceived as a game by the Congress to wrest independence without addressing the Pakistan movement. Nehru, who was at the forefront of this event in Delhi, was seen to be using his best diplomatic abilities in order to demonstrate to the world that there was no fracture within India and that the idea of India was backed by reality. On the other hand, within Congress, this conference sought to widen the discourse of resistance to colonialism and imperialism to a pan-Asian platform. The pan-Asian platform did show some cracks, however, with India inviting Tibet separately, annoying China, which showed its displeasure.  

Interesting developments occurred in the French and Portuguese colonies in the subcontinent. The French government became very anxious about the future of its territories in India as 15th August was approaching. In turn the people of the territory of Chandernagore, organized by the Socialist Party, demanded that the fate of the territory be left to its people. This view received sympathy from M. Roux, the French Charge D’ Affaires, who was seen as a defeatist back home. Subbaiah, the leader of the Socialist Party, had distanced himself from the CPI and gone to Pondicherry to study the feasibility of a possible plebiscite. Subbaiah had ruled out the option of merging with the Indian Union because of repression of Communists by Congress governments. He was now in favour of having an independent state which would maintain its relations with France and Hindustan through treaties.

The chapter on foreign relations also carries documents related to the politics of the lesser-known episodes of decolonization such as in Goa—its Portuguese government, the Catholic Church and its influence on Goans, and their linguistic connections with neighbouring provinces—which were given due consideration by Nehru. The chapter carries his letters to the consul in Goa and his emphasis on Goans having the right to decide their future.

For the armed forces, civil services, and police officials, this year began with a lot of anxiety over the uncertainty and delay in getting a political settlement in place. European officials placed in India mostly wanted to return home but could not ascertain what shape their post-retirement careers would take. Officials voiced their difficulties about adapting to the working style of the provincial ministries.

Once the issue of partition and two-nation theory came up, the composition of the services began to be examined in terms of community. It was found that Muslims were heavily represented in the police services. Further, the Muslim League had already clarified that they did not want a unified army, which then set off processes within the military establishment for dealing with this situation. This turned out to be a complicated matter as division on communal lines would mean a very inferior share for the Muslims, a point made to Jinnah by Auchinleck, Ismay, and the Viceroy as well. This aspect also brought the issue of representation of Muslims in the Indian armed forces to the fore.

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136 Part 3, Chapter 51.
In the course of enquiring into the communal violence in the provinces, mainly Bengal and Punjab, communal tendencies within the police services also came under the spotlight. The documents in this chapter cover the deliberations on these issues.

The chapter on the future of the Indian National Army (INA) personnel focuses on the release of the INA detainees who had been put on trial at the end of the War. While there was some resistance from the Commander in Chief and the Viceroy, primarily on the grounds of their brutality towards fellow prisoners, there was a remarkable unanimity across the political spectrum in favour of their release, as evidenced in the resolution of the Constituent Assembly. In the course of this debate, the issue of the employment of INA men in responsible positions in administration such as Deputy Collectors came up. On the eve of independence, the government proposed to release INA men too as part of the general jail release programme to mark 15 August.

The impending birth of Pakistan on the basis of the League’s two-nation theory raised several questions about the nature of its polity. Was Pakistan to be a modern, secular, democratic state, or was it going to eschew the ‘western’ form of political organization in favour of a theocratic one, in which Sharia or Islamic laws would become the basis of governance, law, and politics? Similar questions were also raised about the nature of the Indian nation state. While Hindu communal organizations did step up their demand for a Hindu rashtra in the wake of partition, the Congress dismissed all such notions as antediluvian, communal, and against Indian civilizational ethos. Documents relating to these issues have been included in the chapter ‘Future Visions of the Two States’.

The chapter on the national flag comprises primarily the proposals sent to the AICC and carried in newspapers regarding the composition of the flag. These ranged from a collage of different religious and civilization symbols of the subcontinent to being markedly distinct from national flags of other countries. The focus was on a symbol that could stand for all the stories—the new nation, the uniqueness of India, freedom, sovereignty, and its civilizational legacy.

At the same time, there were proposals for the suitable remodification of the Congress flag and also the assertive demand of the Hindu Mahasabha that the only flag suitable for the country was the bhagwa (saffron) coloured flag bearing the lotus base and yellow swastika. There was a debate over the national flag when the symbol of charkha (spinning wheel) was replaced by chakra (wheel). Savarkar, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, explained that this chakra was the Dharma Chakra, and not Ashoka Chakra, reminiscent of the golden epoch of ‘Hindu’ history. The colour white was seen as the ultimate culmination of VIBGYOR and hence symbolic of purity and most suitable for the backdrop of the flag.

The chapter on the flag includes the documents about the National Flag Committees of India and Pakistan and debates in the Constituent Assembly regarding their composition.

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137 Part 3, Chapter 51.
138 Part 3, Chapter 54.
139 Part 3, Chapter 55.
142 29 July 1947, Part 3, Chapter 55, Document No. 15.
Jinnah, who had initially agreed to have the Union Jack on the Pakistan flag, later retracted, saying that it would not be accepted by the people of the country. There was an emphasis on the new flag of Pakistan being appealing to the minorities as well. Eventually, the national flag of Pakistan was inaugurated in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly wherein Liaquat Ali Khan, the future Prime Minister, claimed that the flag stood for liberty and equality of all citizens in Pakistan.

There was discussion on whether people and organizations that were on the ‘wrong side’ of the border could salute the flag of their choice or not. The Congress left it to the people to decide but warned that the hoisting of the Pakistan flag by private institutions would be tolerated only in the initial state of transition.

Eventually, the national flag was introduced in the Constituent Assembly of the Indian Union by Nehru and applauded on an unprecedented scale. The tricolour and the chakra on the white background found resonance with the secular imagination of a country embedded in civilizational values as well as modern attributes of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The Hindu Mahasabha resolved to respect all flags but recommended that ‘real’ Hindus salute only the bhagwa flag and take a pledge to fight for the reunification of India.

As with most events of the year 1947, celebrating 15 August was also very politicized. This volume devotes a chapter to documents wherein different groups and leaders took a stand on the matter, ranging from Congress, Gandhiji, AISPC to Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) in Punjab. The Hindu Mahasabha declared Independence Day as a day of mourning. Newspapers carried special numbers, with messages from leaders. The midnight session of the Constituent Assembly was held on the night between 14 and 15 August wherein Nehru made his famous ‘tryst with destiny’ speech. The session began with the singing of Vande Mataram and the President’s address. The session met again on the morning of 15 August and received messages of congratulations from countries across the globe. Gandhiji spent the day in Calcutta, fasting and spinning. Political prisoners were released and all major cities held their own public ceremonies to mark the day. Most celebrations on this day acknowledged the reality of partition and passed various resolutions to that effect.

Fifteenth August 1947, then, was an occasion for both mourning and celebration. It marked independence and partition, which in turn reflected the success and failure of the anti-colonial movement. Success in wresting independence, failure in not being able to bring the majority of Muslims into the national movement.

The documents indicate that there was much discussion on the programmes for celebrating independence on 15 August 1947. The President of the Congress was of the view that the people of areas affected by partition and the ensuing violence could not be expected to rejoice on the day when their homes and villages would fall away from them. There were, however, others like Lallan Prasad ‘Insaan’ from Gorakhpur in the UP, who believed that not celebrating the day of hard-earned freedom amounted to a sin. An advocate from NWFP derided the ongoing preparations for celebrating 15 August in the face of widespread devastation and massacres.

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various hues in which freedom was visualized become poignantly clear from the documents contained in this chapter. The coexisting experiences of triumph and anguish, the creation of new identities, and the questioning of old ties—the documents in this chapter evoke the multitude of reactions to the dawn of freedom.

A Note on the Organization of the Volume

The organization of the volume is somewhat unusual because the year that it deals with is unlike any other year of the freedom struggle. Nineteen forty-seven was the year of independence and partition. The conflict between communalism, nationalism, and imperialism, culminating in independence and partition, has been dealt with in Parts 1 and 2. In earlier volumes of *Towards Freedom*, the focus was on nationalist movements and communal politics and peasant and labour movements. Here, these issues pertaining to society, polity, economy, and culture at large, which would occur in any other routine year, have been dealt with in Part 3.

Part 1 is divided chronologically into two sections, with Section I ending on 22 March 1947, the date of arrival of the 'Last Viceroy'. Section II ends on 2 June 1947, after which the countdown to 15 August 1947 is announced by the Mountbatten Award of 3 June. Section I is organized thematically under the broad heads of political developments; communalism at the centre and in the provinces; and volunteer organizations, minorities, and refugees. This thematic pattern is repeated in Sections II and III. In Part 2, Section III covers significant political developments in the period from 3 June 1947 to 15 August 1947. Following that, Section IV is dedicated to princely states across the time period.

As regards the structure of the volume, themes, and not political parties, form the structural divisions. This allows one to demonstrate the diversity and complexity of perspectives on a particular issue. So the documents are organized under the head of labour, class, and movement, and within that the role and the position of the Congress, the Muslim League, and the Communists.

The documents selected present the diversity of political opinions on various issues—at the January 1947 session of the AICC, Jayaprakash Narayan and other socialists disagreed with the Congress decision to accept HMG's 6 December 1946 interpretation of the 16 May 1946 statement of the Cabinet Mission. These reflected the wider differences of political opinion about British policies, nature of British imperialism, and its future intentions.

Another reason for arranging documents theme-wise rather than according to parties is the existence of multiple political parties and formations among Muslims, which a party-wise classification with an attendant focus on the Muslim League would have obscured. Even the Muslim League was not a one-leader party as it is sometimes presented. For example, in Punjab, provincial leadership was a point of contest between Sir Firoz Khan Noon and the Nawab of Mamdot. A letter from Jinnah to Noon about how a certain section of Punjab leaders supported Noon as provincial leader over Mamdot reflects how the party leadership at the national level was aware of internal party differences. Further, at the Bengal end, the divergence between Suhrawardy and Maulana Akram Khan over the former's sovereign Bengal move also points to the fluidity within the Muslim League. In Punjab, the Ahrars, Khaksars, and Jamiat represented interesting strands in the politics of Punjab—the leader of the Jamiat even postulated a different political settlement for India. He advocated equal representation for Hindus and Muslims at the centre as a possible basis for all-India compromise. The Red Shirts
movement in NWFP was another political organization with a different ideology. When the
3 June statement announced that a referendum would be held in NWFP to decide its future,
the Red Shirts demanded Pathanistan as a third choice in the referendum. The turbulent
nature of the politics in that area points to the continued conflicts over questions related to
representation even today.

As far as the selection of documents goes, they emanate from both official and non-official
sources. Official attitudes are reflected by documents selected from sources like the Home
Department, its Political Department in particular, selections from Cabinet Papers and India
Office Records in National Archives of India, and Mountbatten Papers. Very often these official
documents, particularly the fortnightly reports from each province to the centre, are a valuable
source of information on the nationalist, communal, and popular movements. Further, selected
published official documents, such as from the Transfer of Power series, have been included
where they are integrally linked to the story.

A note of caution is in order about taking what Mountbatten said and wrote at face value,
without cross-checking with other sources. His megalomania is well known and informs much
of his claims to having single-handedly influenced key political decisions such as the fixing
of a time limit for British rule. His official correspondence is usually to be preferred over his
periodical ‘Personal Reports’ and interviews, the reports being overly subjective and rather
rambling and the records of interviews based on his memory (rather than kept by a secretary
present in the room as is official practice), and to top it, tempered with an overweening sense
of the self.

A wide variety of newspapers like The Hindustan Times, Dawn, People’s Age, Amrita Bazar
Patrika, among others, represent the non-official point of view. Private papers of institutions
and individuals like AICC, AISPC, All India Hindu Mahasabha, Jayaprakash Narayan,
S.P. Mookerjee, B.S. Moonje, and others, also evince the intricacy of political processes in this
period. Further, the numerous instances of individuals voicing their opinions about issues of
socio-political and economic importance in their letters and memoranda to various political
representatives, institutions, and bodies such as the AICC and the Constituent Assembly
illustrate the extent of popular involvement in such matters.

Documents from published collections of primary sources such as Selected Works of Jawaharlal
Nehru, Sardar Patel Correspondence, Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers, Constituent Assembly Debates,
and others, have also been selected to make the diversity of perspectives available in one place
to the reader. For instance, extracts from Wavell’s journal give a day-by-day account of the
political developments in early 1947 and also point out the Viceroy’s often incisive reactions
and opinions. Documents have been included relating to the extremely significant issues
discussed in the Constituent Assembly and its committees, for instance, fundamental rights
and constitutional safeguards, which provide insights into the nature of free India.

Some documents translated from a few issues of newspapers in Hindi and Assamese have
been included in a limited way as has some material from the state archives of Bengal, Madras,
Delhi, Rajasthan, and Punjab.

Wherever possible, conscious preference has been given to newspaper reports over official
ones to bring out diversity of opinion in the public domain. Newspapers often throw up delightful
letters to the editor, maps of proposed boundary lines, cartoons with acerbic wit, and quaint
advertisements, such as one for a balm, titled ‘freedom from pain’, evidently inspired by the
impending freedom of the country.
In some places only extracts have been taken from documents given the vast number of
documents that the year 1947 has thrown up. This would be especially true of the voluminous
series of documents like the papers of the major political parties and leaders, proceedings of the
 Constituent Assembly, and memoranda submitted to the Boundary Commission. Sometimes the
documents are damaged or incomplete and can only be carried as an extract. The justification
is that the principle behind this selection of documents has been not so much to provide the
definitive compendium as a comprehensive guide but to indicate to the discerning reader that
such a range of documents exists and point to where they may be accessed. Overall, the attempt
has been to balance readability with retaining the originality of the documents as found.151

Outline of Part 2

The outline of Part 2 is intended to guide the reader through the documents, unveiling the
pattern behind the classification of documents on the overarching themes of communalism,
partition, and independence into specific chapters on, for instance, the Constituent Assembly,
the Partition Award, Indian Independence Act, partition of Punjab and Bengal, volunteer
organizations, minorities and displaced populations, and princely states, their people and
their rulers.

Section III

Constituent Assembly

Debates in the Constituent Assembly during the period between 3 June to 15 August revolved
around a variety of issues, ranging from the importance of a strong federal centre, to governance
in the provinces, to provisions for electing provincial governors, the role of the President in
independent India, the rights of minorities, the abolition of untouchability, as well as the future
contours of a ruler’s authority in the princely states. With the acceptance of Partition, Jawaharlal
Nehru emphasized that a federation with a strong Centre was ‘the soundest framework for our
constitution’. He put forward the view that a weak centre at this point would be ‘injurious to
the interests of the country’.152

The state of flux in which the Constituent Assembly functioned is represented by the
interesting suggestions put forward for future organization of the Indian polity. Maulana Hasrat
Mohani of the United Provinces, who had Socialist leanings, proposed that every province
should be made a republic, with the head of each Province being called ‘President’ rather than
‘Governor’. He passionately posed the question to the Congress authorities: ‘What right have
you got to deprive the provinces of India from aspiring to become republics of the Union of

151 The text of all documents has been retained as in the original, warts and all, except in the case of obvious
typographical errors in original documents. To indicate other errors in the original documents, sic has been used. However,
in the case of documents from published collections, both original errors and errors noted by the present editor are
pointed out by using sic. Square brackets have also been used to add missing text.

Footnotes in original documents have been selectively included and marked with numerals. In these cases, notes/
remarks by the editor have been marked with symbols.

152 Part 2, Chapter 25, Document No. 8.
Federal Republics, and not only Federal Republics but Socialist Federal Republics at that?2153 Mohani was wary of the reduction in the autonomy of the provinces and wanted deliberations in the Constituent Assembly on the Constitution of the provinces to follow upon discussions on the Union Constitution, rather than precede them. Nehru dealt with this criticism, arguing that it did not matter which report was discussed first, the one on the Union or that on the provincial Constitutions, as long as both did not work against the spirit of the Objectives Resolution, which had clearly defined the principles on which both provincial and Union Constitutions were to be based.154

There was an interesting discussion, which continues to be of relevance today, on the office of the President in the new constitution being framed. Most members of the Assembly agreed that the President should be non-partisan, indeed, a non-party man, accept no emoluments, and hold himself at a distance from corporate bodies, not accepting directorships of companies, etc.155

A letter from Maulana Hifzur Rahman and Abdul Qaiyum Ansari to the Minorities Subcommittee made the plea that Muslim cultural rights be safeguarded through measures such as appointment of kazis to settle civil disputes amongst Muslims, the institution of a ‘permanent separate portfolio to administer the Muslim waqfs in each province, the appointment of a Muslim judge at the levels of the Provincial High Court and the Supreme Court in the Union, etc. Most significantly, they made the interesting proposition that minority educational institutions be given grants-in-aid and stipends not according to ‘the proportion of the population of any minority’, but rather, ‘in proportion to the backward conditions of the minority concerned’.156

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur held a radical view on the position of minorities in general and in particular that of the Scheduled Castes, one that went against the decision by the Sub-Committee on Minorities. She proposed that with the abolition of untouchability, the very legal existence of the Scheduled Castes was questioned. In her succinct words, ‘Once untouchability is abolished and its practice made a criminal offence, who are the Scheduled Castes?’ She further argued that reservation of seats for a handful of representatives of minorities in the legislatures or the services would ‘not only further weaken the community concerned but will also lower the standards of efficiency and good governance’.157

Another issue that preoccupied the Congress leaders was the visits of the Tribal Area Subcommittee to places like Chhotanagpur to ascertain the wishes of the tribal people. Rajendra Prasad, Jagjivan Ram, and Sachchidananda Sinha were opposed to the suggestion of Jaipal Singh, representative of the Adivasis, that Chhotanagpur be separated from Bihar.158

Partition Award and After

His Majesty’s Government’s statement of 3 June, also known as the Partition Award or Mountbatten Plan, declared that the only solution of India’s constitutional problem lay in

[154] Part 2, Chapter 25, Document No. 11.
[156] Part 2, Chapter 25, Document No. 18.
[158] Part 2, Chapter 25, Document No. 4. It is tempting to speculate that this demand for separation of Chhotanagpur was played out in the creation of Jharkand out of Bihar many seasons later.
dividing the country. However, the statement claimed that there is nothing ‘in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for an united India’.159

Calling the Mountbatten Plan a ‘watershed dividing the past from the future’ and accepting its proposals in the historic All India Radio broadcast of 3 June, Jawaharlal Nehru commended it to the people ‘with no joy’ in his heart.160 Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in his broadcast, emphasized the need for all communities and especially Muslims, to maintain peace and order. While he was critical of the Plan in some respects, he made public the acceptance of it by the Muslim League.161

In its meeting of 9 June held at Delhi, the Council of the All India Muslim League accepted the 3 June Plan, calling it an advance over the Cabinet Mission proposals of 16 May 1946. Through a resolution passed at the meeting, they also authorized Jinnah to ‘to take all steps and decisions which may be necessary in connection with and relating to the plan’.162

Raghib Ahsan of the Calcutta Muslim League bemoaned the loss of Calcutta and Assam while emphasizing to Jinnah the centrality of obtaining the Excluded Areas of Santhal Parganas, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Lushai Hills, and Naga Hills, as this would give the Muslim League ‘room for expansion’.163 Indian Muslims in Great Britain welcomed the proposal to partition the country, terming it a vindication of the long struggle of the Muslim League. Despite this, Mr. Saheb Dad Khan, President of the London Branch of the Muslim League, was ‘not quite happy over the details which seem to placate the Hindus’.164

Despite the jubilation witnessed amongst large sections of Indian Muslims, the reality was different at the local and provincial levels. F. Wylie, the UP Governor, in a letter to Mountbatten noted how in the face of impending migration, safeguarding local and personal interests acquired priority for UP Muslims. As a result, he noted how many local League leaders were ‘all smiles’ now and had begun to ‘coo like doves’, observing that ‘Pakistan is of little use to the U.P.’165

At the All India Congress Committee meeting of 14–15 June, the 3 June Plan was put to vote and passed by the majority and the proposals approved. However, this approval came with the hope that ‘when present passions have subsided, India’s problems will be viewed in their proper perspective and the false doctrine of two nations in India will be discredited and discarded by all’.166 Gandhi put forward a spirited defence of the decision of the Working Committee to accept the partition of the country. He pointed out that intense communal polarization of the country had compelled a change in the position of the Congress towards partition. He reminded Congressmen that this decision had been arrived at in circumstances to which everyone had contributed.

An AICC member, Sheelbhadra Yajee, in a resolution sent to Congress President J.B. Kripalani, emphatically rejected the Award, stating that ‘the freedom loving people of India ... cannot tolerate that their fate which affects their whole future should arbitrarily be

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159 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 1. See also Document No. 2.
160 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 3.
161 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 4.
162 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 30.
163 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 12.
164 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 22.
165 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 32.
166 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 50. See also Document Nos 51 and 52.
decided by the British Government as has been done in the latest British announcement. The Socialist leader Jaiprakash Narayan also rejected the Partition Award, proclaiming at a public meeting in Gorakhpur that ‘our future lies only in making the masses of Hindustan realize that the basic problems of food, clothing, wages, etc., are the same, be they in Hindustan or in Pakistan and ... their solution also is one and the same’.

A note to Congress President J.B. Kripalani from Jwala Prasad Singhal, Editor of the J.K. Review, Kanpur, justified the Congress’ acceptance of the 3 June Plan. The Partition Award, according to him, ‘saved non-Muslim populations in the Punjab and Bengal from Muslim tyranny’. He further commented that Muslims in India ‘must not be allowed to form any part of the army, the police, the executive and political services. They may hold property and do trade on terms similar to those permitted to Hindus in Pakistan and no others’.

Sir Tek Chand, a former Judge of the Lahore High Court and a member of the Constituent Assembly, denounced the 3 June Plan for it completed the ‘Balkanization’ of India. He lamented the fact that many who had struggled for independence would now ‘become aliens in their own homeland’, bemoaning the ‘strange irony’ that the sentence ‘Quit India’ ‘has been passed on the faithful children of the soil’ much before it applied to the British.

J.K. Dutt, Principal of S.D. College in Bannu, NWFP, wrote to Congress leader P.D. Tandon calling partition ‘the greatest blunder’ ever, expressing how he was ‘bitterly shocked to find that the Congress ... has at last become a party to the division of India’. Expressing admiration for Jinnah’s political resolve, he squarely placed the blame for partition on the shoulders of Mahatma Gandhi, holding him ‘responsible for the emasculation of Hindus’.

The General Secretary of the Communist Party, P.C. Joshi, criticized the Mountbatten Plan on the count that it was ‘not a real quit-India plan but one that seeks to keep as many economic and military controls in its own hands as possible’, adding prophetically that the ‘British planned partition will not mean peace, but more fratricide immediately’. The Political Resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, stated that the ‘Boundaries Commission and other Commissions dealing with financial and other aspects of division are only intended to worsen Hindu-Muslim-Sikh relations so that the British arbiters can give their awards intensifying the communal conflict still further’.

Despite the Congress’ and the Muslim League’s acceptance of the plan to partition India, there was still considerable opposition to the idea within the ranks of the two bodies. A ‘Delhi Newsletter’ written by A.S.R. Chari in the newspaper People’s Age noted that ‘[w]hile Mr. Jinnah choked all criticism and thus secured overwhelming majority support for the plan, inside the Congress with its strong democratic traditions the process was more difficult’. Chari further noted with prophetic insight how ‘while talking and being desirous of peace’ the leadership on both sides did ‘not really believe that peace is won by this partition’. In fact, he believed that the slogan really was ‘Build your State, rapidly strengthen it so that while you are engaged in the
arts of peace you are preparing for the aggression by the other side’. Indignant at Mountbatten’s manoeuvring as evident in the 3 June Plan, Chari made the comment that

[i]t is a shameful fact that everyone has showered compliments on Mountbatten though he has followed the traditional British game of promising every party that it will get final boundaries which are nearer to its heart’s desire. This is probably why everyone is lost in admiration of Mountbatten, for he smiles and talks nicely and is all these to all men. A very successful Viceroy indeed!174

The All-India Hindu Mahasabha condemned the Plan as well as the Congress for betraying the ‘Hindu electorates’ by agreeing to partition the country ‘without a referendum’.175 Third July was observed by the Hindu Mahasabha as a Black Day, a day of protest against the partition, with slogans such as ‘Pakistan means Death’ being raised. Hindu Mahasabha leaders exhorted their followers through pamphlets ‘to defend your mother, brothers & sisters. They are tortured, dishonoured and defiled’.176

On this day, the Mahasabha leader V.D. Savarkar presented a picture of Indian history in which the Muslims were presented as aggressors who defeated the Hindus, who then rose to the challenge. Asserting that the Mahasabha would force ‘the revolting Pakistani areas to get re-annexed to our Central and Sovereign Akhand Hindusthani State’, Savarkar ended with the resolve to ‘Hinduise all politics and militarise Hindudom’.177

Dr. Ambedkar pointed out that the 3 June Plan could make sense only ‘if it was accepted that Pakistan and Hindustan should be homogeneous states. This has, however, not been the basis of partition, as is clear from the fact that neither the Congress nor the Muslim League has stipulated for transfer of population’. He believed that the fixation of the frontiers should have been determined primarily by ‘considerations of facility of defence and administration’.178

The response of the ‘Mother’ of the Shri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, to the 3 June Plan was one of reflective, measured criticism. In her words, ‘this is not a solution, it is a test, an ordeal which if we live it out in all sincerity, will prove to us that it is not by cutting a country into small bits that we can bring about its unity and its greatness’. Ending her message, she averred that ‘in spite of all, India has a single soul and while we have to wait till we can speak of an India one and indivisible, our cry must be: “LET THE SOUL OF INDIA LIVE FOR EVER”’.179

Interim Government

The relations between Congress and Muslim League members in the Interim Government were strained due to the differences over the reconstitution of the Government, sharing of assets and liabilities, international status of the two countries, and the appointment of a common Governor-General for the two Dominions.

Nine Congress members of the Interim Government sent in their resignations to Mountbatten early in July.180 Congress leaders demanded that the Interim Government should be dissolved so that two governments for India and Pakistan could be established. However, the Muslim League did not accept this proposal and argued that it was a move to deprive them of their

174 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 65.
175 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 28.
176 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 75.
177 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 74.
178 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 83.
179 Part 2, Chapter 26, Document No. 89.
180 Part 2, Chapter 27, Document No. 3.
share of power in the last few weeks of colonial rule. Liaquat Ali Khan also suspected that this could be the Congress’ way of cornering a greater share of fixed assets for India.  

Mountbatten went to great lengths to quell Gandhiji’s fear that the partitioned armies could make war on each other with the departure of the British. He explained how the institution of a Joint Defence Council would ensure that the armies of India and Pakistan would not go to war. He added that, of course, the greatest guarantee for the future peace of the subcontinent lay in both remaining members of the British Commonwealth.

However, the Interim Government was reconstituted in the middle of July after the passage of the Indian Independence Act. A separate Government of India was set up. Nehru appointed his first Cabinet, remarkable for its representation of the diversity of political opinion amongst Indian leaders. In response to Jawaharlal Nehru’s formal invitation of 1 August to Sardar Patel to join the new Cabinet, the latter sent a warm response of affirmation with the telling words, ‘our combination is unbreakable and therein lies our strength’. The main portfolios were distributed among the five members of Liaquat Ali Khan’s first Cabinet for Pakistan, which included I.I. Chundrigar, Abdur Rab Nishtar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan, and Jogendra Nath Mandal apart from Liaquat himself.

Interestingly, Mountbatten’s suggestion that the Pakistan Dominion flag have ‘a Union Jack in the upper canton of the Muslim League flag’ cut no ice with the Muslim League. Jinnah told him that ‘it was his great personal regret that he had been unable to find one single supporter for the idea’ since ‘it would be repugnant to the religious feelings of the Muslims to have a flag with a Christian cross alongside the crescent’. Other similar issues relating to symbols such as the flags of the Pakistan Navy, the Governor-General, the King’s signature, etc., were also discussed at this meeting between the two on 12 July. Indeed, at a meeting on 15 July, Jinnah is said to have told Mountbatten in response to the latter’s entreaties that the Union Jack be hoisted on certain days in Pakistan, ‘Certainly, if you will give me a list of the days on which the Union Jack should be hoisted throughout Pakistan, I will see that it is done’.

At this crucial time of independence from British rule, an important group which also claimed independence from India or Pakistan, were the Nagas. A delegation of Naga leaders travelled to Delhi by air for the express purpose of discussing with leaders such as Gandhi and Jinnah, their right to autonomy.

**Indian Independence Bill**

The Indian Independence Bill sought to formalize the independence of India from Britain along with the partition of the country into India and Pakistan.
The Opposition in the British Parliament objected to the nomenclature of the Indian Independence Bill. They argued that since India and Pakistan were going to be Dominions, there was no need to use the term ‘independence’ in the Bill. Winston Churchill offered alternative titles for the Bill—‘The India Self-Government Bill’ or ‘Indian Dominions Bill’. Also, there was opposition to the term ‘Hindustan’ for India since it was felt that this would antagonize the Muslims. The term ‘Union of India’ was accepted as adequately denoting any political entity wider than the Dominion which might develop in the future.\(^\text{190}\)

The most remarkable point about the discussion and passage of this Bill was that the Congress and the League were shown the drafts and their comments were elicited. Each had their own experts look at it.\(^\text{191}\) Both parties raised their respective objections and submitted their amendments to the Bill to Mountbatten. Congress suggested that there be two separate Acts for India and Pakistan instead of a common legislation.\(^\text{192}\) In his communications with Mountbatten, Nehru went on to assert that ‘[e]ven if there were no two Bills, as suggested by us, it should have been made perfectly clear that the international personality of the existing India continues and that India continues to be the parent state exercising all its rights and performing all its obligations under international treaties, etc’.\(^\text{193}\) Jinnah raised the very pertinent issue of the ‘physical impossibility’ of ‘a complete division and transfer and delivery of property equitably between two Dominions by 15th August 1947’ since it would ‘take many months for Arbitration Tribunal to give its awards’.\(^\text{194}\)

Communist leader P.C. Joshi termed the Bill as being nothing more than giving ‘a legal and constitutional garb to the Mountbatten Plan’. At the end of a lengthy analysis of the Bill, Joshi proposed the institution of a ‘Joint Congress–League Commission’ to formulate common democratic rights for the minorities of the two States, retain economic cooperation in the transitional period, and negotiate a close military alliance between the two States to ‘jointly demand withdrawal of British troops and liquidation of all traces of British military control’.\(^\text{195}\)

On the issue of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the British decided to uphold India’s authority despite Jinnah’s claims to them. British military and strategic interests in the region also played a role in this decision. The Islands were crucial to Commonwealth defence and the sea and air facilities there were deemed very important for Britain. Mountbatten felt that rejection of Congress’ claims would harm the prospects of India joining the Commonwealth or allowing Britain any access to military facilities in the Islands.\(^\text{196}\)

On July 15, the Independence Bill was given its third reading without division and finally passed by the British House of Commons. Introducing it, Sir Stafford Cripps, the Labour leader, termed it ‘the last debate in this house on Indian affairs’, adding that by giving independence to India, Britain was establishing her ‘honesty of democratic purpose’.\(^\text{197}\)

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\(^{190}\) Part 2, Chapter 28, Document Nos 9 and 10.

\(^{191}\) Part 2, Chapter 28, Document Nos 6, 7, and 8.

\(^{192}\) Part 2, Chapter 28, Document No. 4

\(^{193}\) Part 2, Chapter 28, Document No. 17. See also Document No. 13.

\(^{194}\) Part 2, Chapter 28, Document No. 19.

\(^{195}\) Part 2, Chapter 28, Document No. 21.

\(^{196}\) Part 2, Chapter 28, Document Nos 1, 2, 3, 14, and 15.

\(^{197}\) Part 2, Chapter 28, Document No. 22.
Boundary Commissions

The Boundary Commissions for Punjab and Bengal were set up to demarcate the line along which the two provinces would be divided. Sir Cyril Radcliffe was appointed as the chairperson of the two Commissions. Each Commission consisted of two members each nominated by the Congress and the League. Both parties prepared their memoranda to be submitted and discussed in the Commissions. Needless to say, there were many claims and counterclaims to the same territories.

Population was the primary criterion for determining the boundaries: the Muslim majority areas were to be included in Pakistan and the non-Muslim majority areas in India. However, this was easier said than done. The Census records of 1941 on which the analysis was based were pointed out as flawed and outdated in their calculations of the populations of Hindus and Muslims. However, there was no time to order a new census. The Commissions debated the unit of territory which should be taken as the basic unit for the demarcation—there were arguments on either side for and against the inclusion of a district or a village or a thana. The smaller the unit, the greater the amount of territory which could be claimed.

Other concerns which permeated the arguments made were the defensible nature of the boundary which would not be just a line between two provinces but an international boundary. Further, it was to be of a nature which satisfied both parties so as to avoid conflict in the future. For Punjab, the Sikhs sought that religious shrines and property interests be taken into account but the League was unwilling to relent. The Congress suggested that the Chenab should be the dividing line but the League was dissatisfied with that. The Depressed Classes of Punjab also pushed for the Chenab as the dividing line; this would not only place '97% of the Scheduled Castes in the south-east zone of the Punjab but ... also include the districts of Montgomery, Sheikhpura and Lyallpur in which they own landed property in the Eastern Punjab'. A logically argued memorandum by members of the Ahmadiyya sect of Islam, proposed that Qadian, the headquarters of their community, part of Batala district in East Punjab, be included in West Punjab on the grounds that ‘the factor of population is the major factor in view’, as opposed to natural boundaries, economic or political divisions. The Sikhs pointed to the historical conflict between them and Muslims in order to emphasize why they must have their shrines in India. It was feared that the Sikhs would resist the Boundary Award with violence if it did not satisfy them.

Similar arguments prevailed for Bengal too where the same areas were claimed by both the parties and various factors—religion, history, cultural links, linguistic roots—were invoked to lend strength to one’s argument. There was a flood of letters to the editor of newspapers like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. Some readers were disturbed at the prospect of the inclusion of regions like Khulna in East Bengal and the connection of the Hooghly with the districts of Murshidabad and Nadia. Similarly, a deputation of the Chittagong Hill Tribes met Patel, voicing their apprehensions about being included in East Bengal. Patel raised this with Mountbatten, claiming that it was inconceivable to him that a 97 per cent non-Muslim area could...

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198 Part 2, Chapter 29 (A), Document Nos 6 and 8.
199 Part 2, Chapter 29 (A), Document No. 2.
200 Part 2, Chapter 29 (A), Document No. 9.
201 Part 2, Chapter 29 (A), Document Nos 1, 7, and 10.
202 Part 2, Chapter 29 (B), Document Nos 1, 2, 3, and 4.
be awarded to East Bengal. He felt that ‘such a decision would also jeopardize the position of the adjoining Tripura state which is a Hindu State with predominantly Hindu population, and which has acceded to the Indian Dominion and has joined the Union Constituent Assembly’. Patel reiterated that an award made ‘without any referendum to ascertain the will of the people’ would be dubbed a partisan one by the Congress.

The demarcation of the boundary proved to be a trickier affair than anticipated. A special boundary force was constituted to ensure that the award was implemented and that people could move across the borders without harassment or violence. However, the force was rather ineffective. Punjab witnessed migration on a massive scale; in Bengal, the migration continued in a trickle right through the 1950s.

Governor-General(s) for the Dominions

Till the end of June, it was assumed that India and Pakistan would have a common Governor-General, at least for the initial period, in order to facilitate the arrangements related to transfer of power. However, at the beginning of July, Jinnah declared his intention of becoming the Governor-General of Pakistan. This placed Mountbatten in a dilemma about whether to accept the position of Governor of India alone. He tried to convince Jinnah to change his stance and have a common Governor-General with India, which would have ensured a fairer division of assets. But Jinnah did not relent.

With Mountbatten no longer continuing as Governor-General of Pakistan, India’s decision to stick to him made Congress seem uncharacteristically appeasing towards Britain. Mountbatten was aware of all these underlying implications of Jinnah’s sudden decision. He appealed to England for help and the question was discussed in the Cabinet. Eventually, the Prime Minister advised Mountbatten to accept the Governor-Generalship of India alone. This would allow for a positive future relationship between India and England as well as aid India’s entry into the Commonwealth of Nations.

Partition of Punjab

Under the Partition Award, Punjab was to be divided with Muslim areas going to Pakistan and non-Muslim areas to India. Commenting on the 3 June statement, The Tribune suggested that the division should occur along the river Chenab since that would leave a majority of the Sikhs in East Punjab. Even earlier than this, pamphlets advocating a division of the province had been circulated. One such undated pamphlet, voicing the anxieties of Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs, proposed the partition of the Punjab ‘as it is far too big for democratic rule by the people for the people’. The Shiromani Akali Dal opposed the scheme and threatened to resist it with force. It also made a demand for a separate Punjabi speaking state in India. Master Tara Singh believed that a division of Punjab would spell doom for the community and declared that Sikhs would resist any partition scheme even if it led to bloodshed. He categorically stated on June 4 that ‘it is not a matter of mere political power for us: our very existence is at stake’. 

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203 Part 2, Chapter 29 (B), Document No. 14.
204 Part 2, Chapter 30, Document Nos 1, 3, and 4.
205 Part 2, Chapter 30, Document Nos 7 and 10.
206 Part 2, Chapter 30, Document Nos 5 and 6.
207 Part 2, Chapter 31, Document No. 1.
He condemned the 3 June statement for breaking up the heritage, population, and hence ‘solidarity’ of the Punjab.  

Penderel Moon, formally of the ICS, suggested that Pakistan may be a better bet for Sikhs since they could constitute an influential minority and use this to their advantage. A section of the Muslim League leadership shared this view, as the _Dawn_ editorial of 7 June indicates. Interestingly, some members of the Sikh community too were drawn to this option. In a letter to the editor of _Dawn_, S. Trilok Singh of Simla wrote that ‘it will be in the fitness of things if we could arrive at an honourable settlement with the great Muslim nation who are so friendly to us...’ Some Sikhs were formulating, ‘informally and entirely privily, the Sikh conditions for joining Pakistan’ and suggesting these to their leaders. While Moon was aware of this, the Sikhs were anxious ‘it should not leak out that any such negotiations are afoot or contemplated’. Given the appalling situation of widespread riots in the province by June, it was no longer clear who had started the violence or who was ‘merely’ reacting to the instigation.

Once the decision to divide was final and the Boundary Commissions were set up, all communities put forward their arguments. All were aware that their future depended on how well they could argue their case. Sikhs, Scheduled Castes, and Indian Christians sent their memoranda to the Boundary Commissions, expressing their anxieties and wishes. Punjabi Muslims, as evident in a letter from Nawab of Mamdot to Jinnah, wished to retain Amritsar, Ludhiana, and Hissar, given the substantial Islamic heritage of these cities. On the other hand, the Hindus wanted to retain Lahore.

The spade-work related to division was carried out in the Partition Councils. Administrative assets, educational institutions, and civil servants were sought to be fairly distributed between the two halves of the province.

On 23 June, the Legislative Assembly of Punjab met in two separate meetings and voted in favour of division. Again, none of the leaders seemed happy about the event, but all seemed to accept it as a necessary evil. The extent to which the impending reality of partition was gauged by the lay public is perhaps most poignantly captured by the fact of the inmates of the Lahore Mental Hospital, too, demanding partition.

**Partition of Bengal**

Once again, political speculation was rife till the announcement regarding partition was made on 3 June. The pro-partition movement in Bengal had been led by S.P. Mookerjee while the move for a united Bengal was initiated by the Bengal premier, H.S. Suhrawardy. Muslim League wished that Bengal be included in Pakistan in its entirety. There were some allegations that the Muslim National Guards were intimidating Congress leaders to vote against partition.
Congress leaders were anxious that Bengal must not be included in Pakistan in its entirety. Patel was warned that some Hindu MLAs could be influenced to vote against the division of the province. Further, suggestions were made to him to ensure that public enthusiasm for partition did not decline. Bimal Chandra Sinha, a member of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, urged Patel to see to it that the Congress must have 'a strong organisation of one mind and one urge' to prevent the inclusion of Bengal in East Pakistan.

On the side of the Muslim League, there were some who saw partition as a potentially positive development for East Pakistan. Hamidul Haq Choudhary, an MLC from Calcutta, wrote to Jinnah arguing that separation from West Bengal would give the eastern area an opportunity to develop an economy of its own, without being bound to the economy of Calcutta.

The partition proposal was distasteful to Gandhi. However, he accepted his helplessness before the public, who he said were in favour of division. In a letter to Sarat Bose, he condemned the corrupt practices being used to lure votes of Scheduled Castes against partition and for United Bengal. This, he feared, would help the Muslim League realize its plan to have the entire Bengal as part of Pakistan. He wrote to Suhrawardy asking him to convince the Hindus as well as try to garner Muslim support for his scheme of United Bengal if he wanted to prevent the division of the province.

The majority of Hindus in Bengal were for the division of the province. The Bengali Hindus in the U.K. also supported the demand for partition. Hindu Mahasabha called for a hartal in protest against the division of the country. The Muslims were happy about the establishment of Pakistan but disappointed that the whole province was not a part of it. The loss of Calcutta was seen as a major blow to the economic standing of future East Pakistan. Demands about the apportionment of territory were made by political groups. Claims about one area were followed by counter-claims on the same area by the opposing group. Different districts like Khulna, Chittagong, Jessore, and Faridpur emerged as contested areas to which both groups laid equally vehement claims.

Simultaneously, attempts were made to install a coalition ministry in Bengal for the interim period till partition. However, Jinnah firmly turned down any such proposal. Eventually, after the Legislative Assembly voted for division, two separate ministries were set up for East and West Bengal. The Hindu Mahasabha put forward a demand for the dissolution of the Muslim League ministry arguing that since partition had been finalized, it was unacceptable for Hindus to live under the prejudicial rule of the League. A shadow cabinet for West Bengal was demanded.
The Communist Party of India expressed its dissatisfaction with the division of Bengal and argued that it would create an artificial division in Bengali culture. Further, it suggested alternative political methods like a plebiscite to arrive at a political settlement. Doubts were also expressed about the future of the Bengal Congress—whether it should split into two, one each for West and East Bengal. This was reflective of the larger dilemma which all organizations faced. The Muslim League in the Muslim minority provinces was also forced to think about the relevance of its continued existence in free India, after Pakistan had been established. Gandhi expressed his opposition to the proposed splitting of the Bengal Congress. He argued that the Congress belonged to people of every faith and hence, there was no need to question its continued existence in post-partition Bengal. The territorial status of the Chittagong Hill Tracts led to considerable discussion amongst Mountbatten, the Muslim League and the Congress leaders. The leaders of the tribes of these Tracts demanded exclusion from Pakistan.

When Rajaji’s name was proposed as the governor of Bengal in free India, Sarat Chandra Bose expressed his displeasure at this appointment. Patel advised him not to make such differences of opinion public and to support party colleagues.

Referendum in NWFP and Sylhet

The 3 June statement had declared that NWFP and the Sylhet district in Assam would choose between the two Dominions through a referendum. However, the question of choice was interrelated with other issues as well.

Congress leaders believed that the Governor of NWFP was partial towards the League and unhappy with the Congress ministry led by Dr. Khan Sahib. They also believed that the referendum could not be fair under his supervision. Mountbatten accepted Congress demands about this and asked Caroe to resign. Liaquat Ali Khan expressed his disapproval at this and said that it would not prevent corruption during the polling. The League had been demanding the removal of the NWFP ministry since February and now, with the removal of the Governor in accordance with the wishes of the Congress, they declared that it was a partisan ministry which abused its power.

At the same time, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his supporters declared that NWFP would not join Pakistan. They also tried to start a movement in support of a separate Pathan state called Pathanistan in order to counter the League propaganda in favour of Pakistan. They argued that Pathans would be dominated in a free Pakistan and their traditional independence undermined. They also made their participation in the referendum contingent on the inclusion of Pathanistan as the third choice for the voters. The Governor wrote to the Viceroy that if Pathanistan was not included as an option in the referendum, it could lead to disturbances.

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231 Part 2, Chapter 32, Document No. 21.
234 Part 2, Chapter 32, Document No. 30.
235 Part 2, Chapter 32, Document Nos 26, 27, 32, 34, 36, 41, and 43.
236 Part 2, Chapter 32, Document Nos 39 and 42.
237 Part 2, Chapter 33 (A), Document Nos 1, 2, and 3.
238 Part 2, Chapter 33 (A), Document No. 6.
239 Part 2, Chapter 33 (A), Document No. 15. See also Document No. 14.
240 Part 2, Chapter 33 (A), Document No. 8.
during the polling and public resentment. Also, inclusion of this option would split the vote for the other two options.\textsuperscript{241} Being a Muslim majority province, NWFP was seen by the League as an inevitable part of Pakistan. Indeed, the potential Pathanistan was seen as a ‘vassal state’ by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, who said that it ‘would act as fifth column of Hindu Imperialism’. Mr. Qaiyum further claimed that the ‘Zalme Pakhtoon’ organization was merely an instrument of the Congress in an Islamic garb.\textsuperscript{242}

The strong presence of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his steady loyalty to united India and the Congress complicated the situation. He argued that Pakistan would mean domination of NWFP by Punjab and therefore, the province must fight for Pakhtoon independence.\textsuperscript{243} Towards the end of June, the Frontier PCC, the Congress Parliamentary Party, Khudai Khidmatgars, and Zalme Pakhtoon declared that ‘a free state of all Pakhtoons be established with a constitution based on Islamic conception of democracy, equality and social justice’.\textsuperscript{244}

The League, on the other hand, was making preparations for its campaign for ensuring that NWFP be in Pakistan. It adopted the method of attacking Congress leaders; it argued that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was motivated by nothing but his desire for power and his wish to rule over the Pathans. They saw the NWFP Congress leader’s demand as a move to sabotage the rightful inclusion of NWFP in Pakistan.

While Nehru was in favour of a referendum, Gandhi was against it, being of the opinion ‘that a referendum at this moment must lead to bloodshed and probably, if not certainly, to a lasting blood-feud,’ which he felt, should be avoided as far as ‘humanly possible’.\textsuperscript{245} However this was a position he changed later on, in his letter to Mountbatten of 5 July 1947, whereby he appealed for a withdrawal of the agitation against voting by Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his supporters. He advised Jinnah to convince the Pathans to enter Pakistan willingly.\textsuperscript{246} Abdul Ghaffar Khan then asked his supporters to peacefully abstain from participating in this referendum since it would undermine the liberty of the Pathans. A movement was launched, meetings and demonstrations were held to express opposition to the inclusion of the province in Pakistan. The establishment of a free Pathan state was the primary goal. A spokesperson of the Afridi Jirga expressed this demand and the opposition to inclusion in Pakistan most succinctly: ‘This is a land of the Pakhtoons and we will never let Punjabis or anyone else dominate over us.... Here we have ... Afiridis, Mahmands and ... who unequivocally demand that they should be consulted as to the political future because we also made ... sacrifices for the freedom of our country along with Khudai Khidmatgars in 1930 and after ... Pakistan as at present envisaged contains seeds of destruction of all Muslims economically, politically, culturally and nationally.\textsuperscript{247} The Frontier ministry also put forward a demand for a free Pathan state which would join neither Pakistan nor India.\textsuperscript{248} Jinnah responded to this by saying that this was a direct breach of the Congress acceptance of the 3 June statement and therefore untenable.\textsuperscript{249}

\textsuperscript{241} Part 2, Chapter 33 (A), Document No. 5.
\textsuperscript{242} Part 2, Chapter 33 (A), Document No. 16.
\textsuperscript{243} Part 2, Chapter 33 (A), Document No. 8.
\textsuperscript{244} Part 2, Chapter 33 (A), Document No. 28.
\textsuperscript{245} Part 2, Chapter 33 (A), Document No. 9. See also Document No. 7.
\textsuperscript{246} Part 2, Chapter 33 (A), Document No. 13.
\textsuperscript{247} Part 2, Chapter 33 (A), Document No. 24.
\textsuperscript{248} Part 2, Chapter 33 (A), Document Nos 16, 19, 20, 21, 28, and 30.
\textsuperscript{249} Part 2, Chapter 33 (A), Document No. 25.
Kripalani wrote to Mountbatten asking him to allow NWFP to vote for independence but Mountbatten argued that the same option had been outvoted in case of Bengal when Jinnah had been in its favour. Giving the same option now to NWFP, when the League was not willing and the Congress was, would complicate the matter further and contribute to a political impasse at the Centre. Gandhi supported the demand for Pathanistan. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his supporters felt betrayed by the Congress—its acceptance of the 3 June statement had more or less pushed the NWFP into Pakistan regardless of the political inclinations of Congress supporters.

These were also the months when the League was continuing its anti-ministry agitation in NWFP. But Dr. Khan Sahib had refused to resign. The League was trying to use this mobilization for securing NWFP for Pakistan. There were also reports that the League was trying to intimidate the voters into voting for Pakistan. Efforts at a rapprochement between the League and the Red Shirts were made by the Principal of Islamia College, Peshawar, who was eager to arrange a meeting between Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Jinnah.

Congress leaders in the province refused to participate in the referendum since there was no option of independence. The referendum was nonetheless held and the results favoured the inclusion of the province in Pakistan. Congress leaders alleged that the League had adopted illegal methods like bogus voting to garner votes for Pakistan.

The referendum could not resolve all the problems of the province. The Congress ministry was still very much in office with Khan Sahib refusing to resign until general elections were held. League leaders feared that Congress would start a civil disobedience movement against the referendum decision. There was much tension between the Red Shirts and the Muslim League National Guards. The League was invited to form the new ministry early in August and Khan Sahib’s ministry had to eventually be dismissed after independence. The reason for the delayed dismissal was that the new governor, Cunningham, thought that if Khan Sahib was forced out, there would be widespread disturbances in the province which could complicate the situation just before the grant of independence.

The fate of Sylhet was also to be decided by a referendum. Different groups desired union with India and others were in favour of union with East Pakistan. Staying with Assam would imply staying in India whereas joining East Bengal would take the area into Pakistan.

Newspapers argued from both sides—an editorial in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* opposed the inclusion of Sylhet in East Bengal and stated that communalism was the primary problem for India and territorial claims could be settled once this basic issue was resolved. It argued that the forcible inclusion of Sylhet in East Bengal would smother the Hindu minority and the economic problems of the state of Pakistan would become its lot too. A certain R.N. Choudhury alleged in a letter to Patel that the League was trying to excite the ‘white heat’ of communal frenzy in Sylhet ahead of the referendum making it an ‘ill-timed’ exercise. Arguments were forwarded for including at least some areas of Sylhet in Assam, even if the rest of the district
was lost to Pakistan.\textsuperscript{257} Apprehensions were expressed about the attempts by League volunteers to prevent the Hindus from voting. The voting strength of the tea garden labour population was also thought to be a potential disadvantage for the Hindu minority in Sylhet. The Muslim League, for its part, protested that the referendum could never be conducted fairly under the Congress ministry in Assam.\textsuperscript{258}

Purnendu Kishore Sen Gupta, a Congressman from East Bengal, wrote to Patel to push for a revision of the electoral rolls so as to include the labourers who, he argued, should ‘be given full facilities for expressing their opinion on the question under referendum’. However, this demand was deemed as impossible to meet by Patel, who advised Sen Gupta to organize local opinion in a manner that the verdict would be ‘on the right lines’.\textsuperscript{259} On the other hand, Akbar Hydari demanded of Mountbatten a separate Boundary Commission for Assam.\textsuperscript{260}

The majority native population of Cachar in Sylhet were against joining Pakistan, on the grounds that their laws and regulations were the same as in Assam Valley, and further that the percentage of Muslims was only 32.6. These and several other grounds for the inclusion of Cachar in India were detailed in a pamphlet submitted to the Sylhet Boundary Commission by the President of the Nikhil Cachar Haidimba Barman Samiti.\textsuperscript{261}

After the polling was completed, both sides alleged the usage of unfair and corrupt means by the opposing side.\textsuperscript{262} Nehru wrote to Mountbatten about the lawless nature of the proceedings and the League alleged that ballot boxes had been tampered with. However, though the result was in favour of Pakistan, some areas remained with Assam. But even after the referendum, communal discord did not die down or lessen. In his speech at a prayer meeting in Delhi, Gandhi asked why the nationalist Muslims in Sylhet were being killed or harassed.\textsuperscript{263}

\textbf{Contending with Communalism}

It was more or less clear that even though a political settlement had been arrived at, howsoever painful or disagreeable, the communal problem was far from being contained. There had been rioting before and it still continued sporadically. In a letter dated 5 June 1947, to Patel, B.M. Birla asked whether India should not be declared a Hindu state just as Pakistan would be a Muslim state. Patel wrote back reiterating the secular foundations of future India and the need to protect the various minorities in India.\textsuperscript{264}

Gandhi’s methods of dealing with communally tense areas drew a lot of criticism from some quarters. His ideas of atonement and reassuring the Muslim minority in Bihar were seen as appeasement of Muslims in total disregard of the condition of Hindu minorities in Punjab and other areas. Taking up cudgels on behalf of the Hindus, one S.D. Sharma wrote to Gandhi about ‘inconsistencies found in your day to day bearing’, which had ‘neither logic nor diplomacy’.\textsuperscript{265} Kripalani, addressing the Congress session held in mid-June, commented on how the Gandhian

\textsuperscript{257} Part 2, Chapter 33 (B), Document No. 9.
\textsuperscript{258} Part 2, Chapter 33 (B), Document No. 12.
\textsuperscript{259} Part 2, Chapter 33 (B), Document Nos 10 and 14.
\textsuperscript{260} Part 2, Chapter 33 (B), Document No. 15.
\textsuperscript{261} Part 2, Chapter 33 (B), Document Nos 19 and 37.
\textsuperscript{262} Part 2, Chapter 33 (B), Document Nos 27 and 29.
\textsuperscript{263} Part 2, Chapter 33 (B), Document No. 38.
\textsuperscript{264} Part 2, Chapter 34, Document Nos 1 and 3.
\textsuperscript{265} Part 2, Chapter 34, Document No. 5.
concept of ahimsa had not worked in resolving the communal situation in the country. This elicited a reaction from within the Congress and he was asked to clarify his comments by the Congressman Sadiq Ali. He clarified that he was a believer in non-violence but he did not agree with Gandhi that a non-violent solution of the communal problem was possible. The method Gandhi had adopted in Bihar and Noakhali was experimental and only applicable to individuals—it was not a mass programme. Also, the sporadic nature of communal riots was an obstacle for governments which were required to function from day to day. There was no sure way a government could effectively fight communal frenzy. Illustrating his point, Kripalani said that when he had visited Noakhali after the riots, he had not been harmed but had he been a resident of the place during the riots, there was a strong chance that he would also have been massacred along with the rest of the Hindu victims of Noakhali. Though prominent leaders were unharmed after the riots, he felt that ‘this is no guarantee for the members of the minority community at the time of the frenzy’.

Nonetheless, Gandhi maintained his faith in non-violent methods to combat communal frenzy. In an interview to Arthur Moore, former Editor of The Statesman, he reiterated his belief that the current bellicose mood of the Hindus would not stay.

The divergent opinions in the Congress about dealing with the communal issue were a far cry from the manner in which the Hindu Mahasabha sought to deal with it. They believed that continuous and organized rioting must and should encourage the Hindus to take to arms themselves and prepare for combat. They criticized the Congress policy as being ‘Anti-Hindu’ and in turn concentrated on reorganizing the Mahasabha as the largest Hindu body in free India.

The prevailing atmosphere of ill-will amongst the Hindus and Muslims was evident in the way government officials were also distrusted on account of their religion. Frederick Bourne, reporting from the Central Provinces and Berar to Mountbatten, noted how the most offensive speeches (were) made by Hindu Socialist and Mahasabha speakers. The Ministry, however, are perfectly confident of their power to restrain Hindu violence but regard every Muslim as a Pakistani. This has led them to transfer all senior Muslim officers in the Civil Service and Police from Berar... This manifestation of their distrust of Muslim officers is, I think, most unfortunate and, actually, entirely unjustified by past history... the Police force as a whole has worked with the greatest loyalty to the present Government and I do not remember to have heard of a single case where a Police officer can be shown to have been diverted from his duty by communal considerations. There is, however, a lot of talk particularly in Mahasabha circles of the need for reduction in the Muslim element of all Services.

A call was made by Dr. Gopichand Bhargava and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel for the Punjab, wherein they urged Mountbatten to replace ‘Muslim staff in the telephone and telegraph exchanges in the East Punjab’ with non-Muslim staff.
Communalism: Provinces

This chapter is divided into smaller sections, each containing documents relating to communal sentiments in different provinces.

The rioting in Bengal and Punjab remained a constant concern. Hindus and Muslims were both victims in different areas and retaliation for attacks in other provinces was common. In Bengal, Calcutta was particularly tense with stabbings and arson being the order of the day. There was much resentment against its ‘wrongful’ alienation from East Pakistan. At the same time, in an effort to counter the growing communalization of society, minorities were asked not to emigrate from their homes. It was argued that the establishment of Pakistan would calm the Muslims down as their main demand had been met. However, nothing seemed to stem the chaotic nature of the situation.\(^{274}\)

Gandhi toured the riot-hit areas in Calcutta but also declared that he would return soon to Noakhali.\(^{275}\) Suhrawardy asked him to prolong his stay in Calcutta and also agreed to live with him in a riot-affected area in order to encourage peace. They felt that this symbolic act would inspire peace not just in Calcutta but in the rest of the country too.\(^{276}\)

In Bihar, the appointment of a commission of enquiry into the riots of 1946 was a contentious issue.\(^{277}\) Gandhi was pressing for it but Patel felt that the timing was not right. Gandhi’s continued stay in Bihar and his attempts to forge peaceful relations between Hindus and Muslims there did yield some positive results when some sections of the Muslim refugees came back and resettled in their homes. Further, Gandhi was opposed to communally based settlement as a way of preventing riots in the future. He argued that it would just end up dividing the people even more. Initially, Gandhi was shocked at the extent of rioting in Bihar and the ghastly atrocities committed and was critical of the Ministry. He felt that the Hindu population needed to recognize that they had sinned and needed to feel true repentance for their actions. For this, he encouraged them to bring their Muslim neighbours back and engender enough confidence in them to make them stay in their homes again. He argued that if Hindus atoned truly for their actions, then peace could return to Bihar. Nonetheless, it was clear that his method of dealing with communal violence was not a formula yet—he was experimenting at an individual level.\(^{278}\) Meanwhile, the Muslim Ministers of the Bihar Congress Cabinet, Abdul Qaiyum Ansari and Dr. Syed Mahmud, both urged the Momins of the state to join the Congress ‘unconditionally’ and to enlist their loyalty and support to India.\(^{279}\)

In most other areas, the despondence and anxiety of the victims was reflected in their demands for compensation and their appeals for help in rehabilitation.\(^{280}\) There was also considerable confusion about whether to migrate or not. Some organizations like the Frontier Hindu Defence Committee appealed to the minorities in NWFP to stay in their homes\(^{281}\) but there were others, such as a certain Bhaskaranand of the Ramakrishna Mission, who believed
that moving out as soon as possible was the best survival strategy. In this context too, Gandhi was criticized, especially by the Hindu Mahasabha, for his attempts to bring the displaced populations back to their homes.

The situation in Punjab continued to be depressing. The riots had spread to rural areas, making it hard for the administration to exert control. The leaders in Punjab issued a joint appeal to the people to stop the communal warfare, which had some temporary effect. The decision regarding the division of the province did not seem to stem the tide of rioting—communal tensions persisted. Even at the end of June, the Punjab Governor wrote to Mountbatten saying that the communal situation was getting harder to control. The Congress and the League traded allegations about the role played by Hindus and Muslims in the rioting and the aggressive stance adopted by the League National Guards. However, the anxiety of the people about their future was apparent in the transfer of assets from banks, migration towards East Punjab, and appeals for advice from leaders. Lahore was a major troublespot, requiring troops to keep things in control.

The Sikhs were resentful about the partition, leaving their community in a minority on both sides of the border. Even though they had been at the forefront of the partition demand and the Congress had supported them in this, once the declaration was made, they were unhappy with what it would mean for them. Mobilization among Sikhs increased and there were attempts to increase the membership of the Akal Fauj, all with the aim of resisting partition by force. The government was also apprehensive about the activities of the Sikh leaders and many strategies were discussed to keep them in check till the formalities of Partition were completed.

Sind Assembly Congress leader Parsram V. Tahirramani issued a circular letter in late June which spoke of the abuse and harassment of Hindus in Sind, who experienced ‘progressively increasing uneasiness and perturbation’ despite the assurances and professions of the Muslim League representatives. One Tarachand Gajra wrote to P.D. Tandon with an exhortation for UP Hindus to migrate to Sind to swell Hindu numbers: ‘If about a crore of good Hindus had pushed forward towards the western frontier of India we would have successfully defeated Mr. Jinnah and his nefarious designs.

In the United Provinces, the Congress was criticized by a section of Hindus as appeasing Muslims. A letter to G.B. Pant condoned the fact that Muslims constituted as much as 75 per cent of the UP Police, stressing that there was no need ‘of staffing the police, the defence, the transport, and other key departments with Muslims’ since there were other ‘unharmful ways of placating’ them.

The Bundelkhand Jamait-ul-Ulema Conference held an open session on June 21 and 22 under the Presidency of Maulana Hifzur Rahman where it criticized the June 3 plan,
asserting that it destroyed the ‘political unity’ of the Muslims of India by dividing them into three different areas.292

An outbreak of communal violence in Aligarh on 16 July 1947 was squarely blamed by the President of the City Congress Committee on the policy of British government of appeasing Muslim League.293

In response to the call by Hindu communalists in UP to ban cow slaughter, Congress President Kripalani advised the Hindu community to first stop profiting from sale of slaughtered cows, before seeking legislative redressal.294 Prominent Hindu intellectuals and leaders like Hanuman Prasad Poddar continued writing to Kripalani with the request for a legal ban on cow slaughter.295 The UP Premier, G.B. Pant, criticized the Hindu Mahasabha ideologues for not having raised any voice ‘against the Britishers who caused cow-slaughter to feed the British army in India’, putting into perspective all the hue and cry around cow slaughter being raised by them during the crucial period of transition towards independence.296

L.B. Bhopatkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, urged Hindus and Sikhs

to boycott all the celebrations whether public or private, in protest against this humbug, host the Bhagwa, their national flag, over their houses, and holding public meetings, solemnly declare their firm determination to unify the motherland and to make her one, undivided whole as of old and to continue their struggle for independence and for full and complete independence and for all that it signifies and implies.297

Minority Groups, Displaced Populations, and Volunteer Organizations

At the centre of the trouble with communalism was the issue of the state of the minorities. However, this term was relative in nature—Hindus could form a majority in one area and a minority in another. The concept applied similarly to Muslims and every other religious community. Apart from the religious definition, the Depressed Classes also thought of themselves as minorities and sought representation on various bodies as such.

Many documents detail the kind of attacks and arson that this period witnessed as also the extent of devastation that the communal riots inflicted. Financial losses were expectedly huge—many documents contain the appeals made for financial help by minorities and refugees.298

Many relief camps came up which provided temporary shelter to victims of communal violence. Various organizations were engaged in providing basic necessities to the refugees in relief camps. Arrangements were also made to escort groups of people to safer locations and evacuate people from riot-hit areas. Panic and fear about the future were endemic among the minorities in almost every province.

Mountbatten accepted that the 3 June statement envisaged no legal measures for protection of minorities which could be enjoined upon the two independent Dominions. He believed that the protection of minorities would be a matter in which they would have to depend on each other’s good faith. The two governments did issue declarations about their

292 Part 2, Chapter 35 (G), Document No. 4.
293 Part 2, Chapter 35 (G), Document No. 3.
294 Part 2, Chapter 35 (G), Document No. 5.
295 Part 2, Chapter 35 (G), Document No. 9.
296 Part 2, Chapter 35 (G), Document No. 8.
297 Part 2, Chapter 35 (G), Document No. 7.
298 Part 2, Chapter 36, Document Nos 21, 23, 24, and 29.
intentions to do everything in order to make the minorities safe in their areas. Further, many assurances were given about a free and secure existence for people belonging to different religions by leaders of both states. Jinnah declared that the minorities in each dominion must be loyal to their states—a curious thing to say in July 1947 when the state of Pakistan had been established as the political realization of all ‘Muslims’ regardless of any other loyalties they may have held. For instance, Anglo-Indian representatives wrote to Jinnah asking for representation in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan arguing that Pakistan would be the last to deny any minority the same rights which it had demanded for Muslims. However, many leaders were apprehensive about Hindus in Pakistan being subjected to communal rule and repressive conditions of living. Many felt betrayed by the Congress leadership, feeling that they had been made scapegoats for gaining political power. There were sincere doubts about the citizenship rights of minorities in each dominion.

The Secretary of the Jain Shiromani Committee of the Jain Biradari of Punjab wrote a letter to Patel enquiring about the future course of action for those residing in Pakistan dominion. To this, Patel responded with reasoned counsel: ‘Those who have got a stake in Pakistan of the future cannot leave their places unless they are prepared to face the misery and sufferings of refugees.’ This advice was given in the hope that the Pakistan government would proactively offer protection to the minorities.

Another facet of this development was the attempt made by various groups to get ‘minority’ status, like Catholics, Adivasis, and Gurkhas. It was believed that being a minority would entitle them to a certain kind of treatment from the independent state of India. This led to many groups sending in representations to the Constituent Assembly and to the Congress about the need to accord them the status of ‘minorities’.

The Hindu and Sikh minorities in western Punjab expressed apprehensions about their future to Congress leaders like Patel and Hindu Mahasabha leaders such as S.P. Mookerjee. On the other hand, dissensions within the Sikh community led Sardar Hari Singh Narbeh, leader of the Mazhabi or lower caste Sikhs, to cast in their lot with Pakistan.

In certain states, like Sindh, the minority populations attempted to create their own political organizations in order to present a united front in the future. Contrary to this, the minorities in Indian states felt abandoned since their fate was linked to the political settlements which would be arrived at with each individual state. The pervasiveness of anxiety and uncertainty was remarkable, as evinced in the following statement of 10 August by the President of the Rajputana States Muslim League, Allama Mohammad Abdul Hai Faiz: ‘The minority community in Indian States is in a state of utter helplessness. Atrocities of a very grave nature have been committed, but the Authorities do not pay any heed to the clamourings of the sufferers.’

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209 Part 2, Chapter 36, Document Nos 7 and 20.
300 Part 2, Chapter 36, Document Nos 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, and 12.
301 Part 2, Chapter 36, Document Nos 9 and 17.
303 Part 2, Chapter 36, Document No. 30.
304 Part 2, Chapter 36, Document Nos 25, 32, and 40.
305 Part 2, Chapter 36, Document No. 45.
Attempts to assure minorities of both dominions were also made aplenty. The Education Minister of the Government of the Dominion of India, Maulana Azad, suggested a joint meeting of leaders of both dominions in the hope that they would ‘approach their problems in a spirit of realism, wisdom and statesmanship’, for this was the only way to ‘leave communal wrangles and bitterness behind and march forward to freedom, peace and democracy’. Jinnah in particular went to great lengths to re-assure minorities in the dominion of Pakistan that they would have protection with regard to their ‘religion, faith, life, property and culture’. These statements allayed fears of a handful of minorities, and Bhimsen Sachar and Tilak Raj Bhasin, through the Western Punjab Minorities Convention, urged minorities especially in the towns and bigger villages to remain and not ‘turn their backs on their hearths and homes’. However, most minority groups of the areas that would fall within the boundaries of a future Pakistan viewed such promises as being largely superficial. An Editorial in the Aaj newspaper instead advocated a unique survival strategy for the minorities in West Punjab and Sind, that they ‘form an alliance with the leadership of the movement for independent Pathanistan given that both are faced with the same enemy’.

One of the most remarkable features of the pervasive communal violence and the subsequent relief organization was the proliferation of volunteer organizations affiliated to various political parties. Organizations like RSS and Muslim League National Guards increased their membership exponentially in this period. They were involved in relief work for refugees as well. The Khaksars, Hindu Rashtra Dal, Hindustan National Guards, and Congress Seva Dal also appear to have been engaged in similar activities. The language and means used by these organizations to enroll volunteers is vividly showcased through a pledge-pamphlet signed by a volunteer of the Hindusthan National Guards in late June. In Punjab, most of the volunteer organizations increased in their numerical strength.

In Sind, the volunteers appear to have lent their own interpretation to Muslim ‘Raj’. According to the Fortnightly Report for the first half of June 1947, some League National Guards wanted to board a lorry which was occupied by Hindu boys. They ordered them to alight to make way for them, saying that Pakistan had come and there was Muslim ‘Raj’ now.

The Khaksars, a volunteer organization under the leadership of Allama Mashriqui, were primarily active in Delhi and Bihar, though their presence was felt as far as Sind and other areas of the subcontinent as well. In Poona, the Khaksars rejected the Plan of Partition and instead commemorated the Mutiny of 1857 each month, upholding Hindu-Muslim unity.

As is evident from secret internal correspondence of the Home Department in July, the Khaksars had by this time begun making fiery speeches claiming a readiness to shed blood to prevent Delhi, Ajmer, and Agra being wrenched away from Pakistan. They further declared

\[\text{References:}\]

\[\text{Part 2, Chapter 36, Document No. 36.}\]
\[\text{Part 2, Chapter 36, Document No. 27.}\]
\[\text{Part 2, Chapter 36, Document No. 32. See also Document Nos 36, 48, and 50.}\]
\[\text{Part 2, Chapter 36, Document No. 38. See also Document No. 24.}\]
\[\text{Part 2, Chapter 36, Document No. 33.}\]
\[\text{Part 2, Chapter 37, Document Nos 1, 2, 4, 5, and 10.}\]
\[\text{Part 2, Chapter 37, Document No. 7.}\]
\[\text{Part 2, Chapter 37, Document No. 2.}\]
\[\text{Part 2, Chapter 37, Document No. 5.}\]
\[\text{Part 2, Chapter 37, Document Nos 3, 8, 9, 11, and 12.}\]
\[\text{Part 2, Chapter 37, Document No. 4.}\]
an intention to violently resist any attempt to hoist the Congress flag on the Red Fort on 15 August, and threatened a general violent assault against the authorities on 15 August. They appealed to the Muslims to join the Khaksars or the Muslim National Guards to fight for a full-fledged Pakistan.\textsuperscript{318}

**SECTION IV**

**Princely States, Constituent Assembly, and Accession**

Section IV of Part 2 of the *Towards Freedom* volume on the year 1947 covers the story of the princely states, their people and rulers. The main themes are the accession of 584 princely states to the new and emergent nation-states of India and Pakistan and more importantly the struggles of the people within these princely states against the autocratic rule of their respective monarchs.

The resolution passed by the General Conference of the Princely Rulers of India declared that ‘Paramountcy will terminate at the close of the interim period and will not be transferred to or inherited by the new Government of India. All the rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power will return to the States’. Further, it also asserted that ‘every State shall continue to retain its sovereignty and all rights and powers except to the extent that these rights and powers have been expressly delegated by it’.\textsuperscript{319} In short, a substantial number of the Indian princely states (around 224) clearly reaffirmed their intention to retain their powers on the end of paramountcy.

As opposed to this, the States Peoples’ Negotiating Committee,\textsuperscript{320} representing the people of the princely states, soon after came up with their rejoinder to the absolutist strain of the January 1947 Resolution passed by the ‘General Conference of the Princely Rulers of India’. Here, they firstly questioned the claim of the Conference to represent all princes as also its very functioning. The States Peoples’ Negotiating Committee clearly pointed out that the Negotiating Committee appointed by the Chamber of the Princes\textsuperscript{321} was not representative of the states’ peoples since it ‘was formed by the Viceroy with the consultation of the Princes only’. The Committee further delineated the problems with the Resolution of the Princes Negotiating Committee, the most fundamental one being that it ‘it does not represent the States or the States’ people’.\textsuperscript{322}

Some of the princely states exhibited their authoritarian tendencies through a turn to communal tactics as well, whether as a bid to thwart the growing people’s democratic struggle within their states\textsuperscript{323} or as a measure to set up a united front of princes belonging to a majority community, as for example the stillborn Hindu National Front which was proposed in early

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\textsuperscript{318} Part 2, Chapter 37, Document No. 12. See also Document No. 14 on the Delhi Khaksars.

\textsuperscript{319} Part 2, Chapter 38, Document No. 1.

\textsuperscript{320} The States Peoples’ Negotiating Committee was set up in February 1947 with Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya as President with the purpose of voicing the grievances of the people of the princely states against their rulers.

\textsuperscript{321} The Chamber of Princes was established in 1920, through a proclamation of King George V, as a forum for the princely rulers of India to present their concerns to the British Indian government. Initially consisting of 120 member states, in 1947 it had representatives from some 109 princely states directly and 125 indirectly. Part 2, Chapter 38, Document No. 2.

\textsuperscript{322} Part 2, Chapter 38, Document No. 2.

\textsuperscript{323} Part 2, Chapter 38, Document No. 41.
August by the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, Raja of Faridkot, Maharaja of Bharatpur, Maharaja of Panna, Raja of Bhaghat, and Maharaja of Alwar.\textsuperscript{324}

The nationalist leaders stressed the importance of the princes’ joining the Constituent Assembly and thereby declaring a willingness to function within the sovereignty of the future nation-state of India. Jawaharlal Nehru’s speeches to the States’ People’s Conference called upon the States to join the Constituent Assembly.\textsuperscript{325} A similar call was made by V.T. Krishnamachari, Prime Minister of Jaipur, and Sardar K.M. Panikkar, Prime Minister of Bikaner.\textsuperscript{326} Many princes intended to declare independence on the cessation of British paramountcy. To this stance, Nehru asserted in an unmistakably stern tone around two months before Independence that ‘we will not recognise any independence for any state’.\textsuperscript{327} Similarly, C. Rajagopalachari also stated that the doctrine that paramountcy would end with the withdrawal of British sovereignty resulting in ‘a chaotic independence’ for 565 states was ‘indefensible’, apart from being ‘legally, historically, politically and morally’ wrong.\textsuperscript{328}

Gandhiji also held that the princes should join the Constituent Assembly—of either India or Pakistan. He was in particular disappointed with the stance of Travancore and Hyderabad states. Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer of Travancore state wanted to prevent it from joining the future Indian Union. Gandhiji felt such a stance was ‘amazing and wholly unworthy’ since Sir C.P. was quite content for the state to remain in India so long as the British King was Emperor.\textsuperscript{329}

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha also passed a resolution which appealed to the Indian princes to join the Constituent Assembly, ‘both in their own interests and in those of their subjects’. This was, of course linked to their proposal for an Akhand Hindustan.\textsuperscript{330}

The most unequivocally anti-princes stand was taken predictably by those to the left, especially the socialists and communists, who envisaged a free and sovereign India where all forms of autocratic rule would end.\textsuperscript{331} In the resolution at a conference held in Kanpur in early March, the Socialists clearly stated that ‘any attempt to whittle down the sovereignty of the States’ people is calculated to endanger the freedom and unity of the Indian people as a whole’. Achhut Patwardhan, General Secretary of the Party, asserted ‘that the decision of the British Government to quit India by June 1948 should not lead them to think that they had become free and independent’.\textsuperscript{332}

The Socialist leader, Jaiprakash Narain criticized the stance adopted by the Congress wherein the party agreed to allow the princes to send their ‘hand-picked nominees’ to the Constituent Assembly. This was against the declared policy of the Congress that they would have only elected representatives of the people of the states in the Constituent Assembly.\textsuperscript{333}

In the midst of all these negotiations between the princes, the representatives of the people of the princely states, the Congress, the Muslim League, and the British, some rulers continued

\textsuperscript{324} Part 2, Chapter 38, Document No. 55.  
\textsuperscript{325} Part 2, Chapter 38, Document No. 22. See also Document Nos 34 and 37.  
\textsuperscript{326} Part 2, Chapter 38, Document No. 38.  
\textsuperscript{327} Part 2, Chapter 38, Document No. 43.  
\textsuperscript{328} Part 2, Chapter 38, Document No. 35.  
\textsuperscript{329} Part 2, Chapter 38, Document No. 39. See also Document Nos 45 and 51. See also the section later on South Indian princely states for more details on Travancore rulers’ bid for independence.  
\textsuperscript{330} Part 2, Chapter 38, Document No. 5.  
\textsuperscript{331} Part 2, Chapter 38, Document No. 29.  
\textsuperscript{332} Part 2, Chapter 38, Document No. 10.  
\textsuperscript{333} Part 2, Chapter 38, Document No. 4.
to dream of a future marked by British paramountcy, free from the threat of democracy. For example, in March 1947, the Nawab of Bhopal communicated to Lord Wavell his vision of ‘a British Dominion consisting of the north-western part of India including Kashmir, Bahawalpur, the Western States of Kathiawar, and some states of Central India’. Ramesh Chandra, in an April 1947 pamphlet provocatively titled ‘Princestan—Imperialism’s Nest for Tomorrow’, sourced from the JNU Archives on Contemporary History, starkly drew out how the different princely states, scattered across India, functioned as ‘a network of royal fortresses’ and an ‘enclave’ for ‘foreign authority’ and ‘foreign troops’. Chandra’s resounding conclusion: ‘From Princestan, Britain will continue to rule India militarily and economically.’

Many anti-people princes worked to build the Muslim League as an effective counterpoint to the staunchly anti-autocratic stance of the Congress, as is evident in the letter from the Nawab of Bhopal to Muhammad Ali Jinnah. This position did receive some tacit support from the Muslim League. Muhammad Ali Jinnah categorically asserted in mid-June that ‘paramountcy cannot be transferred. On its termination the full sovereign status of the Indian State emerges’.

As opposed to this, other rulers like the Maharaja of Bikaner appealed to fellow princes to join the Constituent Assembly, warning that ‘by declining to participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly the States may not succeed in securing their essential safeguards, but that, if anything, they may find that in their absence, as has happened, various decisions have already been reached which it will be difficult to get altered later on’. Similarly, in contrast to several princely rulers’ distrust of and distance from the Constituent Assembly, the ruler of Baroda as also its Praja Mandal were ‘anxious to give the fullest cooperation to the Constituent Assembly irrespective of what the state negotiating committee did or did not do’. Needless to say, Baroda’s stance was held up as worthy of emulation by leaders like Sardar Patel.

The British were wary of the grant of Dominion Status to the princely states, as is evident in communications from Pethick-Lawrence to Mountbatten. During this crucial period of handing over the reins of governance to India and Pakistan, the British were extremely cautious that their records pertaining to the Princely States were not transferred to the new nation-states. The Secretary to the Crown Representative, C.L. Griffin, in a letter to the newly appointed British High Commissioner to India, T.A. Shone, categorically argued that it would be ‘a grave breach of confidence’ to transfer to ‘a Successor Government records containing information regarding the private lives of Rulers and the internal affairs of States’. Ironically, such information on ‘the private lives of Rulers’ had hitherto been used as an instrument to control these very rulers and align them to imperial interests.

All India States People’s Conference—All India States Muslim League

The relationship between the All India States People’s Conference (AISPC), Praja Mandals, and the All India Congress Committee also underwent shifts during this important period. The
official policy of the AICC, established through the Haripura Resolution of 1937, to let the Praja Mandal take the political lead in the princely states was challenged in some places like Rewa State and Bagelkhand.\(^\text{342}\) This period also saw the AICC asserting a greater role over the functioning of the Praja Mandal in all the states, asking them to ‘function as organs’ of the All India States People’s Conference. Further, in an important circular issued from AICC, they were asked to report on their activities. Sadiq Ali, Permanent Secretary of the AICC, in this circular issued to the Praja Mandal, emphasized how the destinies of princely states and the rest of India were inextricably linked, with ‘the indivisible unity of our Common Country ... becoming more and more manifest’.\(^\text{343}\) The diverse sources (for example, princes, industrialists, etc.) for the funding of the activities of the AISPC, like the funding of other nationalist organizations, was viewed with consternation in some quarters. Fears about undue influence of donors, were voiced in the Bombay-based newspaper *The Forum*, edited by Joachim Alva. Balvant Rai Mehta, who was the General Secretary of the AISPC in 1947, allayed such doubts asserting that donations by princes, jagirdars, captains of industry, and commercial magnates’ would not affect the programme and plans of the AISPC because ‘just as we do not cease to advocate nationalisation of Industries or abolition of Landlordism, merely because some of this class contribute to our funds, we don’t cease to advocate the abolition of autocracy merely because some of the Princes give some donations’\(^\text{344}\).

The All India Students Congress (AISC) also supported the struggles of the Praja Mandal of the various states against autocratic monarchic rule. This is evident in the letter by the Secretary of the AISC, S.M. Jaffar, to the Secretaries of the Praja Mandal in which he asserts, ‘that the students of states must unite and prepare a common platform with the students of India against medieval aristocracy and white imperialism’\(^\text{345}\).

The States’ League Committees demanded that they be consulted as a separate entity, distinct from the All-India States’ People Congress, on the issue of joining the Constituent Assembly.\(^\text{346}\) Mahmoodul Hasan Siddiqui, the Secretary of the All-India States Muslim League, stated in an interview in April 1947 that the Muslims in princely states had decided not to join the Constituent Assembly until there was complete agreement between the two major political parties and the Muslim League decided to join the Assembly first.\(^\text{347}\) A similar stance was adopted by the Muslim Majlis of the small princely state of Janjira in Murud (present-day Maharashtra), as is evident in the letter of its Secretary, H.M. Vangare, to Jinnah.\(^\text{348}\) In the light of communal atrocities perpetrated against Muslims in the states of Bharatpur, Jaipur, and Alwar, the Working Committee of the All India States Muslim League deplored what it termed the ‘stand-alone’ policy of His Majesty’s Government with regard to the Indian princes.\(^\text{349}\)

When it was time to elect a new President for the AISPC in March 1947, Nehru proposed the name of Sheikh Abdullah, the popular leader from Kashmir who was at that time in prison.

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\(^\text{342}\) Part 2, Chapter 39, Document No. 2.
\(^\text{343}\) Part 2, Chapter 39, Document Nos 2 and 3.
\(^\text{344}\) Part 2, Chapter 39, Document No. 4.
\(^\text{345}\) Part 2, Chapter 39, Document No. 1.
\(^\text{346}\) Part 2, Chapter 39, Document No. 5.
\(^\text{347}\) Part 2, Chapter 39, Document No. 9.
\(^\text{348}\) Part 2, Chapter 39, Document No. 11.
\(^\text{349}\) Part 2, Chapter 39, Document No. 12.
Nehru was of the opinion that he would be an apt choice given ‘the movement in Kashmir and the fierce repression which it has encountered from the state authorities’. As a result, he argued, Sheikh Abdullah had emerged as a symbol of the peoples’ struggle against princely repression not just for Kashmiris, but for States’ Peoples across India, and hence it was fitting that ‘this honour and responsibility should be cast upon him’. In view of the fast-approaching date for Independence, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the Acting President of the AISPC, at its Annual Session in Gwalior in April, urged the princes to ‘elevate themselves to the position of constitutional monarchs such as the King of England. They would have limited powers and prerogatives but they would have unlimited influence as social heads’. At this session, the AISPC reiterated its demand for Responsible Government in the states and ‘further concretised (it) in the form of a fighting slogan to immediately establish a Constituent Assembly for setting up a Responsible Government in each State’. Further, the resolutions passed at this session ‘defended the people’s movement as a whole and gave a lie to the propaganda of the state authorities and other disruptive elements that the repression in the states was due to the “tactics” of the Communists who fomented unnecessary disturbances’. Despite the congruence in the aims of the All India Congress Committee and the AISPC, Jawaharlal Nehru did not see eye to eye on many crucial issues with AISPC Acting President Pattabhi Sitaramayya and hence decided to resign from its Standing Committee. Nonetheless, the AISPC formally decided to celebrate August 15 as Independence Day, regardless of the fact that, in the words of the General Secretary, Hiralal Shastri, ‘the problem of swaraj in the Indian States has not yet been solved and that the people have still to struggle for their rights’.

Jammu and Kashmir

The year 1947 was a turbulent one for the people of the princely states as much as for those residing in the remainder of British India. In the north, the situation was perhaps most acute in the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir with a majority Muslim populace ruled by the Hindu Dogra kings, installed there by the British after they annexed it from its erstwhile Sikh rulers in 1849. At the start of 1947, the condition in Kashmir was particularly volatile, given the authoritarian ways of its rulers whose notably corrupt and largely incompetent government failed to effectively distribute basic necessities like food and fuel to the people in the midst of a harsh winter. The difficult climatic conditions were worsened due to an eight-month crisis in the state, which emerged from the suppression of the people’s movement led by Sheikh Abdullah by Maharaja Hari Singh’s government. The support an imprisoned Abdullah enjoyed from nationalist leaders in British India was significant, visible in the already mentioned fact that he was chosen as the President of the AISPC in March 1947 in absentia. While the Congress wholeheartedly supported the peoples’ struggle in Kashmir, the Muslim League did...
not actively encourage the movement. As M. Shaukat Ali of the National Conference wrote to K.H. Khurshid of the Muslim League:

What does not stand in the way of the Hindu Congress cannot prevent the League interfering, if only to a similar extent in Kashmir politics to the advantage of our organisation. On the contrary, you have been overcautious not to offend the Princely order, so that they may support you, and not the Congress, in the future Indian Constitution-making—which too they have not done.\(^{357}\)

At the same time, given the steadily increasing anti-minority violence ensuing upon the decision to partition the country, a certain Jalali in an April 1947 letter to the Congress President, Acharya Kripalani, representing the perspective of Kashmiri Pandits, expressed his apprehension about Sheikh Abdullah saying that ‘the leader of the Movement aims at establishing Muslim Raj in Kashmir by means which are not above-board’.\(^{358}\) The steadily increasing communal violence engulfing neighbouring Punjab and other swathes of north India began to leave its impress on Kashmir as well, with the British Resident in Kashmir, W.F. Webb, noting the presence and activities of both the Muslim National Guards and the RSS in Kashmir at the beginning of May.\(^{359}\) The Congress, while stressing the installation of responsible government in the States and speaking out against the autocratic structure of governance represented by princely rule, attempted to strike a balance between the ruler of Kashmir and its people. This was evident when Kripalani hastened to oppose the National Conference cry, directed to the Maharaja, of ‘Quit Kashmir!’ by arguing that it was legitimate to ask for the British to ‘quit India’ on the grounds of nationality, which did not apply to the Maharaja and his people, both of whom were Indian.\(^{360}\)

As the transfer of power in August loomed closer with the announcement of the 3 June Plan for the Partition of India, the Muslim League began to work to get Kashmir to join the Union of Pakistan in future.\(^{361}\) July 1947 was a month of many an exchange of letters between the Congress High Command represented by Patel and Nehru and the princes, with the former assuring the latter of their intentions for friendly relations and of non-interference in the internal matters of the state,\(^{362}\) a slight change in tenor from the earlier stance which was openly in favour of the people. July, and then August, saw parleys between the Congress and the Muslim League in an intense bid to ensure that Kashmir join the Unions of India and Pakistan which they were respectively heading. Gandhi’s visit in early August 1947 acted as an opportunity for Kashmiris of all hues and backgrounds to discuss the possible future of their state, with the National Conference insisting on a referendum and the Maharaja being paralysed in a state of indecision which was to prove historically tragic.\(^{363}\)

**Kalat and Other North Indian States**

The Khanate of Kalat, located in the Baluchistan region, came under the purview of the clause of the lapse of British paramountcy in the Indian Independence Act, whereby all treaties between princely states and Great Britain would be null and void. Moreover, the territories ceded by

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\(^{357}\) Part 2, Chapter 40 (A), Document No. 8.

\(^{358}\) Part 2, Chapter 40 (A), Document No. 9. See also Document No. 22.

\(^{359}\) Part 2, Chapter 40 (A), Document No. 10.

\(^{360}\) Part 2, Chapter 40 (A), Document Nos 14, 15, and 16.

\(^{361}\) Part 2, Chapter 40 (A), Document Nos 18 and 19.


\(^{363}\) Part 2, Chapter 40 (A), Document Nos 35, 37, 38, and 39.
the princely states to the British—Quetta, Bolan, and Nasirabad—would return to the ruler of Kalat. Kalat was predominantly Muslim, and its rulers in favour of a modern, democratic representative government organized on Islamic lines. It was one of the few states which supported Jinnah and the Muslim League. There was a contradiction in its desire, articulated as early as 11 April 1947 by Ahmed Yar Khan, the Khan of Kalat, to set up a Government of Kalat in the future with ‘friendly relations with neighbouring Muslim countries, such as Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia and especially Pakistan’ and yet declare allegiance to the League and be ‘ready to render any sacrifice for establishing Pakistan’.\(^\text{364}\) This stemmed in part from the ambiguous position the princely states found themselves in, given the impending transfer of power. Interestingly, the Khan of Kalat published a Manifesto, announcing his plans for a future independent Government of Kalat, which he claimed was supported by Jinnah. The restoration and assimilation with Kalat of the ceded territories, the prime amongst which was Quetta, was one of the issues debated most vigorously. Economic factors apart from ethnic or cultural differences, also contributed to the wariness amongst the people of Quetta of being assimilated within an independent Kalat state. Moreover, Quetta was considered to be a ‘prize city’ because it was an important military base with key trade route connections to Afghanistan and Iran; hence its potential loss for Pakistan was a source of consternation to the Muslim League. Indeed, many in the Muslim League believed that the parts of British Baluchistan, mainly mountainous and perceived as being of no great utility, shorn of the leased areas like Quetta and the Bolan Pass, would become a liability for Pakistan and a veritable ‘millstone round its neck’.\(^\text{365}\)

The Punjab princely states came together to constitute the Shiromani Riasthi Akali Dal, which included the representatives of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot, Kalsia, Kapurthala, and Malerkotla states. The aim of this Dal was to club together all these states into one unit, the combined population of which was above 33 lakhs and annual revenue about 5 crores. They aimed for this unit to be an agricultural one ‘bound together by ties of common language, nationality, modes of living and economic interests’.\(^\text{366}\) As opposed to these efforts, the work of the Prajamandals or States’ People’s Movements in these regions was to restore the civil liberties of the people of the princely states and safeguard their rights in the face of repression from the rulers. For example, in mid-February, a protest by the people against shortage of daily necessities precipitated dramatic state repression, inviting condemnation from P. Sitaramayya, the national-level leader of the AISPC, who claimed the peoples’ movement was being combated ‘by medieval barbarous methods’. Legislations such as the ‘Protection against Seditious Meetings Act’ and ‘the Regulation of 1811’ in Patiala, Nabha, Malerkotla state and the Public Safety Ordinance in Patiala and Nabha states were used by rulers to crush political organizations and their demands for the early establishment of responsible government or the redress of economic grievances. Even as late as June 1947, the Prajamandal of Bilaspur was bringing into the public eye detailed reports about authoritarian excesses committed against his people by the Raja of Bilaspur in the lower Himalayas.\(^\text{367}\)

\(^{364}\) Part 2, Chapter 40 (B), Document No. 1.

\(^{365}\) Part 2, Chapter 40 (B), Document Nos 1–5.

\(^{366}\) Part 2, Chapter 40 (B), Document No. 1.

\(^{367}\) Part 2, Chapter 40 (C), Document No. 14.
The Prajamandal had a mass character in the Punjab states and it had waged popular struggles in various states, with Section 144 being defied in Narnaul, Bhatinda, and Sirhind and public meetings organized throughout the Punjab states. The biggest and the most heroic struggle was fought in the small state of Faridkot in defiance of the fundamental rights of free speech, free press, and free association and public meeting in May 1946. Another feature common to the Punjab princely states was the increasing affinity they displayed towards communal forces along with a sustained hostility to the States’ Peoples’ Movement. In Patiala, Harbans Lal (General Secretary of the Punjab States Regional Council to the AISPC) noted how ‘communalism is being fostered by the Govt. by the introduction of communal representation in services and by the State encouragement in the formation of communal organizations such as Akali Party, Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League’.

In the wake of the HMG’s Declaration on 20 February 1947, there were instances of communal trouble across princely states such as Nabha, Loharu, and Chamba. The arrest of Muslim League leaders in the Punjab in January 1947 resulted in hartals being observed by Muslims in different Punjabi princely states such as Patiala, Faridkot, Malerkotla etc. This period also saw an increasing tension owing to activities of the Muslim League and other Hindu and Sikh communal groups, in Chamba, Jind, etc. Apart from communal chaos, there was also an uprising of peasants against oppressive agrarian structures, for example in Patiala where the muzaras (tenants) rebelled against landlords demanding the abolition of the biswedari (landlordism) system and the nonpayment of batai at various meetings and demonstrations. From early April onwards, there was an influx of the refugees from North-West Punjab affected by the Rawalpindi riots of early March. This also led to increase in communal tension especially in regions of Nabha state and also Faridkot state. In Faridkot, the refugee influx and the issuing of a large number of gun and rifle licenses to non-Muslims and their recruitment in the Faridkot Police caused grave apprehensions amongst Muslim State subjects of Faridkot for their safety. As a result some 7000 to 8000 of them left the state territory and a substantial number took shelter in neighbouring Ferozepur city, cantonment, and district. The desperation faced by the Muslims of Faridkot was captured in a letter to Maulana Azad by one S.R. Rabbani who pleaded with him as follows: ‘For God Sake arrange for our safety. We are losing everything and anything.’ Similarly, some Muslims of Kapurthala migrated to the adjoining city of Jullundur while on the other hand, groups of Hindus and Sikhs migrated from the eastern part of Bahawalpur state to the adjoining state of Bikaner and to Ferozepore District.

South Indian Princely States

South of the Vindhyas, in Hyderabad, the single largest princely state, there was a growing rift between the people’s movement and princely autocracy. Fears of Britain supporting the princes further confounded the efforts towards a solution. There was the further complication of neighbouring states like Berar and Bastar apprehending a take-over by Hyderabad, in an attempt of the Nizam to carve out an independent state. Similarly, the Defence Minister,
Baldev Singh, was wary of the tendency of the princely states to strengthen themselves militarily, in anticipation of future tussles for securing their sovereignty and independence.\textsuperscript{374} As of June 1947, the Nizam’s firman regarding the future of Hyderabad made clear his stand in favour of independence and against signing the Instrument of Accession. While the Hyderabad State Congress vocally opposed the Nizam’s stance, Scheduled Castes in the state were more supportive of the option for independence.\textsuperscript{375}

Meanwhile the Congress top leadership headed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel were considering strategies to ensure that Hyderabad would be encircled from all sides by other provinces who were in favour of joining India.\textsuperscript{376} The Nizam in his turn looked to popular support against the possibility of a forced accession\textsuperscript{377} and also looked to the British for a helping hand.\textsuperscript{378} The growing communal violence in the rest of the country also spread to Hyderabad, with the uncertain future of the state adding to the rising tension.\textsuperscript{379} However, voices that went against the norm were also heard, with some Hyderabad Muslims openly proclaiming their opposition to Pakistan.\textsuperscript{380}

More than the issue of acceding to the future nation-state of India, the people of the princely state of Berar were disturbed by the possibility of being assimilated by Hyderabad. This was because as per the Indian Independence Bill, all the treaties exercised by the King of England in relation to Indian states would also lapse. Berar had been ceded to the British by the rulers of Hyderabad in the nineteenth century and therefore on August 15 it would have reverted to the Nizam; something clarified by the legal doyen Dr. Ambedkar.\textsuperscript{381}

Mysore was one of the few states that had a ruler, its Maharaja, Wadiyar Bahadur, who believed in establishing some form of responsible government while simultaneously retaining princely rule. Despite such progressive gestures however, the idea of ultimate sovereignty being vested in the people was denied by the Mysore authorities. Such a stance was criticized by nationalist leaders like Patel who emphasized that it was hard to ‘prevent the rapidly marching forces of progress’ and advised the princes ‘to recognise the writing on the wall’ asking them to adapt to changed circumstances.\textsuperscript{382} Further, the Maharaja of Mysore devolved the responsibility of responding to the State Congress’ demand that the objective of reforms should be declared to be responsible government, onto his Dewan. The Mysore State Congress, under its president, K. Changalaraya Reddy, decided to intensify their struggle and launch a satyagraha in opposition to the stalling of pro-people, democratic reforms. Further, there were also deliberations to cobble together a Unified Karnataka Province on linguistic lines, an effort that came to naught. While the Mysore State Congress made serious plans to go and launch a satyagraha to compel the Mysore Maharaja to institute responsible government in step with the people’s wishes, the tide shifted by 16 July 1947 with Mysore deciding to join the Constituent Assembly.

\textsuperscript{374} Part 2, Chapter 41 (A), Document Nos 9 and 16.  
\textsuperscript{375} Part 2, Chapter 41 (A), Document Nos 10, 11, 12, and 13.  
\textsuperscript{376} Part 2, Chapter 41 (A), Document No. 14.  
\textsuperscript{377} Part 2, Chapter 41 (A), Document No. 15.  
\textsuperscript{378} Part 2, Chapter 41 (A), Document Nos 17 and 18.  
\textsuperscript{379} Part 2, Chapter 41 (A), Document Nos 20 and 21.  
\textsuperscript{380} Part 2, Chapter 41 (A), Document No. 23.  
\textsuperscript{381} Part 2, Chapter 41 (B), Document No. 8.  
\textsuperscript{382} Part 2, Chapter 41 (C), Document Nos 6 and 14.
Travancore, another large and prominent princely state of South India, also declared the decision to be independent on the lapse of paramountcy on 15 August. The rich thorium deposits, important in the arena of atomic energy research, possessed by the state further strengthened the resolve of its rulers to press for independence. The British, too, had a vested interest in these deposits as evident in a secret memorandum, and indeed reports of Travancore having sold rights for the development of its rich thorium sands to a British firm had caused 'countrywide consternation' in the words of the commentator Ramesh Chandra.

Gandhiji expressed surprise at this idea of independence while the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee also opposed this move as per a resolution passed on 20 June. Meanwhile, Pt. Nehru also advised the Madras Government to refuse cooperation with Travancore rulers. Almost simultaneously, the Travancore Government made overtures to Jinnah through its Dewan, C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer. The Dominion of Pakistan, as a result of these discussions in late June, agreed to receive Mr. Abdul Karim Sahib as representative of the state in the future Dominion of Pakistan with a view to establish a relationship of 'mutual advantage' with this state. This precipitated a range of responses from the Congress, which, at the head of the Interim Government contemplated employing some economic measures against Travancore state. Ashutosh Lahiri, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, also professedly against the independence of Travancore state, nonetheless hoped to cooperate with its rulers, given the substantial Hindu population that lay within it, with a larger view to stall the 'danger of Congress alliance with the Socialists and Communists'. C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer also extended a hand of cooperation to the Hindu Mahasabha in response. By 10 July, there were reports of repression unleashed by the Travancore state on peaceful meetings of people who held a view contrary to the official position in favour of independence after 15 August. The Communist newspaper People's Age reported a range of reprehensible measures taken by the Travancore state under directives from Sir. C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer against the people of the state, such as instigating communal tension in a bid to organize armed goondas against the State Congress. Finally on 30 July, Travancore conceded and offered conditional accession to India, partly in response to a series of meetings held between C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer and Mountbatten.

The maritime state of Cochin was regarded as one of the more constitutionally progressive states by the leaders of the freedom movement; it had also voluntarily decided to join in the working of the Constituent Assembly. Moreover, its progressive character was evident in its many enlightened reforms, for example, in February 1947, it had created a new department for conducting its next general election based on adult franchise while in April 1947 the Cochin government passed a legislation in favour of appointing some members of the depressed class community to certain higher executive posts in Government service. The Communist perspective in the newspaper People's Age, however, portrayed apprehension at the support the
ruler of Cochin state gave to the idea of a United Kerala. According to M.M. Cherian’s article of 11 May, the reason the Cochin rulers were pushing this demand of the Malayalee people was not stemming from any sympathies for the idea, as from a desire ‘to swell their might and riches’ by attaching the territories of British Malabar to their own thrones. He called for the Malayalee people to continue in their fight against ‘autocracy in Travancore and Cochin, the end of which is a condition precedent to Democratic India’.

Western Indian States

The area covered by present-day Rajasthan corresponded, pre-Independence, to the region of Rajputana, perhaps the single largest contiguous unit consisting of 18 princely states altogether, like Alwar, Bharatpur, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Tonk, Kotah, among others. In Bharatpur, a duckshoot and hunt which depended on forced labour of poor peasants, organized by the Maharaja in January 1947, precipitated public outcry and subsequent rioting. A clear connection was perceived between the Bharatpur administration and the gangs of goondas who suppressed those who publicly disapproved of the Maharaja’s medievalist attitudes. This incident needs to be understood in view of the larger background of the systematic repression of peoples’ aspirations for a more representative government in Bharatpur. The Praja Parishad of the area thus decided to launch a Satyagraha for the abolition of forced labour, the general lawlessness in the state, and against an administration widely seen as corrupt, incompetent, nepotistic, and ridden by black marketing within its fold. The Bharatpur administration responded to the Satyagraha with a rank repression described by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya as ‘inhuman and devoid of all decency’ which led to the death of one Satyagrahi in February. Bharatpur was moreover one of those princely states of the Rajputana, where, along with Kotah and Jaipur, communal volunteer organizations such as the RSS and the Muslim National Guards had widespread support.

However, what worried the Maharaja of Jodhpur were the peasant meetings in the districts of Bhavi, Jaitaran, and Nimaj held on 26 and 27 January to protest against the highhandedness of the administration. Moreover, there was also a demand from the representative council of the Marwar Lok Parishad for democratic elections to be held at the earliest in Jodhpur and also for the Maharaja to support the Constituent Assembly of India. The Socialist Party opposed what it termed the ‘piecemeal system’ of reforms as proposed by the government of Jaipur, and instead advocated full-fledged responsible government on the basis of adult franchise. The Annual Report of the Rajputana Regional Council of the AISPC released in April 1947 pointed to the largely unsatisfactory nature of pro-people reforms carried out in the princely states of the Rajputana region. While there was direct repression in states like Bharatpur, Dungarpur, and Dholpur, the report noted that the problem of the jagirdar landowners was more acute in bigger states like Jodhpur and Jaipur. Most importantly, the authors of the report condemned the exclusion of any peoples’ representatives in a potential

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392 Part 2, Chapter 41 (E), Document Nos 6 and 7.
393 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document No. 1.
394 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document No. 2.
395 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document No. 5.
396 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document No. 7.
397 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document No. 6.
398 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document Nos 15 and 16.
Rajputana Union. The Bhilwara Prajamandal, seconding the resolution of Rajputana States Regional Council, severely opposed the Confederation scheme proposed by Jam Saheb of Nawanagar for the States of Rajputana, Malwar, Gujarat, and Kathiawar, seeing it instead as a plan of the rulers to ‘strengthen the despotic hold … on their subjects’.400

Shankarrao Deo, General Secretary of the AICC, urged the princes of Rajputana at the Ajmer-Merwara Conference held in mid-July to redefine their roles as people’s servants and function as constitutional heads, warning them that if they failed to do so, ‘the power which had thrown off the British yoke would also throw them off’.401 In mid-June 1947, state oppression in Dungarpur and Bharatpur acquired tyrannical proportions with the people continuing to resist despite the repressive activities of the rulers.402

In tune with its policy of befriending rulers of states with a majority Hindu population, the Hindu Mahasabha approached the Maharaja of Alwar in mid-May with a peculiarly interesting request for financial logistical help in setting up a Hindu newspaper. Subsequently, this demand was supported by the Maharaja of Alwar, clearly highlighting the communal proclivities of some princely rulers.403

May was the month that saw the beginning of a refugee influx from Sind and the Punjab into the Rajputana region, resulting in communal tensions, initially in Jodhpur state.404 Beginning in July, communal tension increased drastically across Rajputana, particularly in places like Jodhpur, Jaipur, and Bharatpur.405 There were shocking instances of carnage in Alwar and Bharatpur and Muslims across the states were in the grip of widespread panic.406 By early August, there were reports of conversions to Hinduism on a big scale in the Rajputana States, a trend even noted by the authorities of Jodhpur state.407 Meanwhile, by 10 August, one of the largest states, Jodhpur, signed the Instrument of Accession to India.

Gujarat, located close to the Rajputana states, was also home to several princely states. The Gaekwar rulers of Baroda were seen as being relatively more progressive, declaring their intention to join the Constituent Assembly as early as December 1946. Pt. Nehru, responding warmly to this step of the Baroda princes, reassured them of the ‘large measure of autonomy’ Baroda state would enjoy as a member of the Indian Union.408 The Baroda Prajamandal, however, continued to pressurize the rulers for more thoroughgoing reforms that would portend democratic governance. The Prajamandal was particularly critical of the attempts of the rulers of Baroda, Kathiawar, Kutch, and other states in Gujarat ‘to form a co-federation without the consent and co-operation of the subjects’, viewing such a scheme as a device ‘to maintain the uncontrolled power of these rulers’.409 In smaller states like Kutch, the rulers as well as the representatives of the Prajakiya Parishad were more concerned with being accorded the status of an autonomous unit with its distinctive identity as a prerequisite to joining the Constituent

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399 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document Nos 8 and 9.
400 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document No. 10.
401 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document No. 27.
402 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document Nos 15, 16, 17.
403 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document Nos 12 and 23.
404 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document No. 14.
405 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document Nos 28, 30, and 31.
406 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document No. 21.
407 Part 2, Chapter 42 (A), Document No. 34.
408 Part 2, Chapter 42 (B), Document No. 10.
409 Part 2, Chapter 42 (B), Document No. 1.
Assembly of India and were provoked at being clubbed together with Kathiawar and other bigger states.\(^{10}\)

The Ahl-i-Sunnat wal-Jama’at, which claimed to represent Muslim interests in Western India and supported the Muslim League, was wary of the attempts at a confederation of the Gujarat states on the grounds that this would be inimical to Muslims of the region. Instead, they advocated that the state of Junagadh ruled by the Nawabs should incorporate the states of Gujarat and Kathiawar to ‘form a special separate group of the Muslim States’.\(^{41}\) In the princely states in the Kathiawar area as well there was staunch opposition to the idea of the Confederation. Anti-Confederation days were observed all over British Gujarat and the princely states of the region in late-April. By June of that year, the Kathiawar Praja Parishad condemned the confederation scheme and openly proclaimed the need for establishing one single political and administrative unit in the Kathiawar, with entreaties to the kings to entrust administration to the people.\(^{41}\)

**Central Indian States**

In Central India, there were around 62 states comprising large states like Gwalior and Rewa and smaller ones such as Bijna and Bankapahri. Incidents of communal mobilization were reported as early as January 1947 from the cluster of princely states such as Gwalior, Rampur, Benares, etc. A fortnightly report of mid-January, for example, reports the establishment of a branch of the Muslim League in Bhadohi town, even as there were simultaneous reports of Hindus converting to Sikhism in neighbouring Gopiganj town, the motive being a purely military one vis-à-vis the subsequent sanction to carry the kirpan.\(^{41}\)

At the 20th session of the Sangli State People’s Conference, a resolution was passed that opposed the plans for a Deccan States Union as proposed by the princely rulers of these states. Again, people’s representatives clearly saw this as an attempt by their respective monarchs to continue with their traditional privileges and hold over the populace and evade the imminence of democratic elections. Moreover, they perceived how such a Union would ‘bring about no good to the people as the Deccan States consist of people speaking two different languages and their regions are scattered wide apart’.\(^{41}\) At the meeting of the Students’ Federation in Indore, a resolution was passed which condemned the ‘absolute negation of Civil Liberties’ under the Holkar ruler and suggested that a constituent assembly be summoned to frame a new constitution for the state.\(^{41}\) There was a conflict between the District Congress Committee and the Praja Mandals in Baghelkhand, it being alleged that the former were in the hands of those with vested interests in the states, with the result that instead of serving the people they were serving the interests of the rich and ‘exploiting the name of the Congress for their own purpose’.\(^{41}\)

In most of these states, the impending conclusion of British rule had precipitated a series of reforms from the rulers, which, however, were ‘half-hearted measures’ and hence failed to
get public acceptance. On 30 June, for example, the ruling Chief of Lugasi State announced responsible government. The author of a fortnightly report described the facile nature of such reforms thus: 'In many of the states they only decorate the archives of the state departments'.

People in Bhopal state had to also suffer from the authoritarianism of the rulers, who clamped down on the press. H.L. Masurkar, Office Secretary of the AISPC, in a rejoinder to the Bhopal Prime Minister, termed that such a procedure was 'not a mark of civilization and ... is blameworthy whether that is adopted by the States or the provinces or the Central Government'. In April, the Congress dissociated itself from the Bhopal Interim Ministry, since a Congressman had decided to individually accept the post of a minister in the Bhopal government. This went against the stance adopted by the Congress since the Haripura Resolution of 1937 whereby the Congress committees in the states would confine their activities to the constructive programme only while the political activities would be carried on by the States' Peoples' organizations. In Dewas, the Maharaja claimed in a letter to Sardar Patel that the Reforms Act sanctioned by him comprised 'constitutional advance which are the farthest yet attained in Central India'. These reforms provided for adult suffrage and direct elections in the urban areas, while representation would be through village panchayats formed on adult suffrage in the rural areas and these reforms were praised in turn by Sardar Patel. The Nawab of Bhopal was eventually convinced thanks to the efforts of Mountbatten and Patel to sign a Standstill Agreement and the Instrument of Accession on 14 August.

In Indore, while there was public resentment against the Maharaja, he took the courageous step in May 1947, of asking the major public organizations for suggestions on constitutional developments. In May 1947, some 16,000 state government employees of the Holkar government had gone on strike demanding interim relief to meet the rising high prices. May 23 was observed as 'Responsible Government and Constituent Assembly Day' in the state by all people's organizations headed by the Praja Mandal. Peasants and workers also participated in large numbers. This brought forth a wave of repression by the rulers where hundreds were arrested and several others wounded. Pt. Nehru wrote a letter to the ruler in which he condemned him for being on a 'regressive path' of appointing British ministers in his government at a time when the British were quitting India. The Prime Minister of the Interim Government urged him to consider joining the Constituent Assembly or face the consequences of being surrounded by 'a strong Indian Union'.

For the mineral-rich state of Bastar, which was ruled by a minor and in effect under complete control of the Political Department, rumours and fears of it becoming an economic vassal of Hyderabad were rampant amongst AISPC and Congress leaders. Rampur, a state that came into existence in 1774 following a treaty of the British with the rulers of Oudh, had a majority
Muslim population. In July, representatives of the Rampur Muslim Conference submitted a memorandum signed by more than 12,000 Muslim subjects to the Nawab in which they opposed integration to India, emphasizing that ‘the natural place for our State is the Pakistan Assembly’.

Wider communal violence also spread to Rampur which prompted the authorities to impose a curfew in August. Interestingly the communal violence in Rampur appeared to take on a visibly anti-establishment character and many state buildings, such as the High Court building and record room were burnt down, telephone and electricity wires were cut, etc.

**Eastern Indian States**

In Eastern India, there were princely states such as Baudh, Dhenkanal, Sambhalpur in Orissa, Bengal, Tripura, Manipur, and Sikkim. The Socialists played an important role in spreading propaganda against the princely rulers in these areas. The Socialists especially aimed to thwart the separatist movement of the Gurkhas launched in collaboration with the Communists.

A scheme for a United Eastern States Agency which brought together 39 princely states of Orissa and Chhattisgarh regions was adopted by the rulers of this area in a conference as late as one month before Independence, on 14 July 1947. Given the promise of constitutional bodies in such a union, the rulers of its member states felt confident of support from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and hoped ‘to be able to give, and to receive, the largest possible measure of co-operation in matters of mutual interest ... in its relations with the Government of India and provincial Governments’.

In Orissa, the Governor, C.M. Trivedi, was wary of the impact which the speeches of Congressmen would have on people; in particular warning the Congress M.L.A. H.K. Mahtab against ‘utterances which are either incitements to violence, veiled or open, or threatening to the Rulers’. Public grievances in Keonjhar state, which had a population of more than 5,00,000 people, such as the levying of new taxes on the rayots by the administration, the woes of workers, the curb on civil liberties, etc., were voiced to the Congress national leaders by representatives of the Praja Mandal. Interestingly, according to the Praja Pratinidhi, though the Muslims formed the smallest percentage of the population, being businessmen they had control on the administrative authorities, and were apparently ‘harassing the people at [sic] the Co-operation of the State incumbents’. The rulers of Narasingpur expressed tyranny through various measures, the most extreme being the ban on the hoisting of the national flag on August 15, as also an order prohibiting processions or meetings.

The princely states located in Tripura issued prohibitory orders against the cultivation of ‘Jum’ in 1946, with the result that the hill tribes were without crops in 1947 and acute famine was seen all over the northern parts of the state. The rulers of Tripura state were worried about the future of Tripura given its geographical position and the possibility of it joining...
East Pakistan as a result of the Sylhet referendum. N.L. Deb Varman in a letter to the Hindu Mahasabha leader S.P. Mookerjee, firmly expressed the view that ‘as a Hindu majority State, Tripura has inevitably to join Hindusthan with Assam as neighbour’.\textsuperscript{436}

Manipur was ruled by the Meitei Maharaja Meidingu Bodhchandra. The Jorhat District Students Congress strongly condemned the internment by the British of the popular leader Rani Gaidinleu and demanded the ‘immediate withdrawal of this unfair, unjust and repressive measure adopted against her’.\textsuperscript{437} Leaders like Pt. Nehru were more anxious about the issue of Manipur’s representation in the Constituent Assembly.

The issue of the inclusion in the Constituent Assembly, of the tiny state of Sikkim located on the farthest extreme of the Indian subcontinent, was not easily resolved. On the other hand, while Nehru admitted that ‘there is no question that we have the power and authority’ to deal with the representatives of Bhutan, he also acknowledged that ‘it will be recognized to be something entirely different to that of Indian States’.\textsuperscript{438} Wary of the abrogation of their rights in a future Indian Union, the Lepcha community of Darjeeling met with Nehru and Gandhi and vividly articulated their wish that their region be kept as an excluded area under Hindustan or else amalgamated with Sikkim state.\textsuperscript{439}

\textsuperscript{436} Part 2, Chapter 44 (C), Document Nos 3, 4, and 5.
\textsuperscript{437} Part 2, Chapter 44 (D), Document No. 2.
\textsuperscript{438} Part 2, Chapter 44 (E), Document No. 1.
\textsuperscript{439} Part 2, Chapter 44 (E), Document No. 2.
Acknowledgements

First of all I would like to thank the distinguished editorial board of the *Towards Freedom* series, a flagship project of the Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR), who invited me to edit the volume on 1947 upon the untimely death of the eminent historian Ravinder Kumar. I was particularly gratified to be invited to be the editor as my research supervisor and teacher at Jawaharlal Nehru University, Sarvepalli Gopal, had been the founder and first General Editor of the series. The task before me was not an easy one, as Sarvepalli Gopal, Partha Sarathi Gupta, and Basudev Chatterjee had set exacting standards as editors. Ravinder Kumar, assisted by Gyanesh Kudaisya and others, had done some preliminary work, which I gratefully acknowledge, but most of the work remained to be done. Sabyasachi Bhattacharya as the General Editor extended total support for which I wish to record my appreciation. I was never refused by Arjun Dev, when I turned to him for assistance in his capacity as Coordinator and as an old comrade. At ICHR, the then Chairman, Basudev Chatterjee, Member Secretary, Ishrat Alam, and earlier, Prabhat Shukla, were always there to take care of the administrative concerns.

There was a race against time as the editorial board kept the ship afloat in the face of uninformed politically motivated criticism when the government of the day put two volumes on hold, possibly because it was not convenient for the record of certain political forces to appear as it was, warts and all. If I ended up devoting eight years to assist India towards freedom, in a manner of speaking, it was only because being on the freedom movement trail has become a way of life. Inspired by Bipan Chandra, our much loved teacher, some of us had joined him many summers ago in recording the oral histories of activists of the freedom movement. This was followed by co-authoring *India’s Struck for Independence*, which is now in its fifty-fifth edition. It was at his instance that I accepted the editorship of this volume at a time when I seemed to be done with 1947, having spent two decades in that time zone. Any value the reader finds in this work is because of the intellectual rigour and passion for the study of this period of history I have absorbed from him. Now that he is no more, there is no one to whom I will run to with this volume, to place before him and see his sense of excitement at it being published. I can only dedicate it to him, a poor substitute for the real thing.

After Bipan Chandra, I would like to acknowledge the support of Mridula and Aditya Mukherjee, D.N. Gupta, Visalakshi Menon, Antony Thomas, Salil Misra, Gyanesh Kudaisya, Rakesh Batabyal, Mahalakshmi, Chandi Nanda, Pritish Acharya, Shri Krishan, among others; all his students who have developed a wonderfully mutually supportive group. Of the group, Visha’s contribution was the greatest, given our close friendship and her experience of editing the volume on 1942. I cannot still believe that such a one as her is no longer with us. Outstanding historian, loyal comrade, devoted friend, you still remain my guardian angel, stopping me from being too loud or too insolent, gently urging me to love those I was wont to oppose.
The vibrant intellectual environment of the Centre for Historical Studies, JNU, has sustained me through the years. My colleagues in the modern India section and on the editorial board of *Studies in History* were considerate in recognizing my preoccupation with the *Towards Freedom* volumes. My research students responded to my *cri de cœur* for help, be it to translate from Assamese or run to Teen Murti to check a document or decide whether to keep the report from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* or the *Hindustan Standard* (I thought both were indispensable).

It was my good fortune that Ashish Koul took a year off from research, just when I began work on the volumes. I could not have wished for a better assistant, indeed partner, who assumed research and editorial duties with equal ease and efficiency. She was a hard taskmaster too, reminding me of my editorial responsibilities when I got immersed in teaching or supervising my research students. Quiet, determined, she would stand at the door of my office, till I joined her for the rest of the day, to plan a volume or decide on an editorial input.

Ashish was assisted by Saumya Dey, Ranjana Saha, Surbhi Mahajan, Gurveen Khurana, Lakhimi Datta and Rachna Mehra. Later Christhu Doss was the sheet anchor, assisted by R. Vineeth among others. Christhu Doss was diligent, enlivened the office with his genial presence and generously plied the team with cakes and coffee, especially when we were working late. Vipul Dutta was amazing in his dedication. He worked on the files sitting in the lounge of the R&R Hospital where his grandmother was admitted.

Saurabh Bajpai and Subir Dey were invaluable in the crucial last stages of preparing the manuscript. Their organizational skills were appreciable and they did everything from crosschecking sources and locating incomplete documents to dealing with overworked typists and assisting me in pruning an oversize manuscript to size. Subir saw the manuscript through press. There is scarcely any aspect of research and publication that he has not ably assisted me in. His judgement is unerring and his capacity for work has increased amazingly over the years as he has imbibed a passion for working with sources of the kind this project requires. Radha Kapuria assisted with research and preparing the manuscript for publication, including a useful draft for the outline.

My research students gave freely of their time at both editorial and publication stages in return for only tea and camaraderie. Arpita Mitra was unfailing in responding to calls for assistance, be it to summarize a chapter, check typed copy, proofread, or vet editorial inputs. So was Gagan Preet Singh, who quietly produced more work than many of us put together. They did this without ever holding an appointment as a research assistant, which makes her contribution doubly valuable. Gagan organized the project files, helped me answer queries and supplied me with possible keywords for the index. Grishma Rana, too, readily pitched in, as did Akanksha Kumar, Nassif Ali, Sudha Tiwari, and Shashi Bhushan Gupta. Binayak Kumar Datta sent references pertaining to Sylhet. I wish to record my appreciation of their inputs and those of any I may have missed out inadvertently.

In the few cases where documents in different Indian languages have been included, translations have been done by my students. Rahul Kumar Ishwar translated from Hindi, Lakhimi Datta consulted copies of *Axomiya* and translated passages from Assamese, and Shweta Shetty translated a document from Marathi.

I wish to thank the directors of the National Archives of India, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Delhi State Archives, West Bengal State Archives, Punjab State Archives, Rajasthan State Archives, and P.C. Joshi Archives of Contemporary History, JNU, for permitting us to consult and reproduce documents from their holdings. Mridula Mukherjee facilitated our
research greatly when she was Director of Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Gopa of the manuscript section of the Nehru Memorial Library helped check references and locate files. One could turn to Jaya Ravindran Menon in the National Archives of India for help at any time. The staff of the PC Joshi Archives of Contemporary History in JNU were a great help in tapping its rich resources. The Archives also provided a temporary workplace during the years I was Chairperson.

The team of typists, led by Shahjahan, deserve appreciation as they had an unenviable task of deciphering copies of faded newsprint made on antiquated photocopiers.

Thanks go out to the editorial team of Oxford University Press who brought to bear to the volume their vast experience of publishing the *Towards Freedom* series.

As always, my family, especially Bodh, Mridula, and Aditya, provided invaluable help, having to double up as editorial consultants and sounding boards. Bodh brought to the manuscript his expertise on the subject of partition narratives. Mridula and Aditya, with the keen eye of the historian and shared passion for the subject, reminded me of the broader picture of a hard-won freedom when it seemed I could not see beyond the minutiae of the local communal riot. When I was invited to be editor of the volume on 1947, the General Editor of the series estimated the work would take me six months. It has devoured sabbaticals, leave, vacations, and hours after office and weekends for over eight years. At such times, my children, Varun and Srikant, were a much needed reality check, reminding me that there was life beyond 1947. Perhaps I so easily seemed to live in 1947 because the big story of 1947, the subject of this volume, intersected with the small tale of 1947 of my parents, Vidya Dhar and Savitri, who, like countless displaced persons, crossed the newly etched boundaries to start new lives in a refugee colony in Delhi. As a child I remember that the reference point in many a conversation was ‘those days’, before everything changed. In a sense working on this volume on 1947 was only a continuation of the family tale.
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<td>AIHM</td>
<td>All India Hindu Mahasabha</td>
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<td>AIML</td>
<td>All India Muslim League</td>
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<tr>
<td>AISML</td>
<td>All India States Muslim League</td>
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<tr>
<td>AISPC</td>
<td>All India States People’s Conference</td>
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<td>APA</td>
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<td>Associated Press of India</td>
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<td>CA</td>
<td>Constituent Assembly</td>
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<td>CID</td>
<td>Criminal Investigation Department</td>
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<tr>
<td>C-in-C</td>
<td>Commander in Chief</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>Communist Party of India</td>
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<td>CWC</td>
<td>Congress Working Committee</td>
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<td>CWSVP</td>
<td><em>Collected Works of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel</em></td>
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<td>DC</td>
<td>District Collector</td>
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<td>DIG</td>
<td>Deputy Inspector General</td>
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<td>DIK</td>
<td>Dera Ismail Khan</td>
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<td>GOC-in-C</td>
<td>Governing Officer Commander in Chief</td>
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<td>HE</td>
<td>His Excellency</td>
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<td>HMG</td>
<td>His Majesty’s Government</td>
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<td>His Majesty</td>
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<td>ICS</td>
<td>Imperial Civil Services</td>
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<td>Indian National Army</td>
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<td>Member of Parliament</td>
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<td>National Archives of India</td>
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<td>RSS</td>
<td>Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh</td>
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<td>Shiromani Akali Dal</td>
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<td>SDO</td>
<td>Sub Divisional Officer</td>
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3. 5.6.1947 Muslim National Guards Threaten Congress Leaders Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Louis Mountbatten Mountbatten Papers, File No. 19, NMML 1778
4. 5.6.1947 Inclusion of Bengal in Pakistan Must Be Prevented Letter from Bimal Chandra Sinha to Vallabhbhai Patel SPC, Vol. IV, pp. 52–4 1778
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2. 4.6.1947 Nehru Demands Removal of NWFP Governor Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten | IOR, R/3/1/170, Acc. No. 3824, NAI | 1827     |
3. 5.6.1947 NWFP Would Never Join Pakistan Record of an interview between Louis Mountbatten and Dr. Khan Sahib | Mountbatten Papers, File No. 193, NMML | 1827     |
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**A. Kashmir**

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**Chapter 44. Eastern Indian States**

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Section III

3 June 1947

TO

15 August 1947
Chapter 25. Constituent Assembly

1. K.M. Panikkar Argues Against a Federal Constitution for India

Extract from a note by K.M. Panikkar dated May 1947 circulated among members of the Union Constitution Committee, 4 June 1947

B. Shiva Rao (Ed.), Framing of India's Constitution, Vol. II, pp. 533-8

I propose in this note to supplement the answers I have furnished to the questionnaire issues by the Constitutional Adviser. My views on the specific issues raised in that document are contained in the replies and are not dealt with here. In this note I confine myself to a few general observations which I think are of fundamental importance to the constitutional structure of India.

2. It is generally held that in any constitution devised for India, there should be a clear demarcation between the powers of the Union and the powers of the constituent units. This has almost become a doctrine of constitutional orthodoxy. From Hamilton's Federalist to Dicey's Law of the Constitution theorists have held steadfastly to this view. But it has to be remembered that this doctrine of division of powers is one that prevailed in a time of peace and tranquillity; that in periods of national stresses it invariably broke down, or was subjected to so much strain as to create perpetual constitutional crises. In the United States of America the breakdown of the federal principle—though it had been going on slowly for a century—became so marked that the late President Wilson declared that the United States from a plural verb had changed to a singular one. It became patent to all during the bitter fight between President Roosevelt and the Supreme Court, ending in the surrender of the judiciary when the courts finally came to the conclusion that, 'the national government is entitled to employ any and all the powers to forward any and all the objects of good government'. In a recent book entitled The Fiscal Impact of Federalism in the United States, Professor Maxwell shows also how the ramifications of fiscal control have to a very great extent nullified the constitutional division of powers in the United States. Nor has the position been much better in Canada, where though as a result of the special predominance of Quebec and Ontario the Federation has some special characteristics. But the development of the last 20 years, specially in the matter of federal subsidies, has been such that Premier Drew of Ontario has recently declared that the provincial governments have been reduced to the status of 'Pensioners of Ottawa' bereft of any real control over their financial fortunes.

3. The demarcation of Union and Provincial powers which federalism involves, is to my mind a dead issue, and the idea which has gained prevalence that the Indian Constitution must be of the federal type is definitely dangerous to the strength, prosperity and welfare of India. Federation is a fair-weather constitution and in the circumstances of India it is likely to be a
dangerous experiment leaving the national government with but limited powers, weak and consequently incapable of dealing with national problems. The American example is totally inapplicable to our circumstances as the United States of America had a hundred years of peaceful development to enable it to build up a strong Centre.

4. Federation, with limited powers for the Centre, was an unavoidable evil in India, so long as the Muslim majority Provinces had to be provided for in an All-India Centre. Now whether the partition comes, or whether a Hindustan constitution is created with a loosely confederated Centre, the necessity for a federal constitution has ceased. It is no longer necessary to provide for the very large measure of power for the units, which a full Union with the Muslim majority Provinces would have rendered unavoidable. I would, therefore, very strongly urge, that the basic principle of the Constitution should be a unitary one, with large devolution of powers to the Provinces, and the suitable provisions for the States and other units so desiring to accede in a limited manner to the Centre.

5. This, in fact, has been the administrative and political tradition of India. The Regulating Act established a unitary government and the great provincial administrations were no more than local governments, as they were formally designated. The 1935 Act brought in the idea of Federation, primarily because such a conception reduced the possibility of a Hindu majority Centre dominating the Muslim majority Provinces and also in a measure to enable the States to accede to a Union. The experience of the last ten years, especially in relation to famine and food administration, has shown the weakness of this system. At least for the Hindustan area what we have to do is to go back to the idea of the Regulating Act, i.e., the supremacy of the Centre over the Provinces, while normally keeping with the Provinces the same powers as are given to them in the Act of 1935.

6. Further, let it be remembered that never has Federation as a constitutional device been supported or accepted, except where the independence of the units made any other system impracticable. There has never been a case of a unitary system breaking up and then joining as units in a Federation. In the 1935 Act so far as British India was concerned the limitation of Central authority was considered unavoidable in order to give the guarantee of freedom to the Muslim majority Provinces. Since that question no longer has to be considered, the raison d’être of breaking up the Central structure of British India vanishes and the never-too-desirable system of government based on checks, prohibitions, and limitations, all trying to stunt the growth of a united nationhood, need no longer be considered. Federation for British India is no longer a necessity and should definitely be eschewed.

II

7. How will the States fit into such a scheme? It is clear that if a unitary government is postulated for a Union of the Provinces, the States cannot be brought into it except by force. The alternative is what was contemplated in the 1935 Act, that the States should join the Union only for a limited range of subjects more or less similar to the subjects included in List I of the Seventh Schedule attached to that Act. The accession of the States must be on a uniform basis, i.e., there should be no variation in the powers that the Union will exercise in relation to each State. This does not, however, mean that fiscal, financial and administrative arrangements should not exist with individual States or groups of States in matters where special rights exist. For example, if customs duty is a Central subject, then the legislative authority of the Union must be uniform in regard to all States, though arrangements may be negotiated with maritime States for administration of custom duties and financial agreements may be entered into with
them for sharing the revenue. The general conception of the scheme should be what it was before 1935—a unitary Central Government of India entering into agreements with the States. Up to now such agreements show great variation. In the case of the Union Government, a uniform principle will be followed subject to administrative, financial and fiscal arrangement where necessary....

IV

16. What should be the objective of our Constitution? That has been clearly defined in the Resolution of the Constituent Assembly. What we have to examine is whether a federal constitution such as the one generally contemplated will meet the defined objective; or indeed any objective which has the creation of a firm Indian nationhood as its ideal. George Washington after two terms of Presidency warned the infant United States against the danger to the Union of the prevalent ideas of local patriotism, and that passage is worth quoting:

The unity of Government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so: for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity; of that very liberty, which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness, that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

17. The tendency of the Provinces to fall apart is already noticeable; and it cannot be presumed that there will be a High Command always watching and supervising the activities of Provincial Ministries. It cannot also be presumed that the party High Command will in future carry the same weight vis-à-vis the Provincial Ministries. One thing should be clear. In a federation, the all-India Centre will not have authority over the Provinces and the structure of administrative unity built up in Hindustan will fall to pieces unless the Centre is given an overriding power. The unity of law which binds the people together may itself vanish unless civil and criminal law is uniform. Company legislation, banking, insurance and other spheres of economic activity have to be controlled by uniform laws: otherwise we shall see the chaos of Delaware corporations magnified beyond imagination. And above all, planning has to be a Central subject. So the form of federation will be seen to mean little when the realities of economic problems have to be faced.

18. It may be asked how the States will function in relation to such a unified Central Government in India. As stated before, their accession will only be for a limited list of subjects, covering what may be called the present list of all-India subjects. In matters like civil and criminal law, company and banking legislation, the States accept the British Indian legislation as normative and will follow it in the main as they do even now. As long as the British Indian Provinces are united in a strong Centre, the problem of approximating the States to the policies
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

of the Union in subjects on which they do not accede may well be left to the pressure of public opinion in the States.

19. Essentially the question to answer is: What does India expect of a Central constitution? Is it merely meant to look after Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications? Even the Cabinet Mission contemplated that at least so far as the group constitutions were concerned the functions would cover a much larger range. Now we are really combining both group and Central functions and naturally we have to approach the problem not merely from the point of view of the three subjects earmarked for the Centre but also of the primary social functions of the State, which would have been left to the groups. The limitation of Central power, which a federal constitution implies, denies the social functions of the State so far as the Union is concerned. In Canada the entire fight with the Provinces has been on the question of social services. In America the New Deal controversies raised the same issue. In India the problem is much more important. The main function of government will be to raise the standards of the common man, to educate him, to provide him with medical facilities and to create in all a loyalty to the Union, without which the whole structure will break down. To place the emphasis on the rights of the units, as a federal system must inevitably do, and to entrust the effectuation of those rights to courts is to put a premium on backwardness and to invite disaster.

2. ‘Strong Federal Centre: Provision in Future Constitution of Hindustan’

Extract from a report in The Tribune, 8 June 1947

NEW DELHI, June 7.—The future constitution of India would provide for a strong federal centre, with residuary powers vested in it, but this would not affect the position of the Indian states who had already joined the Constituent Assembly and those who are expected to join it in the near future. Insofar as the States are concerned, it is understood, their relations with the Centre would be on the basis of the Cabinet Mission plan, namely, that they would surrender only three subjects, foreign affairs, defence and communications to the Centre.

This decision is believed to have been taken at a joint meeting of the Union and provincial constitution committees of the Constituent Assembly this afternoon.

It is understood that the Provincial Constitution Committee, on which provincial Premiers are represented and which is to present to the Constituent Assembly a draft provincial constitution, was of the opinion that there should be reversal of the Cabinet Mission’s plan insofar as the provincial constitutions are concerned. The suggestion was that there should be a powerful Centre, which should delegate certain subjects to the provinces for administration.

The Union Constitution Committee was, however, not prepared to accept this suggestion and the question was discussed at a joint meeting of both these two committees today.

It is understood it was decided that the future Central Government would be a strong federal government.

It is proposed to have three lists, federal, concurrent and provincial. On the concurrent list provision would be made for the Centre to override the provinces under certain circumstances.

The Provincial Draft Constitution Committee which is now settling the principles before making a draft, it is understood, has decided to retain the office of provincial Governors as the office of the Governor would be an elective position.
3. ‘Bi-Cameral Legislature for Free India, Precedent of British Parliament Recommended’

_The Tribune, 11 June 1947_

NEW DELHI, June 10.—A bi-cameral union legislature on the pattern of the British Parliament, it is understood, has been recommended for an independent India by the Union Constitution Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly at its meeting held on Monday afternoon.

The lower house is proposed to be called the House of People while the upper house will be known as the House of States where the Indian States in the Indian Union shall have representation. The membership of the House of People will be 500 and that of the House of States 250, according to recommendations.

The powers of the two Houses of the Indian Union have been recommended to be based on the precedent provided by the British constitutional system.

The House of People alone will be competent to initially consider the legislation on all matters pertaining to finance. In other matters legislation can originate in either of the two Houses.

The Committee for drawing up a model constitution for the provinces held another sitting yesterday when, it is understood, important decisions were taken regarding the nature of the provincial executive.

It is understood the Committee approved of the idea of having elected Governors on the votes based on adult franchise. The provincial executive consisting of the Governors and Ministers would, according to the committee’s decision, be removable by adverse votes in the legislature. The legislature would be for a term of four years and the normal tenure of office of the Governor would be five years.—United Press.

4. Visits of the Tribal Area Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly

_Extract from a letter from Rajendra Prasad to Sachchidananda Sinha, 11 June 1947_

Valmiki Chaudhary (Ed.), _Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents_, Vol. VII, pp. 49–50

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi

My dear Sir,

...2. Two Committees appointed by the Constituent Assembly for laying down the principles of the Union Constitution and drawing up a sort of model Constitution for the Province have now practically completed their work. Their reports will be ready soon and will be circulated to the members. The Constituent Assembly itself is likely to meet about the middle of July to consider the reports of these Committees as also other matters left over for consideration by the last session. Thereafter the actual drafting of the Constitution will be taken in hand and when the draft is ready we may sit continuously for a number of days to pass the Constitution. This is the programme as at present envisaged.

3. The Tribal Area Sub-Committee has been touring the different parts of the country where there are tribes and Chhotanagpur remains to be visited by them. I think it was sometime ago
that, perhaps, the question of separation of Chhotanagpur from Bihar was raised by Mr. Jaipal Singh and the people of his way of thinking, and Sjt. Jagjivan Ram, having come to know of this, took the precaution of writing to you and to the Ministers to resist any such move if it is taken. The date of the visit of the Sub-Committee is not yet, as far as I know, settled. I say as far as I know because the Sub-Committee makes its own programme and I am not in possession at the moment of writing of what they have decided. But I know that a request has been made by various persons including Mr. Jaipal Singh that the visit might be postponed for a later date. I do not know what has been decided on that and will write to you later when the date is definitely fixed. Perhaps you will know that from other sources also. You may keep the memorandum which Sjt. Jagjivan Ram has asked you to prepare ready so that it may be placed before the Sub-Committee, if required, but it is just possible that the Sub-Committee may hold that it is not within its terms of reference to consider this question and, therefore, it should not take any evidence on that point for it may not make recommendations on it. The question was, I understand, referred to the Constitutional Adviser and I am told that his opinion is that it does not come under the terms of reference of the Sub-Committee. If that view is taken by the Chairman of the Sub-Committee, Thakkar Bapa, and I am told that is his provisional view also, then the question may not arise but in any case it would be better for you to be ready to deal with it. I hope you will be attending the Constituent Assembly in July. The Sub-Committee will probably see to it that its visit does not clash with the session of the Constituent Assembly.

Yours affectionately,

Rajendra Prasad

After dictating the above, I understand that the visit of the Sub-Committee is put off for the present.

Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha
Sinha Library Road
Post Box No. 62, G.P.O.
Patna.

5. ‘DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD OUTLINES TENTATIVE TIME-TABLE: Constitution of Hindustan by October’

   Extract from an editorial in The Tribune, 17 June 1947

NEW DELHI, June 16.—...A vital issue is being tackled by the committee of legal and constitutional experts, namely, the issue of citizenship.

The issue would have been simple if the country had remained undivided. With partition inevitable, several complicated problems arise, but the pivotal point relates to the definition of citizenship.

The questions that arise are (1) Should there be two citizenships within India? (2) Should there be common citizenship between the two separate states of India? (3) Should there be dual citizenship?
The position becomes more difficult because, while the country is being divided on the demand of a large bulk of Muslims, there will be about three to four crores of Muslims within the Indian Union.

They demanded the division of the country and now they have to decide whether their allegiance would be to the Indian Union or to the separate Muslim State. Whose citizens would they be and prefer to be?

Even if for temporal advantages they may remain citizens of the Indian Union, their loyalty may be put to a test on crucial occasions. Could they be given key positions in the Indian Union if there is tension between the Indian Union and the Muslim State?

6. Citizens Should Concentrate on Fundamental Duties

M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 28 June 1947

_Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi_ (hereafter _CWMG_), Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 230–2

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

What I am going to tell you today will be something very special. I hope you will hear me with attention and try to digest what I say. When someone does something good he makes the whole world partake of the good. When someone does something bad, though he cannot make the world share his action he can certainly cause harm. The Constituent Assembly is discussing the rights of the citizen. That is to say they are deliberating on what the fundamental rights should be. As a matter of fact the proper question is not what the rights of a citizen are, but rather what constitutes the duties of a citizen. Fundamental rights can only be those rights the exercise of which is not only in the interest of the citizen but that of the whole world. Today everyone wants to know what his rights are, but if a man learns to discharge his duties right from childhood and studies the sacred books of his faith he automatically exercises his rights too. I learnt my duties on my mother’s lap. She was an unlettered village woman. She was unable even to sign her name. Nobody in those days thought of learning to read and write by employing tutors. I am telling you of things seventy years ago. My father was a Diwan, but at that time a Diwan did not have to be particularly well versed in English. He dressed himself in an angarkha and wore village-style shoes. He did not even know what trousers were. My mother taught me to repeat Ramanama. She knew my dharma. Thus if from childhood we learn what our dharma is and try to follow it, our rights look after themselves. I could live only on condition that I drank the milk that my mother gave me. If I had shirked the obligation to drink milk I would have forfeited my right to live. The beauty of it is that the very performance of a duty secures us our right. Rights cannot be divorced from duties. This is how satyagraha was born, for I was always striving to decide what my duty was.

Today we notice a strange phenomenon. He who is a ruler for a moment gets it into his head that he has been created by God solely to rule over people, that he has the right to hang some, to imprison others and to fine some others. He wants that all the duties should be discharged by the people. He says he has derived his right to rule from God. Industrial workers and industrial magnates are demanding their respective rights. The zamindar insists on his rights, the peasant on his. But there are no such two classes here that one of them should exercise only rights and the other discharge only duties. If a ruler shirks his duties while the people do theirs then the people become the ruler. If the ruler does his duty and considers himself the trustee of his people he will survive. But if he becomes authoritarian he cannot survive in this age. Till now
we have been sunk in darkness. The rulers have forgotten their duties and so have the ruled. The rajas have only been repeating that they were descended from the sun or the moon.

But in truth a sovereign is only the first servant of the people. It is the duty of the servant to surrender all to the master and then live on what is left over. The people similarly should learn to do their duty. They are in millions. If they are so disposed they can kill the ruler. But by so doing they will only harm themselves. If we keep our streets clean and well lighted or do something similar we should do it as a duty. Every one of us should become a scavenger. A man who does not first become a scavenger cannot live, nor has he a right to live and we are all scavengers in some sense or other even if we do not admit it. If the people pay taxes it is not so as to fill the coffers of the ruler but because without that the administration cannot function. The same thing applies to mill-workers and mill-owners. Here at hand and around is squalor in the Harijan quarter. When I see it my heart cries out at our worthlessness. I live in such beautiful and clean surroundings while they have to wallow in dirt. Mill-owners should similarly first feed the workers and themselves eat only afterwards. But even if the mill-owners do not do their duty, does it mean that the workers should kill them? They can certainly do so. But then the whole structure would collapse. They gain nothing by frightening the mill-owners.

They would themselves be behaving as masters then. If they want to improve their lot they must not forget that they will earn their rights only by doing their duty. There are today millions of workers. If they forget their duty anarchy and chaos will result.

Every man is born a debtor. The scripture also says that we are born debtors in the world to which we owe a debt and we are dependent on others right from birth. Man becomes man only by recognizing his dependence on others.

7. Socialist Party to Join the Constituent Assembly

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Jayaprakash Narayan, 5 July 1947

Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru (hereafter SWJN), Vol. III, p. 132

New Delhi

My dear Jayaprakash,

I have received your letter of the 3rd July. I am very glad that you have decided to allow members of the Socialist Party to join the Constituent Assembly. We shall welcome the persons you have suggested and we shall try to get them in; but I may point out that it is no easy matter now for vacancies to be created or to be filled. This is largely a provincial matter and there is a tremendous desire among Congressmen to come into the Constituent Assembly, more especially as this is going to function as a Legislative Assembly. It is difficult to issue orders from here as to who should be elected and who should not. In some Provinces it will be relatively easier than in others. So far as I know, there are not likely to be many vacancies, as most people want to stick on to the Constituent Assembly anyhow.

I have sent a copy of your letter to Rajendra Babu.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru
8. Report of the Union Powers Committee
Forwarded in a letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Rajendra Prasad, 5 July 1947

From
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Chairman, Union Powers Committee

To
The President
Constituent Assembly of India

Sir,

On the 28th April 1947, the Hon’ble Sir N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar on behalf of our Committee, presented our first report to the Constituent Assembly. In doing so, he referred to the changes that were developing in the political situation and were likely to affect the nature and scope of the Committee’s recommendations, and sought permission to submit a supplementary report at a later date. The House was pleased to grant us leave to do so.

2. Momentous changes have since occurred. Some parts of the country are seceding to form a separate State, and the plan put forward in the Statement of the 16th May on the basis of which the Committee was working is, in many essentials, no longer operative. In particular we are not now bound by the limitations on the scope of Union Powers. The first point accordingly that we considered was whether, in the changed circumstances, the scope of these powers should not be widened. We had no difficulty in coming to a conclusion on this point. The severe limitation on the scope of central authority in the Cabinet mission’s plan was a compromise accepted by the Assembly much, we think, against its judgement of the administrative needs of the country, in order to accommodate the Muslim League. Now that partition is a settled fact, we are unanimously of the view that it would be injurious to the interests of the country to provide for a weak central authority which would be incapable of ensuring peace, of coordinating vital matters of common concern and of speaking effectively for the whole country in the international sphere. At the same time, we are quite clear in our minds that there are many matters in which authority must lie solely with the Units and that to frame a constitution on the basis of a unitary State would be a retrograde step, both politically and administratively. We have accordingly come to the conclusion—a conclusion which was also reached by the Union Constitution Committee—that the soundest framework for our constitution is a federation, with a strong Centre. In the matter of distributing powers between the Centre and the Units, we think that the most satisfactory arrangement is to draw up three exhaustive lists on the lines followed in the Government of India Act of 1935, viz., the federal, the provincial and the concurrent. We have prepared three such lists accordingly and these are shown in the Appendix.1

We think that residuary powers should remain with the Centre. In view however of the exhaustive nature of the three lists draw up by us, the residuary subjects could only relate to matters which, while they may claim recognition in the future, are not at present indentifiable and cannot therefore be included now in the lists.

3. It is necessary to indicate the position of Indian States in the scheme proposed by us. The States which have joined the Constituent Assembly have done so on the basis of the 16th May Statement. Some of them have expressed themselves as willing to cede wider powers to the
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

Centre than contemplated in that Statement. But we consider it necessary to point out that the application to States in general of the federal list of subjects, in so far as it goes beyond the 16th May Statement, should be with their consent. It follows from this that in their case residuary powers would vest with them unless they consent to their vesting in the Centre.

4. To enable States and, if they so think fit, Provinces also, to cede wider powers to the Centre, we recommend that the constitution should empower the Federal Government to exercise authority within the Federation on matters referred to them by one or more Units, it being understood that the law would extend only to the Units by whom the matter is referred or which afterwards adopt the law. This follows the Australian model as set out in section 51 (xxxvii) of the Australian Constitution Act.

5. We have included in the federal list the item ‘the strength, organisation and control of the armed forces raised and employed in Indian States’. Our intention in doing so is to maintain all the existing powers of co-ordination and control exercised over such forces.

6. We recommend to the Assembly the proposals contained in para 2-D of our previous report on the subject of federal taxation. It is quite clear, however, that the retention by the Federation of the proceeds of all the taxes specified by us would disturb, in some cases violently, the financial stability of the Units and we recommend therefore that provision should be made for an assignment, or a sharing, of the proceeds of some of these taxes on a basis to be determined by the Federation from time to time.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Jawaharlal Nehru

Chairman

New Delhi
July 5, 1947.

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1 Not reproduced here.

9. Changes in the Constituent Assembly after the Acceptance of Partition

Extracts from the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of India, 14 July 1947

Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, pp. 537–54

...Mr. President: Members who have not yet presented their credentials and signed the Register will do so now.

(The Secretary then called out the name of Haji Abdul Sathar Ham Ishaq Sait.)

Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta: (Delhi): Mr. President, may I rise to a point of order?

Before the Honourable Member is called upon to sign the Register, I would like to know whether it would not be fair to this House to ask whether he still subscribes to the Two-Nation theory or not? I take it that, as a sovereign body, and in view of the Partition that has been decided upon, we should review the whole question and lay down that a Member who does not subscribe to the Objectives Resolution that has been passed cannot sign the Register.

I want your ruling, Sir.
Mr. President: An interesting point has been raised. But I do not consider it is a point of order at all. It is a question of the right of Members who have been elected to the Constituent Assembly under the procedure laid down. Any one who has been elected is entitled to sit in this House as long as he does not resign. Therefore I do not think I can prevent any Member who has been elected duly from signing the Register.

The following Members then presented their Credentials and signed their names in the Register:

**Madras**
1. Haji Abdul Sathar Haji Ishaq Sait
2. B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur
3. Mahboob Ali Baig Sahib Bahadur
4. K.T.M. Ahmed Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur

**Bombay**
5. The Honourable Mr. Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar
6. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
7. Mr. Abdul Kadar Mohammad Shaikh

**West Bengal**
8. Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra
9. Mr. Debi Prosad Khaitan
10. Mrs. Renuka Ray
11. Mr. Damber Singh Gurung
12. Mr. R.E. Platel
13. Mr. Prafulla Chandra Sen
14. Mr. Upendranath Barman
15. Mr. Raghib Ahsan
16. Mr. Nazirudin Ahmad
17. Mr. Abdul Hamid
18. Mr. Satish Chandra Samanta
19. Mr. Suresh Chandra Majumdar
20. Mr. Basanta Kumar Das
21. Mr. Surendra Mohan Ghose
22. Mr. Arun Chandra Guha

**United Provinces**
23. Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman
24. Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan
25. Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan
26. Begum Aizaz Rasul
27. Mr. S.M. Rizwan Allah

**East Punjab**
28. The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh
29. Diwan Chaman Lall
30. Maulana Daud Ghaznavi
31. Gyani Gurmukh Singh Musafir
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<td>Lt.-Col. Kunwar Dalel Singhji</td>
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60. Sardar Jaidev Singh

61. Mr. Himmat Singh K. Maheshwari

62. Mr. G.S. Guha

63. Mr. B.H. Zaidi

64. Maharaja Mandhata Singh
65. Maharaj Nagendra Singh
66. Mr. Gokul Bhai Bhatt

67. Col. Maharaj Shri Himmat Singhji
68. Mr. A.P. Pattani
69. Mr. Gaganvihari Lalubhai Mehta
70. Mr. Bhawanjee Arian Khimjee
71. Khan Bahadur Pheroze Kothawala
72. Mr. Vinayakrao B. Vaidya

73. Mr. M.S. Aney
74. Mr. B. Munavalli

75. Rai Sahab Raghuraj Singh
76. Rai Bahadur Lala Rajkanwar
77. Mr. Sarangdhar Das
78. Mr. Yudhisthir Misra

79. Mr. Balwant Rai Gopalji Mehta.

Mr. President: Is there any other member who has not signed the Register yet? I take it that there is no one here who has not signed the Register yet.

Shri Balkrishna Sharma: (United Provinces: General): Mr. President, before you proceed to take up the business of the day I beg to put forward, with your permission, some questions for consideration. Sir, have I your permission?

Mr. President: The practice so far has been that, when any question is brought forward, it is considered whether permission to debate any matter relating to it is to be given or not. No question has been raised so far. I do not know what you intend saying. I think that permission will be given if what you intend saying is found to be proper and in order.
Shri Balkrishna Sharma: Though no question has so far been raised yet my prayer is that I may be permitted to explain my purpose, and a discussion may follow on it thereafter.

Mr. President: I do not know what you intend saying. If you had seen me and explained your purpose before, I may have given you permission. As no question has been so far raised, I do not see how I can give you the permission to speak at this moment.

Shri Biswanath Das: (Orissa: General): Mr. President, before you go on to the other items of the agenda I beg to invite your attention to the communiqué issued under the authority of Government on the decision regarding allotment of Armed Forces as per recommendations of the Sub-Committee. Sir, the decision is said to be final. It is said that it is a rough and ready division on communal basis based on the unanimous recommendation of the Armed Forces Reconstitution Sub-Committee, and it is said that this relates to allotment of ships etc., and that the requirements of each Dominion have been kept in view.

Mr. President: Mr. Das, I do not think the Constituent Assembly as such is concerned with any statement in any newspaper, at any rate, at this stage. Therefore the question does not arise.

Shri Biswanath Das: I am only submitting to you the contents to judge the relevancy of it. This concerns important questions of division of assets of India and has made us all anxious. This is practically the Legislature and Sovereign body. This matter is agitating the minds of all people.

Mr. President: I think you are suffering under a misapprehension. We are not yet the Legislative Assembly. We are still only the Constituent Assembly as it has been functioning so far. If this were the Legislative Assembly you might perhaps bring that in. Now I do not think that question arises. ...

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT

Mr. President: Hon'ble Members, we are meeting today after an interval of two and a half months. During this period many important events have occurred to which I believe I should refer. The most important of these was the statement of His Majesty’s Government made on June, the 3rd. This statement has profoundly affected Indian politics. One of its results has been the division of India, and it has also been decided to partition two provinces. Further, as a consequence of this, discussions are taking place, so far as I know, in the Government of India and the Provinces concerned regarding the details of the Partition, and actual work relating to Partition is also proceeding. Besides this, changes in the membership of this Constituent Assembly have occurred. In place of the members who formerly represented Bengal and Punjab some new and some former members have been returned in the new elections held in these two (which have now become four) provinces. Many States which had so far kept aloof from this Assembly have now sent in their representatives. The members belonging to the Muslim League who had so far remained absent are also attending the Assembly now.

The Constituent Assembly had appointed a number of Sub-Committees. Reports of these Sub-Committees have appeared in the Press and also been sent to the members. These reports, as they are now ready, will be placed before the House from time to time and you will be called upon to give your considered decisions on them. One of these Sub-Committees had been appointed to draft a model Constitution for the Provinces. Another was appointed to determine and recommend to us the principle on which the Union Constitution was to be
based, and to prepare a rough draft of the Union Constitution as well. A third Committee was
appointed to consider and determine the powers of the Union and submit its report relating
to them. The reports of all the three Committees are now ready. One of these reports has
been presented to the House for consideration and the reports of the other committees will
be presented in due course, and I hope that the House will take its decision on them after due
consideration during this session. It is my suggestion, and I believe you will approve of it,
that after the House has accepted the reports some persons may be appointed to prepare the
detailed draft of the Constitution, and that a Committee be appointed to go through this draft
carefully and to submit its opinion on it to this House when it meets again. The draft will then
be introduced in this House for detailed consideration and acceptance. Thus the Constitution
would be finalised.

Another committee known as the Advisory Committee had been appointed, but it has not
completed its work. It has set up the following Sub-Committees—Minority Sub-Committee,
Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee, Tribal and Excluded Areas Sub-Committee. These Sub-
Committees are parts of the former. One of these Sub-Committees has submitted its report,
but the reports of the other two are not ready as yet. I hope that very soon the reports of these
Sub-Committees will also be submitted, so that when the Constitution is drafted these may be
incorporated therein and the Constitution when finally accepted may be complete in all respects.

It is my hope that, if all this is done properly, we shall be able to pass the Constitution
finally after due consideration in the October meeting of the Assembly. I want that the work
of the Constituent Assembly should be speeded up, because, as you are aware, according to
the proposed Indian Independence Bill the Constituent Assembly would also function as the
Legislative Assembly, and already there are many matters pending before the Legislative
Assembly which must be taken into consideration. After some time the Budget Session would
also be due. Consequently, the earlier we finish the work of the Constituent Assembly the
sooner we shall have the opportunity to take in hand the work of the Legislative Assembly.
But I do not want that the work of the Constituent Assembly should be done in such a hurry as
to spoil any part of it. Every matter will have to be decided after full consideration. In placing
this proceed hurriedly to finish the work early, irrespective of whether its consequences are
good or bad. On the other hand, you must devote so much time to each matter as you consider
desirable. But if you keep in view that we have to do, sitting as the Legislative Assembly, other
work also, we must finish our present work as early as possible.

I welcome all the new members, and they are many, who are present today. I hope that all
of us together will finish, as early as possible, the work of the Constituent Assembly and will
give a Constitution that shall be agreeable and acceptable to all....

ELECTION CHANGES FROM BENGAL AND PUNJAB

Shri Sri Prakasa: (U.P. General): Mr. President, so far as I know it was said at the time the
elections to this Constituent Assembly were held that no outside authority had any control over
it. I would like to be informed whether you were consulted about the changes that have taken
place in Bengal and Punjab. Have these changes taken place according to the rules made by
this Assembly? So far as I am aware, members of this Assembly lose their membership when
they submit their resignation. I would like to know if the members for Bengal and Punjab, who
are no more members, lost their membership by submitting their resignation or as a result of
the Viceroy’s statement which led to new elections being held. If this is what has happened,
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and this appears to be the actual case, I would like to know your opinion on this matter and whether you consider all this proper and regular or not. We were told that once the Constituent Assembly was elected, neither any changes would be made in its constitution nor could any outsider have any authority or control over it. It appears to me that all these changes have taken place according to the statement of the Viceroy—a proceeding which is improper, unjust, illegal and contrary to the rules.

**Mr. President:** Your statement that these changes are the result of the Viceroy’s statement and the consequential action taken by him on it is correct. But I believe that everyone has consented to these changes being made and so also have we done. The question of invalidity, therefore, does not arise. Moreover, now no one from among the members who had been formerly elected and have now lost their membership has submitted any petition against the termination of his membership. The newly elected members are members of this Assembly and shall continue to take part in its proceedings.

**Shri Balkrishna Sharma:** Mr. President, I want to draw the attention of the House to a point arising out of your statement. It is this. You have in your opening statement welcomed the new members and have expressed the hope that they will make their contribution to the proceedings of this Assembly and will help in the framing of such a constitution for our India....

**Mr. President:** Are you making a speech or asking a question?

**Shri Balkrishna Sharma:** Sir, I am asking a question.

**Mr. President:** Please ask the question now.

**Shri Balkrishna Sharma:** My question is that when you expressed this hope it must not have escaped you that the election of some members, and their number is appreciable, has been through a special procedure and that they are participating in the Assembly while putting faith in the two nation theory....

**Mr. President:** You have started making a speech; or are you asking a question?

**Shri Balkrishna Sharma:** Have you been given the assurance that those who have been elected on the basis of the two-nation theory, will associate in your work after renouncing the two-nation theory and cooperate in furthering the common task?

**Mr. President:** A similar point was raised by Shri Deshbandhu Gupta. I then said in reply that I had no authority to forbid the members who had been duly elected from attending. I have therefore asked for no assurance and no assurance has been given to me. I have accepted all those who have been duly elected as members and on this we are acting. What all of you do here will show the intentions of each and all.

**An Honourable Member:** We could not follow your reply, Sir, in Hindi.

**Mr. President:** The question has been put in Hindi and I have to answer it in Hindi. If anyone puts a question in English I will answer it in English.

**Pandit Govind Malaviya:** (United Provinces: General): Sir, I would like to ask a question in order to clarify a point. My Honourable friend Mr. Sri Prakasa has raised a question, viz., that this Constituent Assembly being a sovereign body and in view of the fact that members who had been previously elected had not resigned, how have others taken their places. You,
Constituent Assembly

Sir, were good enough to say that everybody seemed to have acquiesced in this position and therefore it was right. I want to ask you, Sir, whether the position is not this that if any parts of the country decide to go out of the country, or secede from it, as, happily or unhappily, parts of two provinces have by their own vote decided to, the members from those parts of the country no longer have the right to continue as members of this Assembly? I want to get this point clarified, for, in future, it will be very important. I submit that the moment any part of the country decides not to remain part of India, automatically it loses all rights with regard to this Assembly.

Mr. President: I take it that any member elected from a part of a Province which has seceeded [sic] is not entitled to sit here: and I do not think any member like that is here.

Mr. H.J. Khandekar: What about Mr. Sidhwa?

Mr. President: Mr. Sidhwa was your representative, (Laughter), and elected by you from the C.P. and Berar.

MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BURMA CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Mr. President: We shall now go to the next item of business.

I am sure the Assembly will be glad to hear the message we have received from the Chairman of the Burma Constituent Assembly, in reply to the message that we had sent them.

‘On behalf of myself and the Constituent Assembly of Burma, I desire to thank you most warmly for your very kind message of goodwill and good wishes which has been most deeply appreciated by the Constituent Assembly and the country. Such cordial greetings and sincere good wishes from you and the Members of the Constituent Assembly of India, at the outset of our deliberations, would be a source of inspiration and encouragement to us in the task of framing a Constitution for a free and united Burma. I can assure you that a free Burma will regard it as its special duty and privilege to maintain most cordial and friendly relations with your country and to make all possible contributions to the peace and happiness of the world.

May I avail myself of this opportunity to thank you and Sir. B.N. Rau for all the kind help and assistance accorded to our Constitutional Adviser during his short stay at New Delhi and for the free gift of your publications which are found to be most valuable in our work?

May I also take this opportunity on behalf of the Constituent Assembly of Burma and the people of this country to send you and through you to the Members of your Constituent Assembly and the people of India our sincere good wishes, for the successful conclusion of your labours and speedy realisation of your cherished aim of establishing a free and united India?’ (Cheers).

REPORT OF THE ORDER OF BUSINESS COMMITTEE

Mr. President: The next item on the Agenda is the motion to be moved by Mr. Munshi.

Mr. K.M. Munshi: (Bombay: General): Sir, I beg to move the following resolution:

‘Resolved that the Constituent Assembly do proceed to take into consideration the further Report of the Order of Business Committee appointed by the Resolution of the Assembly of the 25th January, 1947.’

I have great pleasure, Sir, in moving this Report of the Order of Business Committee. As the House will see, this Report is quite different from the one submitted to the last sittings of the Assembly. Many and momentous have been the changes that have occurred in this country
since the last sittings, and this Report has become necessary as a result of these changes. Some parts of the country have seceded from India and from the jurisdiction of this Constituent Assembly. By the end of this week, the British Parliament would have adopted legislation which would set India free by the 15th of August, 1947—an event for which we have been waiting for centuries; and lastly, the fetters that were imposed upon this Constituent Assembly by the plan of May 16 have fallen. These changes, therefore require that the programme of this Constituent Assembly should be reorientated in the new atmosphere to meet the new situation which has arisen.

Sir, I may take the liberty of pointing out that the May 16 Plan has now gone for all practical purposes and that we as a sovereign body are moving towards reconstructing the constitution of the future in an atmosphere of complete freedom. I will take the liberty of mentioning in greater detail the change which has been referred to in a paragraph of the Report. The plan of May 16 had one motive—to maintain the unity of the country at all costs. A strong Central Government was sacrificed by the May 16 plan at the altar of preserving the unity which many of us, after close examination of the Plan found to be an attenuated unity which would not have lasted longer than the making of it. There were two stages envisaged in the Plan of May 16. The stages were the preliminary stage and the Union Constituent Assembly stage. A number of committees, which the House was pleased to set up, struggled to get some kind of a strong Government of India, a Government worth the name, out of these difficulties, but, the struggle, I am free to confess, was not very successful. As a matter of fact, very often if I may express my own sentiment, while examining the plan of May 16 over and over again the plan looked to me more like the parricide's bag which was invented by ancient Roman law. As you know, under the ancient criminal law of Rome, when a man committed a very heinous crime he was tied up in a bag with a monkey, a snake and a cock, and the bag was thrown into the Tiber till it sank.

The more we saw the plan the more we found the minority struggling to get loose, the sections gnawing at the vitals and we had the double majority clause poisoning the very existence. Whatever other Members may feel, I feel—thank God—that we have got out of this bag at last. We have no sections and groups to go into, no elaborate procedure as was envisaged by it, no double majority clause, nor more provinces with residuary powers, no opting out, no revision after ten years and no longer only four categories of powers for the centre. We therefore feel free to form a federation of our choice, a federation with a Centre as strong as we can make it, subject of course to this that the Indian States have to be associated in this great task on a footing of the four categories [of] powers and such further powers as they choose by agreement to cede to the centre. Therefore, Sir, I personally am not at all sorry that this change has taken place. We have now a homogeneous country, though our frontiers have shrunk—let us hope only for the moment—and we can now look forward to going on unhesitatingly towards our cherished goal of strength and independence. And therefore the report that was submitted to the House had to be revised. ...

It is highly necessary, Sir, as you were pleased to point out that the work of Constitution making should be completed at the earliest possible moment and that if possible by November we should complete our Constitution-making work. At one time the rules were framed on the footing that we may take longer. They dealt with the question of sections and groups and various other things. At the time the rule was framed—old Rule 63—it was intended that after the general lines of the Constitution were approved by this House they should be circulated
to the members of the legislature. It is not necessary to indulge in that elaborate procedure, first because the office of the Constituent Assembly has circularised a set of questionnaires to which replies have been given by members of the several Legislatures in this country and the opinions are therefore before the Committees. Secondly, things are moving so fast that we cannot go on at the pace at which we intended to go before. By the 15th August India will be a free and independent Dominion. We want to attain that stage as early as possible and to secure a constitution of our own which will give us the necessary strength. We must not forget the fact that in the Dominion Constitution which comes into existence on the 15th August the States' representatives have no place. We want that the Constitution of the Union therefore must come into existence at the earliest possible time. If that is so we shall have to eliminate this unnecessary procedure of circulating the decision to the members of this House. This House is sufficiently representative of all interests and there is no reason why we should unnecessarily lengthen out the proceedings. Further, we know that this House is working under high pressure and within a limited time. For that purpose Members will find that in the Report of the Union Constitution Committee a provision has been made to this effect that within the first period of three years the constitution could be amended easily. In framing a Constitution as we are doing under great pressure, there are likely to be left several defects; and it is not necessary that we should have a very elaborate and rigid scheme for amending these provisions, in the first three years. Therefore, the point that is placed before the House by the Report is that on the one side the Advisory Committee will continue to complete its task, on the other hand the Drafting Committee will take up the Constitution Bill and by the middle or the end of October next will be ready with the Bill for being placed before the House. It is of great importance that this Constitution should be framed as early as we possibly can do it.

One other point. We have today with us the representatives of the Muslim League. I have no doubt that they are here as loyal and law abiding citizens of India and that they will co-operate with us wholly in framing as speedily as we can a Constitution for the Union in which we hope they will get an honoured place as a minority. Secondly, I may refer to the representatives of the States who have come here and I will make only one appeal to them. The time is very short. The report envisages the formation of the Union by the end of October or at least by the end of November. The House naturally expects the cooperation of Members and the representatives from the States as partners in this urgent work of framing a Constitution. ...

I only want to say one thing. Time is of the essence of our activities here. We have to face the world with the determined purpose of framing a Constitution for a strong India which will be great and powerful. The world, I am afraid, is moving towards another crisis, and when that crisis comes—may it never come—it should not find us unprepared.

With these few words, I place this Report before the House for its consideration.

I have no objection whatever to accept the amendment which Mr. K Santhanam is proposing to move.

Shri K. Santhanam: (Madras: General): Sir, I beg to move:

‘Add the following at the end of the motion:

"Resolved further that with the exception of para. 3, the Report be adopted and the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights, Minorities and Tribal and Excluded Areas be called upon to formulate at an early date and if possible before the end of this session the general principles to be adopted in the Constitution in relation to minorities for consideration and decision of the
Assembly prior to their incorporation in the draft of the Constitution and when the principles are so approved, the procedure proposed in para. 3 may be followed."

I need not say much about the need for this amendment. We all know how our minds are greatly exercised about the principles to be followed regarding the safeguarding of the rights of minorities. If they are incorporated in the Draft Constitution, we shall find ourselves greatly handicapped in changing them. There will be a great deal of heart-burning if any important changes are sought to be made after the Draft is published, circulated and even commented upon in the press and on the platform. Therefore, it is essential that, like the other principles of the Constitution, the principles regarding electorates franchise and similar matters should first be approved and then only they should be put in the Draft.

Mr. President: Does any Member wish to speak on the motion before the house?

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: (West Bengal: Muslim): Mr. President. Sir, I am a new-comer to this House. I find from the motion moved by K.M. Munshi that what is proposed to be taken into consideration is the 'further Report' of the Order of Business Committee. It means that there was an earlier report. We have no copy of it. This puts us under a handicap. It is very necessary for us to know what has been done already.

Secondly, we should have official copies of the May 16 Statement and also of the June 3 Statement. Although everybody has read them, we should like to have official copies of the same. Only then will it be possible for us to proceed in a systematic manner.

The Mover of the Resolution has appealed to the Members of the Muslim League to be loyal and law-abiding citizens of India. I should have thought that there was no need for any doubt whatever regarding the fact that we have come here as loyal and law-abiding citizens of India. (Applause). I submit with due humility that we have come here to take part in the deliberations of this House in framing a Constitution as quickly and as reasonably as we can. But we, the new-comers, require a little time to study the previous report, the debates and other relevant papers, before we can take a useful part in the House.

Shri R.V. Dhulekar: (U.P.: General): I agree with the Report submitted by Mr. Munshi and with what he has said regarding the work that this Constituent Assembly should have done so far. I want to speak about some matters which will come before the House. The first is that recently some changes have occurred, with the result that some have ceased to be members of the Constituent Assembly and new ones have been elected, in their place. The new members, who have come here, will take some time to understand all that we have done. Thus we have to review the work that this Constituent Assembly has done during the past six months, and so long as we do not take into consideration what has been already accomplished we cannot proceed further. We have to think over it. We find that India has now been divided into two and we have to see whether the Constituent Assembly should stick to the views it adopted at the time of its inception or whether it should change them. We have to consider that also, because there are many things which are proper at a particular time which cease to be so when the times have changed. The first thing that we have to note in the proceedings of the past few months is that we promised in the Objectives Resolution, which was moved in the House, that the people residing in India would be protected in every way and their culture, language and civilization would be fully safeguarded. We have to consider now whether the significance of these safeguards should continue to be what it was when they were accepted or it has to be altered. In my opinion it is necessary now to change our point of view and I think
it necessary to amend the resolution that we have passed and also change the views expressed in discussing that resolution. At that time I raised the point that this Constituent Assembly should adopt Hindustani as its language. Now I submit that we have to reconsider the question of our language and script. The second thing that has been recorded in the Report relates to the month of October or November. It is said that this Constituent Assembly will now be converted into Central Assembly and we have to consider as to what will be the position of those who are members of the Provincial Legislature and have been returned to the Constituent Assembly. Some people say that the members of Provincial Assemblies, who have come here, will be requested to go back....

Mr. President: Mr. Dhulekar, I think you have strayed far from the matter under consideration.

Shri R.V. Dhulekar: No, Sir; I am not far from the point.

Mr. President: I have been under the impression that I was doing my job and I feel that you have strayed far from the point. The question before us is whether we accept the programme or the time-table submitted to us in this Report. You are raising too many questions and this is not the time for you to raise constitutional issues.

Mr. R.V. Dhulekar: Sir, I am sorry but I beg to point out that the programme submitted by Mr. Munshi makes the Business Committee, which is in existence, feel that no matters, such as new elections, should be brought up as might cause delay. Therefore, I suggest that the present members of the Constituent Assembly should continue till the Constitution has been framed.

Mr. President: The question as to who should continue to be its members and who should not, does not arise. The simple and straight question is whether or not you accept the time-table now submitted by the Committee. Nor is the question of language before us. Your remarks in this connection are irrelevant. What have you to say about the time-table and the other questions before the House?

Shri R.V. Dhulekar: I am sorry, but I beg to submit that it would suit the convenience of the Constituent Assembly that the existing members who have devoted all their time to it should continue till October by which time the Constitution would be ready.

Mr. President: Again the same question I have already told you and the whole House that up to the time the members do not resign they continue. If anybody intends to remain as a member this question will arise.

Shri R.V. Dhulekar: Sir, I am satisfied, I wish to say one word more that some opportunity should be given to the House in its present meeting to have an idea of the work already done and to be done in future. I have to say only this much.

Haji Abdul Sathar Haji Ishaq Sait: (Madras: Muslim): I just want to call the attention of the House to the fact that this important amendment was not circulated to members of the House. I am not objecting to the amendment. It is an important amendment and I am in favour of it but it is very difficult to understand it without having a copy. May I therefore request your help to see that such important amendments, as far as possible, are circulated to members, in good time?

Mr. President: I entirely agree with you that all important amendments should be given notice of in due time so that members may have an opportunity of studying them.
The Hon’ble Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: (United Provinces: General): May I request you, Mr. President, to talk a little louder? We could not hear you even when you were speaking through the microphone.

Mr. President: I am very sorry, but nobody complained before.

The Hon’ble Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: We can hear you now.

Mr. President: But I don’t think I have raised my voice now.

The Hon’ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (U.P.: General): It is a matter of the distance between you and the mike.

Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: (Madras: General): I want to say a word or two about what Mr. Munshi said in moving his resolution. I do not feel very happy over what has happened, though I and others of my view have reconciled ourselves to this solution as the best in the circumstances. I am glad, Sir, that the members of the Muslim League have come here in so far as they are residents of the Union of India. I am glad too that many States have come in. I would have been gladder still if entire India had been represented here. I am really surprised that my friend, Mr. Munshi, who stood for Akhand Hindustan, is now equally supporting this solution. I personally think that the May 16 solution was the best. I am sorry that solution has been given up. But let us not float over what has happened. Even though what has happened is the best in the circumstances, we should all hope for the day when we will come again together. If the May 16 solution which was unanimously approved had been adhered to, the partition of Bengal, the partition of the Punjab, the secession of the North-West Frontier Province, the giving away of Sylhet, all these would have been avoided.

Mr. President: I entirely agree with you, but it is no use taking Mr. Munshi to task for that.

Mr. S.H. Prater: (Madras: General): Sir, I rise to support the amendment. We are considering the principles of a new Provincial Constitution which deeply affect the position of the minorities and decisions may be taken at this session accepting these principles. I therefore propose that the Minorities Committee be given early opportunity to consider them and their views may receive due consideration by this Assembly before decisions are finally adopted. I therefore support the amendment.

The Hon’ble Mr. Jaipal Singh: (Bihar: General): Mr. President, I have great pleasure in supporting the amendment moved by Mr. Santhanam. While we all fully appreciate the urgency of expedition in the carrying on of our business here. I feel that it is quite impossible for the Report of the Excluded Areas Sub-Committee to be presented during this session. It has been suggested that big principles might be decided during this session. But, as it is, the Sub-Committee on Excluded Areas has yet to visit the Excluded and Partially Excluded areas of the provinces of Bihar and the United Provinces. While these two Provinces cannot possibly be visited during the rainy season, I do not see how the Adibasi problem and the big things that are going to affect them can possibly be decided during this session, as Mr. Munshi suggests. I think as Mr. Pratar [sic] has pointed out, it is very necessary that no ‘section’—I regret I have to use the word ‘section’—no portion of people of this Union should be left out when matters which vitally affect them are being considered. I wish only to point out that the Report of the Tribal Sub-Committee cannot possibly be ready till the end of August.
Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan: (U.P.: Muslim): Honourable President, I oppose the Resolution which has been moved by Mr. Munshi and support the amendment. Sir, agree with you, that as in the process of this glorious task we have to solve scores of important problems, it does not behove us that we should conclude the proceedings in haste without considering them thoroughly. Sir, you have said that we should remember that the time at our disposal is short and work is long, but at the same time, we should keep in mind that we have to frame the constitution of India with due care. Contrary to this, I find in this Resolution that the Mover is of opinion that the Reports of the three Committees, which are extremely important, need not be submitted to this Assembly even after their completion. Accordingly, they are inserting the sections in the Constitution of India. The Resolution runs thus: ‘We propose accordingly that the Assembly authorise the President to summon a session sometime in October, preferably in the early part of this month, for the purpose of considering the Draft Constitution.’ Sir, so far as Fundamental Rights are concerned, we ought to get an opportunity to express our opinion after careful consideration and then to hand over suggestions to the framers of the Constitution.

Mr. President: So far as Fundamental Rights are concerned, the Constituent Assembly has considered them very carefully. Now, only the Reports of Minority Committee and Tribal Areas Committee remain to be considered.

Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan: If this is so, I think the wording of the resolution is wrong, because in the original resolution the Committee on Fundamental Rights has been clearly mentioned. So far as the Committee on Tribal Areas is concerned I think, in the present circumstances perhaps that would almost useless. Why will it be useless? You know the reason better. But before the Minorities Committee Report is inserted in the Constitution, it is desirable that it should be placed before the Constituent Assembly and we should get the fullest opportunity to discuss it and after we have given our best thought to it, it should be drafted in accordance with the procedure laid down in this connection. Therefore, as the Honourable President in his inaugural address has pointed out, in these matters we should not be in such a hurry as to make a mess of the whole thing. Taking my stand on this. I oppose this resolution and support the amendment.

Mr. Mohan Sinha Mehta: (Udaipur State): Sir, I understood from Mr. Munshi’s speech—I may be wrong—that he had anticipated and accepted Mr. Santhanam’s amendment.

Mr. President: Mr. Munshi had said that he had already accepted the suggestion of Mr. Santhanam, although he had not formally moved the amendment. Mr. Munshi has already accepted the amendment.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. President, I have listened attentively to all the speeches that have been made hitherto, but I fail to understand why so many speeches have been made on this subject. Unfortunately, I could not follow even Mr. Munshi’s speech. In any case, it is a simple matter that we must determine our programme and the principles involved therein. We are not concerned with whether the work is finished in this session or the next. But we must have a concrete plan before us. Mr. Munshi has now put a plan before us, and we have to take a decision on it. After all what is the debate about? We will try to finish as much work as we can during this session and take up the remainder in October or November.

Mr. Mahomed Sheriff: (Mysore State): Mr. President, I endorse what has been said by Maulvi Aziz Ahmad. He has stated in his speech that no resolution, no law, and no plan can be of
much use without granting adequate and satisfactory safeguards to the minorities. The principle
to which the Maulvi Saheb has drawn your attention is very important. You know that if the
resolution is accepted, an atmosphere of opposition and mistrust will be created among the
minorities. So it is better to decide it (the minority question) at our earliest. So long as we do not
find its solution, I think it would be premature to support the resolution. I, therefore, oppose
this resolution and fully support the position taken up by Aziz Ahmed Saheb. ...

B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur: (Madras: Muslim): Mr. President, first of all, I must confess the
disability under which I am suffering, namely that I have not been able to follow most of the
proceedings which have taken place, to the extent to which they are in languages other than
English. Therefore, I would appeal to the President to make provision for rendering into English
the proceedings that take place here. Otherwise, it would be very difficult for us to follow and
participate in the proceedings. No doubt, I do agree that it is necessary to have a common
language, a lingua franca, a national language. I agree with all that. But we have to take facts
as they are. As the Constituent Assembly is now constituted, it consists of members who are
acquainted with various languages. All of us know that all the members of this Assembly are
not familiar either with Hindi or with Urdu. There may be some members who are not familiar
with English. But I take it that most of the members are familiar with English and therefore
it would be a very useful procedure if the President finds his way to make the proceedings
known to us all.

Now, Sir, as regards the proposition before the House, before dealing with that subject
itself, I would like to say just one word as to the circumstances under which we the Muslim
League Members have come here and have decided to participate in these proceedings. Now,
Sir you will agree that we have met here after an unprecedented event in the history of the
world, namely the securing of independence for both India and for Pakistan without shedding
a drop of blood.

Many Honourable Members: No. No.

B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur: I know quite well that there are several members....

Mr. Debi Prosad Khaitan: (West Bengal: General): I rise to a point of order, I submit the
speech of the Honourable Member is absolutely irrelevant to the proposition before the House.
I would submit, Sir, that he should be asked to restrict himself to the motion before the House.

Mr. President: I would ask Honourable Members to leave that part of the task to me.

B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur: I know the feeling, Sir, perhaps a very painful feeling in many
quarters, that what was known as India before has been reduced in extent and another kingdom
namely Pakistan has been..

Mr. President: Will you please confine yourself to the motion before the House?

B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur: Sir, why I referred to that fact is only this. We have met here now
after an event which has no precedent in the history of the world.

We are all very glad that we have met here and I congratulate Mr. Munshi for the excellent
speech and for the excellent spirit in which he made it,—a speech which will be conducive to
the united work of all the people concerned. I am very sorry to note that another Honourable
Member has made a note of discord in his speech and I do believe that it was not quite wise
on his part to have done so. We have to take the facts as they are and I may say that, so far as
division is concerned, it is a matter of agreement between the two important bodies, the two
great organisations in this country, namely, the Congress and the League. Both the organisations
having agreed to the division, there is nothing to cry over.

Mr. President: May I remind the Honourable Member to confine himself to the motion before
the House? I am afraid he has gone much beyond that.

B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur: I am only dealing with the point that has been dealt with by
Mr. Munshi and referring to the reply given by another Honourable Member. If I am out of
order in these circumstances, certainly I bow to your ruling and I do not want to say anything
further. I have only made a reference to that. Mr. Munshi made an appeal to the members of
the Muslim League to be loyal citizens of India and to cooperate. Certainly this assurance has
been there and the Muslim League members will be loyally co-operating with this Constituent
Assembly and they also expect a responsive co-operation from the other side.

Now, Sir, so far as the resolution before the House is concerned, certainly the resolution
has to be carried. As regards the amendment of Mr. Santhanam, I wholeheartedly support it.

Many Honourable Members: The question be now put.

The Honourable Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant (U.P.: General): I was going to move that
the question be now put.

Mr. President: I accept that motion. I think the House does not want any further discussion.
I put Mr. Santhanam’s amendment to the House.

The amendment was adopted.

Mr. President: The motion, as amended, is put to the House.

The motion, as amended, was adopted.

10. Every Province Should Be Made a Republic

Extract from the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of India, 15 July 1947
Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, pp. 589–91

Mr. President: I now call upon Maulana Hasrat Mohani to move his amendment.

B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur: (Madras: Muslim): I only want to remind you of the request I
made yesterday, that arrangements should be made to render the speeches into English as a
large number of members are not able to follow the speeches in languages other than English.
Therefore, Sir, in view of the fact that Maulana is going to speak in Urdu, I would request that
arrangements may be made to give us a rendering into English of the valuable speech which
Mr. Maulana is going to make.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani: Sir, I move my amendment to this Clause No. 1. I think I will
have some difficulty in expressing myself in a foreign tongue but to accommodate my friend
from Madras, I shall try my best to express myself as best as I can. I move: ‘That in Clause
1, for the words ‘a Governor’ the words ‘a President’ shall be substituted.’ By this I intend to
say that we have got an inherent right of all the members of all these constituent provinces
to demand a Provincial Republic for every Province. What we have intended and what we
thought and what we were expecting to get, we wanted and we thought that we will get a Union
of Indian Republics. My friend Mr. Tripathi had moved an amendment in the last session of
this Assembly that he wanted to introduce the word ‘Socialist’. It did not have the support of
the House. We will see to it afterwards. If we have got a Federal Republic, it does not matter
whether you agree to make it a Socialist Republic or not. In the first instance, you may have a
Nationalist Constitution and majority of Nationalist members but I am sure that the tendency
of the world is to become, everyone of us is becoming now, socialist minded and I think that
the time is not far off when, as we expect, we will be able to form a solid group of leftists
and I think that by the latest, in the next election, I hope that we will be able to capture the
whole of the organization. If you now agree to make every province a Republic, I do not care
whether you agree to make it socialistic or not. We will make it a socialist republic. But one
thing I must say, you cannot shelve this question. You cannot say ‘We want only a Republic
in the Centre. We will not allow any of these Provinces to become a Republic’, and as I said,
this is a trick when you say that in each Province there shall be a Governor. I say that it must
be a President, if you accept the word ‘President’, then it means that you agree to make every
Province a Republic. If you refuse to accept the word ‘President’, then it means that you are
determined to retain those Provinces as mere autonomous Provinces. You grant only Provincial
autonomy and nothing else. If that is your intention, I most strongly protest against this sort of
treatment which if I am not using any strong words, I shall say, will be something like staging
a farce on the people of all the Provinces, especially on my Province, the United Provinces.
Here my friend Pandit Nehru says ‘you can introduce afterwards any amendment you like
to the Union Constitution’. I say I introduce this amendment here and now, and ask you to
make this word ‘Governor’ ‘President’, so that you may not be able to refuse to reopen the
whole thing on the occasion of my moving an amendment to the Union Constitution. Then
the question of the Union Constitution will anyhow come in and this difficulty will crop up.
My friend Sardar Patel also said there is no difference whether we call Governor or President.
There is a great difference. Once you disallow my amendment you will say ‘No, we will have
only Governor’. That means that you want to give us only Provincial autonomy. You do not
want many of the Provinces to go even a single step further. I have read very carefully your
Union Report. In this Union Report, page 12, Clause 9 says: ‘The executive authority of the
Ruler of a Federated State shall continue to be exercisable in that State with respect to Federal
subjects until otherwise provided by the Federal authority.’

To this Clause 9, a note is added which says: ‘In this respect the position of the provincial
units is rather different. These have no executive power in respect of Federal subjects save
as given by Federal Law.’ In respect of the Indian States you say something. But you say the
position of the Provincial units is different. They have no residuary power in respect of special
subjects. You fix only the provincial subjects. And you ask us to accept this clause. We will not.
Of course, you have got a majority. You can pass anything you like. But I ask in the name of
justice and fairplay ‘What right have you got to deprive the provinces of India from aspiring
to become republics of the Union of Federal Republics, and not only Federal Republics but
Socialist Federal Republics at that’? This was moved in a former meeting of the Assembly. You
did not accept that. But the position was quite different then. You were suspecting the Pakistan
people might make mischief. But they have been separated now. Some Muslim Leaguers raised
this objection; ‘Now that India and Pakistan have become two different things, what is the
meaning of the All India Muslim League?’ All-India Muslim League means the Muslim League
of India, i.e. of the minority Provinces. So, they said, ‘If you want to have a Muslim League, you
can start one for Pakistan, where we the Muslims of the Muslim minority provinces can have
no influence, except through the Council of the All-India Muslim League which according to
the decision of Mr. Jinnah still exists and to which new members have already been elected.
I am one of them from U.P. (Interrupt).}

Mr. President: Order, order.

An Honourable Member: Does the speaker think that this is the All-India Muslim League
Council?

Maulana Hasrat Mohani: No, no. I am pointing out that I have nothing to do with Pakistan
except as a member of the All-India Muslim League Council. Where is the harm if we take
the Union Constitution first. You have deliberately put the Provincial Constitution here first.
What is the meaning of that? By taking this model provincial report first you are doing us a very
grave injustice. Of course, you can have it passed. But you cannot prohibit the provinces from
demanding independence and becoming republics. You have said 'We want only a Unitary
Republic'. Then why have you introduced the word 'Federation' in your report here? It is simply
to deceive the public. You fight shy of the word 'Unitary'. Therefore to have your way you have
said 'Federation'. This is why you want to preclude the provinces from demanding republican
government. But I tell you, you cannot compel them. You cannot impose your authority on
them. We want a Union of Socialist Republics and if you persist in imposing nationalism and
a nationalist constitution on your provinces you will soon be swept off the face of the earth. ...

11. 'Union Assembly Rules Amended: Constitution on
UK Lines Favoured'

Extract from a report in National Herald, 16 July 1947

NEW DELHI, 15 July—The Constituent Assembly today amended its rules whereby all references
to sections were deleted.

Mr. K.M. Munshi moved more than 30 amendments to the rules of the Constituent Assembly
necessitated by the June 3 statement. The effect of the amendments were: The need to break
into sections as stated in the state paper of May 16 was done away with, the double majority
votes required to settle major communal issues and reference to the federal court of certain
issues, etcetera were also dispensed with. ...

Moving the memorandum embodying the recommendations of the provincial constitution
committee, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said that both the provincial constitution committee and
the union constitution committee met jointly to consider whether we should have a federal
or unitary type of constitution and came to the conclusion that a parliamentary system of
constitution of the British type, with which we were familiar, would suit conditions in this
country better.

The provincial constitution committee had made its recommendation accordingly.

Some misunderstanding might arise on the question of some of the items mentioned in clause nine (governor's
discretionary powers). If we analysed this clause, we found that practically the only powers left to the provincial
governor was the power to report to the Union president about any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity
of the province and the summoning and dissolving of the provincial legislatures.

The committee generally agreed that there should be only one house of legislature, but it was
also agreed that if any of the provinces wanted a bicameral legislature, it should be open to
that province to set up such a legislature. But the constitution of the upper house should be on the British model.

The committee had given special attention to the appointment of the judges of the high court as the judiciary should be above suspicion and party influence. There were many checks provided to ensure fair appointments.

For the rest of the constitution, it was agreed that the draft should be made on the adaptation of the present 1935 Act with suitable alterations.

This report contained roughly 85 per cent of the draft, the rest being covered by the advisory committee on minorities....

**NEHRU EXPLAINS**

Pandit Nehru, replying to Maulana Hasrat Mohani’s criticism, said that the Maulana would have been justified in his objections if the house had proceeded to frame the provincial constitution without first deciding the principles on which both provincial and Union constitutions were to be based. As it was, the Assembly had passed the objectives resolution, clearly stating those principles. After that it did not matter which part of the constitution-making was done first, because essentially the house was to be guided in its deliberations by that resolution.

The report on the provincial constitution, Pandit Nehru explained, was ready earlier than the report on the Union constitution and thus it had been presented for consideration in order to give the members more time to think over the Union constitution report which had been prepared only a week ago. There was nothing secret about either of the two reports. The only thing to be kept in view was that they did not work against the spirit of the objectives resolution.

Mr. Munaw Ali, supporting Maulana Hasrat Mohani, said that until it had been decided what sort of constitution the Union would have, it would not be possible to draw up the provincial constitution.

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma opposed the postponement of consideration of the report. It really made very little difference whether the Union constitution was considered first or the provincial constitution because the objectives resolution was already there to guide the house; if anything in either of the reports contravened the terms of that resolution, any member was at perfect liberty to point it out.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmed agreed with this view.

**12. ‘Provision for Elected Governors Approved’**

Extract from a report in *The Hindustan Times*, 17 July 1947

NEW DELHI, Wednesday.—Each province of India will have a Governor elected directly on the basis of adult suffrage and a Deputy Governor elected by the provincial legislature. These two important decisions were taken by the Constituent Assembly at its sitting today.

Material modifications in the proposals of the Patel Committee were made by the House, the sponsors being members of the Committee or their associates. The general trend of discussion showed that, whereas a great deal of lip-service is paid to the idea of a strong Centre, most of the changes made today were aimed at strengthening provincial autonomy.

Before the proceedings began Mr. Sri Prakasa reported ‘a serious breach of the privileges of the members of the House’. A European police officer, he said had refused to let tongas enter the portico of the Council House because only cars could drop passengers there. Since it
was raining, members using tongas had been put to inconvenience. Moreover, Mr. Sri Prakasa added, it was a case of snobbery. The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, promised to look into the complaint....

13. ‘Cabinet System of Government for Provinces’  
*The Hindustan Times*, 18 July 1947

The Constituent Assembly on Thursday approved without debate the clause in the Provincial Constitution Committee’s report regarding the creation of a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions except in so far as he was under the constitution required to exercise his functions in his discretion.

The discretionary powers vested in the Governor relate to the prevention of any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of the province, the summoning and dissolving of the provincial legislature, the superintendence, direction, and control of elections, etc. These special responsibilities of the Governor are enumerated in subsequent sections of the report which would be taken up for discussion at a later stage.

A number of speakers participated in the discussion on the clause relating to the appointment of the Ministers. According to the draft, the Ministers shall be chosen and summoned by the Governor and shall hold office during his pleasure.

**League Amendment**

Mr Aziz Ahmed Khan moved an amendment which sought that the Governor’s Ministers should be elected by members of the Provincial Assembly by the system of proportional representation by single non-transferable vote.

Mr B. Pocker Saheb Bahadur and Begum Aizaz Rasul moved two other amendments which prescribed that the Ministers should be responsible to the provincial legislature and that they should hold office during the life of the Assembly.

Commending his amendment, Mr Aziz Ahmed Edian said that the system he had suggested was already in vogue in America and Switzerland. The real cause for friction in India, he said, was that we had adopted British Parliamentary system.

Mr Pocker Saheb said that under the draft constitution all powers would be concentrated in the Governor and it would be dangerous to invest all powers in a single individual even though he might be elected on adult franchise.

**Plea for Swiss Model**

Begum Aizaz urged that there should be a stable Ministry and the Cabinet should not be at the mercy of the parties. They had a precedent in the Swiss constitution where the Ministers were elected.

Opposing the amendment, Seth Govind Dass said that it would not be fair to find fault with the British democratic system of Government because it had not been given a fair trial in India. The British Parliamentary system had not proved successful so far because of such theories as two nations and the slogan of religion in danger. In the appointment of his Working Committee, the Muslim League President had followed the same principle which was now enunciated in the draft constitution.
Mr Jaipal Singh, opposing the amendment, said that it looked as though the Governor had arbitrary powers but there was to be a schedule to the Act which would clearly define his powers.

Mohammed Sheriff supported the amendment.

Mr N.V. Gadgil, opposing the amendment, said it would be dangerous and unfair to the electorate and unworkable in practice if the Legislature did not have the power to throw out a Ministry but instead had to wait for its term to run out.

Kazi Syed Karimuddin, supporting the amendment, said that the Constituent Assembly was not a political platform but a body charged with the task of framing a constitution. The Muslim League had every right to put forward socialism or any other theory for its consideration. Both in the 1919 and 1935 Acts of the Government of India there was provision for majority rule. This had led to undesirable results and nepotism.

**Reservations Urged**

Mehboob Ali Saheb Bahadur hoped that reservations would be made for the various interests in the future constitution so that all interests could secure due representation in the Legislature.

Mr Nagappa, supporting the original motion, said he would have preferred if the Ministers were chosen by the Legislature. Such a procedure would give an opportunity to every member of the House to select his own representative.

Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, opposing the amendments, said that the amendments were based upon the bad experience that they had had in past due to the vicious system of separate electorates, under which the majority community could sweep the polls and monopolize the Ministries. They were looking forward to joint electorates and forming political parties based not on communal but on political principles and they should, therefore, not judge the future by their unfortunate experience of the past.

Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, Leader of the Muslim League Party, supporting the amendment, said that his party felt that having given very wide powers to the Governor ‘we must have an irremovable Ministry.’ In support of this proposition, he would not refer to the American, Swiss or any other constitution. To his mind, the question must be looked upon purely from the point of view of the genius of the people.

**Experience in Municipalities**

They had not tried the 1935 constitution for long but a method somewhat similar to that suggested in the present clause had been tried in the Municipal and District Boards, with the result that every day there was a vote of no-confidence against the Chairman of a District or Municipal Board and the provincial Governments had to introduce the principle of two-thirds majority for the removal of a Chairman. Within the last few days one Ministry had fallen in Madras. These were the experiences which led his party to conclude that it would be better in our own interest to have an irremovable executive. Otherwise with a change of slogans, there might be a change of Ministry.

To say that this amendment had been moved because his party wanted to secure representation by some method was to misjudge its intentions. ‘Personally I believe that no Governor who has been chosen by the vote of the people will ever have a Ministry without representatives of the people, whether they be Muslims or achuts. Therefore, it is not from that point of view that we have asked for consideration of this amendment.’
No Proportional Representation

Mr K.M. Munshi, opposing the amendment, said that nothing fragmented the political life of a country as proportional representation in the selection of Ministries. After the Treaty of Versailles, on account of President Wilson’s partiality for proportional representation, several of the Central European countries introduced proportional representation and they lived to be sorry for it. ‘The net result of proportional representation will be that instead of a Ministry having collective responsibility and interested in the good of the province as a whole, there will be a Ministry consisting of representatives of different groups with different ideologies and policies.’

Danger of Coalition Govts

This would invariably result in Coalition Governments, the greatest danger to which democracy was prone. In France there had always been a fashion of having coalition Ministries and not Ministries based on a majority with the result that during the last eight or ten years there had been 22 Ministries.

As regard the other amendments, once they had a democratic system, they must agree that if during the life of the House a vote of censure was passed on the Ministry that Ministry must be prepared to resign. Otherwise, the Ministry would be entirely unresponsive to the fluctuations of public opinion.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, replying to the debate, said, ‘We have in this provincial model constitution adopted the British Parliamentary model, namely the Cabinet system. The mover of the amendment contemplates the Swiss model, which is entirely different and which would, if passed, probably require us to reconsider the whole constitution.’

The election of Ministers by proportional representation was a system which was contrary to the whole framework of this constitution. ‘It cuts at the very root of democracy and, therefore, does not fit in here.’

No Wide Powers

It had been suggested that Governors had got very wide powers under the proposed constitution. ‘I do not think that in this constitution a Governor has got as wide powers as under the present constitution foreign Governors have got. The present constitution was such that we had not only no Governor elected by adult franchise representing the will of the people but a foreign Governor with instruments of instructions, and instructions to protect foreign interests. The experience derived from the working of that constitution cannot be compared with the constitution that we have proposed here.’

Proceeding, Sardar Patel said: ‘Whether in the working of the constitution that we propose, we will have [a] pleasant experience or not will depend much upon the manner in which we work it. Constitutions are always broken by people who have the will to do so. We are not wanting in instances where, if the constitution is worked in such a manner that a Prime Minister or Minister is irremovable by vote of the House, he could be removed by a bullet. (laughter)’

‘It is no use saying that an irremovable executive will be safe. If an irremovable executive functions in such a manner, then people will find out other methods to deal with it. What we want is real goodwill to work a good constitution.

‘Here we have contemplated joint responsibility of Ministers. Under the method suggested by the mover of the amendment, individual Ministers would go their own way and each Minister
has only to work for five or ten votes which he can probably obtain by means which cannot be very desirable, and the whole machinery would be liable to be corrupted.’

The amendments were rejected and the clause as originally moved was adopted.

**Question of Conventions**

There was a debate on the clause relating to conventions of responsible Government to be observed by provincial Governors. The clause while stating that in his relations with Ministers, the Governor shall be generally guided by the conventions of responsible Government, left it to a schedule to be drawn up later on to work out the details of these conventions.

A number of members raised doubts as to whether this could be done with constitutional propriety. What was there to prevent anyone from inserting schedule after the clause was passed and say that it had been passed as well. They suggested postponement of consideration of the clause or deletion of the reference to the schedule, as otherwise it might be like leaving a blank cheque.

Replying to the debate, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel recalled his preliminary remarks when he moved for consideration of the report and said that only the principles of the provincial constitution were being approved now. The constitution would be drafted based on these principles and would come up again before the House for consideration. Had the members borne in mind this fact the whole discussion on this clause could have been avoided.

Messrs Pocker Saheb, Anantasayanam Ayyanger, M.S. Aney, Haji Essack Sait, P.S. Deshmukh, Ramachandra Gupta, Abdul Hamid, Shibanlal Saxena and Mahabir Tyagi participated in the debate, after which the clause was adopted.

The Assembly also passed without debate a number of other clauses and adjourned until tomorrow when further consideration of the report would be taken.

14. Discussion on the Position of Provincial Governors

*Extract from the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of India, 21 July 1947*  
*Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, pp. 703-7*

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel: ‘Sir, I move:

1. Any person holding office as Governor in any Province immediately before the commencement of this Constitution shall continue as such and shall be deemed to be the Governor of the Province under this Constitution until a successor duly elected under this Constitution assumes office.

2. There should be similar provisions *mutatis mutandis* in respect of the Council of Ministers, the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council (in Provinces which decide to have an Upper House).

3. The Government of each Governor’s Province shall be the successor of the Government of the corresponding Province immediately before the commencement of this Constitution in respect of all property, assets, rights and liabilities.

These are provisions for the transition period in order to avoid an interregnum. I do not think there can be any controversy over this and I hope it will be accepted. ...

Mr. K.M. Munshi: ...I feel, Sir that the words ‘successor of the Government’ might create difficulties and at this stage it would serve no useful purpose to keep Clause 3. I therefore
submit that Clause 3 should be deleted. The words ‘successor Government’ might lead to other complications which need not be invited at this stage.

**Mr. H.V. Kamath** (C. P. & Berar: General): Mr. President, Clause 1 of this part is of course unexceptionable and I think there will be no difficulty in the way of its acceptance by this House. But upon its acceptance certain consequences will, to my mind, flow from it and therefore I wish to draw your attention and the attention of this August Assembly to those consequential aspects of this clause, *viz.*, Clause 1 of Part IV. This clause says: ‘Any person holding office as Governor in any province immediately before the commencement of this Constitution shall continue as such and shall be deemed to be the Governor of the Province under this Constitution until a successor duly elected under this Constitution assumes office.’

We are today passing from the darkness of servitude to the light of freedom. But there is bound to be an interregnum between our Dominionhood and that Republican Independence for which we are striving. This interregnum may be long or it may be short, and again there will be another time-lag between today and the commencement of this constitution. By ‘Commencement’ I believe the promulgation of this constitution is meant. I presume that the constitution will be promulgated perhaps by the end of this year but between now and that date of the promulgation of the constitution we are entering upon a new state and that is the state of Dominionhood. The Indian Union will be formally ushered in or inaugurated as a Dominion on the 15th of next month. Therefore, if according to this clause, in December when the constitution is likely to be promulgated, there are certain Governors in certain Provinces, they are likely to continue as such and they will be deemed to be the Governors under this constitution. I want to emphasise the word ‘shall be deemed to be the Governor of the Province under this constitution.’ I think it would be derogatory to the dignity of the constitution, if certain non-nationals are permitted to continue as Governors under this Constitution after the commencement of this Constitution and before elections under this constitution take place. As we all know, very shortly, in the middle of next month, it will be within our power; within the competence of our own leaders to say who will be Governors and where. If, unfortunately, some non-nationals—Europeans or Britishers—remain or are appointed as Governors in certain provinces, on August 15th it will follow that in December when the Constitution will be inaugurated or will commence, they will be there and therefore they will continue as Governors, under this Constitution till the elections take place and their successors assume office. Therefore, Sir, I submit that this is a position which, as a Sovereign body today and aspiring to become shortly a Sovereign legislature of the Dominion, we cannot envisage or tolerate. We have struggled hard these many years and decades to see the end of foreign rule in India. A few months less than five years ago our cry, our revolutionary campaign of ‘Quit India’ was launched and it is a happy coincidence that in the very month of August we in India are attaining Dominionhood if not independence, quite a good degree of independence, and power will, I hope, come into our hands. Thus, Sir, when it will be within our competence to have our own Governors, I for one want that our own nationals and citizens of the Indian Union should be the Governors when the new Constitution is inaugurated. I wish to draw your attention to these words in the ‘Transitional Provisions’ I am quoting: ‘In any province immediately before the commencement of this Constitution’. We should take care to see that the Governors in all our Provinces immediately before the commencement of this Constitution are Indians, our own nationals and not non-nationals or foreigners. Have we undergone all these troubles and fought the rulers on so many occasions merely to see these martinets, these panjandrums and these
minions of a foreign imperialism continuing their rule in our Provinces? I should like to see the end of it. I do not like to see the day when even after the commencement of this Constitution these very Europeans, whom we asked to quit five years ago, will be continuing as our rulers in certain provinces. I was hard put to it, some days ago, to explain to a common man why Lord Mountbatten was recommended for the Governor-Generalship of the Dominion of India. We can quite understand and appreciate the high considerations of diplomacy, political strategy and tactics which influences the recommendation of Lord Mountbatten for the Governor-Generalship. But the common man fails to understand it all. It is true that we cannot always act on the views of the common man. But, at the same time, in a democracy the psychology of the common man has its place. Democracy is largely conditioned by the psychological reflexes of the common man. I would request the Hon’ble Mover and this Assembly to bear these considerations in mind and see that the Governor of any Province immediately before the commencement of this Constitution is not a non-national. It is our men, our citizens who should be there. It is only if we see to this that we can produce the necessary psychological reaction in the mind of the common man. We will fail to produce this essential psychological effect if on the dawn of freedom and independence he were unfortunately to see the same foreigner still stalking the land as ruler or Governor. Our Quit India Resolution is fast bearing fruit. At such a time we should create in the mind of the common man the impression that all power has been taken over by us towards the consummation of the ‘Quit India Resolution’ which was inaugurated by us five years ago.

nyanyah phaṭhā ayaṇāyā vidyate

When we are shortly going to witness the dawn of independence we must make a supreme effort to see that the common man is able to grasp the fact that we are out on [sic] masters and that there is no foreigner ruling over us. The sooner we do this the better it is for us and for our country. If we achieve this we will have gone a long way towards awakening the ‘shakti’ necessary for building up our Indian Union. I am sure I am voicing the feeling of a vast majority in this Assembly when I say that at the time of the inauguration of the Provincial Constitutions, no foreigner remains as Governor in any of the Provinces. It would be a mistake to allow a foreigner to continue as Governor of a province, after that date.

Sir, I will conclude with the words used on another historic occasion and request this August Assembly to tell the foreigner ‘We asked you to Quit India five years ago. We now again tell you with more power, more authority in our hands: For God’s sake go. Leave India to its own fate. Leave India free to build up a strong Independent Sovereign Republic.’ ‘Jai Hind.’

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: I should like to say a few words with regard to the Transitional Provisions. These ought to be absolutely transitional. That is my desire.

We must congratulate ourselves, Sir that we have spent five days over the elaborate provisions recorded in this Constitution submitted to the Assembly. I am sure we will be able to finish the details considered by the Expert Committee that will be appointed to go into the details of the formalities and bring out the Constitution at an early date. All that I am anxious about is that, when the British Government who originally fixed 30th June 1948 for ushering in a new Constitution have advanced the date, we should not be found unready. We should have our Constitution ready and there should be no delay on our part. I do want that 26th January 1948, the day which we have been celebrating as Day of Independence for India should surely be the day when we celebrate the Independence of India. Let it not be said
that we have unnecessarily dragged the proceedings here. We will not be charged with that. We have spent only five days on this important matter. We have not left the details to take care of themselves. I hope all concerned will be able to push through the necessary work so that on the 26th day of January we will really have an Independent India and work under an Independent Constitution. As regards the present Governors continuing till then, I am sure that they will not continue for any longer time than is necessary. When the new constitution comes into being, I expect that only nationals will be appointed as Governors.

Thirdly, after the new constitution is framed, it will take some time before elections take place; before delimitation of constituencies takes place. All these will take some time. I do not want to have any definite date fixed within which elections should take place under the new constitution. At the same time I would like to urge that after the new constitution has been framed, care should be taken to see that within six months and not later than that, the new constitution must be in full swing. Even before the constitution is drafted, since we are providing for adult franchise, we should ask the existing Governments to prepare the electoral rolls regarding adults in every village and town. Thereafter, the delimitation of constituencies will have to take place. No effort should be lost and all efforts must be made to see that the new constitution comes into being as early as possible. With these words, I support these transitional provision clauses.

Mr. President: Does anyone else wish to speak about this?

Shri Biswanath Das (Orissa: General): Mr. President, Sir, I heartily congratulate the Honourable Sardar Patel for having piloted the report within the shortest possible time. Sir, while congratulating him, one must also confess that the constitution that has been drafted for the provinces gives them less powers than what the provinces were enjoying under the Act of 1935.

We expect to have under the new dispensation a government of the people for the people and by the people. Now, all these three slogans will be meaningless if we do not have the leaders of the people of the provinces as governors of the provinces. Sir, the interim period that lies between the present and the date of the election should not be marred by having men of the permanent services as Governors of provinces. Sir, I support the decision taken in nominating Lord Mountbatten as the Governor-General. There may be important reasons and justifications for the same. The country will be fully with our leaders in that. Sir, that cannot however be translated into the provinces. I am not here to make any distinction between nationals and non-nationals. Sir, I cannot agree to see that people, who have been public servants, continue as governors of provinces. Most of the I.C.S. people do not have the Indian outlook and cannot in any sense be termed as servants of the people. That being the case, I would submit that it would be very hard on the country to tolerate a system of administration in which the same I.C.S. regime is being perpetuated in the provinces. I believe our leaders will not commit this blunder.

Sir with these submissions, I fully support the resolution and congratulate the Committee on having presented a report which was acceptable to the House so as to be passed within the shortest possible time.

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel: Sir, I suggest a verbal alteration in Clause 1, third line instead of the words ‘shall continue.’ I want to insert the words ‘may be continued’. ‘Any person holding office as Governor in any Province immediately before the commencement
of this Constitution may be continued’. In the fourth line I suggest the insertion of the words ‘when so continued’ after the word ‘and’. These are purely verbal alterations.

I will now remind the House that perhaps some of the friends who gave valedictory orations have forgotten that there is still one clause, Clause 15, to be moved. It is a controversial clause and it will take some time.

Shri C. Subrahmaniyam (Madras: General): May be continued by whom? Who is the authority to continue him as Governor under the new Constitution?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel: No doubt by the Government of India, who is the authority to appoint him. There is no difficulty about that.

Mr. H.V. Kamath: ‘May continue’ or ‘may be continued’. Why not ‘may continue’?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel: Put in ‘may continue’ if you like.

Dr. P.S. Deshmukh (C.P. & Berar: General): ‘May be continued’ is better. ‘May continue’ is likely to be interpreted as ‘should continue’ and Mr. Kamath would be defeating just the object that he has in view. ‘May be continued’ involves continuation only if so ordered by the Government.

Mr. President: I put this resolution to vote with this verbal change. In place of ‘shall continue’ substitute the words ‘may be continued’ and in the fourth line add the words ‘when so continued’ after the word ‘and’.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: Mr. Munshi, you moved that Clause 3 be deleted. I am sorry I did put that to vote, but I take it that it is accepted.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: I shall now put the whole resolution as amended by the deletion of Clause 3 to vote, because there was some misunderstanding.

Part IV as amended, was adopted.

Mr. President: Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar has given notice of an amendment.

(The amendment was not moved.)

15. Election of the President in Free India

Extract from the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of India, 23 July 1947
Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, pp. 782–91

Mr. President: We shall now take up the discussion of the Union Constitution Report. The first Clause of Part IV was moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We are now to take up the amendments to that clause. I have got a very large number of amendments of which notice has been given.

Shri Gokulbhai D. Bhatt (Eastern Rajputana States Group): Mr. President, Thursday was the last day for submitting amendments to the rules framed by the Union Powers Committee. But now that you have fixed the order of business, you could kindly extend the time for submitting amendments to the Report of the Union Powers Committee.
Mr. President: I informed the House yesterday that the time had already expired.

Prof. Shibban Lal Sakseña (United Provinces: General): Sir, in Part III of the Memorandum on the Union Constitution, it is stated.

‘Here enumerate the Fundamental rights and principles of State policy as passed by the Constituent Assembly.’

But, Sir, some of us have given notice of amendments to these Fundamental Rights and Principles of State Policy. I have in particular an amendment to add a fresh clause to the Fundamental Rights and Principles of State Policy, saying that ‘Slaughter of Cows shall be forbidden in Bharatvarsha by law.’ I would like to know when I shall have the opportunity to move that amendment.

The Honourable Sir. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar (Madras: General): The clauses relating to the Fundamental Rights were discussed in this Assembly and so far as putting them into the draft text of the Constitution is concerned, these clauses were passed at a previous session. The Member who has just spoken has asked when he and others who have given notice of amendments to the clauses relating to Fundamental Rights will have the opportunity of moving such amendments so that the House might consider them. I think, the proper time for moving all such amendments is when the draft text of the Constitution incorporating the Fundamental Rights is taken up for consideration at the final session of this Assembly. I think Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made the position perfectly clear. He said that when that draft text was brought before the House, members would be free to move amendments not only to the wording of the draft, but also to the substance of the draft.

Mr. President: I think that makes the position perfectly clear. It was made clear by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also. The amendments to the Draft Constitution, dealing with the Fundamental Rights can be moved at the final session.

An Honourable Member: We have not approved of all the clauses in Fundamental Rights.

Mr. President: We shall deal with them when they come up. Amendment No. 61 on the Order Paper—Shri Vijayavargiya.

Shri Gopi Krishna Vijayavargiya (Gwalior State): Mr. President. I do not want to press my amendment because of the views expressed here, after I had moved my amendment. But there are many things to which I consider it necessary to draw your attention. This Section deals with the method of election of the Head of the Federation. According to the amendment, all the units of the States will participate in the election of the President. But the States Legislatures are very faked-up and crude. They will affect the result of the election. Therefore, I moved an amendment that the Union President should be elected directly on the basis of adult franchise, so that the people—even the poor ones—may have the opportunity of exercising their votes for the election of the President. Now I do not want to press my amendment in view of the opinions expressed here. I would say only this much that there will be no uniformity among those who will elect the President, because on the one hand the elected members of the provincial legislatures will take part in the Presidential election and on the other hand, the members of the State Legislatures which are irregularly constituted. This will be grotesque. The States have only parodies of legislatures. They have nominated members, landed aristocracy and other representing special interests. So long as there is no democracy in the states, there is
great danger for our Federation. The States representatives will take part in the election of the President. There may be many other dangers too. Having all these in view, I deem it desirable that the States representatives should be properly elected and necessary safeguards should be incorporated whereby the nominated members, jagirdars and others belonging to special interests in the States legislatures, may not be allowed to vote for the election of the President.

Federation is going to be established in our country but as yet we do not know if all the States will join the Indian Union and what attitude they will adopt towards it. We do not know as to how the participating States will affect the Union. I represent the States people and I think it necessary to incorporate some measures as safeguards against possible dangers. The danger is real. The elected members of the States Legislatures will seriously affect the result of the election of the Union President. Many States ministers are bringing various amendments seeking to secure more favours for the Princes in the draft constitution. This is not in the interest of the people. I desire that the Union President should be directly elected on the basis of adult franchise. This would satisfy the people of the States. Even the poor ones will have the right to vote for the election of the President. However, this method is not going to be adopted and for various reasons I do not want to press my amendment. But I wish to point out that in view of the conditions prevailing in the States, we must be cautious about the intended amendment from the States ministers. I do not move my amendment. ...

Mr. T. Channiah (Mysore State): Mr. President, Sir, I move the following amendment, namely: That in sub-clause (1) of Clause I after the word “elected” the words “by rotation either by the North of India or South of India” be inserted.

Sir, why I have suggested this system of election to the Presidentship of the Federation is due to the following reasons: The election of a President to the Federation by rotation either by the North of India or by the South of India gives a fair representation and satisfaction to the people of India who stand geographically divided into two distinct divisions, namely, the South or the North of India. The people in these parts of India have got a distinct culture and methods of thinking and languages of their own, acclimatised to the conditions of those parts. More than anything else, Sir, there is in existence the lack of realization of the universal brotherhood and due to various reasons each man or woman has got a love of his or her own clan and does not realise to the extent possible the interests and rights of other people who are equally entitled to such rights or privileges. Such people are struggling hard to put forth their claims that their man should be elected as the President of the Federation, totally unmindful of the realisation of the universal brotherhood.

Secondly, Sir, the next feeling that comes and predominates in most of the people is this, namely, our man, our home, our state or our province, or does the President belong to North of India or does he belong to South of India and so on. So, Sir, we see how the people are forced to think under various circumstances and that broadmindedness limits itself to think in a selfish way.

Mr. H.V. Kamath: On a point of order, Sir. Can an Honourable Member read from a manuscript speech?

Mr. T. Channiah: Again, Sir, let us take for instance, the existence or predominance of any one majority party in India. Such an organisation tries to put a man of its own as the President of the Federation and never allowing any other smaller organisation to take its chance. Granting that any smaller organisation takes its chance, there will be a sort of feeling in the minds of the bigger Organisation that it should try to overcome the difficulty at the earliest opportunity.
There is again, Sir, the problem of the existence of innumerable castes in India. One community struggles to get over the other and at every stage each Community tries to get power and recognition in the administration of every Government. That is but natural.

Apart from these, Sir, there will be great discontent among the minorities like the depressed classes and Muslims, when their claims are overlooked and when their very existence is not felt sufficiently either in the administration of the country or when their claim for Presidentship is not contemplated at all.

Just as we have got the love of clan in India, so also we have been observing by experience the North Indian employee in North India will look down upon a person coming from South India and vice versa. So, Sir, under these circumstances we see that each one of us is struggling for some power or other in the administration of the country. When once the power is attained by some people the interest and care on the part of the person so chosen to that high power naturally neglects the interests of the other people and in the ultimate scramble for power, we the common men would have really lost the very democratic principles for which every common man is aiming to enjoy.

So, in order to create harmony of feeling among the people of India and for the proper justification of the President to be elected for the Federation, it is quite necessary to adopt the system of the election of the President to the Federation by rotation either from the North of India or South of India. ...

Rai Bahadur Syamanandan Sahaya (Bihar: General): I beg to move: That in paragraph (b) of sub-clause (2) of Clause 1, the words ‘or where a Legislature is bicameral the members of the Lower House thereof’ be deleted.

Sir, Clause 1 lays down the procedure for the election of the President. It says that the election shall be by an electoral college consisting of (a) the members of both Houses of the Parliament of the Federation, and (b) the members of the Legislatures of all the Units or, where a Legislature is bicameral, the members of the Lower House thereof. It will be seen, Sir, that in the election of the President, the members of the Upper House are being excluded from taking part. I would submit in this connection that, as this House has decided that the Provinces have the option of having a second Chamber, it does not look graceful that we should exclude the members of such Upper Houses, who will be there by election, from taking part in the election of the President. In fact, if members of the second Chambers are considered unsuitable for taking part even in the election of the President of the Indian Federation, why have second Chambers at all? ... That such second Chambers are needed has been accepted in the Union Constitution, because at the Centre you have provided for a second Chamber. Second Chambers have now been existing in different Provinces and functioning for some time and I do not think I shall be contradicted by anybody if I state that if anything, they, the second Chambers, have served a useful purpose by pointing out to the Lower House errors and omissions in the legislation coming up before them from the Lower House. In most cases I believe the suggestions of the Upper House have been accepted by the Lower House. I can say this from the experience I have of my own province of Bihar. There appears to be a fear, I suppose, in the minds of those who desire to debar the members of the Upper House from taking part in the election of the President. That fear emanates from the fact that the representatives in the second chambers generally belong to the propertied classes. In the first instance, I do not see why this House should decide that propertied classes could be debarred from taking part in the election of the President. For the election of the Governors in the Provinces, we
have already decided that it should be by adult franchise, and that every person whether he is a propertied person or otherwise, will be entitled to take part in the election. Why then the distinction in the Presidential election?

We have not yet laid down the franchise for election to the second Chamber. It is open to this House to lay down such a franchise that the Upper Chamber will not merely be representative of the propertied classes of this country. We may lay down the franchise in such a way that men of experience in different walks of life in this country, in industry, business, administration, public life etc., may hold a good proportion of the membership of the second Chamber. I am sure it will be conceded that the opinion of such representatives who will be men of experience should be taken in such an important matter as the Presidential election and nothing should be done by which we deprive ourselves of the views that those representatives in the second Chamber may have. There is another aspect to the question also. From all the amendments which members have tabled to the provision for election of the President, it will be clear to you, Sir, that there is a large section of this House which desired that the election of the President should be by adult franchise. Now, if that is not possible Sir, I say that as many people as possible should be enabled to express their opinion in the matter of the election of the President. We were not able to accept adult franchise on account of practical difficulties perhaps, but we should not further narrow down the circle and debar elected representatives of a section of the Provincial Legislature, constituted under the constitution framed by us from taking part in the election of the President. Considering how many important works we have to undertake and the rather difficult position in which this country may be placed in the future. I think it would be unwise to debar men of experience from taking part in important business of the country, especially in the matter of the election of President where in principle it will be agreed that it should be the right of every citizen to take part. I would suggest to the Honourable the Mover that this limitation on the members of the Upper House should be removed and that they should be permitted to take part in the election of the President. ...

Prof. Shibbanlal Saxena (United Provinces: General): Sir, my amendment is that for subclauses (2) and (3) of Clause 1, the following may be substituted: ‘The Rastrapati shall be elected directly by the people on the basis of adult suffrage.’

This is a very serious matter and I deeply feel that the scheme that we have accepted in the provincial constitution in regard to the election of Governors, should be adopted in the Union Constitution as well. In the provincial constitution we have decided to elect the Governor on the basis of adult suffrage. Shortly before we heard the forceful speeches of Pandit Pant and Mr. Kher, and in the end Sardar Patel accepted Mr. Munshi’s amendment which lays down that a Governor elected on the basis of adult suffrage will have some special powers which he will use in times of crisis. It is clear from this, that Mr. Patel and this Constituent Assembly recognise what moral strength the Governors, elected on the basis of adult suffrage, will have and what will be its advantage. In the same way, I think, the ‘Rashtrapati’ should also be elected for [sic] adult suffrage.

It is certain that a person elected by twelve to thirteen crores of voters of the country, will have incomparable moral strength and dignity. He will be a man of the people and their true representative. Besides, in my opinion, for fulfilling our pledge for re-establishing unity in our country, which is broken up today and may be further broken up in view of the present efforts of some States, the election of the ‘Rashtrapati’ by adult suffrage will be very helpful. Then, even the poorest person in every part of the country from Travancore to Kashmir and from
Calcutta to Bombay, will feel that he has the right of electing the President. He will then fully realise the dignity of an Indian and thus the roots of Indian unity will get stronger and stronger and the feeling of seceding from India, which is at present noticed in Hyderabad, Kashmir and Travancore will no more exist in the country. Even the people of those parts, which have seceded from India, will have a strong desire of reuniting with India. Therefore in the present circumstances particularly, I think that the election of the ‘Rashtrapati’ on the basis of adult franchise is very necessary and will prove to be very useful.

This is also the ‘national genius’ of our country. We are hero-worshippers. By having an austere man and a genius as ‘Rashtrapati’ our country will make speedy progress. A ‘Rashtrapati’ elected by twelve to thirteen crores of voters will be a genius and will command moral support. With a population of 35 crores, we will be the greatest independent nation in the world. A ‘Rashtrapati’ elected by twelve or thirteen crores of voters will enjoy unique moral prestige in the world. His individuality and moral strength will be very helpful to the country in the field of international politics. It will also appease the sentiment of hero-worship of the people of our country.

Today Mahatma Gandhi is the father of our nation even though he has not been elected to be so. All of us call him ‘Bapu’. He is like a permanent president of our nation. An elected Rashtrapati will reach his position to some extent only if he is elected by twelve or thirteen crores of voters as their ‘Rashtrapati’. He will thereby gain great moral prestige and honour and even though he may be aloof from every day work, he will benefit the country a good deal.

The draft constitution before us is an admixture of two constitutions. One of them is the American Constitution under which the President is directly elected on the basis of adult franchise. The other is the British Constitution under which the Prime Minister is the leader of the majority party in the parliament. But in England too, there is a King who has great dignity and the people respect him more than any Prime Minister. Under the constitution he is not free to take any action independently but he plays a useful part in improving the administration. The ‘Rashtrapati’ in our constitution will fulfil the purpose served by the British King. I know that many of our leaders are not in its favour and they will oppose it. They say that when we have accepted a parliamentary form of government, we would like to have a constitution in which the leaders elected by the Assembly and the Legislature will represent the whole nation and will have the responsibility of its administration and therefore to talk of the election of the ‘Rashtrapati’ on the basis of adult suffrage will be a sheer waste of time and will create unnecessary confusion. I do not agree with this. In my opinion, the party which will triumph in the presidential election in the country, will be in a majority in the legislature and will possibly command a majority in the federal legislature also.

For example, we elect Babu Rajendra Parsad, the President of the Constituent Assembly, as our president and Sardar Patel or Pandit Jawaharlal as premier. These two leaders will help and co-operate with each other. They will not be at loggerheads against each other. Pandit Pant while just now supporting another motion asked as to what will happen if the President dies. I say that if the President is not there, we will have the Prime Minister. His ministry can function and immediately conduct a second presidential election. In such an eventuality as we find in Burma, where the Prime Minister and his ministers have been murdered, the ‘Rashtrapati’ can manage the administration of the country and form another ministry. I say that the election of the ‘Rashtrapati’ will enhance the prestige of the country. Even though we do not give him powers, he will have his special influence on the administration by virtue of
his position. Mahatma Gandhi is not even a four anna member of the Congress but everyone knows that every action in the country is taken on his advice. He is the architect of the present free India. I hold that the presidential election will be beneficial to us in every way but as I am not free in the matter, I do not press this amendment.

**Mr. D.H. Chandrasekharaiya** (Mysore State): Mr. President, Sir, the amendment that stands in my name runs as follows: That the following new sub-clause be added after sub-clause (3) of Clause 1 (3A): ‘The President shall be alternately elected from the state and the non-state Units’.

You know, Sir, that the President of the Federation is proposed to be elected through an electoral college consisting of the members of the two Houses of the Federation, and the members of the Legislatures of the units of the Federation. From this it is evident that the members from the States will not be in a position to successfully contest the elections by putting forward a candidate of their own for the Presidentship at any time because the members from the non-State Units will form an overwhelming majority of the electorates.

The population of the States is nearly 91 millions. That is to say, it forms nearly one-third of the population of the provinces forming the Indian Union and nearly more than four times the population of the Pakistan Units. The States representatives to the two Houses of the Federal Parliament, though forming a minority yet constitute an important part. So far as the Council of States is concerned, 71 members are contributed by the States alone, out of a total of 287 members of that body. Similarly, the House of the Peoples which is formed on the population basis, will contain an appreciable number from the State Units. In these circumstances, it would be just and proper that the State Units should be given a chance to put up their own candidate for the Presidentship exclusively for every second term. If that is considered to be a somewhat extravagant demand it may be provided that at least for every third term, the States may put forward their own candidate for Presidentship.

You know, Sir, the States form an important element in the life of the country. After the 15th August, the States too will attain a status of independence just as other elements are going to do. But I for one would wish that the States, whether big or small, will not remain aloof and isolated. They must join hands with the Indian Dominion now and with the Indian Federation or Indian Union after the Constitution is framed. For this purpose a certain amount of goodwill and accommodation towards the States is very necessary. I believe that a provision of the kind proposed in this amendment will go some way towards establishing that happy relationship between the States and the non-State elements of our country. With these words, I commend this amendment for the kind consideration and acceptance of this House.

**Mr. President:** There is another amendment in your name.

**Mr. D.H. Chandrasekharaiya:** The next amendment which I am proposing reads as follows: That the following new sub-clause be inserted after sub-clause (4) of Clause 1: ‘(5) Provision should be made for the President to take the oath of office as in the Constitution of U.S.A.’

One of the most important responsibilities cast on the President of the Federation is that he should preserve the Constitution and protect it from being violated. For any violation of the Constitution, he is removable from his office through impeachment. On account of that it would be necessary and proper that the President should give [an] undertaking in terms, of an oath to that effect. Almost all Constitutions, especially Federal Constitutions provide that an oath should be taken by the head of the Executive. For instance, in the United States of
America, the President of the Federation takes an oath of allegiance before he enters on his duties, in the following words:

‘I do solemnly swear and affirm that I will faithfully execute the office of the President of the United States and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.’

The Irish Constitution has a similar provision in its Constitution and it is to this effect:

‘The President shall enter upon his Office by subscribing public in the presence of members of both Houses of the National Parliament and Judges of the Supreme Court and the High Court and other public personages the following Declaration:

‘In the presence of Almighty God I do solemnly and sincerely promise and declare that I will fulfil my duties faithfully and conscientiously in accordance with the Constitution and law and that I will dedicate my abilities to the service and welfare of the people of Ireland. May God direct and sustain me.’

Any one of these forms will do for our own Constitution and the President of the Federation should also take a similar oath before he takes up his duties.

I therefore commend this amendment to the kind consideration and approval of this House.

Mr. President: It is 1 O’Clock now. So the House will adjourn till 10 O’Clock tomorrow.

The Assembly then adjourned till Ten of the Clock, on Thursday the 24th July, 1947.

16. President Should Be Elected through Adult Franchise

Extracts from the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of India, 24 July 1947
Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, pp. 793–806

...Syed Kazi Karimuddin (C.P. and Berar: Muslim): Mr. President, Sir, sub-clause (2) of Clause 1 says:

‘The election shall be by an electoral college consisting of—

(a) the members of both Houses of Parliament of the Federation, and
(b) the members of the Legislatures of all the Units or, where a Legislature is bicameral, the members of the Lower House thereof.’

All the amendments which were moved to have the election of the President on adult suffrage have been withdrawn; but I want to bring home to the House why this election should be made on the basis of adult suffrage.

The decision on this point mainly rests on the point of view whether the executive should be non-parliamentary or parliamentary. I have been of the view that in India, looking to the conflicting political parties, diverse ideologies and many diverse factors, for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity and for the effective representation of all parties in the Cabinet, it is necessary that there should be a non-parliamentary executive. The only reason that has been advanced why adult suffrage should not be introduced is that a huge machinery will have to be set up for dealing with the elections and the energies of the nation will be consumed in holding these elections. But that is absolutely no reason. In a country like America, the election of the President is held on adult suffrage and my submission is that if every fifth or every fourth year the election of the President is held, and held on the basis of adult suffrage, it will educate the masses. Momentous economic problems of great magnitude will be brought to the forefront.
The masses will be educated if the election of the President is held on an all-India basis. Under the present sub-clause 2 of Clause 1, the President will be a puppet of the majority party and the persons who have fought the elections partly on provincial basis and partly on the all-India basis will elect the President for the whole Union.

Yesterday, while discussing the powers of the President, we felt that very wide powers had been given to him. He will be entitled even to suspend any part or the whole of the Constitution of a province. A President who will be afraid of the majority party and be elected by the electorate under sub-clause 2, will not, my submission is, be a man who will represent the entire nation on an all-India economic basis or on all-India issues. I have one more difficulty and that is very important. In order to suit the States, we have agreed that the members of the States’ Legislatures shall be members of the Lower House of the Union. It is a patent fact and is known to everybody that there is no popular rule in the States, and the members of the Legislatures in the States probably will be those who have been nominated by the States or who will not be the real representatives of the people. By electing a President by such representatives who will form one-third of the voters practically, the President will not be representing the people of the States but those who are nominated by the States Rulers. Under these circumstances, it can never be said that the President will be the true representative of the people of the States. Under these circumstances I earnestly appeal to the House that if you want democratic rule, if you want that the President shall be the true representative of the people who vote on adult suffrage, under the electoral college mentioned in sub-clause 2 to Clause 1, as regards the States particularly, he can never be representative of the people of the land. Therefore I oppose this amendment.

Mr. Mahomed Sherif (Mysore State): Sir, I am of the opinion that the President of the Union should be elected on the basis of adult franchise. It would be in the fitness of things that the person who would be at the helm of affairs and to whom so many powers would be given and so many responsibilities, should be one who must be elected on this basis. Every voter who is qualified to vote should have the satisfaction that in the election of the person who should govern the country, he should have a voice. It was argued that if this method is to be followed, it would [sic] intelligence of the people is not very high; that this method will not work satisfactorily, and that corruption, bribery, and so many vitiating factors will operate. It seems to me, Sir, that these difficulties will be more than offset by the advantages accruing therefrom. The election will be a great education by itself. It will lead the people to further their political insight which they have got and it will be advantageous in more than one way.

In these circumstances I would suggest that the President should be elected on the basis of adult suffrage. As I said such an election would have the seal of approval from the point of view of the voters. With these remarks I oppose this motion.

Mr. Tajamul Husain (Bihar: Muslim): Sir, sub-clause (1) of Clause 1 of Part IV lays down that the head of the State shall be called President and that any person or citizen of the Republic who has attained the age of 35 can be elected as President of the Republic. An amendment has been moved, Sir, to the effect that the election of the President should be held in rotation, that is to say, that for one term of office the President shall be elected from the north of India and for another term of office from the south of India. The reason advanced by the Honourable the Mover is that the people of South India are total different from those of Northern India. I submit, Sir, that is a very dangerous principle to adopt. If you want to accept this principle
that there should be a reservation of seats for the election of the President, every province may claim that in turn the President should be elected from a particular province.

I will give you an example. The people of Western Bengal may very well claim that they are a different people from the rest of India.

An Honourable Member: No, no.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: I am glad that there is a voice saying no, no. And there should be no difference between one province and another. Therefore I submit, Sir, that the office of the President being the highest in the realm and he being the biggest dignitary of the Republic, we should have the best man. It does not matter from where he comes. It is quite possible that when the election is being held a Bihari, or a Christian, or a Jain, or a Parsee may happen to be the best man at that time. He may be elected President. Therefore, I have come here to oppose this amendment.

Paragraph (b) of sub-clause (2) of Clause 1 of Part IV lays down that the Upper House of a province where there are two Houses, should not have the right of choosing the President of the Republic. An amendment has been moved by Rai Bahadur Syamanandan Sahaya of Bihar that that right should be given to the Upper House as well. You will find that under sub-clause (a) both the Houses of the Central Legislature have been given the right of electing the President of the Union. There is no difference between the Upper House of the Central Legislature and the Upper House of a Provincial Legislature. Both have got special representation. If you do away with the Upper House then that is a different matter. I might support you on democratic principle but we have decided that we are to have an Upper House for the Central Legislature and there are going to be Upper Houses in some provinces. In that case I would submit that the qualifications of the members of the Upper House of the Central and Provincial Legislatures being the same, the members of the Upper House of a Provincial Legislature may be allowed to participate in the selection of the President of the Republic. To me it appears there is no reason why the members of the Upper House of a Provincial Legislature should be deprived of their right, their privilege and their pleasure of choosing their own President of the Republic.

I support the amendment of Mr. Syamanandan Sahaya.

Mr. H.R. Guruv Reddy (Mysore State): Mr. President, Sir, yesterday I was listening with very great interest to the discussions about nominations and particularly about the principles underlying nominations. One of our worthy colleagues was saying that the system of nominations, particularly in States, should be done away with, and that if those nominations are adopted elsewhere, they would not be objectionable. Sir, I fail to see the reasoning of this part of the proposition. If nominations are bad, they are bad everywhere and, if they could be accepted, they ought to be accepted on principle everywhere. I fail to see why we should attach sanctity to nominations if an elected person adopts it and consider his action just and proper and right too, and at the same time consider nomination by a ruler of a State or under his direction as something fundamentally wrong and bad. There is no justification for accepting this principle of nomination in one place and rejecting it in another. If you want to do away with nominations, let us do so boldly. But, if for reasons of representation of various interests nominations have to be resorted to, certainly let us have nominations both in the States and in the other Units. No one need be afraid that these nominations will be overwhelming in number. There is no need to fear that the ruler of a State would choose a person who would undo the good things that others attempt to do. In fact, if there is danger ahead, the ruler ought
to be presumed to act suitably and put in persons who would represent all interests. I would therefore repeat that if nominations are to be adopted in this House or by the President of the Federal Legislature, what reason is there to say that that system would be bad elsewhere?

The other idea that was put forward by one of the speakers was that it would be a method by which we could coerce the States or other Units to adopt the method of election. That word ‘coerce’ is something very jarring. It is not a good and sound principle that we should coerce any person to accept or adopt our view. Our endeavour should be to win him over to our view. Therefore, Sir, once the principle underlying nominations is adopted here by the President, it ought to be allowed to be adopted elsewhere also on principle. But, as I said, I am basing my arguments on principles and not on facts. I would appeal to this august House that as the system of nominations has been accepted under the Constitution put forth for India, it ought to be allowed in other places also and it would certainly mete out justice to that section of the population which would be unrepresented otherwise.

Sir, I now pass on to the more interesting, if more disturbing factor, namely the North and the South, the States and the non-States. Sir, personally I feel that the North is not separate from the South, nor is the South separate from the North. I am one of those who believe that any one who is given an opportunity, if he has got the requisite qualifications otherwise, should come up. It is only an opportunity that is sought for. It is not a territorial division. We know certain reasons why the North and the South are frequently apprehensive of this or that thing. A man like me coming from the South, the Mysore State, feels that the North has been getting larger representation on this Constituent body than is due to it and that hereafter it should not be so. Sir, while I honestly feel that the South has been neglected for some time for various reasons, I do not put the blame for it on anybody or on any section. But I do feel that the South is to some extent neglected. But then it is a question of opportunity being given to the people of the South. If opportunities are allowed I am positive that persons coming from the South can equal if not surpass those coming from the North.

Sir, this question of States and non-States is really perplexing. Coming from a State I very much desire that an opportunity is given to someone from the State to be the Chief of India. But then it is again a vicious thing. The States form only one-third of the entire Dominion. And then the qualifications and other considerations that are to be laid down for this purpose is another disturbing factor. So far as I am concerned, I cannot agree to the separation of States and non-States for the purpose of election. As I said, given the requisite opportunity, given the requisite representation to the States, anyone who has got that courage of conviction to speak out boldly, honestly and fearlessly ought to find a place in the Indian Constitution.

Sir, it is difficult to create a reservation either for the non-States or for the States or even to set up a rotation as it were, in the Constitution. I emphasise the word ‘Constitution’. Sir, these are things which should be looked into and provided for in what we know as ‘convention’. We are starting today with a new Constitution for India and the Constitution itself provides for a change. We can work for another three years and if we find any difficulty we could have the Constitution changed suitably. Apart from that, I would never invoke the aid of the legislature for the purpose. As I said, it is only a healthy convention and good feeling and understanding between the North and the South and between the States and the non-States that can solve the problem. No legislation can solve it.

In this connection I would like to draw your very kind attention to the Madras mayoralty. There was a lot of bickering so far as the Madras mayoralty was concerned. Some years ago,
it should be said to the credit of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar that he, when he had something
to do with that mayoralty, set up a convention. And that convention is being now respected
and persons of various communities and various sections are being elected according to
the convention laid down. It is not difficult for us to take this illustration and to follow it up
even in the election of our President. Sir, I would once more state that it is convention, good
understanding, good feeling between the North and the South, between the States and non-
States that will solve this problem, not any law or any clause in the law.

Sir, with this I pass on to another very small matter but which looms very large, the question
of the oath which was very ably put forth by my worthy colleague as an essential matter, and
I do not know that lacuna crept into this report on the Union Constitution. No provision has
been made here for the oath. Sir, it is a common thing all over the world, in all well-established
Governments, that the Head of the State takes the oath on his entry into that high office. It
would be becoming and worthy of our Indian Government that the President should take the
oath before an appropriate authority that he would safeguard the constitution that is being
framed now and which he is going to work.

With these remarks, Sir, I commend the amendments and principles I have just put forward
to the acceptance of the House.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (West Bengal: General): Sir, I do not want to make a speech.
I want to suggest that the pace at which we are moving is very slow. At this rate I am afraid
we won’t be able to stick to the time-table. I suggest that now that we are discussing only the
principles of the constitution, speeches may be confined to the particular clause or amendments
under discussion and not touch the entire field of the Indian Union Constitution.

Mr. President: I entirely agree with you that we should not discuss the entire field of the
Constitution but must confine ourselves to the particular amendment that has been moved
or the particular clause which is under discussion. I would also request members to limit
their speeches to five minutes, unless in a particular case I find that the question that to being
discussed is of such a nature that it requires a longer time.

Mr. H.V. Kamath (C.P. and Berar: General): Sir, two amendments moved on the floor of this
House yesterday, one by my friend, Rai Bahadur Syamanandan Sahaya, and the other by my
friend Mr. Channiah.

Mr. Sahaya’s amendment is to the effect that, where the legislature is bicameral, the members
of the Upper House also must have the right of voting in the election for the President. I stand
here, to oppose that amendment. It was asked why, when the members of the Upper House
of the Union are allowed to vote, the same privilege should not be extended to members of
the upper chambers of the Units. If my friend looks at Chapter II, he will find that the Council
of States is proposed to be set up on a different basis from that of the upper chambers of the
Units. Moreover, we have visualised the President as being an integral part of the Federal
Parliament which will be composed of the President and the National Assembly, the National
Assembly in its turn being composed of the Council of States and the House of the People.
Where the President is an integral part, an essential part of the Federal Parliament, it stands to
reason that both Houses should take part in the election of the President.

The other amendment was moved by my friend, Mr. Channiah. That amendment is
astounding, bordering on the ridiculous. At a time, Sir, when we have regretfully accepted the
division of India on a communal basis, at a time, Sir, when fissiparous and centrifugal tendencies
are holding the field, at a time, Sir, when most of us here want to see the unity of our country restored to its pristine condition, it is amazing that a member of this House should stand up and draw a distinction between the north and south of our country. I was inclined to think that at least after the march of Agstya across the Vindhyas and after the battle of Rama with Vali and Ravana, this difference between the north and south of India had been obliterated. We have heard of the Maginot Line in Europe; we have heard of the Siegfried Line in Europe; we have heard of the Curzon Line, the Durand Line in Europe. If Mr. Channiah’s amendment is accepted the day will not be far off when we will have a Channiah line in India between the north and south of India. When we are trying to build a strong State, when we are trying to wipe away all the differences of the past, when the division of the country on a communal basis has been accepted most reluctantly, it is amazing that an amendment of this kind should be propounded on the floor of this House. Precisely for that reason, Sir, I am opposed, for the present at least, even to a linguistic division of provinces. Let us for the present bend all our energies to the task of building up a mighty Indian Union; and let us bend our energies to the task of restoring the unity of our country. Let us, Sir, realize the goal which we have fondly cherished of a strong united India, an independent India marching forward for the welfare of India and the peace of the world; an India where all Indians, be they Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsees or Sikhs all small march together, as citizens of one common Motherland, a united, strong and independent India. That is the theme, Sir which is uppermost in our minds. We are still hoping to realize the dream when the unity of our country will be restored. It is in the spirit of the words of that famous song, which is on the lips of all Indians today:

Har sooba ke rahanewale har mazhab ke prani
Sab bhed aur farak mitake sab goda me teri ake goonthe prema ki mala.
Suraj bankar jag par chamke Bharat nama subhaga

that I oppose the doctrine which was propounded yesterday by my friend Mr. Channiah seeking to divide the North from the South. One of my friends, Sir, said that the South has been neglected. I fail to see how or in what way the South of India has been neglected. If my friend says that the South means only Madras, I differ from him. I would like him first to define the South of India, whether the South means only Madras or Madras plus Bombay and the various other component parts. I for one think that the South has not been neglected. Today it is the two States in the South. Hyderabad and Travancore which are giving us the headache. If it is the result of neglect and if it is the result of being unimportant, I do not know, Sir, what my friend means. These two States of the South today, Sir, are giving most of our statesmen and our leaders a big headache. If my friend thinks that Southern India has been neglected, I do not know, Sir, how he can forget the eminent and leading politicians from Bombay and from Madras who have contributed to the political development, the political evolution of our common Motherland.

Then, Sir, a point was made out that the oath should be taken by the President of the Federation. I agree, but this is not the place where the oath should be mentioned. The oath will certainly find a place in the Constitution when it comes to be finally drafted. Here we are discussing merely the principles of the Constitution therefore I think that here the mention of the oath to be taken by the President is out of place. For that matter, Sir, we can as well say that the members of the Legislature too should take an oath of allegiance to the country, but you are not mentioning anything like that. They are mere details which are to be taken into account when the Constitution is actually drafted. I therefore, Sir, shall not take the time of the
house. I oppose the amendments which were moved by Rai Bahadur Syamanandan Sahaya and my friend, Mr. Channiah.

Shri Ajit Prasad Jain (United Provinces: General): Mr. President, I support the resolution moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The method suggested herein for the election of the President is very appropriate, some of the members present have proposed that the President should be elected by adult franchise. Many arguments have been advanced against this proposal. At one place the resolution says different weight will be attached to the votes of different members, e.g. the vote of the member representing lesser number of people will be considered less weighty and that of the member representing greater number of people will be considered more weighty. I would like to say this much that this balances the defects caused by indirect election. The example of America has been cited where the population is 130 to 140 millions and the President is elected on the basis of adult franchise. I beg to point out that in America it was considered desirable that the Presidential election should not be direct but through ‘Electoral College’. We too have here a proposal for the formation of an Electoral College, the members of which will be elected by the people. Thus the election of our President will also be according to the choice of the people. I had only to say this much, but I feel one difficulty in the scheme sponsored by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. According to it, the President will be elected through an electoral college. All members of both the Houses of the Federal Parliament—The Council of States and the House of People—will be the members of the electoral college and they will participate in the Presidential election. The members of the Provincial legislatures and the States legislatures too have been given the right to participate in the Presidential election. So far as the votes of the members of the Unit legislatures are concerned, it is said in the proposal that different weightage will be given to them. For example, one vote of a member representing ten thousand voters will be considered equal to 10 votes of a member representing one million voters, Sir.

So far as Unit legislatures are concerned this method is very appropriate and desirable. But it has not been clearly stated in the proposal, whether any weightage will be given to the votes of the members of the Federal Parliament (House of People and Council of States) or what will be the value of their votes or the relative position of those votes. One of the interpretations of the proposal relating the unit legislature appears to be that in the present state of affairs, each member of the House of People has merely one vote. If this is correct, I consider the proposal very wrong. In the draft proposal presented to us, it has been stated at a later stage that on an average a member of the House of People represents one million voters. If he gets merely one vote, this means that members of the Unit legislature who represent only ten thousand voters get 10 votes and a member of Federal Legislature, e.g., the House of People who represent one million voters gets only one vote according to the present scheme. In my opinion this is not fair. The question of giving due weightage to the votes of the members of the Federal Parliament should be reconsidered so that the people might be properly represented.

There appears another difficulty. It is possible that state may have some sort of nomination and would be difficult to say as to what would be the value of the votes of the nominated members. Again, there might be some constituencies which are not territorial for example, the university and the Labour Constituencies. So far as the provinces are concerned, we have decided that there would be territorial constituencies and there shall be no special constituencies. But in States it is possible that there may be some territorial and some non-territorial constituencies and some nominations as well. Another difficulty may arise from
the method suggested for giving weightages to different votes of nominated members. If you decide that some sort of weightage should be given to the votes of the members of the Federal Parliament also, although the proposal contains no mention of it—the difficulty arises as to what would be the weight of the votes of the members nominated to the Council of State.

However, I wish to draw your attention to the necessity of a clear provision for classifying and giving weightage to the votes of the members of the Federal Parliament.

With these few words, I hope that you will consider my suggestions.

Mr. President: I have got three more names in the list. I find some more members standing up wishing to speak. We have already taken one hour today and we took about one hour yesterday on this clause. If we go on discussing at this rate, I do not think we shall be able to complete even one Part by Thursday next when we wish to close. I therefore desire to request the members to cut down their speeches to the minimum and if any point has already been discussed by any member, not to speak on the same point and repeat the same arguments.

Dr. P.S. Deshmukh: May I suggest, Sir the system of giving names should be stopped and opportunity should be given only to that member who catches the eye of the President?

Mr. President: I accept that. Hereafter, I shall not accept any slip. Any one who catches my eye will be allowed to speak.

Mr. Yudhisthir Mishra (Eastern States Group 1): Sir, I support the amendment of Mr K. Chengalaraya Reddy to sub-clause (2) (b) of Clause. Mr. Reddy has moved an amendment to substitute the words ‘elected members’ for the word ‘members’. It would appear to many of the honourable members present here that the word sought to be inserted is unnecessary and superfluous, because under the present constitution, the provincial legislatures would have no nominated members. But I would like to remind the honourable members that there is no corresponding change in the constitution of the State legislatures. In many of the States, especially in the smaller ones, there is an overwhelming number of nominated members in the legislatures. In fact, in some of the States, there is no legislature at all. I represent the Orissa States and I would submit before this House that in some of the States there is no legislature at all. Wherever there is any legislature, the number of nominated members is so large, that the elected representatives have no voice in the Legislative Assembly. In some of the States, the State Congress and the Praja Mandals have boycotted elections to the Legislative Assembly in view of the unsatisfactory franchise. Wherever there is a legislature, the franchise is narrow and based on communal lines, and it has a large number of nominated members. Sir, if you allow the nominated members to take part in the election of the President, then, some of the States may set up inadequate and bogus representative assemblies and try to influence the election by undemocratic methods. It would be a mockery of democracy if the nominated members are allowed to take part in the election of the President of the future Republic of India. I therefore support the amendment which has been moved by my honourable friend Mr. Reddy.

At the same time, Sir, I would oppose the amendment moved by Mr. Chandrasekhariah. He says that the President shall be alternately elected from the States and non-States units. It is an insult to the States if such a limitation is placed on the election of the President.

Mr. R.K. Sidhwa (C.P. and Berar: General): Mr. President. I had no desire to enter into this debate but for one point which was raised by my Honourable friend Mr. Reddy from Mysore State, who advocated the rotation system for the election of the President and in support of that he quoted the instance of the mayoralty of the Municipal Corporation of Madras.
An Honourable Member: There are two members from Mysore. The reference may be clarified, Sir.

Mr. President: (To Mr. Sidhwa). You have made a mistake with regard to the name of the speaker.

Mr. R.K. Sidhwa: He came from Mysore. Sir, it is true that in the Municipal Corporation of Madras, there is the rotation system for the election of the Mayor. In the first year a Brahmin is elected, in the second year a Non-Brahmin and in the third year a Harijan. A similar convention prevails in the Bombay Municipal Corporation. In the first year a Hindu is elected in the second year a Muslim, in the third year a Parsi and in the fourth year a Christian. A similar system exists in the Karachi Municipal Corporation also. In the first year a Parsi is elected, then a Muslim, then a Christian and then a Hindu. Also in the Calcutta Corporation, a similar system exists. As I have something to do with this rotation system, in the Municipal Mayoral elections in India, I may say that this rotation was introduced to give an opportunity to every community for the purpose of presiding over this only honoured office. It is only an honoured office, I repeat, Sir. The Mayor has absolutely no power except that he presides at the meetings of the Municipal Corporation. Let me assure you, Sir, he has no executive power although he is the first Citizen of the city. Therefore, you cannot compare the mayoralty with the election of the President. The President of India will be the best man. He will have many executive powers. He will have to select a Premier and he will have to select his Ministers. He will have power of dissolution of the legislature. Over and above all, Sir, under the proposed constitution, he will be the Supreme Commander of the Army. Do you want, under these circumstances, Sir, the President to be elected by rotation? I shall certainly strongly oppose the President being elected on any kind of communal basis or the rotation or province wise system being introduced. We must have the best man for the President. If the President elected is the best man, we shall elect him for a second time—the best man whosoever he may be he may have become from the north, south, west or east. We cannot tolerate the election of the President community wise, or province wise or anywise as I stated. The convention introduced in the election of the Mayor does not apply in the election of the President. The Mayor is merely a figure-head. He only presides over the meetings. He has no executive power. The convention is only meant to give opportunities to the several communities to occupy the honoured and dignified post of the first Citizen of the city. You cannot mix up therefore the conventional system in the election of the President. I therefore strongly oppose this. There is no amendment to that effect, but implicitly or explicitly no reservation or no convention should be made even by our topmost leaders that, we shall elect the President province-wise or from the north, south, west or east of India, or we shall elect a Parsi, a Christian or a Muslim. The best man should be elected. I therefore, Sir, strongly oppose the convention of election provincewise to the office of President.

Shri R.V. Dhulekar (United Provinces: General): Mr. President, I desire to speak a few words in support of the clause which has been moved. Much has been said in support of it but I would not say anything about them. I would draw your attention to only two matters.

Firstly, some members have said that the system of election is very irregular in the States and some of the States representatives to this Assembly have been nominated either by the government or by the rulers and they should not be allowed to take part in the election of the President. In fairness, we must admit that the rulers, participating in the Constituent Assembly were subjected to such injustice at the hands of the British government that they have grown
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apprehensive that if they join the union they would be crushed. A burnt child dreads fire. We must not think that they are degraded and demoralised Indians. Personally I think that they were placed in such circumstances under the British government that they could not follow the policy which they should have. Therefore, I do not think it proper to raise this point that the nominated members should not be allowed to participate in the Presidential elections. In my opinion we must accept their request that they should be given time so that they may fully realise on joining the Union that the rulers and their people will have the same rights and status that we have. When they have realised the advantages of joining the union, their autocracy will automatically vanish and the rulers will feel that they are common Indians and they have the same rights that the common people have.

The second thing to which I desire to draw your attention is this. According to this clause regarding the members of the Provincial legislatures it will have to be considered as to how many people they represent; and in order to give weightage to the votes, the word ‘weightage’ has been included here. In my opinion, it is unnecessary. It is quite possible that some members might have said that at some places with lesser population they had got comparatively more seats than those having greater population. But in my opinion, no member, whether returned from any provincial legislature or State legislature should be considered so narrow minded that he would demand weightage for his votes in the presidential election. I know, in my own province, some members represent 50 thousand voters while some represent ten thousand and others fifteen thousand voters. But after being elected, he does not think it at all that he represents so many people. He considers himself only a member of the legislature and behaves in a ‘way befitting his dignity.’ Therefore the inclusion of the word ‘weightage’ appears odd but at the same time there is no harm in it and hence I do not oppose it.

With these words I support the clause.

Mr. President: The Mover, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, may now reply to the debate.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (United Provinces: General): Mr. President, there are many amendments. But the greatest emphasis has been laid on one point: the election of the President on the basis of adult franchise, i.e. everybody should take part in the election. Another amendment is that the word ‘Rashtrapati’ should be substituted by the word ‘Neta’ or ‘Karandhar’. Still another amendment is that the President should be elected alternatively from the North and the South. Again, there is an amendment which says that the members of the Upper Houses also should take part in the Presidential election. There is yet another amendment; but I do not know whether it has been moved or not. According to this amendment, the President should be elected from the States and non-State portion of the Indian Republic (by rotation) alternately.

Lastly, there is an amendment which deals with the oath of allegiance.

I regret very much that I cannot accept any of these amendments except the one proposing that the word ‘member’ should be substituted by ‘elected member’, though the word ‘elected’ is not a definite improvement. The draft would have thoroughly clarified the point; but in spite of this, if you wish to add the word ‘elected’, I am ready to accept it. Something has been said about the oath also. It is obvious that it will figure in the Constitution. At this stage, it does not seem necessary.

So far as the question of the election of the President, from the North and the South and from the States or non-State units is concerned, it seems to be wrong in principle. It is not
desirable that we elect the President, once from one class and the next time from the other, and framing of rules and statutory provisions for this purposes is highly undesirable.

In answer to the query, as to why members of the Upper Houses should not take part in the presidential election. I submit that there will be much difference between the Upper Houses of the States Units and those of the provinces. I cannot say which of the units will have an Upper House. Another point is that the States and the Provinces will have different standards. No body knows what principles the States and the provinces will adopt. If this right is conceded to the Upper Houses it will create confusion. Therefore, in my opinion, the proposition is correct that in the Centre, both the Houses shall have the right to take part in the presidential election, and in the units only the Lower House. There is a complexity which has not been clarified i.e., whether the units will have greater rights than the Centre, whether the members of the Central Legislature will have one vote or more to balance the voting strength of units. It is for our advisers to make this point clear. Therefore, for the present, in my opinion, as I have already stated and as has already been printed it should be left as it is. I have already stated in the beginning, and I repeat it once again and if you too reflect over it, you will arrive at the same conclusion, that it is best to leave this choice unfettered. I am not prepared to believe that adult franchise is absolutely essential. Obviously, the number of those who will elect the members of the Assembly will be in millions and they are expected to be proper persons. Therefore, when the members of the Assembly themselves are being elected by the votes of millions where is the necessity for electing the President by adult franchise? Therefore if you desire to frame and promulgate your constitution without necessary delay, then we should avoid complications; otherwise we will not be able to frame our Constitution in the least possible time, and act on it.

If you want to elect the President by adult franchise, then this would mean that we will have to waste much of our time in holding (Presidential) elections and we will not be able to act according to our new Constitution. Therefore, it is my desire that this resolution should be accepted in the form I have put before you.

Mr. Mahomed Sherif: Will you kindly throw some light on one matter? You have referred to election in Clause 2(a). When you accept the principle of nomination in this amendment, then why do you not accept this amendment also? Why this contradiction between the two?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Which clause did you read?

Mr. Mahomed Sherif: Page 9, Clause 14 (a).

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: The question of my accepting or rejecting nomination is not in issue. I accept that particular type of nomination which is recorded herein, that is to say, nominees of units and 'scientific bodies' should be taken. This is not the question. I have already said that the President should be elected by the votes of the elected members.

Mr. President: I will now put the amendments to vote first. The first amendment which I have to put is the one moved by Mr. Channiah: ‘That in sub-clause (1) of Clause 1 after the word “Selected” the words “by rotation either by the North of India or South of India” be inserted.’

May I point out to the member the great difficulty which I have felt with regard to this. The clause as it sought to be amended by him will read: ‘The Head of the Federation shall be the President to be elected by rotation either by the North of India or South of India.’ That is
to say, the members alone of the North in one year and alone of the South in the next election will take part in the election, but I think he means not the members who will take part in the election, but the President himself. I have pointed this out, and shall now put the amendment to vote.

The amendment was negatived.

**Mr. President:** The next one is by Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad:

‘That in sub-clause (1) of Clause 1, for the words “as provided below” “the words in the manner set out below” be substituted.’

It is a verbal amendment. I do not know if it is necessary. Anyhow, I shall put it to vote.

The amendment was negatived.

**Mr. President:** Then there is the amendment of Rai Bahadur Syamanandan Sahaya:

‘That in paragraph (b) of sub-clause (2) of Clause 1, the words “or, where a legislature is bicameral, the members of the Lower House thereof” be deleted.’

The amendment was negatived.

**Mr. President:** There is an amendment by Mr. Chengalaraya Reddy:

‘That in sub-clause (2) (b) of clause 1, for the words “the members” wherever they occur, the words “the elected members” be substituted.’

This has been accepted by the Mover.

The amendment was adopted.

**Mr. President:** Then there is an amendment by Mr. Chandrasekharaiya: that the following new sub-clause be added after sub-clause (3) of Clause 1:—

‘3(A) The President shall be alternately elected from the State and the non State Units.’

The amendment was negatived.

**Mr. President:** There is another amendment by Mr. Chandrasekharaiya: that the following new sub-clause be inserted after sub-clause (4) of clause 1:—

‘(5) Provision should be made for the President to take the oath of office as in the constitution of U.S.A.’

The amendment was negatived.

**Mr. President:** The next is, Sir, N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar’s amendment:

‘That in the last sentence of sub-clause (2) of Clause 1, for the words “the votes of the Unit Legislative” the words “the votes of the members of the Unit Legislatures” be substituted.’

The amendment was adopted.

**Mr. President:** I think these are all the amendments that have been moved. Of these two have been carried. Now the Resolution as amended is put to vote.

Clause 1, as amended, was adopted.
17. Discussion about the Status of the President in Future India

Extract from the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of India, 24 July 1947
Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, pp. 812–20

Clause 4

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I move Clause 4, Conditions of President’s office.

(1) The President shall not be a member of either House of the Federal Parliament and if a member of either House be elected President, he shall be deemed to have vacated his seat in that House.
(2) The President shall not hold any other office or position of emolument.
(3) The President shall have an official residence and shall receive such emoluments and allowances as may be determined by Act of the Federal Parliament and until then, such as prescribed in schedule...
(4) The emoluments and allowances of the President shall not be diminished during his term of office.

There is one small matter which I thought might be cleared up and I shall await an amendment to clear that up. In sub-clause (1), it says ‘The President shall not be a member of either House of the Federal Parliament’. Obviously he should also not be a member of any provincial legislature. I believe some amendment will be moved to this effect. If so, I will accept it.

Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan (United Provinces: Muslim): May I ask the Mover as to what he means by the words ‘The President shall not hold any position of emolument.’ Does he also mean that he cannot be a director of a company or merely that he cannot hold any position of emolument under the Government?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: He shall not hold any other office or position of emolument, whatever it may be. He cannot hold any other office which brings him some gain.

Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan: I hope you will make it quite clear.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: It is perfectly clear. It is dead clear. As the House knows, the convention is that even the Ministers should not hold directorships of companies. That is the convention in many countries, although it cannot be the law. So far as the President is concerned, he should not hold any directorships or any position of profit or gain in business.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya (Madras: General): But that is not conveyed by the wording.

Mr. President: We shall have a discussion of the clause when all the amendments have been moved.

(Messrs. Seth Govind Das, Ajit Prasad Jain, S.V. Krishnamurthy Rao and Naziruddin Ahmad did not move their amendments.)

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad (West Bengal: Muslim): Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move that for sub-clause (2) of Clause 4, the following be substituted: ‘(2) The President shall not hold any position or office under the Union or under any Provincial Government, or in or under any local authority or in or under any business concern (whether incorporated or not) in any honorary capacity or for any emolument allowance.’ Sir, I find that this point has struck some honourable members of this House. What the report says is that the President shall not hold any other office or position of emolument, but it may be that he may hold an honorary office in a business concern. It he is concerned with any religious charitable, educational or similar...
other institution, there can be no objection, but I think, if he is connected with any business concern even in any honorary capacity, it will be open to serious objection. Any businessman can ask the President to be a patron of his business and he might secure good business because of that. That would be throwing the President into the arena of party politics. I would submit that this sort of business connection should not be allowed. I am only urging this to enable the drafting committee to consider this point. This is all that I desire to submit to the House.

**Mr. H.V. Pataskar:** Sub-clause (2) of Clause 4, gave rise to doubts and therefore I tabled this amendment which stands in my name, ‘nor shall he be interested in any business or profession for gain or profit’. Since I now understand that it is not the intention that the President should hold any interest in any business, I am not moving this amendment. All the same, I would request that when the final draft constitution is prepared, this should be made more clear.

**Shri T.A. Ramalingam Chettiyar** (Madras: General): My amendment refers to appointments after the President has held office. I will leave it to the Mover to accept it or not, as he likes, and if he does not accept it, I do not want to press it.

**The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru:** What is the amendment referred to?

**Mr. President:** The amendment which Mr. Ramalingam Chettiyar has given notice of is ‘that the person who has held office as President shall not be eligible to be appointed to any salaried office in the Federation’ i.e., after he has ceased to be a President, he shall not be appointed. The amendment is not moved formally. Therefore we shall proceed further.

(Messrs. D. Govinda Doss, P. Kakkan, V.I. Muniswami Pillay and P.M. Velayudapani did not move their amendments.)

**K.T.M. Ahmed Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur** (Madras: Muslim): Mr. President, Sir, I move: That in the last sentence of sub-clause (2) of Clause 1, for the words ‘the votes of the Federal Parliament and until then, such’ be deleted. Now, Sir, the President of the Federation is the supreme executive authority of the whole State and as such he should be completely free from any party influence when once he is elected. But if the determination of his emoluments and allowances are dependent on any Act of the Federal Parliament it is quite possible that he will be conscious of the fact that the determination of his salary is subject to party influence and that his actions may on occasions be swayed by such consciousness. It is therefore meet and proper, Sir, that the President’s salary should be placed beyond any party influence in order to ensure impartiality in his actions and therefore I have moved this amendment. I hope it will be accepted by the Honourable Mover.

(Messrs. B.M. Gupta, R.K. Sidhwa, Biswanath Das, Thakur Das Bhargava, Syamanandan Sahaya, and S. Nijalingappa, did not move their amendments.)

**K.T.M. Ahmed Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur:** Mr. President, Sir, I move: That in sub-clause (4) of Clause 4, for the word ‘diminished’, the word ‘altered’ be substituted. In the draft it is provided that the salary of the President shall not be diminished, but at the same time there should also be no Provision for the increment of salary during his tenure of office as President. The reason is the same as I pointed out when I moved the previous amendment, i.e., the President should not be in any way conscious that his salary is dependent on any Act of Parliament and it is absolutely necessary that the quantum of his salary should be determined by the Constitution Act itself.
Mr. Ramnarain Singh (Bihar: General): Mr. President, I propose: that the President must not be a party-man.

When the Objectives Resolution enunciating our objectives was moved in the House I put in an amendment that a proviso that no party would be deemed legal in this country, should be incorporated in the constitution. Every party whether named after any person or following any particular principle should be declared illegal.

The reason for my amendment is this. In many countries of the world there are party governments and they flatter themselves with the thought that they are democratic. What does democracy mean? It means, ‘Panchayati Rajya’—the peoples’ government. The very word makes it clear that the party system of government is poles apart from democracy. In India it is believed that the ‘Panch’, is God Himself and its rule is God’s rule. I venture to say that the very term party system deteriorates at times into a government of the wicked and the sly. Sometimes it seems as if there is no gentle soul in the party. A few sly persons form a party and establish their own government in the name of Democracy. I appeal to the members of this Assembly that the party system be abolished. So long there is a party true of democracy cannot exist. The party system is fatal to democracy.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. President, on a point of order. I would like to know what bearing this speech has on my motion.

Mr. President: The amendment which he has moved is ‘that the President must not be a party-man’.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I should like to understand its bearing.

Mr. President: He wants to put a disqualification on a candidate who wants to stand for Presidentship.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: A disqualification which can be measured, weighed, computed somehow. It must have some relation to fact.

Mr. President: So far as the amendment is concerned, I cannot rule it out.

Mr. Ramnarain Singh: Yes, I will just tell you. I am condemning here the party system and suggest to the House that our President should not be a party man. What I mean is this that often the party system of government is mistaken for democracy or Panchayati Rajya. To make it clear let me put a concrete example. Suppose a particular party has 300 members in the Assembly.

Mr. President: Please do not discuss the party system at length. You just make out your point that the President should not be a party man. Merits and demerits of the party system cannot be discussed here.

Mr. Ramnarain Singh: I submit to your ruling, Sir, I shall not discuss that. But it is difficult for me to support the amendment unless we condemn the party system. However, I shall not further press it at the moment. If given a chance, I shall speak on it later. Now I conclude with the remark that it is absolutely essential that the President must not be a party man.

The Honourable Sir. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: Sir, I wish to move an amendment to sub-clause (1) of Clause 4. It is in the following terms: For sub-clause (1) of Clause 4 the following be substituted: ‘The President shall not be a member of Parliament or of any, Legislature and if
such a member be elected President, he shall be deemed to have vacated his seat in Parliament or in the Legislature concerned.’

The principle of sub-clause (1), which, now, according to the draft above the House, applies only to the Federal Parliament will be extended by this amendment to membership of the legislatures of the Units. I have advisedly used the terms ‘Parliament’ and ‘Legislature’, because, under the principles adopted for drafting in connection with this document, ‘Parliament’ applies to the legislature of the Federation and the word ‘Legislature’ is confined to the legislatures of the Units. I have nothing more to say.

**Mr. President:** All the amendments have been moved. The original proposition and the amendments are now open for discussion.

**Shri K. Santhanam:** Sir, I accept the clause as it is; but I do feel that it requires to be filled up in the drafting stage.

My honourable friend Mr. Ramnarain Singh moved an amendment which in its present form is not suitable. The President has to stand as a party man. But it is essential that after the election, he should give up all his association with any political party.

As you know, there has been some discussion as to whether the Speaker of the Assembly can continue to be a party man. It has not yet been decided. I hope in the new constitution, the President, the Governors and the Speakers, will all cease to have connection with any political party.

Then, again, there are business connections. Of course, ‘position of emolument’ may cover many things; but it will not cover other things. Take for instance the holding of shares in a company. It is not possible to prevent the President from holding shares; but it is essential that as soon as he is elected, he must declare his holdings in any company so that the public will know. During his term of office, he should not be allowed to acquire any shares or immovable property except through a special procedure. We must keep the President far above all these complications. Otherwise, all kinds of rumours and slander will be set afloat. I hope the Drafting Committee which will be set up for drafting will go into the matter and give us a good, comprehensive draft which could be put into the constitution.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** Mr. President, Sir, I wish to put in half a dozen sentences in connection with the amendments which have just been moved.

In reply to the question of my Honourable friend Mr. Ismail, the mover of the resolution has made it perfectly clear that the Union President will not be entitled to hold any office in any joint stock or limited company. He cannot be a Director of a registered or unregistered body. He cannot be in receipt of any salary or emoluments from any quarter. The principle is very salutary and sound. He should be a man who has no other allegiance except to the State, a man who has for the time being dedicated his whole energy to the service of the State. He should be in a position to give undivided attention to his office.

While I am clear on this and the House will agree to this, that he should not hold any office of emolument, I think we should go a step further. I am inclined to think that the President should not hold any honorary office. For instance, he cannot be the President of a Chamber of Commerce; he cannot be the President of a Trade Union organisation and the like. My idea is that from such honorary offices also he should be excluded, because, his position might be utilised for furthering sectional interest. I am not moving a formal amendment. I hope and trust that the honourable the mover of the resolution, when it goes for final drafting, will take note of these things and see to it that in the final draft these things are included.
We are all agreed that the President should be a man, who like Caesar’s wife, should be above suspicion. To ensure this, all these steps should be taken and even the extreme step proposed by my honourable friend Mr. Ramnarain Singh should be taken into consideration. You cannot eliminate a party man from standing for the Presidentship. But as soon as he gets into the office of Union President, he should certainly sever all his political connections and political affiliations, and he should cease to be a party man. That goes without saying. Keeping in view all these things, I hope the honourable the mover will, at the final stage, take such steps as will make the position of the President unimpeachable and above suspicion.

Mr. M.S. Aney (Deccan and Madras States): Mr. President, Sir, I have to make one or two suggestions in regard to the words ‘Position of emoluments’ so that when this memorandum goes back to the Drafting Committee for final draft, they may be taken into consideration.

It has been pointed out, and rightly too, that the words ‘position of emolument’ are not comprehensive to include many positions in which emoluments are had by persons and therefore the words have to be made more clear. I may point out one or two instances which probably you may not have noted. For example in the C.P. and Berar, there is a system of hereditary village officers known as Patels and Patwaris. Again there are persons who are called Ex-Pargana officers styled Deshmukhs. Deshpande, etc. They were real Pargana officers in olden times and in recognition of that fact, certain emoluments are given to them by the British Government. My honourable friend Dr. P.S. Deshmukh who is our colleague in this House belongs to that class. They get certain emoluments which are known as Rasams; these persons are called Ex-Pargana officers. Up to this time, in all matters of elections, Patils, Patwaris and these Pargana officers in C.P. and Berar used to be considered as not holding a position of emolument debarring a citizen from standing as a candidate for election. The second thing I want to mention is there are members of the old Royal family who are getting certain political pensions. They are not called emoluments. Are we to consider that persons in this position should be debarred from standing for election as President? It is not an emolument but a compensation paid for what was taken from their royal ancestors. It is something in the nature of a private property of the man. These are the three kinds of emoluments, two of which are particularly peculiar to the provinces in which I live. I therefore wish that the Committee which is going to draft the Constitution should consider these points while drafting with a view to exclude them from ‘emoluments’ in this clause.

With regard to the amendment of my friend Mr. Ram Narayan Singh would like to state that if a man, no matter what party he belongs to, once occupies the Presidentship, he must sever his connections with the party and remain a non-party man, but you cannot expect a man to be a non-party man before he does take that place. It is something like asking a fish not to be in the water. A person must belong to some party, it may not be a political party like the Congress, it may be some other party, he may belong to some religious party. A man being a social being, is supposed to belong to some kind of a party or group and if we use that word ‘non-party man’ it will be difficult to elect a President. Therefore, although I cannot subscribe to that particular amendment which he has suggested, I accept the principle that once he is elected to that position, he is expected to be a non-party man and he should sever his connection with his party and remain there as a man belonging to all or as a man belonging to none. He must take one of the two positions and only in that case he will be in a position to discharge his duties properly.

Mr. President: Mr. Sri Prakasa.
Shri Sri Prakasa: Listening, Sir, to some of the speeches almost compels me to repeat what I said in another place that it seems that some members at least are of the opinion that the President should be a person who has no ostensible means of livelihood. *(Laughter).* I think, Sir, that we should have some trust in the person whom we are putting up for the Office of the President. We should not fetter him in any way. If we do not like the man’s profession, then we need not put him up at all. But if we like the man, we can trust him to do his best as President and not allow his profession to interfere with his actions. We can understand your prohibiting a man from practising law or practising medicine as long as he is the President of the Republic but it would not be fair to expect him to give up all or any means of livelihood that he may possess as a non-President simply because he is elected to the office of the President.

How, I ask, would it be possible for a person to transfer all his property, if he has any house property, landed property, shares, etc. to someone else who should keep all these things in trust for him against the day when he returns to non-official life? How are you going to be sure that the person is going to get back on relinquishing his office, all the property which he possessed before he became President? I could agree, if you have a provision that a person who has once been a President will be guaranteed a sufficient competence for the rest of his life. In that case I can understand any member wanting to deprive the President of all or any of his possessions that he may have had before. Even lawyers find it difficult to go back to their profession after they have been out of it for a long time. I am particularly worried about persons who like myself, may possess some landed property. *(Laughter.)* Before all these landed properties are abolished in your province and mine, there may be some provision made for persons—not that I am a candidate—who are in that position so that they could stand for the Presidency. There may be some provision so that persons who are in the unfortunate position of possessing some properties of that nature may not be wholly debarred.

Sir, it would not be fair either for the person who is put up for the Presidency to be required to declare all the shares that he may possess in various companies. Suppose he forgets one or two non-paying shares that he possesses e.g., in the *National Herald* of Lucknow...

Shri Balkrishna Sharma (United Provinces: General): May I know on a point of information, *viz. *, why has he taken it for granted that the person will have divest himself of all his properties as soon as he takes up his office.

Shri Sri Prakasa: I thought that was what Mr. Santhanam was after.

Shri K. Santhanam: I merely wanted him to declare his shares so that we will know.

Shri Sri Prakasa: I think, Sir, we must look at the man whom we are putting in the President’s position and not at his property or at his shares or anything else. If we trust the man, we ought to put him in that office. If we don’t, we ought not to put him there. Even if you make a beggar a President, he can be as dishonest as the biggest shareholder or anyone else. Honesty does not necessarily depend upon the economic position of the individual. Honesty is something apart. What we want is that our President should be a person above suspicion; and whether he is already possessed of any property or not does not really matter. I think we should not hedge in the position of President by any of the provisions that we are seeking to introduce.

Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Sir, it is rather surprising that we should hear these words from our friend Shri Sri Prakasa. It is not that he has entirely misunderstood the scope of the amendment. If he should be chosen as the President, let him continue to be in possession
of his properties. But we will assume he becomes the Commerce Member. He ought not to deal in shares the moment he becomes a Member. Otherwise, if a Commerce Member of any Government or the President gets into the share market, there is an assurance that that particular share for which he goes in is a sound one. The next day he may sell them away. He will be in a position to monopolize the shares. We are not going to clothe the President of the Federation with such powers to traffic in immoral business—there are various kinds of immorality. Now, Sir, my friend Mr. Santhanam’s amendment is that we should insist upon the President to declare what shares he possesses. My friend Mr. Sri Prakasa says there may be a share lurking in some corner and he may not know. I don’t think he will be so negligent about his own affairs. But he expects the President to be negligent about his affairs. As regards business, even if he is a honorary President or Director of a business, and may receive only sitting fees, all the same when he has to give assent to a particular Bill, he may be induced to send it back, particularly if those provisions affect his bank or concern. I don’t mean to say that a particular thing will arise but it shows the necessity why the President should not be connected with these directly or indirectly.

Then as regards his being a party man, Sir, it is impossible unless he is a wooden block or a wooden tool. He ought to belong to one party or other. After he is elected, it must be obligatory that he should resign all his connection with the previous party and absolve himself of the allegiance that he owes. To that extent, one may reasonably expected [sic] but to say that he ought not to be a party-man is impracticable. I am trying to find out one but I am afraid we may not be able to get a non-party man at all. I can only think of a pial [sic] school teacher as a non-party man. Even he may be inclined in favour of his District Board President who may be a party man. Therefore, it is impossible to come across a non-party man in any sense of the word. It is enough if he gives up his connections with his party after he becomes President of the Federation or the President of the Union. I do say, Sir, that all these limitations and qualifications are necessary so as to ensure that proper administration and proper men will be available.

Mr. President: There is no other speaker. Has the Mover of the clause anything to say in reply?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, a great deal has been said about the emoluments of the President. It seems to me that it is very difficult to make lists of offices which he should not hold. Only a general principle can be laid down and carefully no doubt, but subsequently the rest depends a great deal on convention. If you start making long lists, it means that there may be many things left out which he can do. So normally speaking, one will have to depend upon convention. The point is that he should not be actively connected or associated with the management of any gainful office. Obviously, in the modern world, if he is at all well-to-do, he will have some shares or like Mr. Sri Prakasa he may be a landholder or he may have some other property. There is no chance as far as I can see of Mr. Sri Prakasa being prevented from standing for the Presidentship and I would deem it a calamity if it were so. So I submit that at this moment one need not go further into this question but leave it as it is and not only for the drafting but for the convention to grow up.

In one matter I am inclined to agree with what Mr. Santhanam said, although I do not think it is necessary to put it down, and that is that any person in high responsible office should make some kind of disclosure of his connections with business and of his holdings, etc. I think there would be an advantage in that, whether he is a President or whether he is a Minister or
any other person in high responsible office. (Hear, hear.) I accept, Sir, the amendment moved by Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, which clarifies sub-clause (1).

There is the question I believe of the emoluments and allowances of the President. A suggestion has been made that some other words should be used instead of ‘diminished’. After consideration we came to the conclusion that ‘diminished’ was the right word. We could use ‘varied’ or ‘increased or diminished’ but on the whole ‘diminished’ was considered the best. The point is that the legislature has in its power to do anything it chooses, but it must not exercise its power to the detriment of the person who has been chosen the President. There is no question of increasing his allowances or emoluments unless the Parliament so desires. You need not check Parliament doing anything, but there is the slight danger possibly of Parliament or the people from making the position of the President impossible. Therefore you say it should not be ‘diminished’. In these days, one does not quite know, suddenly there might be inflation and it may affect the situation so much that all normal standards of salaries and allowances might have to change. So I don’t think any change is needed there.

Last of all, the amendment moved in regard to the President not being a party man—now, I don’t know, but certainly I have a certain sneaking sympathy with such a proposition. But inspite of that, it seems to me completely impractical. What is a party man? No doubt, one thinks in terms of the huge party machines running political elections. But it is almost impossible for you to advise all of them. There are all kinds of parties and a person does not become bad because he belongs to a small party or a big party. Everybody is associated, I am afraid, with some group or association. The point is that the President should not function as a party man after he is elected. That, on the whole, is so. I am not myself clear in my own mind as to what his relation to the party he belongs to should be after his election. However, the question does not arise. But in any event, he should function as any one should function, whether he is a party man or not, completely impartially when he is in high office. So Sir, I regret I am unable to accept any amendment except Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar’s....

18. Demand for Safeguarding Muslim Rights in India
Letter from Maulana Hifzur Rahman and Abdul Qaiyum Ansari to the Minorities Sub-Committee, 24 July 1947

We beg to request that the following may kindly be included in the agenda for discussion in the next meeting of the committee:

(i) Whereas the present judicial system in India has never harmonised with the spirit of the Islamic laws, the system of appointing Muslim Kazis to settle the question of marriage, divorce, khula, etc. be introduced so that they may be decided according to the tenets of Islam.

Note: This system shall be confined to the Muslims only without being prejudicial to the religious rights of non-Muslims.

(ii) A permanent separate portfolio to administer the Muslim waqfs be attached to a Minister of State in each Province and at the Centre and that Minister be a Muslim as far as possible.

(iii) As the protection of cultural rights of minorities in every unit in the Union of India has already been incorporated in the Declaration of Rights by the Constituent Assembly, the Muslim minority can rightly claim for the protection of its cultural rights. Therefore, the High Courts of the Provinces (units) and the Supreme Court of the Union should each have a Muslim
judge to judge the propriety of any cultural right coming under the purview of protective laws of the States.

(iv) Educational scholarships, stipends etc. to minorities and grants-in-aid to educational institutions of minorities should not be given according to the proportion of the population of any minority. Such kinds of benefactions ought to be granted in proportion to the backward conditions of the minority concerned, i.e., the greater the backwardness of a minority the greater the grant of benefaction to it.

19. Debate about an Amendment in Rules of the Constituent Assembly

Extract from the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of India, 25 July 1947
Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, pp. 823-7

...Mr. President: The first item of the agenda this morning is a motion by Shri Sri Prakasa.

Shri Sri Prakasa (United Provinces: General): Mr. President, Sir, I have the honour to move: That after Rule 5 of the Constituent Assembly Rules the following new rule be inserted:

'5-A. Notwithstanding the provisions of Rules 4 and 5 above, the Governor-General of India, may in pursuance of His Majesty's Government's Statement of June 3, 1947, order; fresh elections to the Constituent Assembly from the areas mentioned in para 14 of that Statement and thereupon the members already elected from the said areas, whether or not they have taken their seats in the Assembly in the manner prescribed in Rule 3, shall be deemed to have vacated their seats; and the members newly elected shall be deemed to have been duly elected as members of the Assembly.'

This Rule shall have retrospective effect from June 3, 1947.

Sir, I venture to place this motion before the House with three objects. The first is that I should like to regularise some of the very undesirable incidents that have occurred during the last few months. Secondly, I want to vindicate the honour of this Assembly and, if you will permit me to say so, with respect, your own honour as the President of this Assembly. And, lastly, I should also like to lodge a protest against the manner in which many things have been done during the last few months. (hear, hear). Many old members of the Assembly who were originally elected were, so to say, summarily dismissed; new elections were ordered and new members were elected in their places.

Sir, when this Assembly was first elected—it does not matter how it was elected—it claimed to be what it obviously was, a Sovereign Body, fully entitled to make its own Rules of Procedure. It was quite clear that an Assembly like this could not go on without any rules for its own conduct and therefore we prepared a regular pamphlet that gave all the Rules of Procedure of this House. No person could claim that he was ignorant of the existence of these rules. If anyone had taken care to look into this pamphlet he would certainly have found Rules 4 and 5 staring him in the face, which laid down in unequivocal language the method by which new members of this Assembly could be chosen after other members had vacated their seats in the manner prescribed. What has happened, however, is that certain negotiations took place between certain people behind the back of this House, certain agreements were come to, some members were, so to say, summarily dismissed from this House, new elections took place and new members were elected in their places. And we had to acquiesce in that agreement. Whether we like it or not, the fact is that new members have come and old members have gone, and in the bargain our dear country has been cut up into two. I think, Sir, that it is high time that
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we should at least regularise this procedure by inserting a rule of our own so that we may at least save our faces and be able to say that what has been done has been done according to a definite rule framed by ourselves.

Now, Sir, my second purpose is to vindicate the position of this House and the honour of its President. I looked in vain during those fateful days to see you mentioned anywhere, in the course of those negotiations and to be assured that you were consulted. You may have been consulted as a Member of the Interim Government and as a member of the Congress High Command; but you were nowhere in the picture as President of this Assembly. I have no doubt that if you had been consulted as President of this Assembly, punctiliously careful as you are of the proprieties, you would certainly have asked this Assembly, for its own opinion on the subject.

When, Sir, you asked the Assembly whether it would permit me to move a simple Resolution like this the other day, you will surely have consulted the Assembly on such a vital matter if you had been consulted as President. We would have been amply satisfied if we could have been assured by you that you had agreed to the procedure on behalf of the Assembly, that was not sitting at the time. You were perfectly entitled to act on our behalf. The Assembly, however, if I may say so, has been completely ignored. The other day when Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant referred to some sort of a party mandate, you very rightly got up and said that the Assembly does not recognise any parties. But, if I am not mistaken, over and over again during those fateful days, the leaders of the two major parties were referred to in statement after statement that appeared in the Press. So, while you do not recognise the existence of any party so far as this Assembly is concerned, we have to acquiesce in an arrangement that had been come to behind our backs by what are described as leaders of major parties in the country. In this connection I feel that the insertion of this rule might right the wrong to some extent, and we may at least have the feeling that what has been done has been done according to the rules of our Assembly themselves.

Lastly—and this is as far as I am concerned the most important part—I would like to lodge a protest against all that has happened. I do not think it was right either on the part of the leaders referred to in those statements or on the part of the Governor-General not to have consulted you, Sir, as our President and the Assembly in that important matter. You know that those negotiations have resulted in the cutting up of our country which is not to our liking. I have no doubt, Sir, that if the original procedure had been followed, and if all who had been elected to this Assembly had attended it and the matter had been placed before the house in the proper manner, we ourselves might have agreed—gladly or otherwise—to the very arrangement that was finally come to over our heads. We would in that case have had the satisfaction that the representatives of the country met in this Hall, and after solemn deliberation decided that for the time being at least in the interests of the country it would be best if we have two separate Constituent Assemblies and two separate parts of the country governed by two Governments. But, as it is, the whole thing has been flung at our face in a manner which it is difficult for an ordinary person to understand,—much less to appreciate. In any case, as things are, there is nothing else for us to do than to agree, as gracefully as possible, to what has happened. I hope that I shall have the unanimous support of the House to my motion to insert this new rule in the Rules of Procedure of this House.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad (West Bengal: Muslim): Mr. President, Sir, I find myself in a difficulty in regard to this Resolution. But with regard to the Honourable Member’s desire to regularise
any irregularity if there is one, I have full sympathy. Then again, with regard to the vindication of the honour of yourself, Sir, I also fully sympathise. Then, as regard the protest against many things that have happened, I feel that I should express my neutrality. Things happened in an overwhelming manner with which we poor fellows had nothing to do.

Coming to the merits of the Resolution, it says: that the Governor-General of India, may, in pursuance of His Majesty’s Government’s Statement of June 3, 1947, order fresh elections to the Constituent Assembly from the areas mentioned in para. 14 of that Statement.

Sir, in this famous paragraph are included the following areas:
(1) Sylhet which is now beyond the jurisdiction of India; (2) West Bengal which is now within the jurisdiction of India; (3) and (4) East Bengal and West Punjab which are outside the jurisdiction of India; and (5) East Punjab which is within our jurisdiction.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (West Bengal: General): I want to know, Sir, whether the Honourable Member is in order in raising a discussion, on the whole of His Majesty’s Statement, in connection with this Rule? The Honourable Member has referred to that Statement in extenso and to parts of it which have no bearing on the motion before the House.

Mr. President: I think he was referring to paragraph 14 of the Statement because the motion under consideration itself refers to it, and developing his argument. He is in order.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: That is exactly my position, Sir. In fact, these areas are referred to by implication in the resolution under consideration. I was referring to the areas mentioned in paragraph 14.

Then it is said that as a result of the election of those members and in consequence of the proposed election, the members who have already been elected in the first election will from that date be deemed to have vacated their seats. It assumes therefore that till the proposed election the members who were originally elected at the first election would retain their seats, although I understand that all of them have resigned. Then again it is also sought to be made out that upon the proposed election the newly elected members—I believe members who would be elected hereafter—should be deemed to have been elected, and what seems to be impracticable and absurd is that they should be elected with back effect, namely with effect from June 3. I submit that there are three elections to be considered; the first election, the second election through which we, some of newcomers have come, and the proposed third election. The resolution ignores altogether the second election through which some of us have come. Then the implications of this are that the members who were elected at the second election have no locus standi as their place will be occupied by those elected at the first election and things said and done by us in this Assembly would have to be erased from the pages of the report. Then, let us consider the probable time when the third election is likely to take place. The second election took place within about a month of the June 3 Statement, that is in the beginning of July. This third election can thus take place within about a month from this date, that is about the 25th August. If that is so, serious complications will arise. The resolution refers to election from all the areas including those areas which will then be outside India. By 15th August, a new transformation in the country will take place. Two new Dominions will come into existence, and it would be a serious proposition to say that the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, will order fresh elections from the areas over which he has no jurisdiction. In these circumstances, I submit that resolution is impracticable. It will lead to serious anomalies. The resolution purports—at least so the speaker made out—to regularise what has happened. It seeks to vindicate the honour
of this House. The Honourable Member supposes that those very members who have been elected at the second election will automatically be elected at the third election, if any. I beg to submit that some of us may not be able to come. It may be that we will have a new set of members. In that case, the so-called regularisation of the election of members like us goes to the wind. I will ask, what is to become of our assertion that we have come here as loyal and law-abiding citizens of India? If we go out, will that declaration stand or will that go? Then what will become of the acceptance by Choudhury Khaliquzzaman Saheb of the National Flag on behalf of the League group here, if he fails to come? Then again, what will become of our signatures in the Great Book which is to go down to history? Will they be scored out and erased? What will become of the T.A. and daily allowances which we have received? Will the monies have to be returned or will that be made over to the next set of members to be elected and who are to be our legal heirs and representatives? These are some of the serious anomalies which face us in accepting the resolution as it stands. I have already submitted that I am in full sympathy with the spirit which actuated this resolution. The resolution is however impracticable. It is said that the honour of this House will be vindicated by this. I believe that the honour of the President will not only be vindicated but will rather be stultified. The Honourable the President has in his wisdom allowed us to take part in the proceedings and do other things in the House. If the resolution is carried, I think it would stultify the action of our own President. I submit that, if the real desire of the Honourable Member is to safeguard the rights and prestige of the House, we could have done it by straightforwardly declaring that we adopt the second election. That would regularise the second election in a decent manner. That will regularise irregularities if any, and safeguard the honour and prestige of this House. I repeat I am in full sympathy with the spirit which actuated the Honourable Member in moving this resolution, but there are practical difficulties and the best way would be for the House to adopt the second election. With these few words, I submit that the resolution in its practical implications cannot be accepted, and therefore I respectfully beg leave to oppose it.

Haji Abdul Sathar Haji Ishaq Sait (Madras: Muslim): May I draw the attention of the Honourable Member to the last clause of the resolution which says that this Rule shall have retrospective effect from June 3, 1947?

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: That does not solve the problem at all. The point is, will those gentlemen, those Honourable Members who have been elected, come back, in a body in the third elections? Can any one guarantee that? If the same Honourable Members are elected once again, then this retrospective clause has some meaning. Retrospectivity with regard to members who would be elected for the first time at the third election has no practical meaning, so far as my humble judgment goes. Then there will be overlapping of two batches of members, the first batch and the second batch who will, according to the Resolution, both be members simultaneously for a period. With these few words, Sir, I respectfully oppose the adoption of this resolution.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (United Provinces: General): Sir, I am in entire agreement with the object of the Honourable Mover of this resolution. At the same time, I must say that I find it difficult to understand it. The resolution gives power or seeks to give power to the Governor-General in pursuance of H.M.G.s Statement of June 3 to do this or that even in the future. I cannot understand at all why the Governor-General should be brought into our rules. Mr. Sri Prakasa's object obviously is to validate something that has been done,
something bad according to him, and I agree with him that was not done with due propriety. I agree that we should validate it but not by making any fundamental changes in our rules, even giving powers to the Governor-General in the future about it. So I suggest, Sir, that instead of considering this resolution as it is in this form, it might be referred to a small committee to redraft it with the object of merely making it a validating measure. I would suggest a committee consisting of Mr. Shri Prakasa, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and Sir B.L. Mitter.

This is a legal matter and so I have suggested the names of these three lawyers although Mr. Sri Prakasa is not much of a practising lawyer. I do not think it will take very much time to redraft it and bring it forward as a resolution, not as an amendment to the rules.

Shri Sri Prakasa: I agree with what my friend Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has just said. In fact when I tabled this Resolution at the beginning of this Session, the N.W.F.P. referendum was in the offing and there was the prospect of three more members being dismissed—they have since been dismissed and this is the reason why I have given this power to the Governor-General. Now this is finished, and so far as I can find out there is nothing for the Governor-General to do in this behalf so far as the H.M.G.’s Statement of June 3 is concerned. We might just as well have this in the form of a Resolution as suggested by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and I am quite agreeable to this Committee being appointed and to bring forward the whole thing in a sort of validating Resolution. In that case I shall ask for leave of the House to withdraw my motion.

The motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

The Honourable Mr. Hussain Imam (Bihar; Muslim): What about Assam? Election is still in the offing there.

Shri Sri Prakasa: This Committee will have to consider Assam also. It is just as well that it should.

Mr. President: I was just going to point out that the Resolution as it is drafted has that lacuna also. It does not cover members from Assam other than Sylhet. So I think the best course is, as has been suggested by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, that the matter be referred to a Sub-Committee and the Sub-Committee might redraft the Resolution, because, there is, as far as I can judge, no difference so far as the object is concerned. May I take it that it is the wish of the House that this Resolution be referred to a Sub-Committee consisting of Mr. Sri Prakasa, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and Sir B.L. Mitter?

The motion was adopted.

20. Discussion on Continuation of Ruler’s Authority over Federal Subjects in a Princely State

Extract from the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of India, 25 July 1947
Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, pp. 839-52

The Honourable Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: I beg to move Clause 9: ‘The Executive authority of the Ruler of a Federated State shall continue to be exercisable in that State with respect to Federal subjects, until otherwise provided by the appropriate Federal authority.’ At the present moment, both federal and unit subjects are within the jurisdiction of the executive authority of an Indian State. When federation comes into existence and certain subjects are assigned to the Centre, their administration which is already in the hands of the State authorities,
it is proposed, should continue in these hands until the appropriate federal authority makes other provision for their administration. The general principle, as I have already stated in connection with the previous clause, is that the executive authority of the federation is co-extensive with its legislative authority. That principle is respected in this clause. The only thing that is provided for here is that where that administration is in the hands of the State authorities now, that agency should continue, until the federal legislature or other appropriate federal authority chooses to make other provision. That is really for the purpose of preventing a hiatus in administrative jurisdiction particularly at the time of the inception of the federation. ...

Shri Mahavir Tyagi  (United Provinces: General): Sir, this part of the Constitution is very important because it concerns a vast number of people of India residing in the States. At present, they enjoy enough powers of internal administration but in spite of this, in every state there is a Resident who represents the Paramount power. He has some voice in the administration and exercises a check on the powers of the rulers. Often he has safeguarded the rights of the people. If with the end of the office of the Resident, the Assembly does not provide some via media for safeguarding the peoples’ rights, I venture to say, Sir, our functions of constitution-making will not be considered successful. When the States and their people join our Union, it is the duty of the Assembly to look to the welfare of the States’ people and protect their rights. I stand here to take a little of your time so that the States people may not have cause to complain that when the question of the peoples’ rights came before the Assembly, it remained silent and sacrificed the interest of the people in order to get the co-operation of the rulers. I do not want to delay the proceedings by bringing any amendment, because all the rules and provisos which are being framed here will come up before the Assembly in their final shape. Then it will have the right to scrutinise and change them. What I mean is this: At present there is a Resident who exercises some control and check on the powers of the rulers. But with the abolition of his office there is no machinery to control the authority of the rulers. The Negotiating Committee must place before the House now or later at some opportune stage in very clear terms as to what arrangements it has made to control the authority of the rulers. In the present set up, the rulers have all the powers that the Union will have and also powers which they do not possess at present. Its result will be that the despotic and autocratic States will become all powerful and there will be no check on them. There are many States which have no legislature at all. Under the circumstances if the present wide and discretionary powers are allowed to remain with the rulers, their joining the Union would be an advantage to them. We are paying this as the price to include the States in the Union. If the rulers are allowed to retain their present absolute powers, every ruler will be a gainer by joining the Union, because the States People have so long been fighting against their despotism with the help of the Congress and other such organisations and now the people will not receive this help any more from them. Henceforth the rulers will use their powers in their own arbitrary manner. Therefore, though it is proper to concede the rulers whatever powers they at present enjoy or to give them power similar to that of the Union, some restrictive provision must be incorporated in the Constitution so that they may not misuse the powers granted to them. When the Government of India Act was being framed in 1935 such restrictive provision was suggested in it in order to check the authority of the rulers. It is clearly stated in the said Act that any law of the States, which is contrary to or is incompatible with that of the federation, shall be deemed null and void and the law of this Federation shall prevail. The only difficulty at present is that instead of one, there are two Dominions now, one of Pakistan and the other of India. Both the dominions
are anxious to include in their Dominion a greater number of States than their rival. Because of this rivalry, the Princes are raising the price of their co-operation higher. I do not consider it desirable to concede to them more and more powers only in order to include them in our dominion. They are not willing to forego any of their powers in order to join the Union. By joining the Union they will be gainers in as much as they will receive military protection from the Union, but what benefit is that to us? We will only increase a member in our family. The States will receive tremendous help from this vast Dominion but in return for the privileges how many of their rights are they ready to concede to us? We must have everything before us. Every detail of the negotiation that is going on between our Negotiating Committee and the States must come before the House. It is only then, when we have considered all these, that we should decide as to what power the rulers should be allowed to retain and what amount of control the Union should exercise over them. This clause, as it stands at present, grants wide powers to the States, but it does not mention as to what power the Union will have over them. I do not want to put any obstacle to the passage of this resolution but I want to [sic] that this must be established as a convention that when a member speaks it is not imperative for him either to oppose or support the resolution. When an important matter is being discussed in the House a member must have the right to express his views without supporting or opposing the motion so that his views may be recorded. I stand here only for this purpose that my views may be recorded and our Negotiating Committee may know that a section of the House entertains such views. I want that my speech should bring to light what ‘liberties’ the States have and what further powers we are granting to them. I demand that when we are representing here the people of the States, the rulers must not be given powers beyond what they had. They have had ample powers. When they have joined the Union, the office of the Resident will be abolished and some of the States will become despotic. Therefore, without meaning any offence to and without making any allegation against any State I wish to say that when the States are joining our family—the Indian Union—they must respect the principles and our democracy. Despotic states have no place in our Union. Because of the assurances from some leaders States may feel today that they will have all the liberties in the Union; but I want to make it clear to them that, though the House is accepting all their terms, their joining the Union will put their despotism in danger. India and this Assembly will soon put an end to despotism and the States must join the union with this definite knowledge. The general public demands it and, if for some reasons this Assembly cannot do away with despotism the nation will, after the expiry of the existing Assembly, call a new Constituent Assembly which will not only solve our economic problem but the political problem too. That revolutionary Assembly will not allow even a trace of despotism to remain in India. The Union of India will not allow the black spot of despotism to remain long on her fair face. This is what I have to say.

The Honourable Mr. Hussain Imam: Mr. President, the remarks made by the last speaker asking for a minimum of democracy in the constituent units of the Federation is one on which I hope there will be no difference of opinion in this House. There are certain standards, and certain measures which are regarded as the bare minimum, as the sine qua non of a decent existence; and it is wrong in this age for any one to claim the privilege of divine right to rule as they please. I am one of those persons who believe in moderation as well as in negotiation. But there is a limit beyond which you cannot carry on these two processes. There are certain bedrock principles which have to be accepted. Because of the fact that the foreign Government had sanctioned the existence of 560 state units, it is not necessary that this Constituent Assembly
should also accept the separate existence of these units. In these days it is almost a common principle that various small units cannot fight in the battle of life. Look at industrialisation and cottage industry. Cottage industry is every day being eliminated. We are trying to protect it and give it support because it is to the greater advantage of the worker than the mill industry. Similarly, if it were to be greater advantage of the common man to have the 560 units, I for one would have supported them. But many of the units are so small that they themselves have considered it essential to join together and form bigger units. This is a move in the right direction and if it is developed to the full extent to which it should be developed, it is possible to allow them to exist even today. But if individuality prevails and if the move for having a union of States where they can give common privileges and common advantages to which a citizen is entitled is not put forward, I am afraid that the existence of the States will be jeopardised. I endorse the appeal of the previous speaker that this Assembly and those who are in charge of negotiation should look to it that the right of the common man in the States which is as precious to us as the citizens of British India is safeguarded. (Hear, hear.) They must be protected with as much care and as much solicitude as we are taking in the other units, the provinces. There should be a minimum standard of democracy, and minimum rights of citizenship which should not be denied to any one in the Continent of India. No matter whether it is a big State or a small State, they must all strive to uplift and if we cannot uplift, we will be failing in the charge which has been entrusted to us. Independence is not worth anything if we allow a large part of the units to remain in the same degraded condition in which they existed before the departure of the British. I therefore endorse the appeal and hope that something will come out of it.

Mr. Jainarain Vyas (Jodhpur State): Mr. President, at present the whole question of States is not before the House but we have only to consider as to what authority the Princes should be given in respect of central subjects. Therefore I shall confine myself to this only and I would like the House also not to go beyond the scope of the subject.

It is true that the Princes or the States are going to have the powers and authorities which they do not have in the current set-up. But the words (of the resolution) show that power would continue with those who had it: not more than this, unless some other arrangements are made by law. In spite of this, as our Federal subjects are numerous and of various types it is apprehended that the powers granted to the Princes in respect of these subjects might be abused in some States. But now that we all have joined the Union, we may hope or rather we should appeal to the Rulers to fall in line with the rest of India. The Provinces too should be requested to make proper use of the powers granted to them. Under the circumstances, we need not oppose such clauses or sections. Mr. Tyagi has just said many things with reference to the general question concerning states. I am a State subject and represent the States people. I do admit that the representatives of the States people do not hold the same status as the ministerial representatives hold. They speak on behalf of the Government of the States. We have not attained this status. Really this is a painful position for us. But this certainly does not mean that we have given up all hopes of securing our real status. It is impossible for us to remain long in this position. I hope our Union will exercise its influence over the Princes, their ministers and the governments to see that the representatives of the people have equal share in the internal administration of the States. And if for certain technical reasons or legal complications this cannot be done, I hope we shall try to settle the matter by negotiation. However, if our negotiations with the Princes fail to secure an amicable settlement, after 15th of August the Rulers and the States people will stand in opposition to each other. The people
have strength enough to settle their own affairs. We are grateful for the sympathy shown to us. But at the same time I wish to say that our attitude would not seriously affect the federal subjects. It might affect the Union which would consider its own interests. Such is our hope. With these words, I support the original resolution.

**Mr. S.V. Krishnamurthy Rao** (Mysore State): Mr President, Sir, I had myself brought an amendment that in these matters the representatives of the people in the States, may have a voice but I withdrew that amendment because an amendment by Sir N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar was accepted by the Ministers of the States. In this I see the dawn of a new era in the States. I hope the ministers have accepted this amendment with all the implications behind it. We the peoples' representatives from the States, are in a very delicate position. On the one hand we do not want to take any attitude which will jeopardise the Union of India. Unity is the prime need of the hour. On the other hand, we have to safeguard the interests of the people of the States. With this view, we have accepted the amendment of Sir N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar. By the acceptance of the amendment, Sir, we believe that even in the States, minimum standards of democratic Governments will be established ere long, because the acceptance of this amendment in the Union Federation means the acceptance of the adult suffrage for the election of the representatives to the Federal Assembly and also the acceptance of the Citizenship Rights and the Fundamental Rights. I am sure the acceptance of these fundamental principles will have its own repercussions on the administration in the States. With this hope in view that ere long the Ministers who are charged with the heavy responsibility, will do their duty not only to their Rulers but also to the Union Federation and the people of the States, and will see that responsible Government will be established in the territories of the states, with this hope, I support the Resolution as amended.

**Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar** (Mysore State): Mr. President, I have only a few words to address this august Assembly on this very important subject. Some of the States' Representatives—I use the word 'Representatives' with some hesitation,—the official Ministers of the States as they have been described,—have given notice of an amendment which tries to incorporate Section 125 of the Government of India Act. That Act suggested that the executive power of the Federation will be carried out by the States and the Rulers of the States through their own officers and that the Federation should be content to have what may be called the right of inspection to see that that authority was properly exercised. There are a great many States where even now, whatever is required on behalf of the Federation or the Government of India the work is carried out essentially by the State Governments and the executive authority of the States. During the years when the Government of India Act was under consideration at various Sessions of the Round Table Conference it was pointed out that while the States which acceded to the Federation would have no objection to legislation being passed on the ceded subjects by the Federal Legislature, the power of executive authority should still rest in the Officers of the States. This is to say that the Federation shall have legislative authority alone, but that for the administration of those subjects which States had ceded, the administrative authority, the executive responsibility may still vest in the States. This was the position taken up as far back as 1930. Things have marched very far in some of the States during the intervening period and there are indications that in many States things will march further still in the direction of a closer association of the people of the States in the administration of the States. There is no doubt whatsoever that the trend of events, the march of public opinion, the awakening in the States themselves and the very fact that the States may accede to the Union and send their
representatives to the Union Legislature, all these facts will tend to quicken the progress and
the process of the greater association of the people of the State in the administration of the
State. (Cheers). I do not want to refer to any individual State, but I had in mind States which
very shortly will give such an amount of power to the subjects of the States that there will be
very little feeling in the matter in those States, at any rate. Even in 1930-31 those who
represented the States in the Round Table Conference took the view that while the legislative
power may be readily conceded to the Federal Parliament, the executive power must vest in
the States to be exercised by the officers of the State. I venture to think—it is not a proposition
that I am putting forward on behalf of any bureaucratic or undemocratic administrator of a
State, but it is a proposition which may very well be put forward on behalf of the subjects
themselves—that the executive authority in those States must vest in the authorities or the
officers of the State. While that executive authority is to be imposed by a Federation through
its own officers, who is it that will lose the exercise of that authority, except the very subjects
who through their responsible representatives will be in charge now to a certain extent, and
hereafter, to a much greater extent, for the affairs of the State? If, therefore, the Federation
intervenes with its own executive set-up in the administration of a State, I venture to think it
is not the Ruler who is going to lose much or anything at all; it is those representatives, those
popular representatives as they are called, those who will be in charge of administration by
closer association of the people in the administration, it is they who will forego the right of
exercising their authorities in those States. It may be said that in provinces to a certain extent
federal jurisdiction is exercised by federal executive authority. But I believe the Union
Constitution Committee and those who have taken part in these proceedings have realised
that there is a fundamental distinction between Provinces and States. I do not know whether
Provinces are altogether too happy or will be happy over the decisions that have been so far
taken with reference to the powers of the Federation in the Provinces. The list of subjects—
Provincial and the Concurrent List—have still to be examined by this House. What the fate
of that examination will be I do not venture to say. But after all, Sir, I have not always been
associated with States—my association has been of very recent times—and for years—30 years
of my public life have been spent in what till the 15th of August may be described as British
Indian Provinces. I venture to express the view that there is a very strong urge in the Provinces
that as far as possible, what has been the subject of our agitation for decades, namely, provincial
autonomy, should be a very real thing indeed. Provinces are not likely to easily yield to the
suggestion that a strong Central Government means a Central Government with a vast number
of subjects to administer. My own view of a strong Central Government is not that. For what
purpose should a Government be strong in the Centre? I venture to think that if that position
is clearly and analytically examined, you will come to the view that for certain subjects and
with reference to certain powers, the Central Government—the Federal Government—should
have ample plenary and exhaustive powers, but that does not mean that, taking a subject like
even patents or copyrights, strong Central Government is created by vesting the rights over
patents or copyrights in that Centre. It may be for other reasons, that it may be desirable. It
may be done by co-operation, by co-ordination, by the idea of the agency that is established
at the Centre which will have not the power, at least to a certain extent, the advisory capacity
to bring about that co-ordination, but let us not, because we think in terms of a strong Central
Government, forget the fact that strength does not lie in expansiveness, a wide variety of
subjects coming under the scope of the Central Government. In fact, my own view is that the
more subjects you bring under the Federation, the weaker you make it. So I would press very strongly when the time comes—if I may be permitted for a moment to say on behalf of the Provinces, forgetting my new avathar—I would press very strongly in favour of provincial administration having the widest possible power in consonance with the strength of the Central Government. There are occasions, of course, when an emergency arises when I would be willing to have the Federal Government over-run the whole of the sphere of the Federation. When an emergency is declared or proved to exist, then all these restrictions which we had even under the Government of India Act may well disappear and the Central Government may have all these powers; but normally, in day-to-day administration, in the absence of such an emergency, I venture very strongly, very respectfully and with great humbleness to urge that, Provinces should have as much and as wide powers as possible. If that is the case, Mr. President, a fortiori, the States should have even wider power and except for those subjects that they accede there ought not to be any interference in the States and so far as this power of administration is concerned. I venture to state that States may be left to administer their own subjects. I understand that there may be some difficulties in some areas, some States, to confer the power on them to administer these subjects. I understand that the amendment of my Honourable friend Sir N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar wants to preserve that position and to take care of that situation. It may be so. It is from the point of view that we have not pressed the amendment which goes the whole way before this House at present. But barring such exceptions, the general rule shall be and must be that the States which can administer properly, which have an administrator, whether popularly elected or unpopularly based, who carried on the administration on correct administrative principles, those States cannot and should not have their administrative sphere encroached upon by the Federal Government. I think some of the States at least can show a record of administration which is—in the presence of such a large number of provincial representatives and provincial ministers, I dare not say what otherwise I would have liked to say—which is at least not less efficient than the administration in the provinces. With that record, I venture to think that it will be accepted by everybody in this House that as far as possible, in as many States as possible where there is no question of the administrative machinery not rising to the occasion, that administration shall be that of the State itself. I therefore want to make the position perfectly clear that in accepting the amendment of Sir N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar we are not giving up the essential principle that it shall be the rule that States shall have their own executive authority and that in special cases exceptions may be made.

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar: Sir, I had no idea of speaking on this Resolution, especially after an agreement had been reached between the Mover of the Resolution and certain representatives of the States. In dealing with this subject, it is unnecessary for me to go into the question as to the relative sphere of the Federation or of the Provinces in the Federal structure. I may have a good deal to say in favour of what Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar has stated, namely, that the strength of the Centre does not depend upon the number of subjects assigned to it but upon the nation-building and nation-preserving subjects being in the hands of the Centre and the Centre being necessarily equipped with the machinery for enforcing its power throughout the area. But that is entirely irrelevant in the consideration of the question now before the House. The essential principle underlying the previous clause is that the executive power must be co-extensive with the legislative power. If the Federation has the power to pass certain laws it must have the necessary power to enforce those laws throughout the Federation. That is the
common-sense, accepted constitutional principle to which no exception can be taken, either by State protagonists or provincial protagonists.

The second question is, how is this executive power to be exercised? It may be exercised through the instrumentality or agency directly appointed by the Federation, or it may, for the time being, employ a State or provincial agency. But the ultimate power and responsibility must rest with the Federation which must be satisfied that an efficient administration is carried on. If an efficient administration is carried on in State A, or State B or State C, very well. The Federation will not interfere. But the Federation is the sole judge and the only judge of the efficiency of the administration throughout the Union, and every State agency and every Provincial Agency and every other agency must be the agency of the Federation to that extent. The object of this amendment is very simple. If the State machinery is functioning properly, then you need not interfere; let the status quo continue. But the ultimate power will rest with the Federation, that is the principle to which we are committed. But that does not mean that the Federation or the Federal executive will go on experimenting. Why should it? For example, if the postal service or some other service is efficiently and properly conducted by the State agency, then the Federation will not have any need or business to interfere. If on the other hand, the State agency does not carry on the administration properly, the final authority must rest with the Federation. That is the principle of this amendment and I do not think that any State can take exception to it. It is really a midway solution between two extreme views. One view is that here and now the Federation must start off with a special agency for the purpose of carrying on this work. That is one extreme view. The other view is that the existing state of things must continue, especially when they are satisfactory. The view taken in this clause is that if and when the agency is found to be ineffective by the Federal authority, it will be up to the Federal authority—and they are the sole judges of the situation—to interfere. Let there be no misunderstanding on this point. The principle of Section 125 of the Government of India Act is expressly departed from in this Constitution. It is not a question of parleying between the States and the Federal authority. It is a question of the responsibility of the Federation. It is but a matter of prudence. It is a matter of giving stability to the administration. When the administration of a particular subject is efficient through the State agency, that agency may continue to be employed. But there is no denying the fact that so far as the principle of this clause and the earlier clause is concerned, the ultimate responsibility for the proper execution of the laws which the Federation is passing is with the Federation and Federation alone and the principle that the executive power is co-extensive, in general, with the legislative power is not to be departed from. It is on that ground, Sir, that I support the amendment moved by Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar with the modification, and on no other ground.

Sri K. Santhanam: Sir, I am glad that Sir Alladi has explained the fundamental principle of the federal system so clearly and emphatically. I shall not try to cover the same ground. But there is one point mentioned by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar which also requires our attention.

He suggested that as the States are getting democratised it may not be so objectionable to leave in their hands the executive authority on federal subjects. Sir, I do not think this is correct. To the extent the States get more and more democratised, the distinction between the Provincial and Federal subjects must become clearer and clearer. That is my view. When a Ruler or his Dewan defies the Federation it may be easy to deal with him because the Federal authority will get the support of the people. But if the Federal subjects are under democratic States then the people themselves may get a vested interest and they may defy the Federal
authority. Therefore, in all federal schemes, as far as possible, the powers of the Federation and the powers of the units are kept distinct. The executive authority of the Federation is emphasised in all Federal subjects and the autonomous units have the executive authority only in their own subjects. This distinction is carried to such an extent in the United States of America that even in the matter of courts the Federal laws are enforced by the Federal Judiciary and the State Laws are enforced by the State Judiciary. In course of time, the Indian Federation also will have to follow the same principle. I agree with Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar that the strength of the Federation does not depend upon the number of subjects it administers. The Indian Federation may have only a handful of subjects—four or five. But so long as it has absolute and undivided authority over those subjects, it is bound to be strong. I am sorry Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar brought in these issues, particularly the issue as to what constitutes the strength of the Federation. What should be the scope of the Federal subjects and what the scope of the Provincial subjects is an entirely different issue on which many of us will go a long way to agree with him. But this particular clause has nothing to do with it. Assuming that we define the Federal subjects, to what extent should Federal authority extend over these subjects? That is the issue of this clause. Sir Alladi has, of course, stated and explained the general principle. I say that to leave the Federal authority in the hands of the States will be even more dangerous when they become democratised. There may be conflicts between all-India patriotism and unit patriotism, and local conflicts can be dangerous. The Provincial authority may set in motion disintegrating forces which we should seek to avoid even from the very beginning. Therefore, let us make it quite clear that it shall be open to the Federation to take the executive authority in all Federal subjects whenever it chooses to do so. For the present, it may be left in the hands of the State, but the power to resume it, whenever the Federation may think fit, should be with the Federation. The argument that more and more the authority in the States will be with the people, has no relevance whatsoever. In fact, it operates against leaving the authority in the hands of the States. Therefore, let us have the Federal authority intact for the Federation. I suggest that, when the final draft comes, there should be no doubt left as to the power of the Federal authorities to resume their executive functions in Federal subjects as they have been defined in the list.

Shri Gopikrishna Vijayvargiya (Gwalior State): Mr. President, Sir, I come from an Indian State. The motive in my mind is that our country should have a strong Centre. Unfortunately our country consists of many parts. In some Indian States and in districts and provinces too, in a wave of local patriotism people wish to possess more 'autonomy'. This will make our country weak and our Centre will not remain strong.

I wish to tell you that we all, the States also, shall have to surrender (rights) so as to invest the Centre with the maximum power, to make it and the country strong. Under the present circumstances, the scope of executive functions in States should not be enlarged. As suggested by Sir Mudaliar the mere number of Federal subjects, by themselves are not enough to create a strong Centre. This is correct but some subjects have to be assigned to the Centre and the ultimate authority about them should not be left to the discretion of the States.

The Central affairs of the States and provinces should be entrusted to the Centre. The minimum possible executive power should be with the States and provinces. It is not proper to keep the maximum power with them. In small countries like Switzerland and others, the executive authority is left with the units, but in India we cannot do so, as that would not be free from risks. Therefore excessive power should not be handed over to the States. The federal
authority in the States should as far as possible be exercised through a federal machinery. But as suggested by Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar, in the beginning it is not necessary to add a provision to this clause. We would not object to it. But I think it proper to create a strong Centre in the Country and the States should not grudge it. If we want to make the Centre strong, we shall have to hand over at least some subjects to the Centre. Without it our country cannot progress. Hence it is in the hands of the States and the provinces that if they intend having a strong Centre, they should confer upon the Centre the maximum power. We must make our Centre strong and along with this the powers of direction and inspection should vest in the Federation. The States should not seek to possess as much power as possible. Therefore, at present I do not oppose it. As it is, the amendment of Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar should be accepted but this should be our aim, that the Centre be made as strong as possible.

Mr. R.K. Sidhwa: After Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar’s speech it was very good of Sir Alladi to have made the position very clear as to what the object of this resolution is. He has in unmistakable terms stated that the final authority shall vest in the Federation: Sir, we congratulate the States’ representatives who have been good enough to participate in this Constituent Assembly and I also congratulate those of the States who have given a lead in this matter and made it clear for others to enter it. I also desire to tell them that while one part of the country is becoming democratic, the other part of nearly ten crores of people cannot remain under autocratic rule. It has been a principle with us and we have declared that when India becomes free we shall see to it that our States’ brethren also become free. Therefore in this august Assembly, when we have all met together—and I am very glad that it is so—the Rulers, their representatives and the peoples of the States,—that we should tell them that was our object and desire. I am very glad that some of the Rulers do feel that they cannot expect one part to rule autocratically and the other to rule democratically. I do not want to go into the details of various States but I know of some States where there are no local bodies, no municipalities, and where there are Legislative Assemblies there is a majority of nominated members. Days of nomination are gone. There should be all elected representatives both in the municipalities and the legislatures. The nomination period has gone, and if you want to make it democratic, abolish all these nominations. I would suggest to the Rulers that they must have elected Legislative Assembly members with powers to function as it will be in the provincial legislatures. Please also see that elected members, local bodies and municipalities are also established where they do not exist. I know of a State where a printing press is not allowed to be established. I do not want to mention the name of that State. It is a fairly big State. I do not want to record a discordant note on this. Our spirit is equally good but we want to tell the Rulers today that the time has come when we have to implement the pledge given to the States people. We have been telling them ‘when the time comes to obtain our freedom we shall see to it that you also shall get it’, and I therefore take this opportunity of telling the people of the States that we shall strain every nerve and see that the people of the States are also ruled exactly in the manner we rule in India.

Mr. M.S. Aney (Deccan States): Mr. President, Sir, the amendment under discussion is a compromise arrived at between the Ministers of some of the important States who are fortunately present here and who have joined the Constituent Assembly to help us and the spokesmen of non-official members of the Constituent Assembly representing British India. Therefore, the proper persons to explain the implications of this compromise are those who are parties to that compromise. We have yet to hear what Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar has to say. But one of
the important members of the ministerial party, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, has made a speech and tried to explain the point of view which he had in mind in accepting the compromise which is embodied in this amendment. I only want to make a general observation and not any specific suggestion. The point of view is perfectly clear to my mind that as a general rule the executive authority of a State shall be continued to be exercised by the ruler in respect of federal subjects. There is a warning however to the States in the clause that a certain standard of administration is demanded of them. I believe at present, at least, the Assembly is in this mood. It does not want the Federal authority to exercise its powers to bring about a change in the administration of the States. It expects that the force of great events and the circumstances which we have to face, will have the desired effect upon the psychology of those who have to administer the States. The signs of progress are already there. It has begun, and we hope it will continue uninterrupted for some time. We have come to a compromise and let us for the time being rest our faith in that hope. We can tell them that if the time comes the Federal authority will not be wanting in exercising its powers in cases where it may become necessary in course of time. I think the wording is sufficiently clear. Those who have got the interest of the country at heart will easily understand the importance of mutual responsibility and obligations that the Federal authority and the States have to bear in mind. We want to make a strong India, by encouraging the States to take part in the Union and by bringing about concord between the Union and the States. Our attempt should be to bring about this desirable result viz., a strong India. That strength lies in the willing co-operation between the acceding States and the Federal authority. Therefore the policy of the Federal authority will be to maintain the essential unity. The proper thing for the State to do is to enlist the sympathy of their people by associating them with the State administration and that too as quickly as possible.

With these few words I support the amendment.

Sir B.L. Mitter: Sir, it is somewhat surprising that an innocent and agreed amendment should have evoked so much eloquence and a certain amount of heat also. What are the implications of this amendment? There are two implications: one is that the amended clause postulates the supremacy of the Federation. The last words are: ‘until otherwise provided by the appropriate Federal authority in cases where it is considered necessary.’ This shows that the ultimate authority is the Federal authority. The first part which says ‘The executive authority of the Ruler of a Federated State shall continue to be exercisable in that State with respect to Federal subjects’ merely continues the status quo.

The constitution which we are framing in this Assembly is not an unreal thing. We have got to take the facts in the country as they are into consideration and in the light of those facts prepare an appropriate constitution, one of the facts being that in some of the major States some of the Central subjects are administered by the State authorities. It has not caused any embarrassment to anybody. It has not occasioned any inefficiency. Well, if that be so, that state of affairs will continue. If you find that there has been any abuse or inefficiency, there is power in the Federal legislature to make adequate provisions. This is a simple clause embodying two principles, first is supremacy of the Federal authority and second the continuance of the status quo.

The Honourable Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: Sir, we have had a most interesting debate, if I may say so on an issue which is certainly an important one, but an issue on which I thought those who took somewhat differing views had already come to an agreed settlement. I do not wish to add to the eloquence that has been spent upon this issue in the last one hour
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and more. I wish only to say, Sir, that the basic principle of this clause is that the executive
authority of the Federation is co-extensive with its legislative authority, that, normally, it is the
Federation that is responsible for the proper administration of Federal subjects. But we have
taken the existing facts into consideration where a large number of Indian States are actually
administering what will be Federal subjects in the new Constitution. We are providing that
the existing state of things should continue, but that continuance is necessarily subject to the
overriding control of the Federation itself, whenever it chooses to impose that control. We
cannot get away from that position. As Sir B.L. Mitter pointed out, the supreme authority in
regard to the executive administration of the Federal subjects is vested in the Federation. I
should reverse the position that Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar contended for. He seemed to think
that the general principle should be that the executive authority in relation to Federal subjects
should vest in the States, but that, as an exceptional measure, the Federation should take over
the administration into its hands whenever that becomes necessary. What I wish to point out is
that the general principle should be that it is the Federation that is responsible for the executive
administration of Federal subjects, but that it will not, unless it considers it necessary, interfere
with the State administration of Federal subjects where it is in existence today and where it is
efficient according to proper standards.

Now, it was said by the mover of one amendment that the taking over of executive
administration in respect of the States should be done by Federal law and not by any kind of
Federal authority as indicated in the Clause. I would only mention to him one range of subjects,
viz., External Affairs. A very large portion of the field of External Affairs is covered not so much
by legislation as by executive action. In such cases it would be absolutely unnecessary for us
to look to a Federal law for the purpose of the executive administration of External Affairs
being carried out in the proper way within the limits of Indian States.

So far as this particular matter is concerned, Sir, I consider that in regard to the executive
administration of Federal subjects there is no fundamental distinction, as was pointed out by Sir
Ramaswami Mudaliar, between the Provinces and the States. The only distinction is that the
States are actually administering some Federal subjects while the Provinces are not doing so.
But, so far as the right to administer them is concerned, I do not think there is any distinction
between the Provinces and the States. Now what really distinguishes the Provinces and the
States is only that different kinds of internal administration exist in the two areas. I do not wish
to go into this wider field which some of the speakers have covered but I do wish to endorse
and emphasise one point which was I think made by Mr. Santhanam and that is this: The need
for the taking over of the executive administration of Federal subjects by the Federation will
not be less, but perhaps will be greater when democratic institutions become more common in
the States than they are today. After all we have got to consider that the principle of a Federal
system is to divide the administration or the exercise of Sovereign powers between the Centre
and the Units. And I do not see why any hesitation should be felt with regard to accepting this
position, because after all the federation is as much a part of the constitution which the people
and the rulers of the States have to reckon with as the State constitution be [sic]. In the federal
legislature the States will be adequately represented, and when, for example a federal law is
passed providing for direct administration of federal subjects by the federation, that law will be
one in the passing of which the representatives of the States have had a voice, and therefore I
could see no real principle involved in contending that you must reverse the general principle
in the States from what it has to be in the provinces. I do not wish to say more, Sir, on a subject
on which there is agreement as to what we actually should do. I think the House is generally in favour of accepting the amendment that I have moved. I wish to say nothing more.

Mr. President: I will now put the amendments to the vote. The first is an addition of four or five words to the clause which, Sir Gopalaswami himself proposed, that at the end of Clause 9 the following be added:

‘In cases where it is considered necessary.’

I take it that the House accepts that.

The motion was adopted.

21. Scheduled Castes Should Be Given Statutory Reservations

Minute of dissent by H. J. Khandekar in the Sub-Committee on Minorities, 25 July 1947
B. Shiva Rao (Ed.), Framing of India’s Constitution, Vol. II, pp. 400-1

I herewith submit my note of dissent on the majority decision of the committee today against statutory provisions being made for reservation of seats in the Central and Provincial Cabinets for the minorities in India.

2. The Scheduled Castes are a major minority. But they have numerous difficulties in all walks of life. They are still untouchables and have no place in the hearts of the vast majority of the Caste Hindus. I am fully aware of the fact that the Constituent Assembly has passed a clause declaring that untouchability shall be an offence in India but I have to point out that this clause, for a long time to come, will only be declaratory and not mandatory. It has always been the experience in the past that the case of the Harijans was neglected when their interests clashed with those of the Caste Hindus. It cannot therefore be safely expected that in all spheres of life and particularly in the matter of sharing power, justice will be done to the Scheduled Castes. My community has experiences in the past of the unfair treatment in matter of formation of Ministries and my people fear that such treatment will be repeated. Under the illustrious leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, those in authority now are no doubt recognising the claims of the Scheduled Castes but there is no guarantee that when conditions change the same sympathy and considerations will be forthcoming for the Harijans. If at any time in the future the Scheduled Castes find that there is a distinct change in the outlook and the attitude of the Caste Hindus towards them and that untouchability is removed root and branch, so much so that not even the very mention of caste will not [sic] only allowed in society, the Scheduled Castes will be gladly prepared to give up these concessions which they now demand for their protection.

3. The condition of other minorities is quite different from that of the Scheduled Castes. The case of the Scheduled Castes should not be weighed with the same standard as that of other minorities.

4. I, therefore, request you to pass this note on to the Advisory Committee and to the Constituent Assembly so that the case of the Scheduled Castes may be considered as a special case by these bodies; by giving statutory reservations to Scheduled Castes in both the Cabinets.
22. Report of the Sub-Committee on Minorities
27 July 1947
B. Shiva Rao (Ed.), Framing of India’s Constitution, Vol. II, pp. 396–400

The Minorities Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee met every day from the 21st of July to the 27th of July under the chairmanship of Dr. H.C. Mookherjee. The agenda placed before the sub-committee on the basis of the replies received to the questionnaire issued to the members consisted of the following items:

(1) Representation in Legislatures, joint versus separate electorates and weightage;
(2) Reservation of seats in the Cabinet;
(3) Reservation in services;
(4) Administrative machinery to ensure protection of minority rights (partly covered by making certain fundamental rights justiciable).

2. The sub-committee held prolonged discussions on the various points before them. It was not possible to arrive at unanimous decisions on any point and the voting on several questions was very close. On some points, the voting was equal and the Chairman considered that as the matters were anyhow going to the Advisory Committee, it was pointless for him to exercise a casting vote. On some points, the sub-committee came to the conclusion that a decision had best be deferred till the meeting of the full Advisory Committee. In view of the shortness of time available for preparing this report, it is not possible to indicate the arguments used in the course of discussion. This report contains merely a bare summary of the conclusions reached by the sub-committee and it is hoped that this will be found adequate by the Advisory Committee.

3. Representation in Legislatures:
   (1) The sub-committee decided by a majority of 28 to 3 that there should be no separate electorates for elections to the Legislatures. It was understood, in arriving at this decision, that it was open to the sub-committee to decide on any one of several methods of joint electorates that could be devised.
   (2) As a general principle, there should be reservation of seats for different recognised minorities in the various Legislatures. This was carried by a majority of 26 to 3.
   The reservation shall be for 10 years, the position to be reconsidered at the end of that period.
   (3) The sub-committee considered what minorities and in which Provinces may be given the right of reserved seats. For this purpose, the recognised minority communities were considered in three groups as shown below:

   \[A—Population \text{ less than } \frac{1}{2}\ \text{per cent in the Indian Dominion omitting States}\]
   1. Anglo-Indians
   2. Parsees.
   3. Plains tribesmen in Assam.

   \[B—Population \text{ not more than } 1\frac{1}{2}\ \text{per cent}\]
   4. Indian Christians.
   5. Sikhs.

   \[C—Population \text{ exceeding } 1\frac{1}{2}\ \text{per cent}\]
   7. Scheduled Castes.
(4) Sir Homi Mody advanced the claim of his community for adequate representation in the Central and Provincial Legislatures. While the committee was of opinion that adequate representation should be provided for in response to this claim, it welcomed Sir Homi’s request to have more time to think over the matter and therefore the matter was left over for decision by the Advisory Committee.

(5) The sub-committee then examined the demand put forward by representatives of the Anglo-Indian community but thought it advisable that the question of both the minorities in ‘A’ group should be decided at the same time by the same body, viz., the Advisory Committee to whom the matter was decided to be referred.

(6) The representatives of the Indian Christians stated that so far as their community was concerned they did not like to stand in the way of nation-building. They were willing to accept reservations proportionate to their population in the Central Legislature and in the Provincial Legislatures of Madras, Bombay, Assam and East Punjab. In the other Provinces, they would have the liberty of seeking election from the general seats. They made it plain, however, that if any weightage was given to any minority in groups ‘B’ and ‘C’ they would demand similar weightage though, on principle, they were against weightage being given to any community. The sub-committee accepted this position and decided to commend it to the Advisory Committee. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur dissented from the views of the other Christian members as she was opposed both to reservation and weightage for any community. A copy of her minute of dissent is attached.1

(7) In view of the peculiar and uncertain position of the East Punjab and the position of the Sikhs, the sub-committee decided by a majority of votes (15 to 4) that the question of their representation be referred to the Advisory Committee.

(8) The sub-committee decided by 9 to 4 votes that no weightage be given to any minority in groups ‘B’ and ‘C’.

(9) It was decided by a majority of 8 to 2 that cumulative voting should not be permissible.

(10) The committee examined the proposal that a minority candidate standing for election for a reserved seat should poll a minimum number of votes of his community before he is declared elected. 7 members of the sub-committee voted for this proposal and 7 against it, and it was decided to refer it to the Advisory Committee.

(11) It was proposed that members of a minority community who have reserved seats should have the right to contest unreserved seats as well. This was accepted by the sub-committee in the case of both the Scheduled Castes and other minorities.

Mr. Thakur Das Bhargava made the point and the sub-committee agreed that the position of the communities in East Punjab is so balanced that the whole question of East Punjab should be considered in the Advisory Committee independently of the decisions of the sub-committee.

(12) Dr. Ambedkar suggested that candidates of a majority community should, before being declared elected, poll a minimum number of votes from among voters of the minority communities in their constituencies. This was lost by a large majority, only Dr. Ambedkar voting for it.

4. Reservation of seats in the Cabinet: The sub-committee considered that (a) no statutory provision should be made for reservation of seats for the minorities in Cabinets and that (b) a convention on the lines of paragraph VII of the Instrument of Instructions issued to Governors of Provinces under the Government of India Act, 1935, be provided in a schedule to the Constitution.
The first proposition was carried by 8 votes to 7 and the second by 12 votes to 5.
A proposal to delete the words ‘important’ in paragraph VII of the Instrument of Instructions was lost by 9 votes to 8.
Mr. Khandekar has submitted a minute of dissent, a copy of which is attached to the report.2

5. Reservation in Services: (1) The sub-committee voted on the general proposition that there shall be reservation in the public services for the different communities mentioned in groups A, B and C of paragraph 3(3).

It was agreed that the provisions, if any, regarding reservations should appear in a schedule to the Constitution Act and should have the force of a directive of Government policy. The decisions were its [sic] follows:

(i) Agreed by a majority of votes (16 to 1) that there shall be reservation in the services for the Scheduled Castes.
(ii) Agreed by a majority of votes (9 to 7) that there shall be reservation in the services for Muslims.
(iii) Agreed by a majority of votes (6 to 1) that there shall be reservation in the services for Sikhs.
(iv) Agreed by a majority of votes (12 to 1) that there shall be reservation in the services for Plains tribes in Assam.
(v) Agreed by a majority of votes (12 to 3) that there shall be reservation in the services for Anglo-Indians.

Note: The Parsees and the Indian Christians did not ask for reservation in services.

(2) Mr. Ali Zaheer moved the following resolution:

This committee recommends that in the Provincial as well as Central services, the claims of all the minorities should be kept in view in making appointments to such services consistently with the consideration of efficiency of administration. The committee further recommends that suitable provision to this effect may be embodied in some form in the Constitution or in some other way.

When this proposition was put before the sub-committee, Chaudhari Khaliquzzaman raised the point that the proposition was out of order in view of the decision already taken in para 5(1) above. The Chairman did not accept this view.

Nine members voted for Mr. Ali Zaheer’s proposition and 9 against.

(3) The sub-committee then considered the question as to whether seats should be reserved even for posts for which competitive examinations are held. The decisions were as follows:

(i) Agreed by a majority of votes (11 to 6) that there should be reservation for Scheduled Castes in services to which recruitment was made by competitive examination.
(ii) Decided by a majority of votes (8 to 7) that there should be no such reservation for Muslims, Sikhs and tribesmen.

Note: Anglo-Indians did not want reservation in services of this category. Parsees and Indian Christians did not want reservation in any services, whether filled by competition or otherwise.

(4) Chaudhari Khaliquzzaman, before these proposals were put to vote, raised a point of order that as the sub-committee had already decided on reservation in the services for certain communities in unqualified terms, it was not in order now to break up the proposition into compartments and vote on each of them separately. The Chairman did not accept this view.
on the ground that it had from the very beginning been understood that these matters would be considered separately. On this ruling being given, Ch. Khaliquzzaman and the Hon’ble Mr. Ismail Chundrigar abstained from taking part in the voting on the above propositions. Subsequently, Maulana Hifzur Rahman also raised the same point of order, and the Chairman again ruled it out.

(5) The next question examined was on what basis reservation should be made in those cases in which the committee had decided in favour of reservation. It was proposed that reservation should be on the basis of population. This was rejected by the sub-committee by a majority of 9 to 8 votes.

6. Item (4) of the Agenda: (1) There were four proposals before the sub-committee as regards the administrative machinery to ensure protection of minority rights. Mr. Khandekar moved a proposal for a Minority Commission whose findings should be mandatory on Government. This was lost by a large majority. Mr. Anthony proposed a Minority Commission with the right only to make a report. This also was lost. Dr. Ambedkar suggested that there should be an independent officer appointed by the President at the Centre and by the Governors in the Provinces to report to the Union and Provincial Legislatures respectively about the working of the safeguards provided for the minorities. This was accepted by a majority of 16 to 2 votes. The proposal that the officer should be independent of the executive like the Auditor-General or the judge of a High Court was negatived by a majority of 9 to 6. In view of the voting on this proposal of Dr. Ambedkar, there was no voting on Mr. C. Rajagopalachari’s proposal that a sub-committee of the Legislature concerned, together with an adequate secretariat staff, should be charged with preparing a report for submission to the Legislature.

(2) Mr. Munshi proposed and the sub-committee agreed that there should be provision for the setting up of a statutory commission to investigate into the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes, to study the difficulties under which they laboured and to recommend to the Union or the unit Government, as the case may be, the steps that should be taken to eliminate these difficulties and the financial grants that should be given and the conditions that should be prescribed for such grants.

I wish to record my dissent on the decisions taken by this committee in the matter of reservation of seats in Legislatures and in the services.

2. I have always held that anything in the nature of privileges for any special class or section of society is wrong in principle and when the same is given on the ground of religion it is, in my opinion, doubly wrong, for all religions stand for the brotherhood of man and none for separatism. Moreover, to perpetuate any such privilege in the Constitution of a free India would be against the ideals for which the Indian Union stands pledged to work, namely a classless
society where there shall be no high nor low, no rich nor poor, and would also keep alive the flame of communalism which is destroying the very fabric of our national life.

3. I question the legal existence of the depressed classes the moment the new Constitution comes in. Once untouchability is abolished and its practice made a criminal offence who are the Scheduled Castes? They have always been and will now, I submit, become legally one with most of the backward and ignorant poor Hindus of this country. They need straightaway all the necessary facilities and opportunities for raising their standards of education and life in general.

4. No minority will get facilities and opportunities of service through reservation of seats for a handful of their representatives in Legislatures or the services. If such are conceded by statute they will not only further weaken the community concerned but will also lower the standards of efficiency and good governance.

5. I am of opinion that in the new set-up a new spirit has to be brought in. Old policies which have tended to accentuate the communal problems must be abandoned. Palliatives and expedients are no remedies. The minorities should on the one hand realise that they cannot exist except on the basis of the goodwill of the majority community and on the other the latter should so model their conduct as always to prefer them to themselves, merit and character being equal, and thus prove that there are no majorities and minorities in the State.

6. In my opinion the minorities should create that goodwill by relying on the good sense and spirit of fellowship in the majority community and thereby banish the doubts, fears and suspicions which exist in the minds of the minorities today. Public Service Commissions in every Province and the minority officer recommended by this committee at the Centre should be sufficient to safeguard their just rights and protect their interests. All else will not only not protect but will in the long run be harmful.

7. The field of service in India is very wide. All the manpower of the country has to be harnessed for service in nation-building activities. There can be no unemployment for anyone and I hold that it is through the service of the masses alone that every individual and community will find itself and merge into the larger whole.

24. Debate on the Council of Ministers in Independent India
Extract from the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of India, 28 July 1947
_Constituent Assembly Debates_, Vol. IV, pp. 857-70

CLAUSE 10

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (United Provinces: General): This is a very simple clause, Sir: ‘10. There shall be a council of ministers with the Prime Minister at the head, to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions.’

I beg to move this.

Mr. President: There are a number of amendments of which I have got notice. Mr. Pocker Sahib Bahadur.

Haji Abdul Sathar Haji Ishaq Sait (Madras: Muslim): He has left and he has authorised me and one or two other members to move his amendments.

Mr. President: Mr. Ahmed Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur.
Haji Abdul Sathar Haji Ishaq Sait: Both of them have left. I do not know whether you can permit me to move it.

Mr. President: Any other member can move it. You desire to move it?

Haji Abdul Sathar Haji Ishaq Sait: I move: That for Clause 10 the following be substituted: '10. There shall be a Council of Ministers elected by the National Assembly by a system of proportional representation by single transferable vote and the council of ministers shall be responsible to the National Assembly.'

I do not think, Sir, any elaborate speech is required on this. The amendment is very simple and clear and I hope this will be accepted by the House. I move.

(Amendments Nos. 213 to 217 were not moved.)

Shri H.V. Pataskar (Bombay: General): I have given notice of this amendment in order to make it clear that the principle of collective responsibility will be applicable to the council of ministers to be appointed under this clause. As Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar has given notice of another similar amendment in the supplementary list, I do not propose to move this amendment (No. 218).

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): Mr. President, Sir, the amendment which I want to move is this: That the following be added at the end of Clause 10: 'The Prime Minister shall select the other Ministers and the whole ministry shall be responsible to the legislature and act on the principle of joint responsibility in the discharge of the duties of the Ministry.'

I need not remind members that it has been laid down in the objectives Resolution that a democratic form of Government shall be established in the Indian Union. The question now is whether the democratic government should be of the Ministerial type or of the Presidential type as is the case in the U.S.A. So far as the provincial constitutions are concerned we have accepted the principle that responsible democratic government should be established except as regards a minor point about the powers of the government. The principle to be followed in the Union Government should be that the Prime Minister should be the pivot of the whole administration. He should have full powers, and the President would be merely a constitutional head; and he should be given no individual powers or discretion. Whatever the President will do should be on the advice of his ministers. This is a good principle and for this, the British model is regarded as an example by the whole world. This is a model of executive powers which leads to the good and welfare of the people. After great deliberation and mature consideration the Union Powers Committee did not adopt the Presidential constitution of the U.S.A. For this reason, this amendment is based on the British model, though the House is already committed to it. Even then, it should be clearly stated in the Union Constitution that the voice of the Prime Minister would be the final voice and the President will merely echo it. On no occasion shall the voice of the Premier be flouted. Secondly, the Prime Minister should have the right to choose his cabinet colleagues, and the principle of collective responsibility should be adhered to.

I need not emphasise this any more; I would like to say in the end that these three basic amendments, which are based on democratic principle, may be accepted by the House.

Mr. H.V. Kamath: Sir, my amendment is covered by the amendment of Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava. So I do not propose to move my amendment.
Kazi Syed Karimuddin (C.P. & Berar: Muslim): Mr. President, Sir, my amendment is:

That the following be added at the end of Clause 10:

‘That the Executive of the Union shall be non-parliamentary, in the sense that it shall not be removable before the terms of the Legislature and a member of the Cabinet or the Cabinets may be removed at any time on impeachment before a judicial tribunal on the ground of corruption or treason. The Prime Minister shall be elected by the whole House by single transferable vote. Other Ministers in the Cabinet shall be elected by single non-transferable vote.’

Sir, there was a discussion at the time of the passing of the recommendations of the Provincial Committee regarding this issue but that decision is not binding when we are considering the Union Constitution. My submission is that the parliamentary system which is functioning in India under the 1935 Act has miserably failed as far as the Local Self-Government, Local Boards or Municipalities are concerned. All over India you must have noticed that there have been deadlocks and as the worthy leader of the Muslim League said, it does not suit the genius of the people. As far as the Provincial Assemblies are concerned, there was success to some extent because the Congress was fighting the British Imperialism and all conflicting elements were reconciled on that issue. The Muslim League had an ideal of Pakistan and the majority of Muslim members were elected on the Muslim League ticket, but with the disappearance of British Imperialism, with the disappearance of the programme of liberating the Indian people, and with the attainment of Pakistan there will be a plethora of parties and groups. There might be communists, socialists, Muslim Leaguers and many others. To expect such a large majority as we had in the past will be an impossibility. There will be many groups and to expect that there will be a very solid and absolute stability for the Government will be a myth. We have seen in the past that in the working of the Provincial Constitution in the Provinces the Opposition was neglected, ignored and sometimes punished. We have also seen that the parliamentary system which is existing at present created favouritism and nepotism in regard to those people who were supporting the Ministry. The Ministers were serving the members of the party more than the people. A Minister was not a humble servant of the Nation but he was a humble servant of those who were supporting him in the Cabinet and therefore I say that this scheme has not worked well in the past. At a time when India is attaining the cherished goal of independence, what do we find around us—arson, killing and looting. Why, because there is weak executive manned by Ministers who depend for their existence on the support of those people who are interested in communal tension. Everybody is not Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he went to Bihar, announced that people would be bombed if they continued the rioting but there was not a single minister, either Muslim or Hindu in the whole of India who took this attitude. Diamonds are rare, stones are numerous. What we want today is a stable Government. What we want today is a patriotic Government. What we want today is a strong Government; an impartial and unbending executive, that does not bow before popular whims. Today there are weak and vacillating executives in all Provinces who are amenable to influence of the members of the Party and it is impossible for them to displease if they want to continue in the seats that they occupy. Now it is said that the parliamentary system of Government is democratic. America is a democratic country and the Constitution that is prevailing there is also democratic. We find that there is a non-parliamentary executive and the whole administration of the country is divided into 3 parts, one is the Judiciary, the other is the Executive and the third is the Legislature. It is impossible for the Executive to defy the policies laid down by the Legislature and there is the Judiciary to check the excesses of the Executive. Under the circumstances when there is communal tension everywhere, and when there are disruptive
forces in this country, there is no other go except to have an Executive which is non-removable by the vote of the legislature. The other day when an amendment was moved at the time of the consideration of the Provincial Constitution, Dr. Pattabhi wanted to explain from a higher plane, although he was speaking under impulse, that the non-parliamentary executive was not suited to the conditions of India. Instead of that he argued about the separate electorates in India. He argued about the Communal Award which was beside the point. There is no communal question in America and in spite of that, this non-parliamentary executive has been adopted there. This is a country of different religions. This is a country of different ideologies. This is a country with different cultures. At a critical moment in the history of India when we do not want internal strife, when we want a formidable Government to be a bulwark against all aggression, it is necessary that in the interim period at least there should be a non-removable executive and non-parliamentary executive. The salvation of Indian people lies in this. There will be neither any favouritism nor nepotism and I plead with the House to accept my amendment.

Mr. D.H. Chandrasekharaiya (Mysore State): Mr. President, Sir, my amendment is to the effect that ‘provision should be made to give adequate representation to the States in the Council of Ministers’. Beyond suggesting that the point raised in this amendment be kindly kept in view at the time when the Ministry is actually formed, I do not propose to press it.

Mr. President: Mr. Gokulbhai Bhatt.

Shri Gokulbhai D. Bhatt (Eastern Rajputana States Group): Sir, Clause 10 lays down that there will be a Council of Ministers and a Prime Minister. But it does not state how the Ministers will be selected or approved. Will the Cabinet Ministers be members of the Parliament? What clauses lay down that they will be members of the Parliament? What should be their salary? Can any changes be made in it? There is no mention of this anywhere. I want to emphasise that it would be better to make all this clear here, as we have done in the draft constitution for the provinces. But our constitutional experts and people more conversant with law than myself say that this is a matter regarding the Union, the Centre, and that it is no use dilating on it because when the final draft will be prepared, the matter will be considered and everything will be clear. I think that it is very necessary to mention as to how the Cabinet will be formed. But we have been assured that all this will be in accordance with what has been laid down in the provincial constitution. With this hope and also in view of the opinion and advice that this amendment should not be moved, I do not want to place it before the House.

The Honourable Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: Sir, as the clause now stands in the draft, it does not say anything about the manner in which the Council of Ministers is to be chosen and the responsibility of that Council to the Legislature. A number of amendments have been tabled on this aspect of the matter and in order to cover the essentials in respect of these matters, I have given notice of this amendment, that at the end of Clause 10 the following be added: ‘The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the President and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. The Council shall be collectively responsible to the House of the People.’ Very few words are required from me to explain the content of this amendment. The Prime Minister is to be invited by the President to form a ministry and naturally by convention the President will invite the leader of the party which by itself or together with the support of other groups in the House is able to command a fairly stable majority. The other ministers will be chosen by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. Provision is made for collective responsibility to the Lower House or the
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House of the People. Generally, the responsibility is only to that House, not to the Parliament as a whole. I notice that in one of the amendments it has been suggested that there should be both joint and several responsibility. I do not think in the case of a Government we need copy the practice which perhaps is common in the framing of ordinary private contracts between a Board of Directors possibly and other people. It is sufficient I think that we provide for the collective responsibility of the Council to the House of the People. Sir, I move.

Mr. President: These are the amendments of which I have notice. The clause as also the amendments are now open to discussion.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: Mr. President, Sir, Clause 10 says that there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister as the Head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions. Sir, there is no mention in this Clause as to how the Council of Ministers is to be created. Therefore I find, Sir, that an amendment has been moved to the effect that each Minister shall be elected by the Assembly by the principle of proportional representation by single transferable vote and the Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Assembly. Now, Sir, we can safely divide this amendment into two parts; the first part is that the Ministers are to be elected by the Assembly; the second part is that the Cabinet of Ministers are to be responsible to the Assembly. As regards the second part, I entirely agree. If the Council of Ministers have no majority behind them in the Assembly they will not remain in office or if there is a vote of ‘no confidence’ against them, even then they will get out. Therefore this part of the amendment I can quite appreciate. But as regards the first part, namely, that the Ministers shall be elected by the Assembly, I am afraid, Sir, I have not been able to appreciate. If the Council of Ministers are to be elected by the members of the Assembly by proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote, then, Sir, what may happen? There may be a small party and if there is single transferable vote by proportional representation, that small Party may succeed in electing a Minister. Now, Sir, that party may not have the same political view as the majority party in the Assembly. Therefore in a Cabinet there may be Ministers with two divergent views and opinions. Now, Sir, if that happens there will be no team work in the Ministry and this cannot be called a stable Ministry. After all we have seen that the English system in this connection has been tried for centuries in England and it has worked well. What happens in England? The leader is summoned by the Head of the State, i.e. the King and is appointed Chief Minister or Prime Minister. This Chief Minister or Prime Minister has to submit the names of the other Ministers and in consultation with the Prime Minister the Head of the State or the King appoints all the Ministers. Then, in that case the ministry is stable; for when the Prime Minister has got the majority in the House, he will carry on, and if he has not, he will not. But to have two different kinds of ministers in the same Cabinet, I am afraid, I am not able to appreciate.

Now, Sir, another amendment is to the effect that the Union Executive shall be non-Parliamentary and should be irremovable, and that a member of the Cabinet may be removed at any time on impeachment before a judicial tribunal on the ground of corruption, etc., and that the Prime Minister shall be elected by the whole House by single transferable vote, while the other Ministers shall be elected by single non-transferable vote.

Now, this amendment too can be safely divided into four parts. The first part is that the Cabinet should be non-parliamentary—should be irremovable. That is a thing which I cannot appreciate—the non-parliamentary complexion of the cabinet. It appears to me rather
anti-democratic. If the cabinet does not carry the confidence of the House it must be removed. It cannot remain even for one minute, after it has lost the confidence of the House.

The second part is that the Ministers may be removed by impeachment before a judicial tribunal. I am afraid I am not able to appreciate that point also. If a Minister does not have the confidence of the House, and if there is something against him, he can be removed by bringing up the matter before the Legislature. Why drag him before a judicial tribunal? I do not know how this is going to work in a democratic system, such as the one we are hoping to have for our country.

And the third part is that the Prime Minister should be elected by the whole House by single transferable vote, but the other members of the cabinet are to be elected by single non-transferable vote. I am not able to understand what advantage the Honourable Mover expects under this arrangement. If the whole House elects a person, the man who has the larger majority will be elected. Suppose there is a House of 150 and one party—I will not say the Congress or the League, because there will be no old Congress or old League in Hindustan, parties will be on different lines—that one party, say, the Socialists number 100 and the opposition number 50.

Kazi Syed Karimuddin: Sir, how does the Honourable Member know that there will be no League or Congress party?

Mr. Tajamul Husain: I am glad I have been asked that question. There should not be any such parties, Sir. The sole object of the Congress was to achieve complete independence, without the interference of a foreign power and it has succeeded. The Congress has achieved its object. The League's object was the partition of the country and have Pakistan and they have got that. Both the parties have achieved their respective objects and they have finished their work. What the Congress wanted, the Congress has achieved and what the League wanted, the League has achieved; now there is no difference at all between the two, we are all in India and are Indians but our rights must be protected.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member will please confine himself to the discussion of the point. The future of the Congress and of the League is not before the House for discussion.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: But the Honourable Mover had asked me to explain why I said there would be no League nor Congress Party as of old creeds and I thought I had your permission to explain; but now that I do not have it, I will not say anything more about that. I will only say that there will be no parties on the lines we have known them, because both the Congress and the League have achieved their objects. Both parties will have new creeds in future.

I was saying this. Suppose in a House of 150, one party has 100 members. That party will elect the leader who will be the Prime Minister. Suppose there are two candidates and the successful candidate gets 60 votes and the rest 40 oppose him. He still becomes Prime Minister. But what will happen if the opposition of 40 Members combine with the rest 50 in the House? Then the House will be divided as 90 against 60. The Leader cannot be chosen by the Party which has the largest majority in the House. It is just possible, in that case that the man who ultimately becomes the Prime Minister will be a man of the opposition. That is undemocratic and is against that system of democracy which I admire—the English system of democracy. I think that as far as possible, in order to suit our Indian ways, we should adopt as much of the English constitution as we can.

I oppose the amendment.
Lastly, there is the amendment moved by Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar—which is also the same as that of Pandit Bhargava—providing for the selection of the ministers and the appointment of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister, it says, should be appointed by the President who will appoint the other Ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet shall be responsible to the whole House. That is the system which is prevalent in the House of Commons and I support this amendment. As I said, it has worked very well in England and there is no reason why it should not be equally successful in our country. I support the amendment of Pandit Bhargava also.

Mr. H.V. Kamath: Mr. President, Sir, this clause seeks to lay down the basis of our national federal executive. Two amendments have been moved to this clause, amendment No. 212 and amendment No. 221 which, in effect, seek to weaken this national executive. My friend Mr. Kazi and my friend Mr. Husain praised respectively the American model and the British model. Here, Sir, we are not concerned with which model or which type we are going to embody in our constitution, whether it is the British, American, Russian, Turkish or the French or any other for the matter of that. Here, Sir, we are concerned with the principles of a democratic, efficient and dynamic government. After all what is needed today is an efficient and dynamic government which will clear the mess that has been made in this country, which will lift this country of ours out of the rut into which it has fallen. The most elementary as well as the most fundamental principle, to my mind, of a democratic, efficient and dynamic government is that while every shade of political opinion and every school of thought should be adequately represented in every legislature,—because in a legislature two heads are better than one, twenty heads are better than two and two hundred heads are better than twenty—in the case of the executive, specially when we are planning a dynamic executive, the reverse is the case. Here, Sir, in an executive it should be that twenty heads are better than two hundred, two heads are better than twenty and in an emergency even one head is better than two. In an emergency where prompt action and quick decision is needed, dynamism is required, one head is better than two heads. But these amendments seeks to lay down a basis for the executive which if accepted would weaken the executive and would practically render it passive, unstable and static and render it unable to cope with the tasks that lie ahead of us. After all a cabinet or an executive is not a Shivaji ka Barat or an assorted museum piece or a mere Khitchri, but we want to make the executive a really dynamic executive. Here on the floor of the House my friend Mr. Kazi eulogised Pandit Nehru for what he had done in Bihar. I wish, Sir, that many of us were in a similar position to praise and eulogise the leaders of the Muslim League when similar and worse things happened in Bengal and some other parts of India. It is well known that when these outrages were committed in East Bengal and many other parts of India, when men were massacred, women were humiliated and children were burnt in fire and oil, no leader of the Muslim League raised his little finger nor did even one Muslim League leader go into those parts and do what Pandit Nehru did in Bihar. Is this the way in which we are going to build up a strong united India? Is this the spirit that is going to animate us in future? Only yesterday I read a statement from the head of the Muslim League where he mentioned Pakistan and Muslim India. I expected that at least after the division of India into Pakistan and India or Bharatvarsha on a communal basis the hatchet had been buried fathoms deep. But the same spirit is abroad and that spirit has not been stilled. People thought of Pakistan and the rest of India...

Mr. President: The Honourable Member should confine himself to the subject under debate.
Mr. H.V. Kamath: I was trying to make out that today what is needed is a dynamic spirit of
unity, of action, of sacrifice and of faith. Let us not forget the grand, beautiful vision painted by
our poet, Viswakavi Rabindranath in words of matchless beauty. That vision should animate
us and guide us in our future labours so that we can all build up a great India worthy of our
past and worthy of the sacrifices which our martyrs have undergone. Permit me, Sir, to quote
those words which picture a vision of matchless beauty:

‘Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high,
Where knowledge is free,
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls,
Where words come out from the depth of truth,
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection,
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead
habit,
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever widening thought and action,
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.’

Jai Hind.

Mr. President: I understand that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would like to accept some of the
amendments. If so it might cut short the discussion to some extent. I should like him to make
a statement before the discussion proceeds further.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I venture to intervene in order to make
clear which of the amendments I am prepared to accept and which not. Four amendments have
been moved. I may say at the outset that I am prepared to accept Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar’s
amendment and not the others. Pandit Bhargava’s amendment is more or less the same; it is
only a question of wording. The others raise entirely different issues; for instance, the issue of
ministers being elected by proportional representation. I can think of nothing more conducive
to creating a feeble ministry and a feeble government than this business of electing them by
proportional representation; and I would therefore like the House to reject this amendment.
The other one raises a completely different issue, as to what the nature of the constitution
should be. For instance, Mr. Karimuddin’s amendment says that ‘that executive of the Union
shall be non-parliamentary, in the sense that it shall not be removable before the term of the
legislature,’ etc. That raises a very fundamental issue of what form you are going to give to your
constitution, the ministerial parliamentary type or the American type. So far we have been
proceeding with the building up of the constitution in the ministerial sense and I do submit that
we cannot go back upon it and it will upset the whole scheme and structure of the constitution.
Therefore I regret I cannot accept this amendment of Mr. Karimuddin or of Mr. Pocker Sahib.

As to the other point raised it is perfectly true that the original draft that I placed before
the House was not at all clear on various matters. It was not clear because there was no
intention of drafting it here. These are certain indications for future drafting and some things
were obviously taken for granted. It was taken for granted that the Prime Minister would be
sent for by the President because he happens to represent the largest party or group in the
House; further that the Prime Minister would select his ministers and further that they would
be responsible to the House collectively. All that was taken for granted, but perhaps it is better
to put that down clearly and the amendment moved by Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar puts that
down very clearly. Therefore I accept that amendment and I hope the House also will accept it and reject the others.

The Honourable Mr. Hussain Imam (Bihar; Muslim): Sir, I had no intention of intervening in this debate because the subject matter of debate as to whether the executive should be parliamentary or non-parliamentary is one which though of great academic interest is not practical politics due to opinion in India being so much in favour of the British model that it is useless for any one to try and sing the praises of the American system and get it adopted. Constitutions are made—although there is an element of finality about them—only for a time; and I hope to live and see the British model dethroned, just as British power is being dethroned, and the better model adopted. But I have been forced to come here because of the speech of Mr. Kamath. Mr. Qazi spoke in praise of the activities of Pandit Nehru in Bihar. I was an eye-witness and saw his torn shirt and the amount of labour that he put in. When an opposite party man admires the other it is not an occasion to be utilised for maligning that party. The endeavour should not be to accentuate differences but to bring about greater unity.

Singularly ill-timed was the attempt of Mr. Kamath to state certain facts which were terminological inexactitudes. It is wrong to say that the League High Command never condemned the atrocities perpetrated on non-Muslims.

Mr. President: I am afraid we are straying into irrelevant discussion.

The Honourable Mr. Hussain Imam: I am not going to discuss this matter. I am simply mentioning that what he mentioned were not the facts. The fact that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru went to Bihar was due to the reason that the Congress High Command was in control there, and the Congress High Command was in a position to intervene. But in Punjab the League was not the party controlling the Ministry: it was under section 93; in the N.W.F.P. the Congress was in power.

Mr. President: I would remind the Honourable Member that we are not considering the conduct of any Ministry or of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru or of anybody else. We are discussing a simple clause of the Constitution. I would request him to confine himself to that.

The Honourable Mr. Hussain Imam: I hope you will not allow such digression to be made by others as well.

Sir, I was saying that the American system has got great advantages which are not appreciated at the moment. A few days ago I learnt that Harold Laski has written a book condemning the American system of having an irremovable executive. He has praised the British system which we are adopting. What are the facts of the British system? The fact that the executive is removable in Britain does not differ materially in the day to day administration from the irremovable character of the American system. The power of not voting supplies, which is the essential part of the Ministry’s working, is vested in the Legislature so that in the British system as well as in the American system the Legislature is absolute, though in the American Constitution there is the Presidential Veto. But there again they have provided so many checks and balances that the Presidential Veto can be overthrown by a two third majority of the House of Representatives and the Senate. So you find that the control of the purse by the Legislature is absolute practically in the Parliamentary system and in the non-parliamentary executive system of America.

Now, so far as legislature is concerned, the same thing applies. The Legislature is supreme with certain safeguards. Now, the very fact that a man is appointed who is not a member and
the other man is appointed who is a member does not make any great difference in the day
to day administration.

Some people have rightly opined that in times of crisis it is better to have one central
control rather than a multitude of small minds working together and bringing about a kind of
chaos. Well, if a system can work better in times of crisis, I do not understand why it should
fail when there is no crisis. Crisis is an extraordinary state of affairs, a really complicated and
difficult state of affairs. If a system can work at such a time, it stands to reason that it will work
and work smoothly when the times are normal. I, therefore, am of the opinion that the non¬
parliamentary system by means of which the President who gets not less than 51 per cent of
the votes of the entire Nation is a better custodian of the Nation’s interests than the Prime
Minister who, after all, represents only one constituency and the majority of his own party
members. The illustration which Mr. Tajamul Husain has given was a little amiss. He said that
the Prime Minister can be elected by the Opposition and the Government party combined
together. He gave an illustration that, if there are 100 men in one party and 50 in another,
then at the time of electing the leader, 60 vote for one and 40 for another. The man who was
rejected by his own party, and might have gone over to the other party, secures 50 votes from
the second party and 40 from the first and gets elected in spite of the fact that the majority
of his own party wasn’t with him. That apprehension is perhaps based on inexperience. In
political parties the differences which exist inside are never ventilated outside. A man who
will betray his own party and go over to the opposition will not get a single vote of his own
party. In these days of democracy, such things are not possible. Rare instances of this nature
may perhaps exist in one corner or other, but on broad outlines, you cannot have this kind
of fissiparous tendency. Will the Opposition support a Quisling from the Government? How
can that position be allowed? He is not a partyman. That is a contingency which will not arise.
But the possibility that a Prime Minister might represent only a minority of the House is worth
considering. The system of party working is such that if you belong to one party and secure the
votes you are likely and almost sure to get all the votes of the party. In the instance which Mr.
Tajamul Husain gave, what will happen is that the man who secures 60 votes out of 150 will
ultimately be the Prime Minister. Now you ask the President to act not on his own judgment,
but on the judgment of this man who secured a minority of the votes of the House. He gets 60
out of the 150 votes, or 40 per cent only.

I therefore regard that the system whereby discretion is left to the President to nominate
his own Ministers is more democratic and based on better and sounder principles than the
system of copying the British model. The British system was found unequal to the task when
it was worked in France where the tendencies are to have small groups and parties. They
found there ever and anon that the British system was unsuitable. U.S.A. has a different system
giving the President perfect latitude to form a Government suited to the occasion. For instance,
during the war President Roosevelt nominated two Members to his cabinet from the party in
Opposition, and they were given very important portfolios. So you have the same system of
coalition Government in America without any of the defects which a coalition presupposes.
A coalition is composed of divergent elements, each pulling in different ways. I personally
think that the American system is not a quarter as bad as has been stated. It is said that the
executive is not removable. But the fact is that the executive is more easily removable in the
American system that in the British system. Many Members will remember the howl which
was raised when Lord Templeton (Ex Sir Samuel Hoare) was turned out of the British Cabinet
in the days of the Spanish crisis.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

But in America everyday you find one Secretary of State being turned out and another being appointed. General Marshall has just come in without any furore being made. There is no one to question the right of the President to select an executive head for the time being. I do not wish, Sir, to detain the House by making a long speech. I wish only to make my position clear. This is my personal opinion, not that of my party, but I thought that it would be better if I explained that the American system is not as bad as it has been painted by its traducers.

Mahboob Ali Beg Sahib Bahadur (Madras: Muslim): Mr. President, Sir, Clause 10 as amplified by Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar introduces a type of executive which is British and which is commonly known as parliamentary. The amendment moved by Kazi Syed Karimuddin Saheb seeks to amend this clause by introducing a mixed type of executive, the Swiss type. Now, let us examine whether the type of executive contemplated by the amendment of Kazi Saheb is undemocratic, is impracticable and does not meet the present circumstances in the country.

Under these three heads it is necessary for this House to deal with this subject. Now, Sir, as you know, the British parliamentary system is not a statutory one. It is a historic growth covering several centuries of struggle between the people and the king, to snatch as much power as possible for the representatives of the people to administer the State. It is no doubt true that members of the Parliament are elected; and after the members are elected, the leader of the majority party is called by the Head of the State, viz., the King, to form the Government, i.e., he chooses his own ministers. Up to the stage of the return of the members to Parliament, it is democratic. From that stage, it ceases to be democratic, for the leader of the majority party may choose anyone he pleases. The ministers no doubt belong to the party which has been favoured by the electorate, but particular ministers are not chosen by the members of Parliament. Then, Sir, the Government is formed, and it is in the saddle so long as it carries the confidence of the Parliament. But take the case of a certain section of the Parliament not being satisfied with the executive but unable to throw out the Government. It may be that that small section are the people in whom the majority of the electorates have confidence. The anomaly is that the electorate, the real sovereign, is not in a position to throw out the Cabinet. You will therefore see, Sir, that the parliamentary executive ceases to be really democratic. In the first place, parliament does not choose the ministers; in the second place the electorate cannot turn them out. So, really, Sir, from that stage the parliamentary democracy obtaining in England which is sought to be introduced here is not democratic. Let us examine the position taken by Kazi Saheb. After the elections take place, the members of Parliament will elect their own ministers. So, Sir, it is more democratic than the British parliamentary type. There are two processes. One is that members of the Parliament are elected by the people, and the second is that the members of Parliament, the real representatives of the people, elect their own ministers. Let us see whether the system which is sought to be introduced by this amendment is practicable in the circumstances obtaining in the country. I once before said that the democratic system of election of members of Parliament and the election of the Cabinet must be one which will reflect all the sections of the country. It is no use being blind to the realities of the situation. It is no doubt true that people should not think in terms of sections, communities, and special interests. But every day we find that even the parties like the League and the Congress, both inside and outside this House, have always been saying there must be protection of minorities,—religious minorities, sectional minorities and the oppressed minorities and minorities belonging to different tracts of the country. These are facts. Let us not be blind to these facts. Now if the Leader of the party is called upon by the Head of the State, what he does naturally—and we
expect him to do it—is that he would form a Cabinet of men consisting of persons representing some interests or some communities. He is going to do that. It may be by convention or good sense, but that is going to happen. But if that does not happen and he cannot be forced to do it, then, Sir, there will be a lot of discontent, distrust and all that sort of thing. So if we provide in the Constitution itself a democratic system of forming a Cabinet by electing ministers and you introduce a system of election which is called proportional representation by the single transferable vote for non-transferable vote as the case may be, then it will be satisfactory. It will be democratic and it will reflect all the sections of the people. Besides that, Sir, as I submitted, it is not possible for the people to turn out a reactionary Cabinet. The party in power may still consist of a majority of persons who are reactionary and in whom the electorate may have no confidence. But in any case the Cabinet will continue and is expected to continue for the full term of four or five years.

In this amendment you have the advantage of the democratic method of electing persons to your Cabinet and having elected them, you ask them to continue, while the person who is elected under the British type always stands in fear of being turned out. So, Sir, if you make this executive not removable for the period, he will be in a better position to work, develop schemes and see to their completion. So, Sir as I said, this Swiss type has got the advantage of being democratic at certain stages. It is possible for all sections of the country to be represented, it will work better and can complete its schemes and in the present circumstances of the country, is the most suitable and there is nothing wrong in introducing this system. Further, let us remember these systems—the Swiss and the American types—are the result of the experience gained by the other countries where democracy has worked, and it is the considered opinion of the Constitutionalists that the British system is not democratic. After all, who holds the power even in that democracy, in that Parliament? Virtually it is the Prime Minister or his executive; and on account of what is called the discipline in the Party what is considered to be good by that party, Cabinet or the Premier must be followed by all the Members or else disciplinary action will be taken against them. I therefore think, Sir, that the Swiss system that is contemplated by the amendment of Kazi Syed Karimuddin has much to commend it.

Mr. President: I think we have had enough discussion on this clause and I would like to put the amendment and the clause to vote now.

Mr. K.M. Munshi (Bombay: General): I move closure.

Mr. President: There is a closure moved by Mr. Munshi. I take it that the House accepts the closure.

The question is: That for Clause 10 the following be substituted: ‘There shall be a Council of ministers elected by the National Assembly by a system of proportional representation by single transferable vote and the council of ministers shall be responsible to the National Assembly.’

The amendment was negatived.

Mr. President: I will put the amendment of Kazi Syed Karimuddin to vote:

That the following be added at the end of Clause 10:

‘That the Executive of the Union shall be non-parliamentary in the sense that it shall not be removable before the term of the Legislature and a member of the Cabinet or the Cabinets may be removed at any time on impeachment before a judicial tribunal on the ground of corruption or treason.'
The Prime Minister shall be elected by the whole House by single transferable vote. Other Ministers in the Cabinet shall be elected by single non-transferable vote.’

The amendment was negatived.

Mr. President: I will now put Sir Gopalaswami Ayyanger’s amendment to vote:
That at the end of Clause 10, the following be added:

‘The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the President and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. The Council shall be collectively responsible to the House of the People.’

This has been accepted by the Mover.

The amendment was adopted.

Mr. President: There is another amendment by Mr. Thakurdas Bhargava. I think that is covered by this amendment and it is not necessary to take the vote of the House on it.

I will now put the original clause as amended by Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar’s amendment.

Clause 10, as amended, was adopted.

25. Report on Minority Rights by the Advisory Committee

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to the President, Constituent Assembly, 8 August 1947

Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. V, pp. 243-7

Council House
New Delhi,

From
The Hon’ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Chairman, Advisory Committee on Minorities Fundamental Rights, etc.

To
The President,
Constituent Assembly of India

Dear Sir,

On behalf of the members of the Advisory Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly on the 24th January 1947 and subsequently nominated by you, I have the honour to submit this report on minority rights. It should be treated as supplementary to the one forwarded to you with my letter No. CA/24/Com./47, dated the 23rd April, 1947 and dealt with by the Assembly during the April session. That report dealt with justiciable fundamental rights; these rights, whether applicable to all citizens generally or to members of minority communities in particular offer a most valuable safeguard for minorities over a comprehensive field of social life. The present report deals with what may broadly be described as political safeguards for minorities and covers the following points—

(i) Representation in legislatures; joint versus separate electorates and weightage.
(ii) Reservation of seats for minorities in Cabinets.
(iii) Reservation for minorities in the Public Services.
(iv) Administrative machinery to ensure protection of minority rights.
2. Our recommendations are based on exhaustive discussion both in the Sub-Committee on Minorities as well as in the main Advisory Committee. From the very nature of things, it was difficult to expect complete unanimity on all points. I have pleasure in informing you, however, that our recommendations, where they were not unanimous, were taken by very large majorities composed substantially of members belonging to minority communities themselves.

Joint versus separate electorates and weightage

3. The first question we tackled was that of separate electorates; we considered this as being of crucial importance both to the minorities themselves and to the political life of the country as a whole. By an overwhelming majority, we came to the conclusion that the system of separate electorates must be abolished in the new constitution. In our judgment, this system has in the past sharpened communal differences to a dangerous extent and has proved one of the main stumbling blocks to the development of a healthy national life. It seems specially necessary to avoid these dangers in the new political conditions that have developed in the country and from this point of view the arguments against separate electorates seem to us absolutely decisive.

4. We recommend accordingly that all elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures should be held on the basis of joint electorates. In order that minorities may not feel apprehensive about the effect of a system of unrestricted joint electorates on the quantum of their representation in the legislature, we recommend as a general rule that seats for the different recognised minorities shall be reserved in the various legislatures on the basis of their population. This reservation should be initially for a period of 10 years, the position to be reconsidered at the end of that period. We recommend also that the members of a minority community who have reserved seats shall have the right to contest unreserved seats as well. As a matter of general principle, we are opposed to weightage for any minority community.

5. For two reasons the application of the above principles to specific minorities was considered in detail by the committee. In the first place, it was known to us that minorities are by no means unanimous as to the necessity, in their own interests, of statutory reservation of seats in the legislatures. Secondly, the strict application of the above principles to a microscopic minority like the Anglo-Indians seemed to require very careful examination. We accordingly classified minorities into three groups ‘A’ consisting of those with a population of less than $1/2$ per cent in the Indian Dominion excluding the States, group ‘B’ consisting of those with a population of more than $1/2$ per cent, but not exceeding $11/2$ per cent, and group ‘C’ consisting of minorities with a population exceeding $11/2$ per cent. These three groups are as follows—

**Group ‘A’**—
1. Anglo-Indians.
2. Parsees.
3. Plains’ tribesmen in Assam.

**Group ‘B’**—
4. Indian Christians.
5. Sikhs.

**Group ‘C’**—
7. Scheduled Castes.
6. Anglo-Indians—The population of the Anglo-Indian community excluding the States is just over a lakh, that is, .04 per cent. Mr. Anthony, on behalf of the Anglo-Indians, contended that the census figures were inaccurate but even admitting a larger figure than the one given in the census, this community is microscopic, and to deal with it on a strictly population basis would mean giving it no representation at all. The representatives of the Anglo-Indians on the committee asked originally that they should have the following representation in the legislatures:—

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>House of the People</th>
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<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
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<td>Bombay</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Madras</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>C.P. &amp; Berar</td>
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<td>Bihar</td>
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<td>U.P.</td>
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Subsequently they asked that they should be guaranteed two seats in the House of the People and one in each province in which they have representation at present, that is, a total of 8 altogether. After very considerable discussion, in the course of which the representatives of the Anglo-Indian community gave full expression to their views, the committee unanimously accepted the following formula, namely, that there shall be no reservation of seats for the Anglo-Indians but the President of the Union and the Governors of Provinces shall have power to nominate representatives of the Anglo-Indian community to the lower house in the Centre and in the Provinces respectively if they fail to secure representation in the legislatures as a result of the general election. We wish to congratulate the representatives of the Anglo-Indian community on the committee for not pressing their proposals which would not merely have introduced the principle of special weightage which was turned down as a general proposition by an overwhelming majority but would also have encouraged other small minorities to ask for representation wholly out of proportion to their numbers. We feel sure that by the operation of the formula recommended by us Anglo-Indians will find themselves given adequate opportunity effectively to represent in the legislatures the special interests of their community.

7. Parsees—In the Minorities Sub-Committee, Sir Homi Modi had urged that in view of the importance of the Parsee community and the contribution it has been making to the political and economic advancement of the country, Parsees should have adequate representation in the Central and Provincial Legislatures. The Sub-Committee were of opinion that this claim should be conceded. In view, however, of the opinion expressed to him by several members that an advanced community like the Parsees would be adequately represented in any event and did not need specific reservation. Sir Homi had asked for time to consider the matter.

When the issue came before the Advisory Committee, Sir Homi stated that though the committee had already accepted the Parsee community as a recognised minority entitled to special consideration on the same basis as other minorities in Group ‘A’, he had decided to follow the traditions which the community had maintained in the past and to withdraw the claim for statutory reservation. He assumed that Parsees would remain on the list of recognised minorities and urged that if, during the period prescribed in the first instance for the special representation of the minorities it was found that the Parsee community had not secured proper representation, its claim would be reconsidered and adequate representation provided,
if the separate representation of minorities continued to be a feature of the constitution. The Committee appreciated the stand taken by Sir Homi and agreed to his proposal.

8. Plains' tribesmen in Assam—The case of these tribesmen will be taken up after the report of the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas Sub-Committee is received.

9. Indian Christians—The representatives of the Indian Christians stated that, so far as their community was concerned, they did not desire to stand in the way of nation building. They were willing to accept reservation proportionate to their population in the Central Legislature and the Provincial legislatures of Madras and Bombay. In the other provinces, they would have the liberty of seeking election from the general seat. They were against any weightage being given to any community, but made it plain that if weightage was given to any minority, in Groups ‘B’ and ‘C’, they would demand similar weightage. As weightage is not being conceded to any community, this means that the Indian Christians are prepared to throw in their lot with the general community subject only to the reservation of certain seats for them on the population basis in the Central legislature and in Madras and Bombay.

10. Sikhs—In view of the uncertainty of the position of the Sikhs at present, pending the award of the Boundary Commission in the Punjab, the committee decided that the whole question of the safeguards for the Sikh community should be held over for the present.

11. Group ‘C’—Muslims and Scheduled Castes—The Committee came to the conclusion that there are no adequate grounds for departing from the general formula in the case either of the Muslims or of the Scheduled Castes. Accordingly it is recommended that seats be reserved for these communities in proportion to their population and that these seats shall be contested through joint electorates.

12. A proposal was made in the committee that a member of the minority community contesting a reserved seat should poll a minimum number of votes of his own community before he is declared elected. It was also suggested that cumulative voting should be permitted. The Committee was of the view that a combination of cumulative voting and a minimum percentage of votes to be polled in a community would have all the evil effects of separate electorates and that neither of these proposals should be accepted.

**Representation of minorities in Cabinets**

Some members of the committee proposed that there should be a Provision prescribing that minorities shall have reserved for them seats in Cabinets in proportion to their population. The committee came unhesitatingly to the conclusion that a constitutional provision of this character would give rise to serious difficulties. At the same time, the committee felt that the constitution should specifically draw the attention of the President of the Union and the Governors of Provinces to the desirability of including members of important minority communities in Cabinets as far as practicable. We recommend accordingly that a convention shall be provided in a schedule to the constitution on the lines of paragraph VII of the Instrument of Instructions issued to Governors under the Act of 1935 and reproduced below.

‘VII. In making appointments to his Council of Ministers, our Governor shall use his best endeavours to select his Ministers in the following manner, that is to say, to appoint in consultation with the person who in his judgment is most likely to command a stable majority in the legislature those persons (including so far as practicable members of important minority communities) who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the legislature. In so acting, he shall bear constantly in mind the need for fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his Ministers.’
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

Representations in Services

14. A proposal was made to us that there should be a constitutional guarantee of representation in the public services of the minority communities in proportion to their population. We are not aware of any other constitution in which such a guarantee exists and on merits, we consider, as a general proposition that any such guarantee would be a dangerous innovation. At the same time, it is clear to us that consistently with the need of efficiency in administration, it is necessary for the State to pay due regard to the claims of minorities in making appointments to public services. We recommend, therefore, that, as in the case of appointments to Cabinets, there should be in some part of the constitution or the schedule an exhortation to the Central and Provincial Governments to keep in view the claims of all the minorities in making appointments to public services consistently with the efficiency of administration.

The Anglo-Indian members of our committee have represented to us that owing to the complete dependence of the economy of their community on their position in certain services and their existing educational facilities, their case required special treatment. We have appointed a sub-committee to investigate this question and to report to us.

15. The minorities' representatives in the committee naturally attached importance to the provision of administrative machinery for ensuring that the guarantee and safeguards provided for the minorities both in the constitution and by executive orders are in fact implemented in practice. After considerable discussion, we have come to the conclusion that the best arrangement would be for the Centre and for each of the Provinces to appoint a special Minority Officer whose duty will be to enquire into cases in which it is alleged that rights and safeguards have been infringed and to submit a report to the appropriate legislature.

16. We have felt bound to reject some of the proposals placed before us partly because, as in the case of reservation of seats in Cabinets, we felt that a rigid constitutional provision would have made parliamentary democracy unworkable and partly because, as in the case of the electoral arrangements we considered it necessary to harmonise the special claims of minorities with the development of a healthy national life. We wish to make it clear, however, that our general approach to the whole problem of minorities is that the State should be so run that they should stop feeling oppressed by the mere fact that they are minorities and that, on the contrary, they should feel that they have as honourable a part to play in the national life as any other section of the community. In particular, we think it is a fundamental duty of the State to take special steps to bring up those minorities which are backward to the level of the general community. We recommend accordingly that a Statutory Commission should be set up to investigate into the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes, to study the difficulties under which they labour and to recommend to the Union or the Unit Government, as the case may be, steps that should be taken to eliminate their difficulties and suggest the financial grants that should be given and the conditions that should be prescribed for such grants.

17. A summary of our recommendations is attached in the Appendix.¹

Yours truly,
The 8th August 1947

VALLABHBHAI PATEL,
Chairman

¹ Not reproduced here.
Chapter 26. Partition Award and After

1. HMG’s Statement of 3 June
   Official Statement, 3 June 1947
   India Office Records (hereafter IOR), L/P&J/10/80, Acc. No. 3652, NAI

INTRODUCTION
1. On 20th February 1947, His Majesty’s Government announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948. His Majesty’s Government had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to co-operate in the working out of the Cabinet Mission Plan of 16th May 1946, and evolve for India a constitution acceptable to all concerned. This hope has not been fulfilled.

2. The majority of the representatives of the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province, and the representatives of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new Constitution. On the other hand, the Muslim League Party, including in it a majority of the representatives of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind, as also the representative of British Baluchistan has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

3. It has always been the desire of His Majesty’s Government that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves. This task would have been greatly facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties. In the absence of such an agreement the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has devolved on His Majesty’s Government. After full consultation with political leaders in India, His Majesty’s Government have decided to adopt for this purpose the plan set out below. His Majesty’s Government wish to make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame any ultimate Constitution for India; this is a matter for the Indians themselves. Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for an united India.

THE ISSUES TO BE DECIDED
4. It is not the intention of His Majesty’s Government to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. Now that provision is made for certain provinces specified below; His Majesty’s Government trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those provinces, a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it, will now take their due share in its labours. At the same time it is clear that any Constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which
are unwilling to accept it. His Majesty’s Government are satisfied that the procedure outlined below, embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their Constitution is to be framed—

(a) in the existing Constituent Assembly; or

(b) in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly.

When this has been done, it will be possible to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.

BENGAL AND PUNJAB

5. The Provincial Legislative Assembly of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will therefore each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the Province. For the purpose of determining the population of districts, the 1941 census figures will be taken as authoritative. The Muslim majority districts in these two provinces are set out in the Appendix to this Announcement.

6. The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the Province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly.

7. Before the question as to the partition is decided, it is desirable that the representatives of each part should know in advance which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join in the event of the two parts subsequently deciding to remain united. Therefore, if any member of either Legislative Assembly so demands, there shall be held a meeting of all members of the Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join if it were decided by the two parts to remain united.

8. In the event of partition being decided upon, each part of the Legislative Assembly will on behalf of the areas they represent, decide which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt.

9. For the immediate purpose of deciding on the issue of partition, the members of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab will sit in two parts according to Muslim majority districts (as laid down in the Appendix) and non-Muslim majority districts. This is only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature as it is evident that for the purposes of final partition of these provinces a detailed investigation of boundary questions will be needed; and, as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either province. A Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and the terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned. It will be instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. It will also be instructed to take into account other factors. Similar instructions will be given to the Bengal Boundary Commission. Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix will be used.
SIND
10. The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding the European members) will at a special meeting also take its own decision on the alternatives in paragraph 4 above.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE
11. The position of the North-West Frontier Province is exceptional. Two of the three representatives of this Province are already participating in the existing Constituent Assembly. But it is clear, in view of its geographical situation, and other considerations, that, if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly, it will be necessary to give the North-West Frontier Province an opportunity to reconsider its position. Accordingly, in such an event, a referendum will be made to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province to choose which of the alternatives mentioned in paragraph 4 above they wish to adopt. The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the provincial Government.

BRITISH BALUCHISTAN
12. British Baluchistan has elected a member but he has not taken his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly. In view of its geographical situation, this province will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt. His Excellency the Governor-General is examining how this can most appropriately be done.

ASSAM
13. Though Assam is predominately a non-Muslim Province, the district of Sylhet, which is contiguous to Bengal is predominately Muslim. There has been a demand that, in the event of the partition of Bengal, Sylhet should be amalgamated with the Muslim part of Bengal. Accordingly, if it is decided that Bengal should be partitioned, a referendum will be held in Sylhet district, under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Assam Provincial Government, to decide whether the district of Sylhet should continue to form part of the Assam Province or should be amalgamated with the new Province of Eastern Bengal, if that Province agrees. If the referendum results in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, a Boundary Commission with terms of reference similar to those for the Punjab and Bengal will be set up to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts, which will then be transferred to Eastern Bengal. The rest of the Assam Province will in any case continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly.

REPRESENTATION IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLIES
14. If it is decided that Bengal and the Punjab should be partitioned, it will be necessary to hold fresh elections to choose their representatives on the scale of one for every million of population according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission’s Plan of 16th May 1946. Similar elections will also have to be held for Sylhet in the event of its being decided that this district should form part of East Bengal. The number of representatives to which each area would be entitled is as follows:
15. In accordance with the mandates given to them the representatives of the various areas will either join the existing Constituent Assembly or form the new Constituent Assembly.

**ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS**

16. Negotiations will have to be initiated as soon as possible on administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon:

   (a) Between the representatives of the respective successor authorities about all subjects now dealt with by the Central Government, including Defence, Finance and Communications.
   (b) Between different successor authorities and His Majesty’s Government for treaties in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power.
   (c) In the case of provinces that may be partitioned as to administration of all provincial subjects such as the division of assets and liabilities, the police and other services, the High Courts, provincial institutions, &c.

**THE TRIBES OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER**

17. Agreements with tribes of the North-West Frontier of India will have to be negotiated by the appropriate successor authority.

**THE STATES**

18. His Majesty’s Government wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of 12th May 1946, remains unchanged.

**NECESSITY FOR SPEED**

19. In order that the successor authorities may have time to prepare themselves to take over power, it is important that all the above processes should be completed as quickly as possible. To avoid delay, the different Provinces or parts of Provinces will proceed independently as far as practicable within the conditions of this Plan, the existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly (if formed) will proceed to frame Constitutions for their respective territories: they will of course be free to frame their own rules.

**IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER**

20. The major political parties have repeatedly emphasised their desire that there should be the earliest possible transfer of power in India. With this desire His Majesty’s Government are in full sympathy, and they are willing to anticipate the date of June 1948, for the handing over of power by the setting up of an independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date. Accordingly, as the most expeditious, and indeed the only practicable, way of meeting this desire. His Majesty’s Government propose to introduce legislation during the
current session for the transfer of power this year on a Dominion status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decision taken as a result of this announcement. This will be without prejudice to the right of Indian Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether or not the part of India in respect of which they have authority will remain within the British Commonwealth.

FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS BY GOVERNOR-GENERAL

21. His Excellency the Governor-General will from time to time make such further announcements as may be necessary in regard to procedure or any other matters for carrying out the above arrangements.

APPENDIX

Muslim Majority Districts of Bengal and the Punjab according to the 1941 Census.

1. Bengal

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2. Punjab

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2. Viceroy Meets Indian Leaders

Extract from minutes of meeting, 3 June 1947
IOR, L/P & J/ 10/81, Acc. No. 3653, NAI

...MR. LIAQUAT ALI KHAN said that he fully agreed that it might be possible to control the speeches of subordinate leaders. In addition, however, there should be a request for restraint on the part of ‘super leaders’—for example Mr. Gandhi at his prayer meetings. It was true that Mr. Gandhi preached ‘non violence’, but that many of his speeches could be taken as an incitement to violence.
THE VICEROY said that he had talked to Mr. Gandhi the previous day. He had laid before Mr. Gandhi, very clearly, the steps which had led up to the present situation. He had pointed out those steps taken as a result of Mr. Gandhi’s advice; those points on which it had not been possible to follow his advice; and the reasons for this. Mr. Gandhi’s emotions were those of a man who had worked, lived and prayed for the unity of India. He (The Viceroy) thoroughly understood and responded to Mr. Gandhi’s feelings. He had made clear to Mr. Gandhi the immense effect which the speeches at his prayer meetings had. It had been Mr. Gandhi’s day of silence but he had written a friendly note at the meeting. It was to be hoped that he would help the situation. He always made it very clear that he was not even a 4 anna member of the Congress Party.

MR. KIRPALANI said that he was surprised at Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan’s complaint, as all that Mr. Gandhi said was in advocation of non-violence. All members of Congress held to the idea of a united India. All Mr. Gandhi’s activities were non-violent.

THE VICEROY said that he was ready to agree with this if Mr. Gandhi’s speeches were analysed carefully. But surely the emotion engendered by Mr. Gandhi, particularly in the more unintelligent people, was to the effect ‘this partition is wrong; we must resist it; we must not give in’.

SARDAR PATEL said that he considered that, once the decision was taken, Mr. Gandhi would accept it loyally.

THE VICEROY said that he too was sure that Mr. Gandhi would re-emphasize the principle of non-violence, whatever the decision might be.

MR. LIAQUAT ALI KHAN pointed out that Mr. Gandhi had recently employed words to the effect that the people should not look to the Viceroy and the leaders for a decision. They were told instead to ‘do as they felt’. That kind of statement was bound to give an indication to the people that they should go ahead on their own lines if they personally felt that India should not be divided.

SARDAR PATEL thought that no such inference could be drawn.

MR. JINNAH gave his view that, if Mr. Gandhi went on with his present line, the impression would be created that the people should not submit to what was being decided by the present conference. He himself did not think that Mr. Gandhi’s intention were bad. They might be of the best, but in fact the language which he had adopted recently had insinuated that the Muslim League were going to get Pakistan by force. MR. JINNAH said that he had deliberately refrained from criticizing Mr. Gandhi in public.

THE VICEROY said that he thought that this particular subject had now been ventilated sufficiently. On the one hand he accepted the special position of Mr. Gandhi; but on the other he was sure that the Congress Leaders would see the point of what had been said and use their best endeavours....

3. ‘Watershed Dividing the Past from the Future’

Text of broadcast by Jawaharlal Nehru, 3 June 1947

IOR, L/P & J/10/81, Acc. No. 3653, NAI

Friends and comrades, nearly nine months ago, soon after my assumption of office, I spoke to you from this place. I told you then that we were on the march and the goal had still to be reached. There were many difficulties and obstacles on the way, and our journey’s end
might not be near, for that end was not the assumption of office in the Government of India, but the achievement of the full independence of India and the establishment of a cooperative Commonwealth in which all will be equal sharers in opportunity and in all things that give meaning and value to life.

Nine months have passed, months of trial and difficulty, of anxiety and sometimes even of heartbreak. Yet, looking back at this period with its suffering and sorrow for our people there is much on the credit side also for India has advanced nationally and internationally, and is respected today in the councils of the world.

In the domestic sphere something substantial has been achieved though the burden on the common man still continues to be terribly heavy and millions lack food and clothes and other necessaries of life. Many vast schemes of development are nearly ready, and yet it is true that most of our dreams about the brave things we were going to accomplish have still to be realised. You know well the difficulties which the country has had to face—economic, political and communal.

These months have been full of tragedy for millions and the burden on those who have the government of the country in their hands has been great indeed. My mind is heavy with the thought of the sufferings of our people in the areas of disturbance, the thousands who are dead and those, especially our womenfolk, who have suffered agony worse than death. To their families and to innumerable people who have been uprooted from their homes and rendered destitute, I offer my deep sympathy and assurance that we shall do all in our power to bring relief. We must see to it that such tragedies do not happen again. At no time have we lost faith in the great destiny of India which takes shape even though with struggle and suffering. My great regret has been that during this period owing to excess of work I have been unable to visit the numerous towns and villages of India as I used to do to meet my people and to learn their troubles at first hand.

Today, I am speaking to you on another historic occasion when a vital change affecting the future of India is proposed. You have just heard an announcement on behalf of the British Government. This announcement lays down a procedure for self-determination in certain areas of India. It envisages on the one hand the possibility of these areas seceding from India; on the other it promises a big advance towards complete independence. Such a big change must have the full concurrence of the people before effect can be given to it, for it must always be remembered that the future of India can only be decided by the people of India and not by any outside authority, however friendly.

These proposals will be placed soon before representative assemblies of the people for consideration. But meanwhile the sands of time run out and decisions cannot await the normal course of events. While we must necessarily abide by what the people finally decide we have to come to certain decisions ourselves and recommend them to the people for acceptance. We have, therefore, decided to accept these proposals and to recommend to our larger committees that they do likewise.

It is with no joy in my heart that I commend these proposals to you, though I have no doubt in my mind that this is the right course. For generations we have dreamt and struggled for a free and independent united India. The proposals to allow certain parts to secede, if they so will, is painful for any of us to contemplate. Nevertheless, I am convinced that our present decision is the right one even from the larger viewpoint.

The united India that we have laboured for was not one of compulsion and coercion, but a free and willing association of a free people. It may be that in this way we shall reach
that united India sooner than otherwise and that she will have a stronger and more secure foundation. We are little men serving great causes, but because the cause is great, something of that greatness falls upon us also. Mighty forces are at work, work in the world today and in India, and I have no doubt that we are ushering in a period of greatness for India. The India of geography, of history and traditions, the India of our minds and hearts cannot change. On this historic occasion each one of us must pray that he might be guided aright in the service of the motherland and of humanity at large.

We stand on a watershed dividing the past from the future. Let us bury that past in so far as it is dead and forget all bitterness and recrimination. Let there be moderation in speech and writing. Let there be strength and perseverance in adhering to the cause and the ideals we have at heart. Let us face the future not with easy optimism or with any complacency or weakness, but with confidence and a firm faith in India. There has been violence—shameful, degrading and revolting violence—in various parts of the country. This must end. We are determined to end it. We must make it clear that political ends are not to be achieved by methods of violence now or in the future.

On this the eve of great changes in India we have to make a fresh start with clear vision and a firm mind, with steadfastness and tolerance and a stout heart. We should not wish ill to anyone, but think always of every Indian as our brother and comrade. The good of the 400,000,000 of India must be our supreme objective. We shall seek to build anew our relations with England on a friendly and cooperative basis, forgetting the past which has lain so heavily upon us. I should like to express on this occasion my deep appreciation of the labours of the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, ever since his arrival here at a critical juncture in our history.

Inevitably on every occasion of [sic] our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who has led us unfalteringly for over a generation through darkness and sorrow to the threshold of our freedom, to him we once more pay our homage. His blessing and wise counsel will happily be with us in the momentous years to come as always. With firm faith in our future I appeal to you to cooperate in the great task ahead and to march together to the haven of freedom for all in India. Jai Hind.

4. Final Decision by League Council

Text of broadcast by M.A. Jinnah, 3 June 1947
IOR, L/P & J/10/81, Acc. No. 3653, NAI

I am glad that I am afforded the opportunity to speak to you directly through this radio from Delhi. It is the first time, I believe, that a non-official has been afforded an opportunity to address the people through the medium of this powerful instrument, direct, to the people on political matters. I hope that in the future I shall have greater facilities to enable me to voice my views and opinions, which will reach directly you, life warm rather than in the cold print of the newspapers.

The statement of Government, embodying the plan for the transfer of power to the peoples of India, has already been broadcast and will be released to the press and will be published here and abroad tomorrow morning. It gives the outline of the plan for us to give it our most earnest consideration. We have to examine it coolly, calmly and dispassionately. We must remember that we have to take the most momentous decisions and handle grave issues facing us in the solution of the complex political problem of this great sub-continent inhabited by 400,000,000 people.
The world has no parallel of the most onerous and difficult task which His Excellency had to perform. Grave responsibility lies particularly on the shoulders of Indian leaders. Therefore we must galvanise and concentrate all our energies to see that the transfer of power is assisted in a peaceful and orderly manner. I most earnestly appeal to every community and particularly to Moslems in India to maintain peace and order. We must examine the plan, its letters and spirit and come to our conclusions and take our decisions. I pray to God that at this critical moment He may guide us to enable us to discharge our responsibilities in a wise and as statesmanlike manner having regard to the sum total of the plan as a whole.

It is clear the plan does not meet in some important respects our point of view, and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the plan. It is for us to consider whether the plan is presented to us by His Majesty's Government should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement. On this point I do not wish to prejudge. The decision of the Council of the All India Moslem League which has been summoned to meet on Monday, 9th June, and its final decisions can only be taken by the conference according to our constitution precedence and practice.

But so far as I have been able to gather, on the whole reaction in the Moslem League circle in Delhi has been hopeful. But for us the plan has got to be very carefully examined in its pros and cons before a final decision can be taken. I must say that I feel that the Viceroy has battled against various forces very bravely—and the impression that he has left on my mind is that he was actuated by the highest sense of fairness and impartiality, and it is up to us to make his task less difficult, and help him, as far as lies in our power in order that he may fulfil his mission of the transfer of power to the peoples of India in a peaceful and orderly manner.

Now that the plan has been broadcast already, and makes it clear in paragraph eleven that a referendum will be made to the electorate of the present Legislative Assembly in the N.W.F.P., who will choose which of the two alternatives in paragraph four they wish to adopt. The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General in consultation with the Provincial Government. Hence, it is clear that the verdict and the mandate of the people of the Frontier Province will be obtained as to whether they want to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. In these circumstances I request the Provincial Moslem League of the Frontier Province to withdraw the employment of peaceful civil disobedience which they had perforce to resort to, and I call upon all the leaders of the Moslem League and the Mussalmans generally to organise our people to face this referendum with hope and courage, and I feel confident that the people of the Frontier will give their verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

I cannot but express my appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices made by all classes of the Mussalmans, and particularly the great part that the women of the Frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties. Without a personal bias, and this is hardly the moment to do so, I deeply sympathise with all those who have suffered and those who died and whose properties were subjected to destruction, and I fervently hope the Frontier will go through this referendum in a peaceful manner, and it should be the anxiety of everyone to obtain a fair, free and clean verdict of the people of the Frontier.

Once more I most earnestly appeal to all to maintain peace and order. Pakistan Zindabad.
5. ‘Country’s Fate Decided’

Extract from an editorial in Aaj, 3 June 1947

Today all countrymen are looking towards Delhi. The coming announcement is awaited expectantly. If it does not succeed in mitigating the violence and if the British follow a policy of appeasement towards the League then there will be no doubt that the British Government’s intentions are not right and it is still up to its usual tricks....

As far as the relations of India and Britain are concerned, today the basic question should not be whether India will remain one or will be partitioned. Indians will themselves decide this question right now or after the departure of the British. We just want the British to leave. They need not worry about how we will live or what we will do after their departure....

In these circumstances the Congress should not try to satisfy the League and should remain firm on the question of united India. It should make it very clear that whatever may happen the Congress is not going to accept Pakistan in any form.

If the Mountbatten plan is helpful in solving this question, only then could it be considered. If this does not happen and if, laying emphasis on the question of partition, it tries to satisfy the Muslim League, then it should be clearly understood that the motives of the British remain suspect....

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6. Jinnah Accused of Making a Partisan Broadcast

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Louis Mountbatten, 3 June 1947

Durga Das (Ed.), Sardar Patel Correspondence (hereafter SPC), Vol. IV, p. 125

New Delhi

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am deeply distressed at the abuse by Mr. Jinnah of the hospitality extended to him by All India Radio and his breach of the rules of broadcast which, as you are aware, are almost as inviolable as the laws of nature. I had not seen the script before the broadcast but I notice later that not only did he depart from the script but he has also committed a sacrilege by making a political partisan and propagandist broadcast. Had I known it in time I would certainly have prevented him from turning All India Radio into a Muslim League platform by not only justifying a movement which has resulted in so much bloodshed and destruction of property but also by appealing to Frontier voters to vote according to League persuasion.

I fully realise that you yourself did not expect, or had not sufficient notice to prevent it but I am really disappointed that he should have taken undue advantage of the courtesy and consideration extended to him by you, particularly on a solemn occasion when India and the whole world were watching us. I only hope that its consequences will not be equally mischievous and that he stood before the listeners self-condemned.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel
7. ‘Crisis in the League Camp’
A cartoon in *The Hindustan Times*, 4 June 1947

**CRISIS IN THE LEAGUE CAMP**

*Lord Mountbatten announces his plan for the partition of India and the transfer of power on August 15, 1947.*

—June 4, 1947.

8. “‘Divide India’ Plan Announced: Churchill Supports Govt. on Partition Scheme”
*Daily Worker*, 4 June 1947

India is to be carved up into several separate states within the next twelve months, and the new Hindustan and Pakistan will become dominions of the British crown.

This historic announcement was made by Mr. Attlee to a crowded House of Commons yesterday. It marked the end of 89 years of direct British rule in India, which it was hoped, he said, to leave within 12 months.

The Cabinet Plan was warmly approved by Mr. Churchill and the Tories. Mr. Gallacher (Com.) declared that the solution was unsatisfactory.

According to Mr. Attlee, all communities in India appeared likely to accept the proposals, which concede practically everything demanded by the Right-Wing leadership of the Moslem League.
It is believed that in line with the partition, the Indian Army will be divided along religious lines, though the mixture of Sikhs, Moslems and Hindus in the same units will make this operation extremely difficult.

Legislation will be introduced in the present session of Parliament along the lines of the Prime Minister’s declaration.

It is pointed out that Hindustan or Pakistan will be able to renounce their Dominion status later on if they wish.

Details of the plan follow closely the forecast made by the Daily Workers’ New Delhi Correspondent on Monday.

**CO-OPERATION**

**Hopes Failed**

Making his statement Mr. Attlee said it had been hoped the major parties would cooperate in evolving a Constitution acceptable to all concerned.

This hope had not been fulfilled.

‘The British Government’ said Mr. Attlee, ‘wish to make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame an ultimate Constitution.

‘That is a matter for the Indians themselves.’

It was not the intention to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly, but the wishes of the people of certain areas would be consulted whether or not they would co-operate.

These included Bengal and the Punjab, where the provincial Legislative Assemblies without their European members would be asked to meet in two parts.

One would represent the Moslem majority and the other the rest of the province.

**PARTITION**

**New Elections**

They would decide whether or not partition was to be made.

Similar steps would be taken in Sind, and if the decision went in favour of partition new elections would be held.

British Baluchistan would also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and agreements would have to be negotiated with the North-West Frontier tribes.

The Government’s policy toward the Princes’ States remains unchanged.

**CHURCHILL AID**

**No Opposition**

The opposition, said Mr. Churchill, would not oppose any Bill to confer Dominion status which might be presented by the Government.

They would reserve their full freedom to discuss points of detail.

The two conditions foreseen at the time of the Cripps Mission—agreement between the Indian parties and a period of Dominion status—seemed to have been fulfilled by the Government’s proposals, he said.

‘A carve up is not a very desirable solution’ said Mr. W. Gallacher (Com. West Fife). ‘I am the more suspicious of the solution because Mr. Churchill, who had a bad record in connection with India gives it such support’.
9. ‘Pakistan Zindabad: India to Be Divided into Two Sovereign States’
Excerpts from a report in *Dawn*, 4 June 1947

New Delhi, Tuesday.—The British Government’s new plan which was broadcast by the All India Radio at 7-10 p.m. on Tuesday following the Viceroy’s broadcast, finally concedes the Muslim demand for Pakistan, but provides for the ‘notional’ partition of Bengal, the Punjab and Assam. Specific procedure is laid down [as to] how and by which [means, the] future of the Muslim majority and non-Muslim majority areas is to be decided.

10. Jinnah and Congress Ought to Cooperate
M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 4 June 1947
*CWMG*, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 73–6

**BROTHERS AND SISTERS,**

You know that I am coming straight after meeting the Viceroy. Not that I had gone to get anything out of him. Nor had he called me in order to give me anything. Actually the talk between us was not even finished. But I excused myself saying to the Viceroy that I would not like to miss the prayer time so long as it was humanly possible. He appreciated my point and said that our talk could be resumed later.

I told you that we would not give even an inch of land as Pakistan under coercion. In other words, we would not accept Pakistan under the threat of violence. Only if they can convince us by peaceful argument and if their proposal appeals to our reason would we concede Pakistan.

I cannot say that this whole question has been treated rationally. The Congress Working Committee insists that they have not granted anything under duress. They are not scared because so many people are dying and property is being destroyed. It is not at all true that they have accepted defeat in the face of violence. I should not take them to be a timid lot. They have taken this course because they realized that it was not possible to get round the Muslim League in any other way. For, once the Muslim League agrees to at least some points, our task becomes easy. In short, the Working Committee claims that they have accepted the vivisection of the country into Pakistan and Hindustan not out of fear but after realizing the prevailing situation.

We do not wish to force anyone. We tried hard. We tried to reason with them, but they refused to come into the Constituent Assembly. The League supporters kept on arguing that they were afraid of the Hindu majority in the event of their joining the Constituent Assembly.

What can the Viceroy do under these circumstances? He says that whatever happens, he wants to quit by June, 1948. He would not like to stay beyond that date even if you wanted him to. He says they must grant full independence to India. Why he insists on this is another matter. You might say that the British have now become helpless because they are no longer the mighty power they used to be. We would want them to be a first-class power even now. It is true that they have tyrannized over us for 150 years. I also know that we have been fighting against their might for the last 32 years. But I never make an enemy of my opponent. I would still appeal to God and pray that He should be good to them. And whatever God does would be just.

I shall speak no more now about God’s infallible power. Let us realize this much that every human being is prone to commit mistakes. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs all can say that the
Muslims have committed a great blunder. But on what ground can we absolve ourselves of the blame? Let us leave it to God to pass judgment.

I would say this much, that it was wrong on their part to demand Pakistan. But they can think of nothing else. They say that they can never live where the Hindus have a majority. They are harming themselves by making this demand and I pray to God to save them in time from any harm coming to them. When my own brother, whether he follows my religion or some other religion, wants to harm me I cannot aid him. Even though he may not be aware that he is harming me. If I do it I am sure to be crushed between the two stones of a quern. Why should I not keep my own millstone apart?

And now I want to reassure you about the British. I want to tell you, not in the light of the Viceroy’s speech but in the light of my own talks with him, that the Viceroy has had no hand in this decision. The decision has been taken jointly by all the leaders in consultation. The leaders say that for seven years they insisted on the unity of India. The Cabinet Mission also gave a reasonable award. But the League went back on its assurance and now this course has had to be adopted. They (the Muslims) have got to come back to India. Even if Pakistan is formed, there will have to be mutual exchange of populations and movements to and fro. Let us hope that co-operation endures.

But now that this decision has been taken, should I say that we should all rebel against the Congress? Or, should I ask the Viceroy to intervene? The Viceroy says that he never wanted partition. Jawaharlal says on behalf of the Congress that he too does not approve of it. But they have all been obliged to accept it, not for fear of violence, but because of the circumstances. For the Hindus, the Sikhs, all say that would live in their own homelands, not in the Muslims’. The Hindus are willing to be under Sikh rule because they say the Sikhs never compel them at the point of the sword to bow before the Granth Saheb.

Master Tara Singh came to see me today. I told him that he should not remain a lone soldier, but become equal to one and a quarter lakh. The Sikhs should learn to die without killing and then the history of the Punjab would be completely changed. With it the history of India would change too. The Sikhs are few in number, but they are brave. That is why the British are afraid of them. If the Sikhs became truly brave, rule of the Khalsa would spread throughout the world.

I told you these things to relieve you of your pain. You should not feel sorry at heart that India is to be divided into two. The demand has been granted because you asked for it. The Congress never asked for it. I was not even present here. But the Congress can feel the pulse of the people. It realized that the Khalsa as also the Hindus desired it. You have lost nothing, nor have the Sikhs, nor the Muslims. The Viceroy has already stated in his speech and he has also assured me that when we approach him united this decision would be revoked. Only our united decision would be accepted. The Viceroy says that his task is merely to see that the British carry on their task honestly till power is transferred and then quit in peace. The British people do not wish that chaos should reign after they quit this country.

I had already said that they should not worry about anarchy. I am, after all, a gambler. But who would listen to me? You do not listen to me. The Muslims have given me up. Nor can I fully convince the Congress of my point of view. Actually I am a slave of the Congress, because I belong to India. I tried my best to bring the Congress round to accept the proposal of May 16. But now we must accept what is an accomplished fact. The wonderful thing about it is that we can undo it any time we want.
In the end, I would only say that you had better forget the Viceroy. It pains me that instead of having direct talks we should negotiate through the Viceroy as mediator. It does us no credit that the League should convey its point to the Viceroy who in turn conveys it to the Congress and the Congress again conveys its own view to the Viceroy. But what can be done when the Muslim League does not agree to anything at all? The Congress agrees to something and the Sikhs have joined the Congress. And the Viceroy then had to request Jinnah Saheb day and night to climb down a little. Thus he found this solution. Even while doing all this the Viceroy says that he is wondering what the League would say and what the Congress would say. But he goes on doing his work in the name of God. Let us therefore have trust in his honesty so long as we have no experience to the contrary.

But I would like to request Jinnah Saheb, implore him, to have direct talks with us at least now. Whatever has happened is all right, but now let us sit together and decide about the future. Let him forget all about the Viceroy now, and let him invite us to come to any understanding he wishes to have, so that it is in the interest of all of us.

11. Protest against the Creation of a Muslim State

Telegram from V.D. Savarkar to L.B. Bhopatkar, President, All India Hindu Mahasabha, 4 June 1947

S.S. Savarkar and G.M. Joshi (Eds), *V. D. Savarkar—Historic Statements*, p. 198

The following telegram has been sent by Veer Savarkarji to Sjt. L.B. Bhopatkar, President, All India Hindu Mahasabha, on the eve of the Meeting of the Working Committee and All India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, to be held in New Delhi on 6th, 7th and 8th June 1947.

‘MY PERSONAL VIEW IS THAT WE MUST VIGOROUSLY PROTEST AGAINST THE CREATION OF A MOSLEM STATE INDEPENDENT OF THE CENTRAL INDIAN STATE. WE WILL NOT SIGN WILLINGLY THE DEATH WARRANT OF THE INTEGRITY OF HINDUSTHAN. IF BRITAIN THRUSTS PAKISTAN ON US PER FORCE THAT IS ANOTHER MATTER. WE WILL IN SPITE OF IT CONTINUE OUR STRUGGLE TO RE-ANNEX THESE REVOLTING MOSLEM PROVINCES. SECONDLY TO REGISTER OUR PROTEST AGAINST PAKISTAN A BLACK DAY SHOULD BE OBSERVED THROUGHOUT INDIA ON A CONVENIENT DATE. THIRDLY PAKISTAN OR NO PAKISTAN THREE HINDU MAJORITY PROVINCES MUST BE FRAMED IN BENGAL, PUNJAB AND SINDH IN THE INTEREST OF AKHAND HINDUSTHAN ITSELF. LIKE THE DISTRICT OF SYLHET THE FOUR HINDU MAJORITY DISTRICTS IN SIND MUST BE ALLOWED TO DECIDE BY THEIR OWN SEPARATE VOTING TO JOIN HINDUSTHAN. FOURTHLY THE CONGRESSITE MINISTRY MUST BE CALLED UPON NOT TO ACCEPT PAKISTAN AND BETRAY THE HINDU ELECTORATE EVEN IF THEY CANNOT PREVENT BRITAIN FROM THRUSTING IT PER FORCE ON US.

LONG LIVE AKHAND HINDUSTHAN.

12. Suggestions regarding India Plan from Calcutta Muslim League

Letter from Raghib Ahsan to M.A. Jinnah, 4 June 1947


CORONATION HOTEL, DELHI

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

1. I submit a few suggestions regarding the India Plan. The loss of Calcutta and Assam is terrible.
The Indian Act puts a legal and moral obligation on the British to protect the Tribal and Excluded Areas. If we get the Excluded Areas of Santhal Parganas, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Lushai Hills and Naga Hills, we will get room for expansion.

2. The Calcutta Delegation is still waiting.

Yours sincerely,

RAGHIB AHSAN
Calcutta District Muslim League

Enclosure

SUGGESTIONS RE(GARDING) INDIA PLAN RIGHT OF OPTION FOR THE EXCLUDED AREAS OF ASSAM AND SANTHAL PARGANAS AND CHHOTA NAGPUR

1. Tribals and Backward Classes of the Excluded Areas of Chhotanagpur and Santhal Parganas (bordering Murshidabad) and of Assam, e.g. Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Garo Hills, Naga Hills, Lepcha Hills, Lushai Hills, etc., should be given the option to join either Pakistan or Hindustan.

   Firstly because the Tribals are not Hindus and Congress does not represent them and they are demanding separate electorate and they know that the tribes can get it only through the League.

   Secondly because the Excluded Areas and the Partially Excluded Areas under the Government of India Act, 1935, are special charge and obligation of the British Government, Britain owes it to the poor Tribals and civilization to give them protection. *They are not chattels to be transferred to Hindustan without giving them any voice in the determination of their fate. The British Government is morally, constitutionally and legally bound to protect them. The Tribals are a trust of civilisation.*

   The Tribals are 30 per cent in Assam. The Tribals are in majority in Santhal Parganas and Chhotanagpur. The Tribals hold strategic points on the frontier of East Pakistan.

2. All the Hindu Members of the Bengal Assembly, both of East and West Bengal, be given the right to decide by their combined collective majority vote to keep Bengal united and to prevent provincial partition.

   Similar right should be given to the non-Muslim Members of the present Punjab Assembly as a whole to rescind the proposed partition of the Punjab.

3. Every *thana* or sub-division be given the right of opting into and opting out of the contiguous Pakistan or Hindustan areas according to votes of the majority of its adult population. Every five years any contiguous *thana* or union [may] exercise this option.

4. Amritsar is a Muslim-majority town and Muslim sub-division and is a trump card of the League. Never surrender Amritsar town and the sub-division of Amritsar to the Sikhs who regard it as their Mecca.

   Try to effect bargain and compromise on the basis:
FREE CITIES OF AMRITSAR, DELHI, AJMER AND CALCUTTA
That Amritsar be declared a free city with equal Muslim and non-Muslim representation provided Delhi, Ajmer, Aligarh and Calcutta are [also] declared free cities with similar rights of equality for Muslims.

MINORITIES RIGHTS COMMITTEE
5. Minorities Rights Committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly should negotiate with the Hindustan Constituent Assembly for safeguarding the rights of Muslim minority in Hindustan. The Muslims of Hindustan be recognized as the co-nationals of Pakistan Muslims.

13. ‘The Hindustan–Pakistan Plan’
Editorial from The Tribune, 4 June 1947
The pride of Asoka and Akbar and of good and true Britons themselves, the unity of India, has been planned to be broken. The A.P.I.’s forecast of H.M.G.’s final Indian scheme implies the drowning of the joint disruptionist efforts of British Imperialism and Muslim Leaguism with success. India is to be split up. Our motherland, after centuries of able-bodied and full-blooded existence, is to be dismembered. And even we, who have been confirmed believers of the unity of India and enraptured dreamers of its future greatness and glory as a united liberated country, accept it as an alternative to continued communal wrangling and throat-cutting and confusion and chaos. But we must say that it offers no permanent solution of our problem and we must add that in our long and chequered history to-day is the worst and saddest day.

The position is this: British Imperialist Chanakya’s gain and we fools lose all along the line. They are in mortal dread of the deepening and expanding influence of the Soviet Union and Communism. They wanted to create a buffer State between them and the progressive forces in India and link up their reactionary Muslim allies in Egypt, Turkey, Arab countries, Persia and Afghanistan with those in this country. Pakistan would serve this particular purpose of theirs admirably. That is why the British plan is designed not only to bring it into existence, but also to strengthen it by compelling the Pushto-speaking area to join it. It was said that the Frontier Province would be permitted to become an independent and sovereign unit, if it so liked. But that choice has been denied to it. It must now join either Pakistan or Hindustan.

The decision made by the Pathans against Pakistanism on the occasion of the last general elections has been ignored and a referendum has been planned to be held. The influence of the British scheme, which has been cleverly framed and the force of the Jehadist fanaticism, which has been sedulously fomented and the pressure of the geographical factor, which has been greatly complicated by the Kashmir Government’s boycott of the Constituent Assembly—if Kashmir joined it the Frontier Province could be linked up with Hindustan through it—would be relied upon by British Imperialists to tilt the scale in favour of Pakistanists. It was not for nothing that the Frontier Governor, Sir Olaf Caroe, with the help of his loyal lieutenants patronised and pushed forward Pakistanism in his territory. Again it was not for nothing that the Viceroy included the debated and discredited Frontier Leaguer Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar, among the leaders whom he invited to his house on Monday. The importance given to Mr. Nishtar shows that the British Pakistan scheme hinges on the frontier. If the Frontier Province elects to join Hindustan, Pakistan will practically collapse. But British Imperialists are confident that nothing of the kind will happen. The die is loaded. About the east they care a hang.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

there is no Pakistan in the eastern region, but just a shadow of it—which indeed dismembered Bengal will be—they need have no sleepless night. They do not require a buffer State against a hamstrung Japan and a rehabilitated China.

The most interesting part of the scheme is the one which embodies the offer of Dominion Status to Hindustan and Pakistan. The followers of the Puran Swaraj ideal must now be saying to themselves:

If we had accepted Dominion Status at the very outset, the British Labour Government might have seen to it—separate electorates, bureaucratic machinations and League mischief notwithstanding—that the unity of India was not impaired and the future greatness and glory of the country were not imperilled. Then a different type of scheme might have emerged from British statesmen’s cogitations and conferences.

Now, Mr. Jinnah will jump at the Dominion Status offer. It is an open secret that he assured his British friends that he cannot contemplate any sort of Pakistan without some sort of British prop. As the Emperor or Fuehrer of Pakistan he may indeed invite the British Government to station troops in his territory and British businessmen to exploit his people in return for political gains. The leaders of Hindustan may hate doing any such thing. But with hardly any Navy to keep off foreign sharks and hardly any Air Force to keep off foreign vultures and with Pakistan perpetually stirred by vengeful feelings or expansionist ambitions as their neighbour, can they reject with contempt the idea of continued association with the British Commonwealth, which will mean many valuable political and military advantages to them. India is to be divided and divided on a Dominion Status basis and let alone Jinnahites, who have no abhorrence for Dominion Status, Congressmen, in whose nostrils it stings, might have no escape from it.

H.M.G.’s plan shatters everybody’s dream and yet everybody is reported to have accepted it. As we have said, we and the average man and woman accept it in a spirit of resignation. It is obviously an evil lesser than perpetual tension, murder and arson and therefore more acceptable. With its acceptance by the Congress, Muslim League and Panth the hatchet may be buried. But how long will it remain buried? The vision of a united India at the head of the comity of nations, fondly conjured up by the Congress, is gone. But the Congress is stated to have accepted the plan. It will perhaps live in the hope that the circumstances will gradually change and ultimately make it a reality. Mr. Jinnah will have nothing but ‘truncated, mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan’. With Bengal cut up and Calcutta allotted to the non-Muslims what he will get in Eastern India will be sheer frustration. And in Western India too he will lose important and substantial chunks of earth. But he is also reported to be satisfied. His satisfaction is presumably founded on the conviction that what he gets now can be used as a springboard for Pakistan sallies and conquests after the consolidation and development of League Fascist power.

To Sikh solidarity the Mountbatten scheme will be what a knife is to a cheese piece—it will cut through it easily and definitely. And if the Panth accepts it, it probably does so in the belief that its appeal to the Boundary Commission will succeed. Even if that appeal does not succeed, it need not be tremulous, for another appeal lies—the appeal to cold steel. And every one of these parties appears to harbour the feeling that the State forces leaning towards it can be used by it to its advantage after their release from British overlordship. The party’s criticisms of the British Government’s Hindustan-Pakistan scheme, which may form the principal contents of the acceptance messages, will reflect how unpredictable the future is. All parties have undoubtedly got out of the cul-de-sac in which they had been colliding against one
another and met on common ground and found peace. But the common ground, on which they have met, is no real peace. We still hope that the widely desired miracle will happen and all the Indian political parties will get together and march together to the goal of a Sovereign United Indian Republic.

(The above leader is based on the A.P.I.'s forecast of H.M.G.'s Scheme published on Monday.)

14. 'Division of India Is Better than Forced Union'

*Dawn, 5 June 1947*

RANGOON, Wednesday.—Burma will review its demand for complete independence if the Indian States of Pakistan and Hindustan accept Dominion Status, an informant told the Associated Press of America today.

U. Aung San, Deputy Chairman of the Governor’s Executive Council, discussed with his Cabinet colleagues the import of the British plan.

In a statement to journalists, Tin Tut, a Cabinet member described the Indian plan as ‘a triumph for the Viceroy and a clear sign that Indian leaders are now prepared to accept one another’s views for peace in the country’.

Tin Tut stated that the proposed division of India was ‘better than a forced union’.—APA.

15. Hope for Peaceful Nation-Building

*Letter from Rajendra Prasad to Dr Sachchidananda Sinha, 5 June 1947*

Valmiki Choudhary (Ed.), *Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents*, Vol. VII, pp. 46-7

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi

My dear Sir,

I have not heard from you for a long time nor have I myself written to you. The reason undoubtedly has been great preoccupations. You must have followed the trend of events and the latest position. Things have been moving at a tremendous speed and by the middle of August next, we shall have what may be regarded as complete independence, albeit over a reduced area. Considering all that was happening, and viewing the future, we felt that there was no escape from division unless we were determined to have a long period not only of uncertainty and instability but of strife, conflict and even bloodshed spread over large tracts of the country. I do not know if that is altogether eliminated. That will depend upon the attitude of the League and its supporters. We hope, however, that we shall be able to carry on the great constructive work of nation-building in an atmosphere of peace, if not of goodwill. The task is tremendous but we have tried our best to clear the ground for undivided concentration on its performance and fulfillment. There are many difficult and intricate problems still to be solved. The division of assets and liabilities, of services, of armed forces and settlement or agreement regarding transport and communication, coinage and tariffs, legations and other international organisations in foreign countries and in this country are some of the obvious points which will require detailed examination and adjustment. The settlement of boundaries is another complicated affair. Above all, the task of framing a Constitution, which will be more
or less of a permanent nature, still remains to be tackled, although we have been working in the Constituent Assembly for six months now.

By passing an Act giving the status of Dominion and thus legalizing and placing on a statutory basis the position of the Government in each of the two Dominions, the British Parliament will be in a sense providing for the interim period until our Constitution is framed. I was at one time thinking whether it would be necessary for us to pass a sort of a temporary Constitution, taking as our basis the Government of India Act, 1935, with appropriate amendments to enable us to run the administration until our permanent Constitution is framed. Along with that, we would be also working on the permanent Constitution so that even if the permanent Constitution is not ready when power will be transferred in June 1948, we would have a temporary Constitution to go by. But it seems they have relieved us of that burden and we shall have not only power transferred to us by August next, some 10 months before the date which they had fixed for it, but also a statute by which we could go until a permanent Constitution is framed.

In all this, we have not all that we wanted. That was not possible but I trust that, on the whole, we have got a workable plan on which we can proceed. I am feeling that Pakistan will soon discover the utility of a union with India and will reconsider its position, and when that happens, we shall all be happy, but whether it comes about or not, we have to go ahead with the present plan.

I am keeping well. I hope you are also well.

Yours affectionately,

Rajendra Prasad

16. Demand for Complete British Withdrawal

Letter from Sheelbhadra Yajee to J.B. Kripalani, 5 June 1947

All India Congress Committee Papers (hereafter AICC Papers), File No. G-56, Part I/1947, NMML

Patna, June 5.—Sheelbhadra Yajee, member of the All India Congress Committee has given the notice of the following resolution to be moved in the ensuing session of the All-India Congress Committee which is going to be held at Delhi on the 14th and 15th of June, 1947.

Rejection of the British award

‘The latest award of the British Government as announced on the 3rd of June, 1947 knocks at the very bottom of the triumphant Indian nationalism and seeks to disrupt and destroy India’s national unity which has been the rock-bottom of the freedom struggle of the Congress all these sixty years and more. The All-India Congress Committee believes that it is a diabolical imperialist plan to reconquer resurgent India and perpetuate her enslavement which otherwise was coming to its natural end’.

‘The A-I.C.C. also believes that so long as the third power in the form of British ruling class exists in India to encourage centrifugal tendencies, a settlement among the major Indian communities is well-nigh impossible of fruition. The essence of freedom lies in the right of the people themselves to freely shape their own destiny without the interference or dictation of any alien power and consequently the freedom loving people of India which can not tolerate that their fate which affects their whole future should arbitrarily be decided by the British Government as has been done in the latest British announcement’.
‘The A-I.C.C. affirms its faith in a free and united India based on the free and voluntary cooperation of the Indian people themselves, which will not be forthcoming till the Britishers stay here’.

‘In the circumstances, the A-I.C.C. rejects outright the latest British award and asks the Congress members in the Interim Government to withdraw their cooperation forthwith in protest against this infliction of national humiliation on the Indian people. This meeting of the A-I.C.C. also emphatically demands the immediate withdrawal of the British authority from India and calls upon the Indian people to forge necessary sanction to enforce this national demand’.

Sd/- Sheelbhadra Yajee
Member, AICC

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1 The resolution was sent on the letter-head of the All India Forward Bloc.

17. ‘Not Yet Too Late!’
Extract from an editorial in The Tribune, 5 June 1947

...While the Congress dream of a united India and the League dream of an ‘untruncated and unmutilated’Pakistan have been shattered, the very existence of the Panth has been placed in jeopardy. No wonder that a statement issued by the Panth leader, Master Tara Singh, from New Delhi says: ‘The British Government’s plan is unsatisfactory and disappointing. Even His Excellency the Viceroy in his broadcast, has felt obliged to admit that the solidarity of the Sikhs will be impaired.’ The Panth has now pinned its faith on the strictly impartial and just operation of the Boundary Commission, on which it will be incumbent to take into consideration not only the communal proportions in the population but also the communal shares in the income-tax, land revenue and property and the religious and geographical factors, for including more districts in the separated Eastern Punjab. But unless the demarcation line is drawn along the Chenab the Panth’s solidarity cannot be maintained....Let the Punjabis—Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs—pause and ponder. It is not yet too late. It is still in their power to save the Punjab and the rest of India. Does not Para 3 of H. M. G.’s proclamation say: ‘...Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for a united India?’ The Punjabis possess that magic wand by waving which they can dispel the clouds gathering on the Indian horizon and introduce sunshine in the whole country. Will they not use it? Para 7 says: ‘Before the question as to the partition is decided, it is desirable that the representatives of each part should know in advance which Constituent Assembly the province as a whole would join in the event of the two parts subsequently deciding to remain united. Therefore, if any member of either Legislative Assembly so demands, there shall be held a meeting of all members of the Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the province as a whole would join, if it were decided by the two parts to remain united.’ Some Punjabi M.L.A. should immediately demand that an early meeting of the Assembly should be held to decide which Constituent Assembly the Punjab should join in case it decided to remain united and that meeting should emphatically say: ‘The existing Constituent Assembly.’ Then Para 6 will become operative. It says: ‘The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the province should be partitioned. If a simple majority
of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly.' In the interests of their beloved province, as also in those of their beloved motherland the members of the two parts of the Assembly should separately give the same verdict: 'The Punjab shall remain united.' This patriotic verdict will render the proposed Hindustan-Pakistan referendum in the Frontier Province redundant.... If the Punjabis decide to remain united and join their countrymen at New Delhi in the common constitution-making work, the necessity on the part of the Pathans to reconsider their position will disappear and great and grand vistas will open up—the vision of a united, regenerated and revitalized India leading humanity to the goal of brotherhood, peace and prosperity will become a reality. Let the Punjabis, who are known all over the country for their sturdy common sense, be true to their reputation and rise to the occasion.

18. Indian Socialists Oppose Any Compromise Based on Country’s Division

Jayaprakash Narayan’s speech at a public meeting in Gorakhpur, 5 June 1947


I wish to make it clear today that Indian Socialists were always opposed to any compromise at the price of the country’s division. At present there are only three parties, who knows tomorrow there may be more. There is the rumour that the Pakistan area might like to remain within the British Commonwealth. The Britishers’ stay in any part of the country is perilous enough and it will not help us in achieving complete independence.

The question arises what are we to do then? Will Hindus and Muslims organize themselves separately for domination of each other? If we think on those lines there would be internecine civil strife not only between Hindustan and Pakistan, but in every village of the country. It is true that barbarities and brutalities practised in the Punjab know no parallel in the history of the world, but we must exercise caution and give the coolest possible consideration to the problems.

Our future lies only in making the masses of Hindustan realize that the basic problems of food, clothing, wages, etc., are the same, be they in Hindustan or in Pakistan and are not connected with communities and that their solution also is one and the same, that is elimination of exploitation when tension dies down. We should realize that programmes for the peasantry and labour of both Hindustan and Pakistan will be the same if we are able to convince our masses that their future can only be safeguarded by a non-communal, political and economic programme. But we must do so by peaceful means. The use of violence will land our country in utter chaos and reactionary forces may gain an upper hand.

I have had discussion with Mahatma Gandhi on these problems recently, and it is highly probable that he may assist us in our endeavours in this direction. If this happens what we might achieve in years, we can achieve in months.

I call upon all youngmen and particularly educated ones to join our ranks and become soldiers for establishing an ideal society in this country.
19. ‘Mandal Congratulates Jinnah on Unique Success in Achieving Pakistan’

Dawn, 5 June 1947

‘There has been at last a way out of the Indian deadlock and the long drawn-out controversy over the much agitated question of the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan has come to an end’, says Mr. J.N. Mandal, in a statement to the press.

‘I offer my congratulations and felicitations to Qaed-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League on their unique success in achieving their most cherished goal of Pakistan’. Mr. Mandal continued: ‘It is really rejoicing to know that the millions of Muslims of India have been liberated from the age-long domination of the Hindus. Muslim India will surely remember with gratitude and admiration the achievements of their great liberator—Qaed-d-Azam.’

He continued: ‘Although I am sanguine that the Scheduled Caste people living in Pakistan, whose number will be a little over 8 millions, will get adequate political rights and privileges, about 52 millions of them who will be in Hindustan under the Congress regime will be deprived of what little political powers they are enjoying now. Their future will rest on the tender mercies of the Congress leaders. As the day of final verdict on the attitude of the Congress and the British Government towards the Scheduled Castes has not yet reached, I must remain content for the time being with the expectation that good sense will eventually prevail on the Congress leaders like Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru to do the same justice to the Scheduled Castes as they will receive at the hands of Mr. Jinnah in Pakistan.’

Untouchables Liberator

‘It will be extremely unfortunate and ignoble if the name of Mr. Gandhi, who has been declared to the world as the champion of the cause of the untouchables of India, goes down in history as one opposed to the legitimate hopes and aspirations and the onward march towards social and political emancipation of the sixty million untouchables, while the name of Mr. Jinnah, who does not profess the same faith and religion with the Scheduled Castes, will go down in history as their liberator.’

In another statement, the Law Member says:

‘It is unfortunate that the Viceroy has been so much obsessed with the views expressed by the Congress leaders that he has not cared a fig for the opinion of the Scheduled Castes people,’ said the Hon’ble Mr. J.N. Mandal, Law Member in the Interim Government and Scheduled Castes leader, in an interview to the Orient Press of India, giving his reaction to the plan for the transfer of power to Indian hands, announced by the British Government yesterday.

Continuing, he said: ‘In coming to a decision for the division of both the provinces, Bengal and the Punjab, the Viceroy has totally ignored the wishes of the Scheduled Castes1, especially in the district of Jalpaiguri and Khulna in West Bengal, where the Scheduled Castes form a major part of the Hindu community. The views of the Scheduled Castes in these districts should have been ascertained by a referendum or plebiscite, before they were allotted to West Bengal.

‘It is my firm conviction that the partition of the Punjab and Bengal will not be so much harmful to the Muslims as it will be to the non-Muslims. The division of Bengal would very adversely affect the interests of the Scheduled Castes and would equally be detrimental to the interests of the caste Hindus in that province. Bengali Hindus are destined to become non existent in the course of a few years. The Scheduled Castes in Pakistan, I am confident shall get their full political rights and privileges which their unfortunate brethren will be deprived of in Hindustan.’
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

Concluding, he said:

‘The Scheduled Castes in the Punjab have been almost equally divided into two parts and hence the partition of the Punjab will affect adversely the interests of the Scheduled Castes more than that of any other community in the province. While in Western Punjab they will get their full share in every field of life they will be deprived of the same in East Bengal’. — O.P.I.

1 A week earlier, other Scheduled Caste leaders from Bengal had expressed themselves in support of partition of Bengal and Punjab at the Bagerhat (Khulna) Partition Conference held on 28 May and attended by a large number of Scheduled Caste people. Ambedkar, too, had come out in support of partition of the provinces. Hindustan Standard, 30 May 1947.

20. Reactions to the Partition Plan from Assam Government

Extract from a letter from Akbar Hydari to Louis Mountbatten, 5 June 1947


GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SHILLONG

2. I am very sorry that what in recent months seemed inevitable, namely the rejection of the Cabinet Mission Plan, has in fact happened and the unity of India has at least for some time to come been broken; but my Ministers, while regretting in principle the partition of India, were relieved at the rejection of the Cabinet Mission Plan with the possibility of Assam having to join a Group with Bengal. They, both Hindu and Muslim (these belong to the Jamiat-ul-Ulema), were pleased with the Announcement and Assam’s share in it. Mookerjee, B.K. Das, Abdul Rashid and Abdul Matlib Majumdar, who all belong to the Surma Valley, are confident that Sylhet will elect to remain with the rest of Assam. Medhi and the others do not mind if Sylhet goes to Eastern Bengal; in fact I suspect that Medhi would be quite pleased if it did. I put the chances at fifty-fifty.

21. Gandhi Explains Why He Does Not Rebel against Congress

Extract from M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 5 June 1947

CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 84–5

...I would like to ask Jinnah Saheb, now that his slogan of Pakistan Zindabad has been realized, why he still goes to Lord Mountbatten. Why does he not go to the Congress? Why does he not invite Badshah Khan and Dr. Khan Saheb? Why does he not show them what a pretty rose Pakistan is?

But I have been receiving complaints about Pakistan. I have a letter today which says that a British firm will be going to Lahore to manufacture arms. It is also being said that the Muslim League has decided to remain in the Commonwealth, and that it will confine itself to the Dominion Status.

The Congress has committed no crime in accepting Dominion Status. It has accepted it provisionally, with a view to putting an end to the British rule immediately. It will opt for complete independence as soon as the Constitution is ready. Will the Muslim League still keep to the Dominion Status? Both our countries should have uniform Constitutions. Both have declared complete independence as their objective. Then it also becomes Jinnah’s duty to
have nothing less than complete independence. That duty cannot be performed by indulging in mutual fights. All the Hindus got tired of persuading him, and they conceded Pakistan in the hope that at last they would have peace.

One may ask why I allowed such a thing to happen. But should I then insist that the Congress should do everything only after consulting me? I am not so mad. And, if I rebel against the Congress, it will mean that I am rebelling against the whole country, because the Congress belongs to the whole country. I shall do such a thing only when I find the Congress has gone over to the capitalists. But so far, I think, the Congress is working for the poor. It may be following a path different from mine and have its mind fixed on armaments, an army and factories but I have to convince them by arguments, not by resorting to a fast....

22. ‘U.K. Muslims Happy over India Plan’
Extracts from a report in *Dawn*, 6 June 1947

LONDON, Wednesday.—Mr. Saheb Dad Khan, President of the London Branch of the Muslim League, in a statement to the Press today said: ‘Muslim Residents of Great Britain are happy that our conception of two nations has been accepted and we have regained our independent status after a lapse of nearly two centuries. I am not quite happy over the details which seem to placate the Hindus, but I will appeal to Muslims in this country and India to maintain peace, stand firm and united and leave the details to Mr. Jinnah and our ‘Parliament’ which is meeting in Delhi on Monday next.’....

Mr. Z.A. Suleri, Secretary of the Indian Muslim Information Office, said: ‘Acceptance of the principle of partition by the British Government is smashing victory for the Muslim League. Two nations have now been established and the most important thing is that we can send our representatives to the United Nations and the Indian Muslim point of view will get full representation in world affairs. Indian Muslims will also be able to make their contribution to the future of the world.—Reuters.’

23. Bengal Reacts to the 3 June Plan
Extracts from a note by K.M. Ahmed, Director of Publicity, Bengal, 6 June 1947

IOR, R/3/1/156, Acc. No. 3470, NAI

With the exception of Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee, the organiser of Bengal Partition Movement, and Mr. J.N. Mandal, Law Member in the Interim Government, the first reactions to H.M.G.‘s Plan have been voiced by the lesser leaders of both communities. The list includes Dr. S.C. Roy Choudhury, Mayor of Calcutta, Mr. D.N. Sen, President, Bengal National Chambers of Commerce, Mr. S.C. Majumdar, Managing Director of Hindustan Standard and Ananda Bazaar Patrika, Mr. S.K. Roy Choudhury, ex-Mayor and Vice-President of Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. A.C. Chatterjee, President, New Bengal Association, Mr. Muazzamuddin Hossain, Education Minister, Messrs. S.A. Salim and Abdul Karim, Parliamentary Secretaries and Mr. Habibulla Bahar, Officiating Secretary of Bengal Provincial Muslim League.

Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee disapproves of the plan from the stand-point of India as a whole but prefers it to the Cabinet Missions scheme. In his view this has happened due to what he calls ‘unpreparedness of Hindus’. The acceptance of the principle of partition of Bengal and Punjab, in the opinion of Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee, ‘marks out first victory’.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

Mr. J.N. Mondal had congratulated Mr. Jinnah on the achievement of Pakistan where the rights of Scheduled castes will be protected. He, however, apprehends that the remaining 52 millions ofScheduled castes will lose ‘what little political powers they are enjoying now’, as they will be in Hindustan.

Mr. S.C. Roy Choudhury, the Mayor of Calcutta, has expressed disappointment at the division of India and has hoped for ultimate re-union. His emphasis is on a united Bengal within an Indian Unit. Mr. D.N. Sen, President of Bengal National Chambers of Commerce, has expressed the hope that the Boundary Commission would not fail to take note of the need for realignment of provincial and district boundaries on linguistic basis.

The statements issued by Muslim League representatives strike similar notes of satisfaction and dissatisfaction at the plan. On the eve of his departure to Delhi to attend the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council, Mr. Habibulla Bahar acting Secretary of Bengal Provincial Muslim League, has thus commented on the Plan: ‘Though general reaction among the Muslims is hopeful, we do not like to conceal our disappointment’. According to Mr. Bahar, ‘There was no justification for inclusion of Khulna, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Purnia, 24-Pargs. and Goalpara in non-Muslim areas without referendum’. Further in his statement Mr. Bahar has hoped that Bengali Hindu Congress leaders would for the last time try for a settlement before it is late. Messrs. S.A. Salim and Abdul Karim, Parliamentary Secretaries, have expressed satisfaction at the achievement of Pakistan. Mr. Muazzamuddin Hosain, Education Minister, has however, sounded a note of disappointment. He says, ‘H.M.G.’s announcement leaves an impression as if the Muslims of Bengal are being punished for asking a separate sovereign State as their homeland’. He adds, ‘We demand the whole of Bengal as a separate sovereign State as it is an economic unit by itself and any division of the unit will result in creation of uneconomic units and economic disaster’. Arguing that Calcutta’s prosperity has been built by jute growers of North and East Bengal, Mr. Hosain asserts that the position will be absurd on the face of it.

Broadly speaking opinions expressed in the press may be summed up as follows:

1. Papers with Congress leanings accept the Plan but regret the division of India.
2. Muslim League Papers are satisfied with the plan inasmuch as it gives freedom to Muslims. They are, however, perturbed over the financial and economic disabilities of ‘Truncated Pakistan’ in the East.
3. One section of the Hindu Press criticizes the Plan as a triumph of Britain’s diplomacy.
4. A Communist paper has suggested the revival of the Bose-Suhrawardy formula for retaining the unity of Bengal.
5. There is general recognition of the sincerity of Lord Louis Mountbatten.

Papers of Amrita Bazar Patrika and Hindusthan Standard school betray a tendency of avoiding discussion on Consequences of Dividing Bengal. The main purpose of their editorials, as at present, appears to be (1) to study and interpret the Plan, (2) to point out the disabilities of ‘Truncated Pakistan’ and (3) to hope for the ultimate unification of India.

Expressing regrets for the division of India Amrita Bazar Patrika (pro-Congress) fixes the responsibility for this division on Mr. Jinnah at whose ‘bidding’, says the paper, the British agreed to partition the country in spite of the wishes of the people. It argues that on the analogy of the procedure adopted for dividing Bengal and Punjab, Central Legislature should have been asked to say whether India should be divided or not. The paper further protests against referendum in N.W.F. Province. It demands that there should be no Ulsters in India and says
that ‘there must be no pockets of British influence anywhere in this sub-continent either in Pakistan or any of the States’. The paper recognizes that the partition of Bengal is a settled fact and pleads that all concerned should vote for partition of the province.

_Hindusthan Standard_ thinks that Nationalist leaders have taken a wise decision in approving the plan as the best available solution in the prevailing circumstances. It hopes that division of India cannot, in the very nature of things, last for ever.

Some of the Hindu papers are still inclined to accuse the British. Thus according to _Nationalist_ the Plan is a triumph of British diplomacy. The paper distrusts the British professions that partition of India would be decided upon by the Indians themselves. It says, ‘The monstrosity of such a suggestion can hardly escape any unbiased political observer or a student of the past history of British rule in India. Only an unabashed hypocrite can utter such travesty of truth’. Commenting on the speech made by Prime Minister Attlee _Nationalist_ says, ‘Such belated attempts by false propaganda to shift the responsibility of partition in India on the Indian themselves will not deceive anybody’. This paper also accuses the Indian leaders, especially Pandit Nehru, for agreeing to a plan for the division of India and for playing into British hands. It calls upon the people to assert themselves and says that no surrender at the top can be binding on the people.

_Eastern Express_ says, ‘Mr. Jinnah’s ambitions stand fulfilled, thanks to the conspiracy and patronage of imperialist Britain[s] in and outside India, and the weakness of the British Labour Government to break this unholy alliance.’

_Morning News_ (pro-Muslim League) points out that Muslim India has reason to be disappointed at the truncated Pakistan vouchsafed to it under the Plan. But it adds that the Muslim will prefer to be poor but free rather than continue in his servitude and helplessness resulting from British methods of administration in India established by Empire-builders and their non-Muslim adherents in the country.

_Star of India_ voices the same opinion. The paper refers to some inequities in the Plan and pleads for the recognition of the rights of Scheduled castes. Referring to the truncated form of Pakistan the paper says that it would not be fair to put the entire blame on the architects of the plan. ‘A good portion of it ought to go to our friends of the Congress who did not favour a partition as between brothers but were actuated by the policy of grabbing as much for Hindustan as they could with any show of plausibility.’

_Ittehad_, a pro-Muslim League Bengali paper, refers to the victorious achievement of the Muslims but adds that the Imperialist British government and the Caste-Hindu Congress have stabbed the Muslim nation in the back. The paper is, however, convinced that with the help of people of other oppressed nations ‘this despicable conspiracy’ will be baffled.

_Swadhinata_, a Communist organ, strongly asserts that Lord Mountbatten’s announcement spells utter destruction for each race and community in India. This paper has pleaded for the revival of the Bose-Suhrawardy Pact for independent united Bengal.

In the opinion of _Statesman_ the Plan ‘is not the best arrangement that could be wished for, but it is perhaps the best that could be made.’ The paper advises optimists to look forward to the two fragments of hitherto unified India, spontaneously finding their way back to some amicable recombination for the good of the common people in each. To allow this last chance of fulfillment, the paper advises the Hindus to watch their step and warns them against wrong moves. Deprecating the tendencies to control Pakistan’s foreign relations and policies, the paper says, ‘Anything remotely suggestive of it on Hindustan’s part should be promptly checked, in
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these times of exceptionally delicate transition, if prospects of eventual Indian reunion are not to be extinguished for ever.'

Sd/- K.M. Ahmed
Director of Publicity, Bengal.

24. ‘Joshi Indicts Britain on Partition’

Dawn, 6 June 1947

BOMBAY, Wednesday.—The British Government’s statement was a ‘desperate imperialist offensive against the freedom movement of the country,’ said Mr. P.C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, in a statement today.

‘Having intensified Congress League differences to the pitch of a growing civil war, imperial policy has reached its culminating point in putting the onus for partition on Indian shoulders.’

Mr. Joshi said the ‘British planned partition will not mean peace, but more fratricide immediately.’

‘The Mountbatten plan,’ Mr. Joshi added, ‘blessed by his leader Churchill, is thus not a real quit-India plan but one that seeks to keep as many economic and military controls in its own hands as possible.’ The Communist Party’s effort in the coming months would be directed towards the single aim of ‘defeating at all costs the new and dangerous imperialist manoeuvres.’—API.

25. Secession, Not Partition

Extract from a letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to M. Chalapathi Rau, 6 June 1947

New Delhi

My dear Chalapathi,

I have not met you for a long time. I feel we should meet and have a talk about the new situation that has arisen. When it is convenient to you I should like you to come here.

2. There are one or two matters which, I think, should be stressed repeatedly. There is far too much talk of the partition of India. This may be correct in a way. The real position is and should be described as a secession from India of a certain part. India, in theory and in practice, nationally and internationally continues as an entity except for the fact that some parts go out of it. This aspect of the question should be frequently brought out as many people appear to be misled. The present Government of India continues even after the secession. The fact that there will be Dominion Status then does not affect the concept of India. Our Ambassadors, Ministers, etc., continue to represent us. Our membership of the U.N.O. continues as before.

3. On the other hand Pakistan has to be built up from the foundations. It may develop its external relations as it likes. Thus the existing State of India continues with necessary adaptations due to the secession. The Pakistan State, however, is something new which gradually takes shape.

4. Because of this viewpoint, which I think is correct and certainly desirable, I think it is unfortunate to talk of the division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan as if two new States came into existence.

6. There is some confusion in people’s minds about our accepting Dominion Status, and some people imagine that it is giving up of the claim for complete independence. This is
absurd. The Constituent Assembly has declared our objective to be a sovereign independent republic. The British Government have announced their intention to quit completely by June 1948. Neither of these is affected by the proposed new arrangement. Dominion Status now or in August is really something more, during this interim period, than what the British said they would do. It is an ex-gratia gift, no doubt advantageous in the long run to Britain because it increases her prestige and helps to produce goodwill for her in India. It does not take away from our objective of independence which we shall, no doubt, declare when our new constitution is complete. Meanwhile the new arrangement is obviously helpful to us in many ways as an interim arrangement.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

26. Sindhi Muslims Pleased with 3 June Plan

Letter from Francis Mudie to Louis Mountbatten, 7 June 1947

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I had hoped to be able to give you an account of the reaction to HMG’s latest statement, but I find it extraordinarily difficult to do so. The local press has been particularly futile. I think that it was just too much for them. Also they are not quite certain which way the cats of their respective High Commands are to jump. My general impression however is that the Sindhi Muslim is very pleased. Pirzada Abdus Sattar issued quite a good statement urging acceptance. There is some pro forma criticism of the partition of the Punjab and of Bengal, but Sindhis care little about the Punjab and nothing at all about Bengal.

The Hindus are, I think, resigned, a little hurt that the Congress has done so little for them. Their press is less truculent. I attach some significance to the fact that one or two prominent Hindus who had previously refused nomination to the Sind University Senate, in response to Congress agitation against it, have now accepted. There is some movement of bank balances to “Hindustan” and a certain fall in the value of real property in Hindu areas. There is also vague talk about emigration to Hindustan. Some Gujeratis, Kachchis and other non-Sindhis may retire to their original homes, but I don’t expect many real Sindhis to leave the Province. There are signs of a growing feeling that the proper line for the Hindus in Sind is to co-operate with and not to continue to fight the League on all fronts. There are some, though not very definite, signs of a response.

The British community and the Muslims are very pleased about Dominion Status. They recognise that it is the only possible alternative to the civil war, which everyone, until your latest announcement, assumed to be inevitable.

The great thing is that the tension is over. Some decision has been arrived at and the main political parties have agreed or at least acquiesced. No one is prepared to go back to the old state of affairs.
27. Congress Must Reconcile with Idea of Pakistan
M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 7 June 1947
_CWMG_, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 97–100

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I am telling you in all humility that it is improper to obstruct the prayer. I cannot stop the prayer. It will go on. But I find that every day there is some complaint or other. It pains me very much.

I want to continue with the same subject. I want to talk about what is in the air, because great pressure is brought to bear on me. I am being told that while I kept on opposing [the idea of Pakistan] till the Viceroy’s declaration and saying that we would not agree to anything under coercion, now I have become silent. I am being rightly told so. I must confess that I am not happy about this decision. But many things happen in the world that are not to our liking; and yet we have to put up with them. We have to put up with this thing in the same manner.

A newspaper has said that even now the All-India Congress Committee can reject the proposal. I also think that the All-India Congress Committee is fully entitled not to accept the proposal. But we should not suddenly oppose the Congress to which we have been loyal all this time and which has earned a reputation in the world and has also done so much work.

A large number of _Sanatanists_ believe in the monster of untouchability and think they are following their religion by clinging to this monster. But God alone will judge who is a true _Sanatanist_ amongst us. Similarly, if the Congress also puts a religious garb on irreligious practices, we shall have to wind up the organization. Who can kill the Congress? We shall all lay down our lives before it. We will do it not by committing suicide. But we shall continue to fight it and will not bow down to it till we bring it on to the correct path or die ourselves. But we shall do this when we find that the Congress is deliberately erring. In my view, it is not committing a deliberate blunder at present. Nor has it committed deliberate blunders earlier. Had it functioned so far by accepting irreligion as religion, it would not have risen to the position it has today.

It is not correct to say that the Congress Working Committee should have consulted the A.I.C.C. before taking this decision. The Working Committee cannot function if it has to wait for consultation at every step. Subsequently the A.I.C.C. can challenge the Working Committee and vote it out to form a new one.

When I was working regularly for the Congress and enjoyed the right to enforce the constitution of the Congress, I had said during one of the discussions that we could not collect 300 or 1,000 members of the A.I.C.C. every now and again. It would be impossible for the Working Committee to function in this manner. Of course, later on, the A.I.C.C. can certainly call for an explanation from the Working Committee. It can also remove the Committee by passing a vote of no confidence so as to make sure that it will not repeat its mistakes, and form a new Committee.

Supposing the Working Committee issued a _hundi_ of several lakhs in the name of the A.I.C.C. which the latter did not approve. The A.I.C.C. would still have to honour the _hundi_, but it could certainly dissolve the Working Committee and elect a new one so that the mistake was not repeated. In fact in such a situation the A.I.C.C. ought to take such a step.

The same rule applies in the case of its decision regarding the Hindustan-Pakistan affair. The division is now a _fait accompli_. But there is still ample scope for adjustment. We can make or unmake at will Hindustan and Pakistan or whatever else we call it. True, the Congress
does not represent the League. But as I have looked at the Congress I feel that the Congress represents the entire Indian nation. On that account the Congress can never say that because the Muslims have done great harm to us it will also harm them in return.

The Congress would not remain what it is if it did that. Even when I went to the Round Table Conference I had said that I would do them a good turn even if they harmed us.

The Congress wants to establish democratic rule. It will not act against the interests of the Princes either. But the Princes will be able to retain their position only when they become the trustees of their subjects like the Raja of Oundh. A small principality like Oundh will be long remembered only because it bowed to the sovereignty of the people. As against this, the State of Kashmir, although it is worth millions, will be wiped out if it does not listen to the voice of its people. Hitherto these rulers may have behaved arrogantly with the support of the British authorities; but now they must realize that their authority issues from the people. I made a special mention of Kashmir because at the moment our eyes are fixed on it. But this applies to all the native States.

I talked at such length in order that the Congress may continue to belong to the people and the people may continue in the Congress fold, i.e., they may follow the Congress discipline. If we start having internal strife, the Congress is going to perish. If you do not approve of the decision of the Working Committee you can frankly say so at the next A.I.C.C. meeting. I have no intention to attend the session. I will attend if I am invited. But who is going to listen to my solitary voice? After all you are the people. You can convey it to the Congress in a civil manner whether or not you approve of what it has done.

Now it becomes the duty of the Congress to give up what has been granted as Pakistan and make its best efforts in the portion that remains with it. Let the people in Pakistan go ahead of the Congress in their efforts to bring progress to their land. If this happens the two can live in amity and happiness.

In the end Gandhiji repeated his appeal to Jinnah Saheb and called upon him to invite the Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and all others to come to a settlement and spare the Viceroy the trouble and the Congress leaders the needless running around. He appealed to Jinnah to build a Pakistan where the Gita could be recited side by side with the Koran, and the temple and the gurudwara would be given the same respect as the mosque, so that those who had been opposing Pakistan till now would be sorry for their mistake and would only sing praises of Pakistan.

28. Hindu Mahasabha Reacts to the Partition Plan

Resolution passed at the All India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha meeting, 7–8 June 1947

All India Hindu Mahasabha Papers (hereafter AIHM Papers), File No. 162, NMML

The All India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha met on the 7th June at 5 p.m. and on the 8th June '47 at 2 p.m. Mr. L.B. Bhopatkar presided ...

Dr. S.P. Mookherjee, in his speech, made an appeal, for accepting the main resolution which was carried by large majority. The resolutions [sic] run as follows:—

I. The codinal [sic] principle of the Hindu Mahasabha [has] always been the unity and integrity of India and under no circumstances could the Hind Hindu Mahasabha be a party to the vivisection of India in any shape or form. This Committee deeply deprecates that the
Indian National Congress, after having given solemn assurance to the Hindu electorates that it stood by the unity of India and would oppose the disintegration of India, has betrayed the country by agreeing to the partition of India without a referendum. The Committee declares that Hindus are not bound by this commitment of the Congress. It reiterates that India is one and indivisible and that there will never be peace unless and until the separated areas are brought back into the Indian Union and made integral parts there of.

The Committee considers it its duty to warn the Hindus and unless they are more careful and vigilant in future and take immediate and effective steps to build up a real and powerful Hindu State, not only will their interests under the new proposed arrangements be unsafe but they may lose even what is left to them of India.

II. While this Committee recognize that the partition of Bengal and Punjab will rescue millions of Hindus and Sikhs from the clutches of the Muslim League and which was called for and inevitably irrespective of the integrity or division of India, it is strongly of the opinion that the tentative allocation of territories of the Hindus and Muslims in Bengal and Hindu-cum-Sikhs in the Punjab is unjust and unfair to the non-Muslims and strongly urges that in view of the economic, religious and cultural interests of the communities concerned the Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab and Hindus in Bengal are entitled to claim considerable additional territories.

III. This Committee demands that the same principle on which referendum is proposed in respect of Sylhet in Assam, be adopted with respect to Hindu majority areas in Sind and the Chittagong Hill Tracts in East Bengal.

This Committee urges the Constituent Assembly to devise a constitution of India with strong and powerful Centre with residuary powers vested in the centre, with joint electorates and no weightage in any shape or form. This Committee advises and appeal[s] to the Indian States to join the Indian Union without any delay.

IV. In view of the fact that the principle of partition has been accepted both for Bengal and the Punjab and the communal Ministry in Bengal has been pursuing a policy detrimental to the culture and interests of the Hindus, this Committee urges the Viceroy to immediately dissolve the League Ministry in Bengal and to promulgate Section 93 of the Government of India Act pending the appointment of two Regional Ministries, without which the free exercise of suffrage on the partition issue will be difficult.

Inasmuch as millions of Hindus and Sikhs will remain outside Indian Union, it will be the sacred duty and responsibility of this union, and indeed, of every Hindu living in Hindustan, to afford effective protection to them. It should be definitely declared that any torture or oppression of the Hindus in Hindu minority areas, shall be treated as an act of hostility against the Indian Union and shall be dealt with as such.

The Committee resolves that the 3rd of July next be observed as a Day of Protest throughout India by holding peaceful Hartal and complete suspension of business and public meetings wherever possible.
29. Congress’ Failure to Uphold ‘Akhand Hindustan’

Letter from the President, Students’ Association, Ghazipur, to J.B. Kripalani, President, Indian National Congress, 8 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. CL-10/ 1946–7, NMML

New Delhi

Sir,

It is with heart laden with profound sorrow that I, on behalf of the association, proceed to convey to you our stern and bitter feelings over the proposed acceptance of the H.M.G.’s announcement of the June 3 about the vivisection of India by some of the top Congress leaders. In doing so, first of all, it becomes your bounden duty to drop the words, ‘Indian National’ from ‘Indian National Congress’ and to put any other prefix instead, signifying the nature of your organization—would-be. We feel pity to see the masses faith in the Congress shaken beyond measure as a result of the imprudent action of the Congress in the matter of its dealings with the British Plan. We are further devoured by curiosity to see the glory of the Congress crumbling down by deviating from its policy of ‘Akhand Hindustan’ which this national organization had the credit of upholding it till now. Our struggle against the division of India of any sort appears to be proving futile and the value of ‘Akhand Hindustan’ paling into insignificance.

This country, which cannot said to be divisible geographically, socially or economically, is going to undergo a division simply by the constant threats and haughtiness of Mr. Jinnah who seems to be emerging out victorious in his efforts merely by being resolute and determined in his aim without making any sacrifice for the cause of the Muslims. While on the other hand, the Indian National Congress appears to be failing in its aim ignominiously because it struggled hard for a long period of about 60 years, met with a crop of ups and downs and made enormous sacrifices at the altar of country’s freedom. The contrast is striking. I mean to say that the Congress is yielding to empty and unreasonable threats of Mr. Jinnah for the latter’s own interests.

The achievement of Pakistan however truncated means the establishment of an autocratic rule under Mr. Jinnah, who had already said to take the help of the Britishers in his administrative services. Thus the plan makes no contribution at all to the maintenance of peace but with the presence of the imperialist Britishers, it may give rise to the existence of a retaliatory position between Hindustan and Pakistan. That is to say that our cherished idea of the reunion of Hindustan and Pakistan completely falls to the ground. Further a objection may be raised in this connection that with the change of time the Hindus and the Muslims cannot live together but this objection is overruled if we turn back the pages of history where these two communities lived together so happily irrespective of caste, creed or religion. It is only the Britishers who have wrought such a great havoc. It must be the foremost aim of the Indian National Congress to establish a free and undivided India for which it has fought in the past. The strict adherence to this aim will eventually pave the way to success resulting in the attainment of our cherished goal.

Keeping the above facts in view, I, on behalf of the association, most earnestly appeal to you to see that the plan is in no way allowed to be passed by the Congress Working Committee and is rejected outright in the interest of the people of India.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd/- President, Students’ Association,

Ghazipur.
30. League Council Reacts to 3 June Plan

Resolution passed by the Council of the All India Muslim League held at Delhi, 9 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/156, Acc. No. 3470, NAI

The council of the All India Muslim League after full deliberation and consideration of the Statement of His Majesty’s Government dated the 3rd of June 1947 laying down the plan of transfer of power to the peoples of India, notes with satisfaction that the Cabinet Mission’s Plan of May 16th, 1946 will not be proceeded with and has been abandoned. The only course open is the partition of India as now proposed in HMG’s Statement of the 3rd June.

The Council of the All India Muslim League is of the opinion that the only solution of India’s problem is to divide India into two—Pakistan and Hindustan. On that basis, the Council has given its most earnest attention and consideration to HMG’s Statement. The Council is of the opinion that although it cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab or give its consent to such partition, it has to consider HMG’s Plan for the transfer of power as a whole.

The Council, therefore, hereby resolves to give full authority to the President of the All India Muslim League. Qaid-e-Azam M.A. Jinnah, to accept the fundamental principles of the plan as a compromise and to leave it to him, with full authority, to work out all the details of the Plan in an equitable and just manner with regard to carrying out the complete division of India on the basis and fundamental principles embodied in HMG’s Plan including Defence, Finance, Communications etc.

The Council further empowers the president, Qaid-e-Azam M.A. Jinnah to take all steps and decisions which may be necessary in connection with and relating to the plan.

The Council of the All India Muslim League met on June 9th, 1947, at the Imperial Hotel in New Delhi at 10.30 a.m. under the Presidentship of Mr. M.A. Jinnah. After the recitation of some portions of the Quran by Maulana Abdul Hamid of Badaun, U.P., Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan asked the permission of the House to pass a condolence on the deaths of Begum Mohd. Ali, ... Mr. Ismail.

After this, Mr. Jinnah read out portions of HMG’s plan and said that the plan was being placed before the house so that if the house wanted to accept it, it may do so otherwise not. He added: ‘Those who want to have any points regarding this plan explained, are permitted to put questions’. Whereupon, the representatives from Orissa, the U.P., Bengal and Bombay questioned Mr. Jinnah regarding the powers of the proposed Boundary Commission and regarding the safeguarding of the rights of Muslims in Muslim minority provinces. In reply to these questions, Mr. Jinnah said that he could disclose nothing beyond his personal opinion that the safeguarding of the rights of Muslim minorities would depend upon the future relations between Hindustan and Pakistan.

The house requested Mr. Jinnah to permit the members, if any of them wanted to do so, to move a resolution regarding the acceptance or rejection of the plan. Mr. Jinnah said that the question of moving resolutions and debating upon them did not arise at all. He added that the question before the house was whether it wanted to accept the plan as a whole, and that if the house was agreeable a unanimous resolution, embodying the acceptance of the plan could be accepted by the house. The house agreed to this.
Speeches

Prof. Abdul Rahim (Bengal): He strongly opposed the resolution and said that the plan would ruin the Muslims of India, that as a result of which there could never be any lasting peace in the country, that Muslims would not benefit by it and that the proposed division of Bengal and the Punjab will always give rise to mutual quarrels between Hindus and Muslims. He added that the Eastern Bengal and the Western Punjab would be economically and industrially weak, and that the total income of Western Bengal is three times that of Eastern Bengal and went on to say that the eastern Punjab contained the best districts in the province. He exhorted the Muslims to continue to fight for their original conception of Pakistan and demanded that the plan be totally rejected. He said that the truncated Pakistan, which was being offered now, had been offered by the Congress leaders even four years back and that if the Muslims were willing to accept it now there was no sense in all the bloodshed which had taken place. He wound up his speech by a fervent appeal to the house to reject the plan.

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla, Premier of Sind: He dilated upon the existing internecine quarrels in the country and said that Pakistan was being offered in such a truncated form to them that there was no life left in what they were getting and added that from the geographical point of view the best and most prosperous portion of Pakistan had been taken away. He added: I have three main objects before me, on the basis of which I appeal to you to accept this plan: (1) that because of international considerations, the Britishers are quitting India and that they are bound to hand over power to some one before leaving the country. It is clear that after the British had left, we could have battled with an armed and powerful nation and wrested Pakistan, because it is not possible for any power to keep ten million men subdued for any considerable time, but there could be no guarantee that even then you could have obtained the full recognition of your demand even after bloodshed on a much more extensive scale. (2) On a matter of principle you can get only those areas in which Muslims are in a majority. You may acquire these areas either today or tomorrow after a fight. Even in the original resolution demanding Pakistan, it had been laid down that the Muslim majority areas should be included in the proposed Muslim State. This is true that the Pakistan which is being offered to you today is weak but you must remember that you have been acknowledged as a separate nation. Such a nation will be sovereign in its own country, and will solve its own problems. I wish to assure you on behalf of Sind that we have been working very hard to bring about numerous improvements in the province and vast constructive schemes are under consideration, as a result of which our province will soon become prosperous. I would also request that if any of you have any constructive ideas, you may let us know about them. We will rapidly industrialize our country and will provide a haven of refuge to Muslim traders and craftsmen who would choose to migrate into Sind from the Muslim minority provinces. We have removed the consideration of Sindhi or non-Sindhi from our province and we will see that Sind will soon progress far.'

Zahir-ul-Hasan Lari (U.P.): The plan which has been put before us is extremely disappointing. We should never accept it and if we accept it will be a major catastrophe. In our Bombay session, we had rejected the Cabinet Mission’s proposal only because the Congress had opposed grouping and had not accepted it in the sense in which the Cabinet Mission intended it to be implemented. The Congress has thereby insisted that Assam should not be included in the Pakistan and we never wanted that Assam should be separated from Pakistan. When we have once rejected the Cabinet Mission plan on this basis, the question now arises whether today we will get Assam according to HMG’s plan or not. I want to tell the house that not only not
we get Assam but also that large portions of the Punjab and Bengal have been divided and they will be lost of [six] Pakistan, which will greatly weaken the proposed new State. In fact, the British Government have not accepted even one of our demands; they have all along tried to placate the Hindus. For instance, in the Gandhi Jinnah talks, in Rajagopalachariar's formula, in Dr Rajendra Prasad's book 'Divided India' a division of the country has been proposed on the same lines which have now been embodied in HMG's proposal. The Pakistan which is being offered to us will be from every point of view so weak that we will find ourselves in serious difficulties.

My second objection is that if on a matter of principle it is correct that Bengal and the Punjab be divided then the Muslims who oppose the Congress Government in Bombay Presidency and the U.P. should be similarly given a separate homeland, because they in numbers far exceed the Sikh community. We undertake to transfer population in such a way that we should establish our majority in all the districts which may be given to us in a divided U.P. The fact remains that the British Government has only tried to please the Congress. When we rejected the Cabinet Mission's proposal, it did not seem to affect the British Government, but as soon as the Congress demanded the division of Bengal and the Punjab, HMG's Government immediately brought out a proposal embodying their demands. This has happened in spite of the fact that some responsible Hindu leaders of Bengal have been agitating to retain the unity of Bengal. The Britishers have, however, chosen to disregard their agitation only because they are anxious to propitiate the Congress. The Muslim nation is being trifled with. If you were willing at last to accept this mutilated Pakistan, I put you the question why did you create so much agitation in the country; you could have arrived at a compromise with the Congress on the basis of what are you willing to accept now. The Britisher has befooled you. What safeguards are there for the protection of the rights of Muslims in minority provinces. Should we now form two Muslim Leagues, one for Pakistan and the other for Hindustan. I declare that the Mussalmans of Hindustan will establish a separate Muslim League and with the strength of the sacrifices on the basis of which they have helped you to get Pakistan, they will protect their rights themselves. I strongly oppose this plan.

Ghulam Ali (Amritsar): I oppose the ideas put forward by my predecessor, Mr. Lari, who is apprehensive about the safeguarding of the rights of Muslim minorities. I can quote the example of our Prophet who entered into even more unequal agreements with the infidels. This was opposed by the Muslims of that period but our Prophet had agreed to the compromise because on the basis of that agreement Muslims had been recognized as a nation. The plan which is before us for consideration should be viewed in the same light. Though this plan is defective and though it contains many features obnoxious to the Muslims, it is good in the sense that Muslims have been recognized as a nation and that they would get the opportunity to rule as a sovereign body over the country. Mr. Lari should not be so apprehensive, like him I also belong to a Muslim minority area and am a resident of Amritsar. In spite of this, I am not weak. The situation today is that if the Sikhs murder a few Muslims, we immediately take revenge and kill more Sikhs. I assure you that we have the best soldiers with us, we were only short of arms which has now been made good by the grant of Pakistan to us. I assure you that the Pakistan Government would always be ready to avenge wrongs of Muslims anywhere in India, and, if necessary, the Muslims will cross their frontiers to take revenge. We do not at all care for the portion of the Punjab which has been cut away from Pakistan; as soon as the British quit that area will either be voluntarily evacuated or it will be completely destroyed. I assure
you that we will take the full revenge for all the operations which are being perpetrated on
Punjabi Muslims by Hindu States, give us only the opportunity to breathe in the atmosphere of
freedom once. When we have proved ourselves irresistible though we are in bondage, nothing
would be able to stop us once we are free. I appeal to you to accept this plan.

Mazhar Ismail (Madras): I belong to a Muslim minority province. We have undergone
sacrifices for the achievement of Pakistan and if Qaid-e-Azam thinks it proper that we should
accept the plan, then we can have no objection to it. There is no communal quarrel in our
province. The Moplas of Madras are organising themselves and there is no cause for worry
on account of the Muslims of Madras.

Pir Sahib Zakoori Shariff (Frontier); I belong to the Frontier and I wish to speak to you
on behalf of the Muslims of that province and on behalf of the Pir of Manki, who is sitting
here. We are Pathans and are an intensely practical people. We do not know how to deliver
long speeches like you do. We prefer to act. When I met Qaed-e-Azam after the League had
been beaten in the elections by the Khan Brothers, he told me that he was ashamed of us. On
hearing these words, I dared not show my face to Qaed-e-Azam and started working in the
Frontier for all I was worth. In the beginning, the Khan brothers wielded much influence in the
Frontier and we considered the Congress as our organisation while we thought that the Muslim
League was a body consisting of the creatures of the British, but when we saw the atrocities
which the Congress perpetrated on the Muslims, we were disillusioned and the spell which the
Khan brothers had cast over us was broken. Even today we hate Congressmen so intensely
that the more propaganda they do in the N.W.F.P. the surer we shall be of our victory in the
referendum. We have to make sure that in the referendum, the Muslims of N.W.F.P. side with
the League. My brothers here told me that the Hindus would try to corrupt the Pathans and
would buy votes. Perhaps my friends do not know the Pathans yet. The Britishers poured money
into the N.W.F. and tried to corrupt the Pathans but the Pathans are still bitter enemies of the
British. Let the Hindus spend their money, we would accept the money yet we would vote for
the League and we would be successful in the referendum. We know now what the Muslim
League is and what the reality of the Congress is. The Muslim minorities should have no fears.
The Pathans are true to their worth and considered it a matter of pride to be able to sacrifice
their life for the sake of their brothers. Today when Pakistan is being founded and when this
session is being held in this room, I have come to make a promise to my brothers. I promise
and declare that on the slightest hint from Qaed-e-Azam I would prepare an army of armed
Pathans hundred thousand strong. They will be such brave soldiers that their names would be
written in golden letters in the history of the world. I again assure the Muslim minorities that
they should have no fears. It is premature to talk, but I have no doubt that the Pathan of the
Frontier will translate into action whatever is in his heart now. We shall only need your moral
support. We were prepared to shed our blood for the Congress, which was a foreign body,
what would we not do to establish a Muslim kingdom and to establish the rule of our own race.

Maulvi Abdul Rahman (C.P): On behalf of the Muslims I request you to accept HMG’s
plan. Even if the defects, which have been pointed out by the previous speaker, are embodied
in the plan we should have no fears on that account. After all, we will have more land than
what they have in Afghanistan, Iran, Arabia, Iraq, Yaman and Palestine. We have more wealth
than they have. We have industry and agriculture, therefore if those countries can be happy
and free, I have no doubt that Pakistan would also be prosperous and free. I appeal that this
plan be accepted.
Abdul Hamid (Assam): I belong to a Muslim minority province and according to the new plan I will be a resident of Hindustan; yet I support the plan. If, according to this plan, the majority of the Muslims become free, I prefer to remain as a slave. I urge that the plan be accepted.

The meeting adjourned till 7.30 p.m.

The proceedings were resumed at 7.30 p.m. under the Presidency of Mr. M.A. Jinnah and Mr. Jinnah, in the course of his speech, stated that various points of view in favour of and against the plan had been put before the house. 16 speakers have yet been left out. If you want to decide the issue today, we will have to stop the debate; otherwise the session will have to continue tomorrow. I ask your opinion on this point. Upon this, the house gave a majority vote in favour of closing the debate. Following this, the proposal for the acceptance of the plan was put to vote. 8 men, including Maulana Hasrat Mohani, voted against the acceptance of the plan; while the remaining 460 voted for it. The plan was accepted. Therefore, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan read out a resolution and obtained the approval of the President. According to this resolution, the plan was accepted under protest and Mr. Jinnah was authorised to take further necessary action.

In the end, Mr. Jinnah addressed the Muslim minority provinces and declared that it was only because of their sacrifices that Pakistan is being realised today. He said that the Muslim majority provinces had been oblivious of the issue. Now it is time that the provincial distinctions of Sindhi, Punjabi, etc. should be removed and the Muslims should pull their weight together. He said that his work had been completed, and that he had mainly to get a separate kingdom and separate army and a separate country for the Muslims of India. The secret of your progress lies in unity.

At this stage, some Khaksars who were said to be about 20 in numbers, attempted to enter the Imperial Hotel. The Police and the Muslim National Guards stopped them.

31. General Opinion Is Not with Me

Extract from M.K. Gandhi's speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 9 June 1947

CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 117-18

...Lately I have been receiving a large number of letters attacking me. A friend points out how ineffective were my words when I said that vivisection of the country would be the vivisection of my own body and calls upon me strongly to oppose the partition of the country. But I do not think I am in any way to blame in this matter. When I said that the country should not be divided I was confident that I had the support of the masses. But when the popular view is contrary to mine, should I force my own view on the people? I have repeatedly said that we should never compromise with falsehood and wickedness. And today I can say with confidence that if all the non-Muslims were with me, I would not let India be divided. But I must admit that today the general opinion is not with me, and so I must step aside and stay back. The lesson which we have been trying to learn for the past 30 years and which we now tend to forget is that only through truth and non-violence can we triumph over untruth and violence. Impatience can be overcome only with patience and excitement with calm. Today we cringe before our own shadow. There is nothing in common between me and those who want me to oppose Pakistan except that we are both opposed to the division of the country. There is a fundamental difference between their opposition and mine. How can love and enmity go together?
Another friend writes that this Viceroy is even more dangerous that the other Viceroys; that whereas the others crushed us at the point of the sword this one trapped the Congress with his smooth talk. I can never agree with this opinion. The correspondent has unwittingly and unknowingly praised the Viceroy and has debunked the intelligence and efficiency of the Congress Ministers. Why can he not understand the simple thing that the general opinion, that is, the opinion of those who are fit to hold any opinion, is supporting the Congress leaders? The leaders are not fools. They too find the partition repugnant, but as representatives of the country they cannot go against public opinion. They derive their power from the people. The situation would have been different if the correspondent had the power. And under no circumstances would it be proper to criticise the Viceroy when the leaders are elected representatives of the people or when our own people betray the country. The saying 'as the king so the subjects' is not so apt as its reverse: 'As the subjects so the king'.

32. Pakistan of Little Use to UP

Extract from a letter from F. Wylie to Louis Mountbatten, 9 June 1947


SECRET GOVERNOR'S CAMP

U.P. 83

... 2. You will wish to know, first of all, the local reactions to the 'plan'. I have not heard enough yet to be definite but so far, they seem to be very favourable indeed. Our Muslims had been getting very tough lately. They took a thoroughly belligerent line over our Panchayat Raj bill (para 4 of my letter of May 18th); there was much talk of fights to the death for Pakistan, much marching and counter-marching of National Guards, while communal tension was at a dangerous pitch all over the Province. I have no news from the districts yet, but our Leaguers in the Legislature have suddenly begun to coo like doves. Half a dozen of them have been to see me lately about various local matters; they were all smiles; seemingly the whole attitude now is that in the U.P. we must forget the past and become all brothers together. This is of course excellent and I have been careful to endorse every word so spoken. The truth is that, as I have often pointed out in these letters, Pakistan is of little use to the U.P. Our Muslim League leaders too are all right wing people and the last thing they want is real trouble. They have been pretending to show their teeth during the last months, I think, under Jinnah's orders. It had to be got across that the Muslim League everywhere was in favour of Pakistan and that nothing less than a 'national home' for the Muslims would meet the case. Now that the said home is almost certainly to be provided, our Leaguers quite obviously feel that they can drop out of the fight and look after their own local and more personal interests. Whether they will be able to persuade our urban and usually very low class Muslim populations to take the same line remains to be seen. Savage instincts have been aroused—on both sides—which it will take some time to still. Nevertheless I am very hopeful that this Province will stay quiet provided that events elsewhere do not upset us unduly. When I write next, I shall be able to give you a more accurate account of what the Province feels about the plan. For the moment the above is all that I feel able to commit myself to.
33. Public Opinion Is Most Powerful
M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 10 June 1947
_CWMG_, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 123-6

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Whatever I have said in connection with the decision of Bengal, I have not levelled allegations against any party. I have only repeated what I have heard. Who would not be happy if Bengal was spared partition and could remain one undivided whole? But I cannot join hands with anyone who talks of preserving unity through falsehood, fraud and bribery. Nothing need be said if no Bengali—either Hindu or Muslim—has done it. Why should anyone wear the cap if it does not fit?

But people do entertain suspicion that something wrong is being perpetrated in Bengal. Those who told me this also gave me their names and addresses. But I do not think it proper to disclose those here. If they have been telling me falsehoods, it is bad and they should be punished. But who am I to punish anybody? I have not the power to punish anyone.

But I have one great thing with me and that is public opinion. Public opinion has tremendous power. In our country the significance of this expression has not yet been fully realised. In the English language, however, the expression has a forceful connotation. Even the king is helpless in the face of what the English call ‘public opinion’. Even the redoubtable Mr. Churchill, scion of a great family, a powerful orator and erudite scholar—certainly not an ignoramus like me—could not save his office in spite of all his achievements. It only means that public opinion in England is highly awake, no one can do anything in opposition to it.

In India public opinion is not as vigilant as in England. Had it been so a worthless fellow like me would not have presumed to become a mahatma. And even after I became a Mahatma everything that I did would not have been put up with. As it is, in India anyone who is called a mahatma ceases to be answerable to the public, whatever—right or wrong—he might do.

Tolstoy had been a great warrior, but when he realised that war was not a good thing he gave up his life in trying to put an end to war. He has said that the greatest power on earth is public opinion and it is generated by truth and non-violence.

That is what I am trying to do. But nothing is going to come of my efforts unless public opinion in India is informed with courage and truthfulness.

But that is not the case today. The impression I have is that we do not want the Dominion Status that is to be granted to us on August 15. The reason is the public opinion that has been forming over the years in favour of complete independence. This talk of Dominion Status pricks the country. The feeling is justified and yet not quite right. It is not right because we are not aware of the potentialities of Dominion Status. First, with the coming of Dominion Status the British will quit India in two months. Secondly, we can shake off the Dominion Status whenever we want. Of course if we persist in our madness others are hardly to blame. Anyway, to return to the subject of public opinion, if it stays vigilant all will be well. If through public opinion, without any bribery, without any corrupt methods being adopted, Bengal decides to remain one, then it is well and good. But we have been cowards and slaves so long that we are unable to resist the temptation to do ignoble acts.

But if one has not acted wickedly and still people level charges against one, why should one feel unhappy? For instance, there are many high-placed officers who do not become corrupt, who remain clean; and yet allegations of corruption are made against them. This does not perturb them. If someone calls me a wicked and corrupt man, do I have to weep? Do I become
wicked merely because someone calls me so? I do admit that false allegations are sometimes made against people out of malice and cowardice. We should not talk ill of anyone.

We should see good points of people. If we want to be free let us not find fault with others, let us look at their better side and try to encourage them.

I now assume that the division of India is a fact and the Congress has been forced to accept it. But if the partition cannot make us happy, why should it make us unhappy? Only we should not let our hearts be sundered. We must save our hearts from being fragmented. Otherwise Jinnah Saheb’s claim that we are two nations will stand vindicated. I have never believed in it. When we are descended from the same ancestors, can our nationality change simply from our changing our religion? When Sind, the Punjab and maybe the Frontier Province too go to Pakistan will they no more belong to us? I for one do not regard even Britain as an alien country, why should I then regard Pakistan as another nation?

It may be said that I belong to India and in India to the Bombay Presidency, there again to Gujarat, in Gujarat, particularly to Kathiawar, where again to a small town of Porbandar. But because I belong to Porbandar I also belong to the whole of India, that is, I am also a Punjabi and if I go to the Punjab I shall live there regarding it as my home and if I am killed I shall accept death.

I am happy that Jinnah Saheb has said that Pakistan will not belong to an emperor, but that it will belong to the people and the minorities too will get a square deal there. I would only like to add that he should put into practice what he says. He should also impress this upon his followers and tell them to forget all talk of war. We too will not think of suppressing the minorities in our part of the land. Even the handful of Parsis in India shall be our co-sharers. It would be bad if the Hindus and Muslims joined hands and threatened to annihilate the Parsis saying they were drink-addicts. The Parsis are my friends and I tell them that if they do not give up drinking they will kill themselves. But we shall not kill them. In the same manner Hindus and Sikhs should be protected in the Punjab. The Muslims should treat them kindly and in a brotherly way and reassure them. If the Muslims start tyrannizing over them, the Hindus and Sikhs should tell them, without fear of death, that they will not accept Islam under duress nor partake of [beef]. The Hindus should not think that they have become a new community which cannot accommodate Muslims. We are in a majority in this part of India. We must enlighten the majority and work with courage. Courage does not reside in the sword. We will become truthful, we will become servants of God and, if need be, we will lay down our lives. When we do this India and Pakistan will not be two separate entities and the artificial partition would become meaningless. If we fight among ourselves the charge of our being two nations will be proved. Let us all therefore pray to God that although India and Pakistan have become separate nations our hearts may not be divided.

34. Jinnah Must Take a Clear Stand

Extracts from a letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Louis Mountbatten, 10 June 1947
SPC, Vol. IV, pp. 147–8

New Delhi

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Perhaps you have already received a copy of the resolution passed by the All India Muslim League Council. In case you have not. I am sending a copy for your ready reference.
2. You will notice that the resolution is contradictory and there is studied evasion of straightforward acceptance. At one place, it says it cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab or give its consent to such partition. At another place, it says it accepts the fundamental principles of the Plan of 3 June as a compromise. You have to judge the resolution in the light of the speeches at the Council meeting. I have been able to obtain a copy of the proceedings through a source of the Intelligence Bureau. I am enclosing a copy of the same. From these proceedings it is quite clear that the Pakistan of the statement of 3 June would merely be a springboard for action against Hindustan, and that there is no possibility of a settlement on this basis. The position is such as is bound to fill us with grave apprehension.

3. In these circumstances, unless Mr. Jinnah issues a clear statement accepting the Plan, there are bound to be difficulties at the AICC meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

35. Jinnah Must Accept the Plan in Its Entirety
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 10 June 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 209, NMML

17 York Road,
New Delhi

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have just seen the text of the resolution of the All-India Muslim League. I am afraid this resolution is not at all satisfactory. It begins by saying that the Council 'notes with satisfaction that the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946, will not be proceeded with and has been abandoned'. It is true that this Plan has been modified to a large extent. But, as a matter of fact, we are still functioning in many ways in accordance with that Plan. Thus our Constituent Assembly has been meeting and will continue to meet under that Plan. The Muslim League members from certain Provinces are also now joining the Constituent Assembly. Thus it is incorrect to say that the Plan has been abandoned, and indeed the Muslim League is itself going to conform to it to some extent.

2. The second paragraph of the Council’s resolution is the most important one. It states that the Council approves of the division of India into two parts, and it proceeds to say that the Council cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab or give its consent to such partition, though it has to consider H.M.G.'s Plan as a whole. Thus the Council has definitely rejected one of the basic provisions in the new Scheme.

3. In the third paragraph it is said that the Council accepts the fundamental principles of the Plan as a compromise. It is not clear what they consider the fundamental principles to be. They may consider the fundamental principle to be one of division of India and not of the division of Bengal and the Punjab. Whatever this may be, it is accepted as a compromise. Of course it is a compromise, but the point is whether it is accepted as a settlement or not. The reports of the speeches delivered at the Council meeting lead to the conclusion that this was looked upon as a step only to be utilised for enforcement of further claims.

4. The Council has given full authority to its President, Mr. Jinnah to take all steps and decisions which may be necessary in connection with and relating to the Plan. The position thus
Partition Award and After

is this:—The Council itself has not accepted the Plan as a settlement but has given authority to
the President to do so if he so chooses. This is leaving matters where they were. The least that
can be done now is for Mr. Jinnah to accept the Plan in its entirety as a settlement on behalf of
the All-India Muslim League. Unless this is done clearly and in writing, there is every likelihood
of difficulties arising in the near future. We have had vague resolutions of the Muslim League
in the past which were capable of more than one interpretation and many of our problems
have been due to this fact. Very soon, as you know, the All-India Congress Committee will be
meeting, and the fact that the Council of the Muslim League has not clearly accepted the Plan
is sure to be pointed out and will affect people’s decisions. I trust that before that happens, Mr.
Jinnah will express his full agreement with H.M.G.’s Scheme as a settlement of our communal
problems and that this will be done in writing. Unless this is done the presumption will be that
he does not wish to commit himself to the Plan and does not wish to treat it as a settlement.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd/-) Jawaharlal Nehru

36. ‘Strong Centre’
Editorial in The Tribune, 10 June 1947

Now that the Cabinet Mission Plan of May 16 has been scrapped and the country is going to be
divided into Hindustan and Pakistan, the demand for a strong and powerful centre for the Indian
Union is gaining momentum. One of the most glaring defects in the May 16 plan was that it
envisaged a weak and anaemic centre with residuary powers vesting in autonomous provinces.
In spite of the Congress advocating a strong centre it had agreed to the Mission’s Plan simply
to placate Mr. Jinnah. With the announcement of the new British plan, things have absolutely
changed; and today the Congress can revert to its original position that, in the interests of India
as a whole, the centre should be a strong and dynamic centre. The All-India Committee of the
Hindu Mahasabha, which is very critical about the new British scheme inasmuch as it affects the
integrity and unity of this great land, has also called upon the Constituent Assembly ‘to evolve
a constitution of India with a strong and powerful centre,’ which should be given all residuary
powers. This view is generally shared by all sections of public opinion, for these sections feel
that India’s political, military and economic interest imperatively demand that she should have
a well-knit and powerful centre. There may be some difficulty in devising such a centre in view
of the fact that certain States, which have joined or are likely to join the Constituent Assembly,
may not agree to hand over residuary and other powers to it—powers which the provinces
may agree to concede. If this difficulty arises and the States take up the definite position that
they are prepared to give only a limited number of powers to the centre—powers that have
been conceded under the Cabinet Mission’s plan—some sort of a formula can be devised by
which the States can be treated on a different footing from that on which the provinces are
treated. Certainly it is not beyond the capacity of statesmanship to evolve such a formula. The
real need is that the Union Centre should be a living centre, making India prosperous and
powerful, agriculturally, industrially, economically and politically.

* * *
37. ‘Mountbatten Award and After’

Extracts from Political Resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, 10-20 June 1947
File No. CPI-116, Archives on Contemporary History, JNU

The Mountbatten Award does not give India real independence but is the culmination of a double faced imperial policy which, while making concessions to the national demand to transfer power, sets in motion disruptive and reactionary forces to disrupt the popular upsurge, obstruct the realisation of real independence, throttle the growth of democracy and destroy the unity and integrity of India.

BRITISH IMPERIAL AIMS

The growing upsurge of the various sections of the Indian people, the States’ people’s struggles in State after State, the gigantic wave of working-class strikes and peasant actions, the brave anti-imperialist demonstrations of students and the militant mood of the armed forces brought the imperialists face to face with the unprecedented strength of the national liberation movement.

In addition, British imperialism emerged greatly weakened politically and economically out of World War II. Its main imperialist rival, the United States, vastly strengthened in the war, threatened to sweep it out of its traditional imperial bases.

At home, the British Labour movement would not back the reconquest of India. All over the world, democratic opinion, immensely strengthened with the defeat of Fascism, demanded Indian independence.

Hemmed in from all sides the imperialist rulers have been forced to enter into negotiations with Indian leadership, talk of agreeing to Indian independence while they seek new forms of indirect rule.

Disruption—Sole Purpose

This has been the central aim of British policy ever since the Cabinet Mission Plan and the Mountbatten Plan is its latest variant despite obvious differences. The sole purpose is to disrupt the people, strengthen reaction, get into alliance with it and thus make Indian independence formal.

(a) Control through partition. The British policy of divide and rule, exploiting Hindu-Muslim differences, produced an unprecedented civil war. It has now culminated in the final act of partition of the country into two hostile States which they plan to control by entering into new alliances with reactionary forces in the different partitioned areas.

The British imperialist aim is to influence the reactionary leadership of the League to keep Pakistan a British Dominion, to allow British capital to have almost undisputed sway over the undeveloped Muslim majority areas, to utilise the North-West as a strategic base and as a base for the domination of India as a whole.

British Big Business by entering into partnership with Indian Big Business aims to continue to dominate the economy of India.

- By its agreements with Indian capital it expects to preserve intact its capital and retain and extend its control over vital industries in India.
- It hopes to use its Indian partner as its tool to influence the military and foreign policy of the Indian Union despite its republican form.
It expects to achieve this aim through reliance on the great influence of Indian Big Business over the extreme Right-wing of the Congress leadership.

The Communist Party warns the Indian people that these are the new methods of control over India that British imperialism aims to employ in order to pressure its domination of India.

(b) **Utilisation of Princely puppets.** In the imperial plan for controlling the India of the future their traditional puppets the Indian Princes occupy a position of supreme importance.

**The Plan** by granting the Princes the option to stay away from the Indian Union gives them a weapon to drive a hard bargain with the forces of Indian nationalism, retain their feudal privileges as far as possible and act as a brake on the democratic movement of the entire people.

**British Fifth Column**

Thus imperialist strategy is one of putting checks and balances in the new State against the national leadership and attempting to circumscribe freedom and democracy to the utmost possible extent.

It is the selfish British imperial effort to place their fifth column inside all the organs of the Indian States of the future so that they can influence their foreign and internal policy in the interests of their British masters.

But at the same time British imperialism encourages in a subtle manner some of the big Princes to remain ‘independent’, in case they cannot get favourable terms from the Congress and the League, so that such ‘independent’ States can be used as its outposts on Indian soil.

**Part of Same Struggle**

The Communist Party is firmly of the opinion that the struggle against Princely autocracy is at once the struggle against British manoeuvres to limit and control Indian independence and democracy and for the full realisation of this independence and democracy....

**DISRUPTIVE PROCEDURE**

The procedure outlined by the Mountbatten Plan is as disruptive as the Plan itself and calculated to ensure its fulfillment through a series of British awards.

**The Boundaries Commission** and other Commissions dealing with financial and other aspects of division are only intended to worsen Hindu-Muslim-Sikh relations so that the British arbiters can give their awards intensifying the communal conflict still further.

**NATIONAL STRENGTH**

The very fact that British imperialism does not hope any longer to rule India directly is a recognition of the undisputed strength of the Indian freedom movement. Its desperate manoeuvres reveal not its strength but its utter weakness which has forced it to make important concessions to the urgent demands of the national liberation movement, such as, for example:

(a) Transfer of power to Congress and League Governments on Dominion Status basis by August 15.

(b) Assurance, though equivocal, that Britain shall not seek to establish independent relationship with the Princes.
(c) The Constituent Assemblies, despite their limitations, are free to declare for independence and make their own constitutions.

New Opportunities
The Communist Party is of the opinion that new opportunities for national advance have been won. The two popular Governments and Constituent Assemblies are the strategic weapons in the hands of the national leadership. It is the task of the national movement to ensure that they are used for the rapid realisation of national aims.

The concessions have not been voluntarily given by the British Government but extracted through the continuous pressure of the Congress leadership for transfer of power and the rising tide of popular struggles of the workers, peasants, students and States’ people, which grew despite British provoked civil war, despite all efforts to check and suppress them and which showed the new spirit of the people.

Last Desperate Step
The British Government agreed to these concessions because there was no way out for it and hence its desperate last step of partition.

The path forward is beset with difficulties. Sharp alternatives face the national movement and our entire people.

- EITHER imperialist manoeuvres succeed, exploiting all the fissures in our national movement, thus making Indian Independence formal—
  OR the national forces unitedly ensure that the Constituent Assemblies draft constitutions on the basis of independence of the country and the popular Governments firmly resist imperialist pressure to extort economic and military concessions.

- EITHER the Princes are appeased and the British fifth column is retained inside our country—
  OR with the support of the entire country and the popular Governments, the States’ people are actively aided to win their own liberation and bring one-third of our land under the banner of independent India.

In Whose Interests

- EITHER the anti-national and anti-democratic activities of the vested interests are checked and the task of nation-building is begun to ensure food, cloth, jobs, and a living wage, prospect of a new life to workers, peasants and the common people, by the joint efforts of the popular Governments and popular organisations—
  OR Indian economy gets mortgaged to British Big Business and the Indian people pass through bitter suffering.

- EITHER partitioned India grows into two hostile States with reaction strengthened within each—
  OR the progressive intervene and carry forward the struggle for reunion by demanding a complete break with British imperialism by their own States and friendly relations between them in mutual interest.

The Communist Party has consistently warned against the dangers of imperialist manoeuvres if the national movement fails to forge a united front.
• It warned against partition. It suggested recognition of the right of national self-determination and the immediate implementation of fundamental democratic measures to undermine communal separatism and to preserve and strengthen Indian unity on the basis of the unity and equality of every nationality.
• The Communist Party warned against the intrigues of vested interests with the popular Ministries. It demanded that the Ministries break the resistance of vested interests and meet the needs of the people.
• It warned against our political parties getting entangled in the imperialist plan and demanded a sharp break with it.

People's Vigilance

...The Communist Party is fully confident that imperialist intrigues can be decisively defeated. The allies of imperialism have a very narrow social basis. They are the enemies of our people who place profit and self-interest above patriotism and national interest. The very economic crisis that they are intensifying will move the common people against them. The national movement will not tolerate any compromise of real independence if it is kept fully informed and mobilised....

FOR BROADEST JOINT FRONT...

• Partition will not solve our problems. It will multiply them leading to conflicts on boundaries, border hostilities, oppression of minorities in each State, perpetuate all conflicts, strengthen reaction all round and thus create avenues for imperialist penetration.
• Appeasement of the Princes will only mean creating new centres of British political, economic and military influence inside our own country.
• Yielding to the pressure of vested interests will mean not only perpetuation but further strengthening of the imperialist stranglehold through new alliances and open our economy to the full impact of the fast-approaching world capitalist crisis.

We Pledge Anew

The Communist Party pledges itself anew to play its full part in carrying forward the battle for independence, democracy and unity to final victory in the new conditions....

Firm Initiative Needed

...The Communist Party appeals to all Left Organisations and elements to forget the partisanship and differences of the past and come together to fight the dangers and realize the possibilities of the present....

Constructive Effort

...In the coming critical transitional phase it will be the task of the Indian working-class and peasant movements to see that the fight for real independence, full democracy and Indian unity goes forward to final victory and they play their full part in forging the unity of the National Front shoulder to shoulder with all progressive and Left elements in our country....
38. **Gandhi Asks Jinnah What Kind of State Pakistan Would Be**

M.K. Gandhi's speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 11 June 1947

*CWMG*, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 73-5

**BROTHERS AND SISTERS,**

Although I have spoken to you about the impending division of Bengal, nevertheless I wish to speak to you about it again a third time. I have just received a letter. It is full of anger. As I have told you, anger is a kind of madness. The man who is a prey to anger loses all discrimination. The letter I received shows such anger. The writer says that I have caused great harm to Bengalis. In what way have I caused harm to Bengalis? I have said that I do not want that Bengal should be vivisected. It is true that I do not want that. If a just scheme were offered to us I would say that a Bengali is above all a Bengali, be he Hindu or Muslim or Christian. If he wants to uphold his mother tongue, uphold his country, who can interfere? I wish to tell you that even the Congress cannot interfere, nor can the League. It is very clear that if Bengal could remain united it would be a very good thing. But how is that to be? That is the question. If we wish to achieve something good but choose a method which is crooked we shall not reach our goal. If you adopt a wrong path and want to go east you will end up arriving in the west. We must therefore not choose a wrong path. We should take the right path. That is what I have been saying. But people get angry. I want to tell you that I stick to what I have been saying. I stand by what is right. If someone does not have right on his side, whether he is my brother or my son. I do not care. I therefore tell the Bengalis that if Bengal is to be divided it will be through their own decision and if Bengal is to remain united it will also be through them. So far nothing has happened. This much for Bengal.

But I have other matters brought to my attention, too. Today some friends from Campbellpur came to see me. They said that they were so far living happily there. They did not run away. But what were they to do? They are scared about what their plight would be in Pakistan and Campbellpur certainly would be included in Pakistan. I told them that whatever the situation might be in Pakistan they were after all living in India. If the map of India is divided in two, how can it affect them? I said, ‘You are brave people. You don’t fear anyone except God. Anyone who fears God need fear no one else in the world. I therefore cannot advise you to leave Campbellpur.’ They wanted to know how they could defend themselves if they remained there. I said I told the Hindus of Noakhali that they were not to move out from where they were. They wanted weapons. But what could they be doing with weapons? The Government had the weapons and if the Government could not protect them, they being in a minority, then the Government was incompetent. Such a Government should go and I told them to force such a Government to go. If a few Muslims are left behind here are they to be slaughtered and would the Government merely watch? Then the Government no longer remains a Government. It becomes a tyranny. And why should we live under a tyranny? We have been fighting the British for so many years. Must we now fall from the frying pan into the fire? Is it for this that we have undergone so much suffering, made so much noise and resorted to satyagraha and non-cooperation?

That will not be right. I said the same thing to the Muslims of Bihar. They said that I could talk in that way because I was a Mahatma, but they were traders and businesses and families and children to look after. I must show them a way. I said I was helpless. I could not change now in my old age.
What were they to say? They were good people and I was busy. I told them to go saying I could only advise them to be brave. I do not indulge in tall talk. Man is born to be brave. Man is not born to become cowardly or to become scared. Man is a part of God. He has in him the divine spark. I have not heard that a cow or a bullock or a horse partakes of the divine spark. It is true that as all creatures are creatures of God are more or less alike. But the difference between man and other creatures is that we do not say of the latter, as we can about men, that they have in them the divine spark. Then if we have the divine spark, is it so that we may become frightened of each other or is it so that we may love each other? So I tried to explain things to them. But how were they to understand?

Mr. Jinnah is doing something very big. Nobody had ever dreamt that in this day and age Pakistan would become a possibility. But today Pakistan is a reality. True, it has not yet come into being. But surely by the 15th of August it will be formed. When I think over the matter I tell myself that I should not grieve over it. The Congress says there was no alternative to division. Jinnah says that he will not rest till India is divided. So let there be division. But shall I throw up my hands and accept this division? I say that nobody can cut me into pieces. Therefore nobody can cut India into pieces. This is mere talk. I tell you that if you become truthful, then whether it is Pakistan or India or whatever other name you may choose, the task will be same. Who can tear asunder that which God has created one? But I can ask Mr. Jinnah what he intends to do with regard to those people. It is already agreed what parts are to be included in Pakistan. Campbellpur is so included. It cannot be shifted. What are the people there to do? Should they flee? Does he want that they should continue to live there? He says that all will get justice; that in Pakistan the same standard will apply to all and no one will be discriminated against merely on the ground that he is a Hindu or a Christian. He says that all will get the same justice.

Today my tongues, my words, have lost their power. But he still has that power. He is the ruler of Pakistan and nobody can deny it. So I ask the ruler of Pakistan, what he intends doing. He should make his intentions public. Let me now go a little further. Badshah Khan is a friend. Badshah Khan can go somewhere else. He can stay with Maulana Azad. He has a beautiful bungalow. He can eat there what he wants. He can put up with Jawaharlal. He has a huge mansion. It is not like my poor hut. And what would I offer him to eat? I cannot even provide meat. He agrees to take whatever I eat, cereals, a little fruit, and that is all. But he is happy with it and thus he is my friend. He is a fakir. Dr. Khan Saheb is his brother. Dr. Khan Saheb can do nothing without Badshah Khan’s help. Badshah Khan is a fakir. That is why he is ‘Badshah’ or king. He has become a king not through the sword but through love, through service. When I go there I never hear him called by any other name. It is here that he is called the Frontier Gandhi. There they do not even know Gandhi, to say nothing of Frontier Gandhi.

So Badshah Khan and others decided that there ought to be a referendum. Tempers have not yet cooled, for Pathans are hotblooded. What will be gained by a referendum? They will not all of them say that they want Pakistan or that they want Hindustan. Then there will be division among the Pathans. I should like to ask the leader of Pakistan if he wants a division among the Pathans. And will he compel one of the parts? Would it not be better for him instead to explain what Pakistan is?

Pakistan has been granted. The Congress has agreed, willingly or unwillingly. Now Punjab is to be divided, Bengal is to be divided. I tell you that it is in the hands of the leader of Pakistan to stop the division of the Punjab and Bengal. Why does he not say ‘I now have Pakistan.
Why do you fear? We have fought. Let us forget who has. I will not resort to a referendum.’ If Jinnah says that he will welcome all the Pathans, those who consider him their enemy and those whom he considers his enemies—the Khudai Khidmatgars, the Khan Brothers, the Hindus, the Sikhs, the Parsis and Christians—he will welcome all, then I will say that you lose nothing by remaining in Pakistan. Why should he not say this much? Why should he not say what shape Pakistan is going to take? If he says this everyone will be happy. Pakistan is not something imaginary. India is not something imaginary. I should ask the Congress also to explain. No poison must be spread. If poison continues to be spread, what will be the result? Then the Pakistan that has been formed will be a bad thing. The English will have gone, leaving the Indians, both Hindus and Muslims, to abuse them.

Pakistan was not inevitable. But when they saw that Hindus and Muslims could not make up their minds to work together in the Constituent Assembly, what could they do? Then they talked with both the parties and both agreed on Hindustan and Pakistan being separate entities. I am not concerned with what name you give it. But it should be done properly. If it is not done properly the poison will remain. I am sorry that Mountbatten has come today. He has not come with any wicked intention. But I have a fear that through him harm will come. Unless of course he stops doing what he must do, unless he pleads with the Congress, pleads with Mr. Jinnah, pleads with you and tries to satisfy everyone. But in this world nobody can please everybody. He who tries to please everybody always fails. This is the law of God. It is the experience of the whole world. So he cannot expect to please all. I would say that if the Congress is erring he should take it to task. He should say, ‘I have come here. I am an officer of the Navy and I like to talk frankly.’ He should say that what we do is not right, what the Congress does is not right. But why should we bother him? After all his dharma is different from ours. But why should brother fight against brother? Why now? When there was time we fought. We shed blood. What we were fighting for, we got.

I notice that Ibn Saud has sent a telegram to the Qaid-e-Azam. He says in it that he is not happy over what has happened. But he hopes that there will be peace in the world. The Qaid-e-Azam has said in reply that he also wants peace. But where is peace to come from? There is no peace in India today and if Hindus and Muslims continue to fight as enemies, how can there be peace? I shall say that all the telegrams addressed to me, all the anger directed at me, are futile. I say simply, where there is truth there is God. Where there is nonviolence, there is God. Where these are not, there is nothing.

I shall only say that Mr. Jinnah carries a great responsibility. He has to reassure the world. At any rate, he has to reassure those who are in Pakistan and those whom he wants to be in Pakistan. He has to draw them to him. If he cannot do so it is bad for India and it is bad for Pakistan. It is bad for the Hindus, and for the Muslims. I cannot wish anyone ill. My sole prayer is that we may do only what is right.

39. 3 June Statement Welcomed
Letter from G.E.B. Abell to W. Croft, 11 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/156, Acc. No. 3470, NAI

My dear Croft,

Many thanks for your letter of the 4th June. I have sent on the enclosure to Terence Shone by hand.
The reception of the Announcement has been remarkably good, and it really is a triumph for the Viceroy and to a considerable extent for V.P. The fact that the more sane elements of the Congress, and especially Vallabhbhai Patel, were at this stage prepared to do business enable the Viceroy to use V.P. and his influence with Patel to a remarkable effect. The second point, of course, was that the moment the Muslim League definitely realised what was the maximum they could get out of H.M.G. they began for the first time to be sensible.

Yours ever,
GEORGE

40. ‘Socialists Against Partition’
The Tribune, 11 June 1947

New Delhi. June 10.—The National Executive of the Socialist Party of India in a resolution on H.M.G.’s plan, today expressed the disapproval of and grief at the proposed division of the country.

‘At the same time the Executive cannot fail to notice that this decision of such tremendous import has not surprised or shocked the people inasmuch as it has led them into a mood of reluctant acceptance,’ added the resolution.

It will be the duty of the Socialist party, irrespective of partition, said the resolution to lead the toiling masses to their destiny, i.e., to the establishment of a peasants’ and workers’ state. The executive is confident that in the course of the fulfillment of this destiny, communal illusions will vanish and fevers cool down and the toiling people of the land will realise their oneness and join together to march forward to higher goals of progress and happiness.

Referring to the proposal to confer dominion status, the party urged that under no circumstances must we falter away from independence. The coming into being of two dominions is a stopgap arrangement of a defined duration.

At the same time, the resolution stated, it is necessary to point at the dangerous possibility of the acceding areas continuing as a dominion and also to warn Great Britain that the acceptance of this position would be regarded as an unfriendly act. The people of Pakistan must never allow their Government to accept any status for their country that falls short of independence.

Referring to the states, the resolution said that the Constituent Assembly will be within its right if it sends for people’s representatives from all such states as fall within the areas of the Indian union if their princes are unable to make up their mind or have made it up the wrong way.

The resolution was passed after discussions lasting three days. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia presided.

The party decision to withdraw from the All-India Trade Union Congress and not to join the Indian National Trade Union Congress was announced earlier by Mr. Jai Prakash Narain.

The Socialist Party will concentrate on ‘building up a sound healthy socialist trade union movement’ and will keep aloof from the three trade union organisations, the T.U.C., the N.T.U.C. and the Indian Federation of Labour.
41. Congress Acceptance of June 3 Justified

Note by Prof. Jwala Prasad Singhal, 11 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. CL-10/1946-7, NMML

Prepare For Logical Consequences

The new plan of June 3 has created a babel of voices and it has become difficult for some to see clearly what has happened and what is to happen and to prepare for that. Even those who only a fortnight before were pressing for partition of the Punjab and the Bengal have now begun to accuse Congress of having betrayed the country by accepting partition. In fact the country was partitioned several years back when the Congress declared that it will not coerce any part to be within India against its will. Congress has done nothing new. Then the country was partitioned on Dec. 6, 1947 when the British Cabinet declared that it will not impose any Constitution on an unwilling part. The British would not compel such part by military expedition and Congress could not do it, then what was the alternative? The Congress have done the next best thing, it has saved non-Muslim populations in the Punjab and Bengal from Muslim tyranny, and for this it is being condemned by unthinking people or by shallow thinkers. There is an old Indian proverb that if you find the whole receding from your grasp then keep the half which you can hold. That is the part of a wise man, and this is how the Congress has acted, and not like the fly which to taste honey lost its life....

Reorientation of Congress

Willingly or unwillingly now the Congress has been forced into the position of the protector of Hindu interests. And all Muslims of whatever hue or colour will look to Pakistan for protection. Congress must change its policy accordingly or should dissolve and should hand over its work to Hindu Mahasabha. There are some signs of Congress complacency still. Mahatma Gandhi is still thinking of winning people by love. Probably he thinks that by treating Muslim minorities in Hindu provinces generously he will be able to win Pakistan back to the Indian Union. He has not been able to do so in the thirty years after his return from South Africa. He supported so whole heartedly the Khilafat agitation and what is the result? He has effaced himself completely in his meetings with Mr. Jinnah at his own house only to increase the latter’s stature and immobility. This is not how Lord Krishna worked. He went as a Pandava ambassador to Kauravas, shamed them by His dignity and reasonableness, but withdrew promptly when he saw His efforts were fruitless, Mahatma Gandhi has made the Bihar Hindus repent, but has not thereby affected the disorders in the Frontier or the Punjab. Muslims have been well treated in Hindu provinces, but Sind—the first clearly Muslim Province—has first begun the moves for discouraging and displacing Hindus. Sind has gone so far as to declare Urdu to be compulsory for all schools. Will U.P., C.P. and Bihar be allowed to make Hindi compulsory for all aided institutions? According to Mahatma Gandhi’s principles also only the very strong can be non-violent. This applies to individuals. States can be generous only when extremely strong. But today even Russia, America and Britain cannot afford such generosity. Hindustan has yet to prove its strength. Prithviraj the great Chauhan King is reported to have exercised great generosity in releasing Mohammad Ghori after capturing him, but he paid for that generosity with his life, and India’s slavery. Pakistan has not been motivated by any ungenerous treatment of the Muslims but by the desire to place a new sovereign Muslim State in the world map. Those who think otherwise only delude
themselves. (Kings of Saudi Arabia and Trans-Jordan have congratulated Mr. Jinnah on this point). In all Muslims minority provinces the Muslims got weightage in representation and services. And yet those very Muslims of U.P. and Bombay lead the vanguard of the Muslim League. It is not generosity and sentimental love which is respected in political matters. It is strength which pays in this sphere.

**A Dangerous Move**

There is a dangerous move afoot. Mr. Lari the Muslim League leader in U.P. Assembly declared that as the question of nationalities has been decided on the all India basis the Muslim minorities in U.P. should throw in their lot with provincial majority and pleaded that as a minority it should be treated generously and should be allowed to retain its minority privileges. It is said that the Muslim League representatives of the provinces in Sec. A will be allowed to join the present Constituent Assembly so as to protect their minority rights. Even Sir Syed Wazir Hasan considers it rather anomalous that those very persons who formerly declaimed against the Constituent Assembly and wanted Pakistan ... should now join it and clamour for special rights. It is like the old story of ‘Heads I win tails you lose’. They cannot have it both ways. If Muslims form a separate nation, and they have won Pakistan on this basis, then they cannot claim political rights as members of the Hindustan nation. It will be suicidal to permit this. They have got their ‘homelands’ and let them enjoy their rights in Hindustan as may be permitted by that nation consistently with its own security and well being. Sind is riding rough ... Hindu rights. Even their landed property is affected. A Sind Minister proclaims that Hindus should quietly be governed and live as subjects or should go. But the Muslims in Hindu provinces have begun to talk sweetly. This also will be only temporary for gaining particular ends. Let the Congress Governments beware. If there is an attack by Pakistan on Hindustan then the Muslims in Hindustan—the same Muslims who have been shouting for Pakistan—cannot be and should not be expected to side with Hindustan. It will be simple foolhardiness to permit the Hindustan army or police or Hindustan executive or confidential services to be manned by Muslims. Some nationalist Muslims may take umbrage at this and may call those who should think Muslims in Hindustan to be alien as lunatics but the fact remains that such Muslims will be the fifth column of the attacking Pakistan. The nationalist Muslims were not able to prevent their coreligionists from working for Pakistan, and they will not be able to prevent them from working as fifth column in a future. Those who cried themselves hoarse in asking for a separate homeland in Pakistan cannot now turn round and claim their present residence as homeland. They may not be forbidden the residence in Hindu provinces, they may be given even representation in legislature, but they must not be allowed to form any part of the army, the police, the executive and political services. They may hold property and do trade on terms similar to those permitted to Hindus in Pakistan and no others....

**Reorganize Army Immediately**

But even before this exchange Hindustan must reorganise its army and police which must not contain any elements on whose loyalty there can be a suspicion even in a dream. These are matters which should have priority in the nation’s consideration. The definition of citizenship should have proper safeguards and should not allow rights of citizens to any person who sympathises with or owes allegiance to, or who has shown before such sympathy or allegiance
to any body or state outside or antagonistic to Hindustan. Whether Muslim Leaguers of Section A attend the present Constituent Assembly or not there should be no compromise on this point. The Congress must give up further appeasement otherwise the next step from partition will be the effacement of Hindustan.

Such a stand may make the position of Hindus in Pakistan more difficult. In the first place this is bound to happen whatever the Congress may do or not do. But even if it accelerates the expulsion of Hindus from Pakistan, Hindustan should be ready to receive them in exchange for equal population of Muslims emigrating from Hindustan. If Pakistan finding its position weak desires to join the Indian Union then this can be arranged even though the population of the two areas has become homogeneous by exchange, and perhaps on a sounder and firmer basis. If Australia should desire to join the Indian Union, or Ceylon or Burma should do so, surely the Indian Union will not refuse. Therefore such an exchange will not militate against future union, and will perhaps bring it sooner.

Sd/- Jwala Prasad Singhal
Editor J.K. Review
Cawnpore

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1 This note was sent to J.B. Kripalani.

42. Division of Country Should Not Mean a Division of Hearts

Extract from a letter from M.K. Gandhi to Munnalal G. Shah, 11 June 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 130

DELHI

CHI. MUNNALAL,

...We may take it that physical division of the country is now certain. Since the Congress has accepted the plan, we must now look for another way. That way I have been showing. Just as land or other property can be partitioned, so also can men’s hearts. If, therefore, our hearts are true we can behave as if they had not been partitioned....

Blessings from
BAPU

43. Need to Organize and Strengthen Hindus

Letter from L.B. Bhopatkar to Harilal K. Doshi, 11 June 1947
AIHM Papers, File No. C-146, NMML

Dear Mr. Doshi,

Your letter bearing no date to hand, and I have noted its contents.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- L. B. Bhopatkar
Sir,

The hopes of the Hindus have been belied by the Congress. By an impulse of magnanimity, trust and it must be confessed, of weakness the Mahasabha stood aside and committed the destinies of Hindus to the care of the Congress. The Congress has been outwitted by the superior strategy of Britain and the strong purposive will of Mr. Jinnah. It has succumbed to both. It has woefully lacked in foresight. The causes are many and deep, but this is the time for remedies, not causes.

I read that the Mahasabha intends opposing the British plan of partition. It would be futile and therefore inadvisable. We must bow to the inevitable. But it is not safe to any more allow the Congress to control the destiny of Hindustan. A body only half believing in Hinduism is unfitted by its very constitution to take charge of Hindus. The Mahasabha must now come out and take control. Everywhere people are waiting for a sign of true leadership. Let the Mahasabha come out boldly. The dangers of not doing so are many and great.

Congress is undone by its unreal ideology. Left to itself, it would wage war against Hindu States and orthodox Hindus and their customs and the result will be a torn Hindustan added to a torn India. Hindustan at least will be over under its guidance. Even Nehru's ‘Discovery of India’ has not even half discovered the true India. Kashmir tears him even more than the hell let loose under his very nose and aegis.

But the Mahasabha must have a policy. I suggest the following.

1. Organising and strengthening the Hindus.
   In a way partition will be a blessing in disguise. If we organise and grow strong partition will disappear in ten years. Of course there will be bitter, but great and glorious struggle.
2. Safeguarding the defence of Hindustan. Army, Navy & Air.
3. Safeguarding the Hindus in Pakistan—Go so far as not to tolerate wrongs done to them. Strike when necessary and expedient.
4. Internally: Consolidate power, avoid conflicts of all kind.
   Put all the elements of life at their ease and let improvement come by winning persuasion—the good old sure Hindu way. It is called the indirect approach by Liddell Hart.

   e.g. (a) adopt a policy of non-interference in the states and at the same time persuade the rulers to adopt reforms. Time alone would do a great many things. The princes have been the victims of British terrorism. Now Congress terrorises them. The fearful man does the worst things. Dispel this fear and a fund of energy will come out the so-called medieval mummies. They will unite with Hindustan most readily.
   (b) Social customs.

The same way, not legislation. The Hindu way has been to take possession of the soul of a man and then let him shape his own conduct. It has been a historical success. It has stressed the informal. Europe's—at least modern Europe's way is the opposite. It compels conduct and not caring if the soul is smothered. The result is conflict in Western Europe and dead uniformity in Eastern Europe (Russia and its satellites). Its crowning philosophy is behaviourism. Imagine the way of making people happy by imposing upon them the way they don’t want—really subduing them! There is hope for the world only in Hinduism.
And so I might continue. I wait till I learn your mind. I shall only be too glad to work for this end. A full programme must be laid out and if need be the guidance and blessing of Shri Aurobindo be obtained.

Yours truly
Harilal K. Doshi, B. A. LL. B.,
Wadhwan Camp
Kathiawad

44. Reflections on Hindustan and Pakistan
M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 12 June 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 138-41

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

You see Khwaja Saheb sitting to my right. I told you earlier how I once went to his house with Swami Satyadev. At that time Swami Satyadev would not even drink water offered by a Muslim. But Khwaja Saheb was not offended and warmly welcomed him. He was then a trustee of the Aligarh University. Later he resigned the trusteeship to join the non-co-operation movement. I seem to remember that at the time I went to his house a meeting of the League was in progress there. Was there any satyagrahi in that assembly?—I asked. The Maulanas Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali were in jail and everyone was feeling discouraged. Khwaja Saheb told me that I could have two satyagrahis and a half. One was Shuaib Qureshi, who was a well-known and courageous young man. Then there was another gentleman, present there, who was a staunch satyagrahi. He had once been assaulted by a mob and injured in two places on his arm. But though he was strong he remained calm and did not offer physical resistance. Lastly, Khwaja Saheb said, he himself was half a satyagrahi. From then on he has been like a brother to me.

He did not want the country to be divided. Nevertheless it has happened and he has come to me to lament it. I told him that we would not weep and I made him laugh.

Sapru Saheb too has felt hurt by what has happened. Well, the League wanted it, but the Congress did not like it. How long can a thing over which the two are not agreed last? Geographically we may have been divided. But so long as hearts too have not been divided, we must not weep. For all will be well so long as our hearts remain whole. The country may well be divided today into Pakistan and Hindustan. In the end we have to become one. Not that they will come and join us through vexation. Our behaviour will be such that even if they want to they will not be able to keep themselves away from us.

It irks Jawaharlal that the rest of the country should be called Hindustan. When one part is now Pakistan, how can the other part be Hindustan, he asks. He is right. For it will mean that it belongs to the Hindus. What then would the Christians, the Jews and the Muslims left here do? Must they leave? Must Pantji ask Khawaja Saheb, who belongs to U.P. and is a friend of his, to leave U.P.? If this happens, Mr. Jinnah will have been proved right in his assertion that the hearts were already divided.

But this is not what history says. I told you about the letter I had from the well-known historian Shri Jai Chandra Vidyalankar. He says that even when Hindus and Muslims fought against each other they never killed in the name of religion. In our childhood also we never felt that we had separate identities. In days gone by when, accompanied by Hindus, Jainuluddin
set out on a pilgrimage to Kashi, he got repaired all derelict temples he passed on the way. The name of Allah is inscribed on the Victory Tower of Chittor.

Why should our hearts now become so soiled that we cannot sit together or see each other with a kindly eye?

Assuming that a few Muslims have become wicked, shall we then also become wicked? This is not what Jawaharlal wants. He says that so long as Muslims were part of the country the name Hindustan was fine for the understanding was that anyone born in Hindustan belonged to Hindustan, whatever his religion. Now Hindustan will imply that the country belongs to Hindus. And who among the Hindus? Only the caste Hindus. But as I have said the caste Hindus—Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas—are a very small part of the population. The vast majority consists of untouchables and Adivasis. Will they be ruled by the few caste Hindus? True, today it is they who rule the roost. But if the untouchables and the Adivasis are allowed to fall under the domination of the caste Hindus, Mr. Jinnah will have been proved right in saying that a handful of caste Hindus want to keep all the rest under their heel. Could we be such fools? Could we accept the two-nation theory of Mr. Jinnah? It would mean that if my son becomes a Muslim he becomes a national of another country. If we segregate three-quarters of our fellow country-men and keep them away from the governance of the country, our Hindustan will be just as Mr. Jinnah has pictured it.

Then there will be a Parsistan, a Sikhistan, separate bits for the untouchables, the Adivasis and so forth and Hindustan will no longer remain Hindustan. It will undergo Balkanization. If this is what the English desire there will be no place left in the world for them.

So we must not weep over what has happened. Jawaharlal has suggested Union of Indian Republic as the name for the country. That is, all will live together here. If a part wants to secede we shall not force it to remain, but those that remain shall live as brothers. We shall so treat them that they will not want to break away, they will not feel that they are separate. All will be loyal to the Union and serve it.

Today someone asked me why we should still continue with Hindustani. Such a question should not be raised. If we adopt the attitude that since Urdu will be the language of Pakistan we should have Hindi as our language then the charge of separatism against us also will be proved. Hindustani means an easy language to speak, read and write. It used to be one language at one time but lately we have Urdu loaded with Persian expressions which the people cannot understand and Hindi crammed with Sanskrit words which also people cannot understand. If we used that language we should have to eject from our midst people like Sapru. Although a Hindu, his mother tongue is Urdu. If I start talking to him in Sanskritized Hindi he will not be able to make head or tail of it. We should therefore continue the work of Hindustani—of the Hindustani Sabha—and prove our love for those whose language is Urdu.

I see God's will in what has happened. He wants to test us both to see what Pakistan will do and how generous India can be. We must pass the test. I am hoping that no Hindu will be so mad as to show inadequate respect for things the Muslim consider sacred or fail to accord the same status to the Aligarh University as he does to Malaviyaji's Hindu University. If we destroy their sacred places we shall ourselves be destroyed.

Similarly we should protect the fire temples of Parsis and the synagogues of Jews as we protect Hindu temples. I must also say that untouchables will be treated here on par with the people of the highest caste. True Hinduism embraces all religions.

We must see that we have a hundred per cent success in this. We cannot act on the principle of tit for tat. That is an obsolete principle. The times have changed. Now if someone abuses
us we have to answer him by love. We have to answer lies with truth and meanness with generosity. Always and in every situation our eyes, ears and hands should remain pure. Only then can we save ourselves; only then can the world survive. I have not the least doubt of it. We must not run away with the idea that now that we have given the Muslims what they wanted we can do what we like.

45. ‘Silence Is Golden’
A cartoon in *The Tribune*, 13 June 1947

*Hush-hush tactics were used in the Muslim League Council meeting at New Delhi.*
46. Pakistan Has Not Spelt End of Conflict

Extracts from M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 14 June 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 152-3

Some friends have come from Rawalpindi with news of happenings there. Sucheta Kripalani also gave me the distressing report of the situation there. One thing made me very sad. When the Pakistan issue was still undecided the conditions there were tolerable but now the Muslims are on the rampage. They say that now that they have Pakistan, they will make slaves of everyone else. I mention this at the prayer meeting here so that what I say may reach the ears of the Muslims. It will certainly reach the ears of Mr. Jinnah. If what I say is wrong, let my Muslim brethren take me to task and say that it is not right. Let them invite me to Peshawar to see how happy Hindus, Sikhs, women and children are. But I have got the names. If some ordinary men had said such things, one need not have worried because there are always a few irresponsible people everywhere. But if all the Muslims think and express themselves in these terms then it is very bad.

Mr. Jinnah says that under the Muslim majority the minorities will live in peace. But what is in fact happening? If after Pakistan has come into being the conflict is further sharpened then it will only mean that we have been made fools of. It will mean that they will be masters and anyone following a different religion will have to stay there as a slave or a servant and admit that he is inferior to them.

I am eager to hear from them that all are well treated in Pakistan and that temples also are well looked after. When I see that I shall bow my head to them. But if that does not happen then I shall know that Mr. Jinnah was uttering a falsehood and I shall begin to suspect Lord Mountbatten who although a commander of such a high rank was in such a hurry. He could have allowed the carnage to go on, if it had to go on, and said that he would not bow before the sword.

47. Gandhi–Nehru Relations

M.K. Gandhi’s talk with Manu Gandhi, 14 June 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 150

BHANGI COLONY,
NEW DELHI

I can see as through a crystal the sincerity and love in Jawahar. He has always argued with me and made me feel confused over so many issues. But today he hardly ever argues over anything that I say. He would be heart-broken if I hesitated to attend the A.I.C.C. He has made me a captive of his love. That is why I have proclaimed that I am at Jawahar’s and Sardar’s orders. He has the heart of a child. And yet he has the intellect, learning and power that only the greatest among intellectuals could boast of. He can renounce things as easily as a snake its slough. His tireless energy would put even a youth to shame.
48. ‘Resolution on H.M.G.’s Plan: Socialists Will Not Oppose It at AICC’

_The Tribune_, 14 June 1947

New Delhi, June 13.—Members of the Socialist Party will not oppose or table amendments to the resolution on H.M.G.’s plan, which will be placed by the Congress Working Committee before the A.I.C.C.

This was made clear at a press conference held to-day by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, who presided over the recent meetings of the national executive of the Socialist Party, and Acharya Narendra Deo, a member of the executive.

The members of the party, however, would explain the attitude of the Socialists in terms of the resolution adopted by the national executive.

Socialists, said Acharya Narendra Deo, were opposed to partition, but they would not oppose the plan, because it has become a fact. They would, however, work through peaceful methods for reunion by mutual consent.

There would be a Socialist single organisation for both Hindustan and Pakistan. There might be local variations but a common policy would be adopted for the whole country i.e., a policy aimed at the establishment of a Socialist State in India. Mentally Socialists did not recognise division of the country, but for all practical purpose they would have to.

‘We think’ said Acharya Narendra Deo, ‘that unity can be achieved only through Socialist programmes. The masses of both the parties have common interests and their integration is necessary in the interest of both’.

He foreshadowed swing to the left within the next ten years.

Acharya Narendra Deo said that Socialists would work for fundamental change in the social structure by peaceful means. ‘If the State is democratic and functions in a democratic manner, we can achieve our objective.’

49. “‘No Nationalist Can Be Happy”: Sir Tek Chand’s View’

_The Tribune_, 14 June 1947

LAHORE, June 3.—‘Balkanisation of India is complete. Millions of her people whose forefathers have, since the dawn of history, lived in this sacred land and who themselves had worked and suffered for its integrity will become aliens in their own home land.’ This comment was made by Sir Tek Chand, a former Judge of the Lahore High Court and a member of the Constituent Assembly on H.M.G.’s Plan regarding the transfer of power to India from the British hands, in the course of an interview with the ‘Tribune’ representative.

Sir Tek Chand said, ‘The fateful announcement has been made. Mr. Attlee’s award is before us. No true nationalist can be happy over it. Forces of reaction and fanaticism have won. The dream of a free and united India cherished by the generations of Indians has been dashed to the ground. Hindus and Muslims have been recognised as two separate nations. For the first time in the history of the world, the right of self-determination has been conceded in a religious community and foundation has been laid for the establishment of theocratic sovereign State or States in an age when the State should be divorced from religion.’
Sentence of ‘Quit India’

Balkanisation of India is complete. Millions of her people whose forefathers have, since the dawn of history lived in this sacred land and who themselves had worked and suffered for its integrity will become aliens in their own homeland. By a strange irony of fate a sentence of ‘Quit India’ has been passed on the faithful children of the soil and this sentence would be carried out by the British long before they themselves quit this unfortunate country.

The only redeeming feature of the proposed plan is that in this process of vivisection portions of the Punjab and Bengal may escape amputation and remain attached to the mother country. The provincial division based on admittedly inaccurate census figures is most unjust.

Let us hope that this injustice will not be perpetuated and the Boundary Commission will partially undo the wrong. Justice demands that Lahore, Gurdaspur and some of the Colony Districts should remain with those who have the largest stakes in them and to whose ceaseless efforts for generations these areas owe their existing prosperity and who have raised them to their present cultural, social and political level.

50. All India Congress Committee Accepts Mountbatten Plan

AICC Resolution, 14–15 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-56 (Part 2)/1947, NMML

The AICC has given careful consideration to the course of events since its last meeting in January last and, in particular, to the statements made on behalf on the British Government on February 20, 1947, and June 3, 1947. The Committee approves and endorses the resolutions passed by the Working Committee during this period.

The Committee welcomes the decisions of the British Government to transfer power completely to the Indian people by next August.

The Congress accepted the British Cabinet Mission’s Statement of May 16, 1946, as well as the subsequent interpretation thereof dated December 6, 1946, and has been acting in accordance with it in the Constituent Assembly which was constituted in terms of the Cabinet Mission’s Plan. That Assembly has been functioning for over six months and has not only declared its objectives to be the establishment of an Independent Sovereign Republic of India and a just social and economic order, but has also made considerable progress in framing the constitution for the free Indian union on the basis of fundamental rights guaranteeing freedom and equality of opportunity of all Indians.

In view, however, of the refusal of the Muslim League to accept the Plan of May 16, and to participate in the Constituent Assembly, and further in view of the policy of the Congress that ‘it cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian union against their declared and established will, the AICC accepts the proposals embodied in the announcement of June 3, which have laid down a procedure for ascertaining the will of the people concerned.

The Congress has consistently upheld that the unity of India must be maintained. Ever since its inception, more than 60 years ago, the National Congress has laboured for the realisation of a free and united Indian, and millions of our people have suffered in this great cause. Not only the labours and sacrifices of the past two generations but the long course of India’s history and traditions bear witness to this essential unity. Geography and the mountains and the seas
fashioned India as she is and no human agency can change that shape or come in the way of her final destiny. Economic circumstances and the insistent demands of international affairs make the unity of India still more necessary. The picture of India we have learnt to cherish will remain in our minds and hearts. The AICC earnestly trusts that when present passions have subsided, India's problems will be viewed in their proper perspective and the false doctrine of two nations in India will be discredited and discarded by all.

The proposals of June 3, 1947 are likely to lead to the secession of some parts of the country from India. However, much this may be regretted, the AICC accepts this possibility, in the circumstances now prevailing.

Though freedom is at hand, the times are difficult, and the situation in India demands vigilance and a united front of all those who care for the independence of India. At this time of crisis and changes, when unpatriotic and anti-social forces are trying to injure the cause of India and her people, the AICC appeals to and demands of every Congress men and the people generally, to forget their petty differences and disputes and to stand by vigilant, disciplined and prepared to serve the cause of India's freedom and defend it with all their strength from all who may seek to do it injury.

51. Gandhi Appreciates Congress Acceptance of Partition Plan
M.K. Gandhi's speech at AICC meeting in New Delhi, 14 June 1947
*CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 153–7*

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I wish I had made some preparations for this meeting. Unfortunately I could not. You will no doubt agree that no one could be as much hurt by the division of the country as I am. And I don't think that anyone can be as unhappy today as I am. But what has happened has happened. You know of my efforts in the building up of the Congress.

Why was the Congress Working committee formed? When a government has to be run, even if it is a government of the people, a cabinet of ministers has to be appointed. Our Working Committee performs a similar function. It acts in your name. You have the power to keep it going or to dismiss it. The Working Committee has on your behalf accepted partition. Now we have to consider what our duty is. If you want to throw out the resolution you can do so. But you cannot make any changes in it. If the Congress Working Committee has done this, it has done so deliberately and for certain weighty reasons. And this decision has been taken jointly by the Congress, the Muslim League and the British Government. The Working Committee does not approve of the scheme in its entirety. But even so it has accepted it. The Cabinet Mission plan had been devised by the British Government, but not this new plan. Both the Congress and the League have a share in its formulation. If you reject it, the world will call you irresponsible. You must therefore go along with those who have acted on your behalf. If you want to reject it, you must remember that what the country needs most today is peace. If you are sure that your rejecting the scheme will not lead to further breach of the peace and further disorders you can do so. Whatever you decide to do, you must do after a great deal of deliberation.

So many things are happening today which bring to mind the English saying about swallowing a camel and straining at a gnat. The decision that has been arrived at has been
reached with your complicity and yet you complain of the Working Committee, the Working Committee which has men of such great calibre on it. Those people had always said that the Congress would not accept Pakistan and I was opposed to Pakistan even more. However we may leave aside my position. The decision has not been mine to take and the Working Committee has accepted it because there was no other way. They now see it clearly that the country is already divided into two camps.

But our constitution permits it and your duty demands it that if you feel that the Working Committee is in the wrong you should remove it, you should revolt and assume all power. You have a perfect right to do so, if you feel that you have the strength. But I do not find that strength in us today. If you had it I would also be with you and if I felt strong enough myself I would, alone, take up the flag of revolt. But today I do not see the conditions for doing so.

We have great problems to tackle and mere criticism cannot help in the solution of great problems. It is easy to criticize but doing some work is not so easy. The Congress has to its credit some important achievement but the Congress so far has not borne the responsibility of Government. It has not even had a look at it. It was kept busy by work which was even more important. Everything cannot be done at the same time. When now the responsibility of Government has devolved on us we have gladly accepted it and we have detailed some of our best workers for the job. There they have to grapple with some very intricate problems. They have to attend to the affairs of the millions of our countrymen.

I criticize them, of course, but afterwards what? Shall I assume the burdens that they are carrying? Shall I become a Nehru or a Sardar or a Rajendra Prasad? Even if you should put me in their place I do not know what I should be able to do. But I have not come here to plead for them. Who will listen to my pleading? But the President said that I should at least show my face here. Hence I have come to show my face and to speak a few words.

It is most important that you should understand the times. The demand of the times is that we should bridle our tongues and do only what will be for India’s good.

You will have seen from the newspapers what I have been doing these days. But you may also hear it from me. If through me something has been spoiled then it is my duty to use all my power for putting it right. It is open to me whether to spoil it further or to mend it. I shall cite here the example of Rama. His father went mad and his mother became foolish and Rama was exiled. The people of Ayodhya were grieved but it all led to something glorious coming out at the end. I do not consider the Ramayana as history but the lesson that is to be drawn from it is of daily use. It would be wrong to believe that Ravana had ten heads. But there was a Ravana that was adharma. It was this Ravana that Rama killed during his exile and saved dharma.

This is what we have to do today. We have to draw something good out of this bad thing. I am not the one to be upset by defeat. From my childhood up I have spent my life fighting and my struggle has been to extract good from evil. If there is gold in mud, even if there is a lot of the mud and very little gold it should not be thrown away. We should draw out gold and diamonds even from mud.

This decision puts both our religions on trial. The world is watching us. In the three-quarters of the country that has fallen to our share Hinduism is going to be tested. If you show the generosity of true Hinduism, you will pass in the eyes of the world. If not you will have proved Mr. Jinnah’s thesis that Muslims and Hindus are two separate nations, that Hindus will for ever be Hindus and Muslims for ever Muslims, that the two will never unite, and that the Gods of the two are different. If, therefore, the Hindus present at this meeting claim that India is their
country and in it Hindus will have a superior status, then it will mean that the Congress has not made a mistake and that the Working Committee has only done what you secretly wanted. But if you want to save dharma you must be true Hindus. There are only a hundred thousand Parsis in India. Our ancestors gave them shelter and set an example in world history. Must we now kill them? And what shall we do with the Jews? We must so treat them that they will enjoy perfect freedom here. And what about the untouchables? It is said that Islam has risen to abolish untouchability. If you say that untouchables are nothing, the Adivasis are nothing, then you are not going to survive yourselves. But if you do away with the distinction of savarna and avarna, if you treat the Shudras, the untouchables and the Adivasis as equals then something good will have come out of a bad thing. There should be no distinction of high and low in a democratic polity. But if we oppress them and oppress those following other faiths then it will mean that we do not want India to survive, that we are out to destroy it. It does not matter if the land is divided. But if we divide the hearts then what the Congress Working Committee has done has been well done.

It is not a small thing that some States should secede from India. It is a very serious thing. Today and yesterday at the prayer I said a great deal about the States. I shall briefly repeat here what I have been saying. I myself come from a native State. Time was when I myself used to be severe with the States’ people telling them not to force their burden on the Congress for we were fighting against a third power and the States’ people also were giving us help in our fight. I had wanted them to consolidate that strength. But now with the British gone, we cannot let the Princes do as they please. Those of them who now want to be independent should ask themselves what good the British ever did them. They were content to be vassals of a foreign government, the British Government, for so many years, but now that the millions of India are going to have the reins of power in their hands the Rulers refuse to be subservient to the people’s government. I must tell the Diwans of all the States that if they do not advise the rulers to join the Constituent Assembly, they would be showing disloyalty to the Rulers. We do not want to be enemies of the Princes. If they want to be independent they may be independent. We shall not imprison them. If they want to stay on in the country, they must understand that their subjects are with us. If they do not want to stay in the country they may go and settle down in Paris or elsewhere. But if they want to remain in India they must remain as servants of the people. They must understand the implications of democratic government. They must concede that all men are created equal. They must not don the mantle of superiority. Only then can they survive for ever. They must recognize the paramountcy of the people as they recognized the paramountcy of the British Government. Then they can freely carry on in their own States. Only they cannot carry on as they did during the days of the British regime, plundering the people. They must dedicate themselves to the service of the people and become their true friends.

52. ‘The Unavoidability of Partition’
   Extract from Jawaharlal Nehru’s speech at AICC meeting in New Delhi, 15 June 1947

Friends and Comrades, *Jai Hind!*

India’s heart has been broken but her essential unity has not been destroyed. How will you repair the broken heart? It can be only on the basis of a programme.
The horrible riots in the Punjab, Bengal and elsewhere were no isolated riots. They were planned attacks. It seemed the administration had broken down and there was no authority left in the country to enforce order. How is it that the British officers who coped with the civil disobedience movements in the past were unable to cope with the present disturbances? Where there are Congress Ministries, disturbances were brought under control, but where the British exercised authority, there was chaos. In the Punjab where there was cent percent British officers in charge and divisions under the control of either Hindu or Muslim officers were comparatively quiet. The Interim Government was able to do nothing to protect the people.

Now it would be a futile controversy to go into the merits of Dominion Status versus independence. The most urgent task at present is to arrest the swift drift towards anarchy and chaos. Disruptive forces are at work and the most important disruptive force is that of the Muslim League. Our first task should be the establishment of a strong Central Government to rule the country firmly and to assure the individual’s liberty and life. All other questions are of secondary importance.

There is no question of any surrender to the Muslim League and what myself and my colleagues have agreed to is that the issue of partition should be referred to the people for a verdict. There is nothing novel in the plan for partition. The House will remember Rajaji’s formula on the basis of which Mahatma Gandhi carried on negotiations with Mr. Jinnah. At that time myself and my colleagues were in the Ahmednagar Fort. We discussed the question in prison. While we disagreed with the approach to the whole question, there was no disagreement on the fundamentals of the formula. It must be realised that it is not possible to coerce even with swords unwilling parts to remain under the Indian domain. If they are forced to stay in the Union no progress and planning will be possible. We must take the warning from China. Continued internal strife and turmoil will bring the progress of a nation to a standstill. In arriving at a decision we must look at the international context as well. The picture of the world today is one of destruction and impoverishment which by itself may prevent an immediate war but one can never say what will happen in the future.

The Congress cannot afford to act in an irresponsible manner by passing high-sounding resolutions. A responsible body must not think in terms of today only, but there is a tomorrow and a day after that. It will be ridiculous to suggest that the British would do everything before they quit. The June 3 statement could not have come about had there been no agreement. It is not an imposed award. Circumstances were such that the Congress agreed to it. It is not like one of those old decisions of the British Government which we could accept or reject. The acceptance for which I am wholly responsible does not mean that I agree to every word in the statement but I agree with the fundamental principles therein.

The riots in Rawalpindi, Multan, Amritsar, Calcutta, Noakhali, Bihar and elsewhere present the situation in a different light. To suggest that the Congress Working Committee took fright and therefore ‘surrendered’ is wrong. But it is correct to say that they are very much disturbed at the prevailing madness. Homesteads burnt, women and children murdered; and why are all these tragic and brutal things happening? We could have checked them by resorting to the sword and the lathi but would that solve the problem? Some people from the Punjab said that the Congress had let them down. What did they want me to do? Should I send an army? I am sad and bitter and India’s heart is broken. The victims in Rawalpindi said that they were being killed in order that the League might rule. The wound must be healed. With whatever we are able to salvage, we must plan out a programme on the basis of partition....
It is wrong to suggest that I and two others have decided the fate of millions. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and other responsible organisations in the province strongly supported the partition proposal.

The next question that arose was, having divided the Punjab and Bengal, has the Congress abandoned the Sikhs and the Hindus? An answer should be found. By high-sounding resolutions the Congress will not be able to help them. Even when the Punjab was one they were not able to help the people. An answer to this problem will no doubt be found. However, there is no reason why the minorities there should be tyrannised and persecuted. There may be individual cases of rioting but there is not much room in future for organised attacks on the minorities. I have nothing much to say about Sind and, so far as Sylhet is concerned, there is to be a referendum and I cannot forecast the result. I am much worried about the N.W.F.P. If Bengal and Punjab went out, the Frontier would be isolated. The question is now the subject of consultation between the Committee and the Frontier leaders.

The present, perhaps, is the most difficult period full of trials and tribulations. Today we have to shoulder responsibility. The first thing we have to do is to establish the independence of India firmly and set up a strong Central Government. Having established strong and stable government, all other programmes will not create much difficulty. The Congress has a heavy responsibility. You must bend all your energies to strengthen the Congress organization. We have to face dangers, both external and internal, and if we are not strong we will go down.

As for the Indian States, I will have something to say on the subject when the next resolution comes up for discussion. However, I am confident that the Congress will be able to deal with and solve the problem of the States. And if we proceed on the right lines the seceding provinces will also rejoin the Union.

I would ask the A.I.C.C. not to vote for the resolution out of any sympathy for the Working Committee but they must do so out of conviction.

53. ‘Traditions of Wholesome Nationalism to Be Followed’

Extracts from a report in The Tribune, 15 June 1947

New Delhi, June 14. The All-India Congress Committee commenced its session at 2.30 p.m. in the Constitution Club here to-day. There was a fairly good attendance of members and a small number of visitors were also present.

Armed guards stood outside as the members arrived. The proceedings commenced with the singing of ‘Vande Mataram’ after which the Congress President, Acharya J. B. Kripalani, addressed the session.

Congress acceptance of H.M.G.’s plan was already implied in the declared policy of the Congress that it ‘cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian union against their declared and established will,’ said Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President addressing the A.I.C.C. today. Stating that this principle had been accepted by the Congress Working Committee in its resolution passed in September, 1945, Acharya Kripalani said: ‘If the majority of the people in Bengal, the Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan wished to secede, we could not consistently with our principles, compel them not to do so. All that we could do was to see that the will of the people in those areas was clearly ascertained and further to see that in those districts of Bengal and the Punjab where the majority of people did not wish to secede, they were not compelled to do so. This the Congress has succeeded in doing.’
‘Though we have accepted the possibility of partition under certain circumstances,’ Acharya Kripalani said, ‘we have in no way given up our faith in the unity of India, which the Congress has cherished and worked for ever since its inception. This unity is both a geographical fact and a historical necessity. Indians are one people and one nation and no amount of political bargaining or bickering can undo the basic ties of kinship of blood, race and the heritage of a common culture. Though we may have to part company now, sooner or later this basic unity will assert itself and those who are anxious to break away now will be equally anxious to return to the common lap.’...

Resolution moved

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, moving the resolution, accepting H.M.G.’s Plan of June 3, said that this was the only way to achieve freedom and liberty for the country. It would assure an Indian union with a strong centre which could ensure progress and help the country take her rightful place in the world. In the Indian union the two-nation theory would not be tolerated and every citizen would have to give absolute and implicit loyalty to the state. Otherwise he would have no place in this country and would become an alien.

Congress, Pandit Pant said, had made every possible effort to come to an agreement with the Muslim League. Mahatma Gandhi had tried to negotiate with Mr. Jinnah. The Congress Working Committee, in its March resolution, invited the League for consultations. The Constituent Assembly, on numerous occasions, had invited the League members to help in the shaping of the future constitution of the country. But the League had ignored all these appeals....

Warning to Unpatriotic Forces

Concluding, Pandit Pant said that it was better to accept the statement of June 3 rather than fritter away their energies in trying to keep unwilling people in the Union. He urged Congressmen to bear in mind the directive to the country in the resolution to maintain a vigilant and united front when unpatriotic and anti-social forces were trying to injure India and her people. Congressmen should forget their differences and stand united and disciplined to fight such disruptive forces....

Azad Differs

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, seconding the resolution, disagreed with Pandit Pant that the June 3 statement was superior to the Cabinet Mission’s proposals. He had all along held the view that the May 16 statement was the best solution of our problem. To that view he continued to adhere.

At his very first meeting with Lord Mountbatten, Mr. Azad said, he was asked if the country could wait for some time so that an agreement could be arrived at. He (Maulana Azad) told the Viceroy that the situation in the country would brook no delay and the question should be settled either way at once. He did not think that the present decision was the right decision but the Congress had no alternative. The choice before the Congress was not which plan to accept and which to reject but whether the present state of indecision and drift should continue. There was the only fortunate problem of internal disorder and strife and there was the obstinacy of the Muslim League. Taking into consideration all factors the Congress Working Committee came to the decision that an immediate settlement was urgently required and accepted the June 3 statement.

It might be argued, Maulana Azad said, that since the Congress had already accepted the State Paper, they should have stuck to it and declined to do anything further, but such a stand
would hardly be the correct one under the present circumstances. The Congress stood by the ideal of a united India, but it was also committed to the principle of self-determination and was against coercing any unwilling areas to join the union.

Maulana Azad pointed out that even at this stage the State Paper had not been shelved. The people of the areas had to decide whether the State Paper proposals should continue or not. If by a majority they decided not to join the union then the Congress could not force them into the union. Whatever might be the result of the referendum or the decision of the Punjab and Bengal legislatures, he was sure that those provinces which now sought to...themselves away from India would in the very near future, hurry back to the union. 'The division is only of the map of the country and not in the hearts of the people and I am sure it is going to be a short-lived partition,' he said. The Maulana was confident India would soon emerge as a powerful and strong nation.

Having accepted a defective plan it should be our endeavour now to put it into practice in such a way that its defects were minimised. 'Our attitude towards our countrymen,' he said, 'should not undergo any change by the reason of the facts that certain parts had elected to secede.'

Mr. Rajkumar Choudhry from Noakhali moved an amendment seeking to add a new paragraph to the main resolution running as follows: 'In view of the desired goal of India's unity, the A.I.C.C. directs all Congress Committees in the country, including those in the areas to be partitioned, to so frame their policy and programme that the divided Indian of today may become united tomorrow by our mutual treatment of confidence and honourable co-operation.'

Mr. Choudhry realised that the Congress Working Committee had accepted H.M.G.'s Plan owing to inevitable circumstances and possibly because they had no other alternative. 'Let us accept what we have got,' he added, 'but let us direct Congress Committees inside Hindustan areas and also in the Pakistan areas to try for the re-union of Bengal and the Punjab with a view to achieving the final unity of India'.

Mr. Choudhry appealed to Pandit Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Acharya Kripalani to get elected—at least one of them—to the Eastern Pakistan Constituent Assembly to ensure confidence among the Hindu minority in the Eastern Pakistan zone. He also made an appeal to the Hindus of the Indian union to treat the Muslim minorities in their areas fairly and properly. This would be one of the ways of safeguarding the Hindu minorities in Pakistan.

The President announced at the stage that he had received notice of an amendment from Mr. Sushil Chandra Dev to the effect that 'Sardar Patel should join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly with a view to making it effective in framing the future constitution of Pakistan and also to fight the battle with Mr. Jinnah (Laughter).'

The President ruled it out of order but announced amidst a roar of laughter: 'If you can induce Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to go to Pakistan and fight with Mr. Jinnah I have no objection.'...

**Injustice**

Mr. Abdul Ghani moved an amendment suggesting to make it clear that the Congress was accepting the plan 'despite the fact that the procedure adopted for ascertaining the will of the people in the Frontier Province is deplorable'.

Mr. Ghani said he was sorry the Congress had let down the Pathans and Nationalist Muslims who had fought Pakistan. Why was a referendum not demanded in the Punjab and Bengal
also? He was prepared for civil war but not injustice. Do not give victory to Mr. Jinnah and those who say Hindustan for Hindus and Pakistan for Muslims. You will create a lot of aliens among you....

**Surrender to Brute Force**

Mr. R.K. Shidhwa urged that the A-I.C.C. should unequivocally repudiate the two-nation theory.

Mr. Choithram Gidwani, the Sind Congress leader, in a forceful speech asserted that whatever might be the merits of the June 3 plan—and of course the Indian Union could have a strong Centre for which the Congress has been striving for it, cut at the very root of the unity of India. Despite the weakness of the May 16 plan it at least preserved the unity of India, an ideal which the Congress had cherished all these years.

But now that unity had been broken up. Already many of us princes were claiming absolute sovereignty and there were signs of India being broken into fragments. The unity of India was much more precious than the advantages of a strong Centre. He characterised the resolution as downright surrender to brute force and violence.

**Acceptance Shows Weakness**

Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon, the principal opponent to the resolution, in an impassioned speech said that the A.I.C.C. must reject it and that it was not sufficient for acceptance to say that an adverse vote would hurt the prestige of the Working Committee.

Mr. Tandon said: ‘The Working Committee is made by you who have been chosen by the people. The Working Committee may make a mistake but you must give your decision. I appeal to you to perform your duty. Compared to the people and to the country the Working Committee is a small thing. ‘Acceptance of the resolution will be abject surrender to the British and to the Muslim League. The Working Committee has failed you, but you have the strength of millions behind you and you must reject this resolution.’

The decision of the Working Committee was an admission of weakness. He said that the reasons, which even on their own admission, had persuaded the Working Committee to propose the resolution were that they were faced with difficulties, difficulties of administration due to the obstructive tactics of the League, to the large scale disturbances that had taken place in the country and to the fact that no agreement could be reached with the League.

But other countries had to encounter similar obstacles on the road to freedom, particularly the United States. We would have to face many greater difficulties than had come up hitherto. The Working Committee had accepted the plan in weakness and out of a sense of desperation.

At the same time they expressed the hope that they would later unite. That was dishonest. Those who had fought many a battle for India’s freedom were not frightened and they must be strong and resist. Those that were weak deserved no sympathy. They had resisted the British before and they could do so again.

In support of the resolution it had been said that Congress could not go back on its policy of non-coercion. If that was so, what would they say to the States who expressed their intention to remain independent. There would be numerous pockets of Muslims in India who would say they wanted to go to Pakistan. What would they say to them?

Concluding his eloquent plea for the rejection of H.M.G.’s plan of June 3, Mr. Tandon said the Congress had always talked of the people and never of Hindus and Muslims as it was doing today. But accepting the offer would not benefit either—Hindus in Pakistan would live
in fear and Muslims in India would do the same. The Congress hope of building up a new synthesis of Hindu and Muslim culture would be shattered if the resolution were accepted....

54. Kripalani Comments on the Communal Situation in the Country
Extracts from the concluding speech by J.B. Kripalani at AICC Session,1 15 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-47 (Part 1)/1946, NMML

When I became President of this great organisation Gandhiji in one of his prayer speeches said that it was not only a crown of thorns that I would have to wear but that I would have to lie on a bed of thorns. I did not realise then that it would be literally so. On the 16th October 1946 my name was announced as the president and on the 17th I had to fly to Noakhali. After that I had to go to Behar and now recently to the Punjab. These visits were a succession of shocks, one greater than the other. It is not only that many innocent lives are lost. Much more than the massacre of the innocent, what has affected me profoundly is the fact that our respective religions are being degraded. Both the communities have vied with each other in the worst orgies of violence, so that in the latest communal frenzy more cruel and heartless things have been done than at any previous time. I have seen a well where women with their children, 107 in all, threw themselves to save their honour. In other place, a place of worship, 50 young women were killed by their menfolk for the same reason. I have seen heaps of bones in a house where 307 persons, mainly women and children, were driven, locked up and then burnt alive by the invading mob.

These ghastly experiences have no doubt affected my approach to the question. Some members have accused us that we have taken this decision out of fear. I must admit the truth of this charge, but not in the sense in which it is made. The fear is not for the lives lost or of the widow’s wail or the orphans cry or of the many houses burnt. The fear is that if we go on like this, retaliating and heaping indignities upon each other, we shall progressively reduce ourselves to a state of cannibalism and worse. In every fresh communal fight the most brutal and degraded acts of the previous fight become the norm. So we keep on degrading each other, and all in the name of religion. I am a Hindu and am proud of the fact. But this is because Hinduism for me has stood for toleration, for truth and for non-violence, or at any rate for the clean violence of the brave. If it no more stands for these ideals and if in order to defend it people have to indulge in crimes worse than cannibalism then I must hang down head in shame. And I may tell you that often I have felt and said that in these days one is ashamed to call oneself an Indian.

I have been with Gandhiji for the last 30 years. I joined him in Champaran. I have never swayed in my loyalty to him. It is not a personal but a political loyalty. Even when I have differed from him I have considered his political instinct to be more correct than my elaborately reasoned attitudes. Today also I feel that he with his supreme fearlessness is correct and my stand is defective. Why then am I not with him? It is because I feel that he has as yet found no way of tackling the problem on a mass basis. When he taught us non-violent non-cooperation he showed us a definite method which we had at least mechanically followed. Today he himself is groping in the dark. He was in Noakhali. His efforts eased the situation. Now he is in Behar. The situation is again eased. But this does not solve in any way the flare-up in the Punjab. He says he is solving the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity for the whole of India in Behar. Maybe, but it is difficult to see how that is being done. There are no definite steps, as in non-violent non-cooperation, that leads to the desired goal.
And then unfortunately for us today though he can enunciate policies they have in the main to be carried out by others and these others are not converted to his way of thinking.

It is under these painful circumstances that I have supported the division of India. You know I belong by family and birth to the Pakistan area. My relatives and friends yet live there. When as back as 1906 I began my political career I never thought that I was working for the liberty of any particular portion of India. It was for the whole of India. Every nook and corner, every stream and mountain of the land is sacred for me. It shall so remain even after this artificial partition that separates brother from brother. Already in my opening speech I have said that in India at least one must not think in communal terms but in terms of India [sic] citizenship and in this respect I command Mahatmaji's advice given to us yesterday. If there is to be a united India again his policy alone will work.

The fear has been expressed that this decision does not and cannot stop communal rioting. This fear may be well or ill-founded. For the time being the prophets of evil seem to be in ascendancy. How are then future riots to be tackled? Will the vicious wide revolve, as it has revolved recently, on the basis of retaliation? This question I had already answered in my presidential address at Meerut. I said then that as the centre had refused to function the provinces became virtually independent. The Government in Behar should have given a warning to the Government of Bengal that if the Hindus who were living in Bengal were cruelly treated the Behar Government with the best will in the world could not be able to protect the lives of the Muslims resident in Behar. This would have meant that the issue had been raised to the international plan where organised governments deal with each other. The issue would have been taken out of the hands of the excited mob fury that knows no morality, no law, no restraint. Mob fury is always blind. International violence has at least some system and method about it. I am sure that those who hold the reins of authority after August 15th in India will make it their duty to see that justice is done to the Hindu minorities in Pakistan. If my words could carry weight with the Pakistan section of India I would say: 'Let the two Constituent Assemblies appoint a Joint Committee to go into the matter of the minority rights.' This may insure us against individuals and excited and fanatical mobs from taking the work of vengeance that is outside political moral law, in their own hands....

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1 Sadiq Ali's comments on this speech dated 24 June 1947 and J.B. Kripalani's reply dated 26 June 1947 are reproduced in Part 2, Section III, Chapter 34 ('Contending with Communalism').

55. ‘The Indian Rope-Trick’
   A cartoon in People’s Age, 15 June 1947
56. ‘Oude Should Constitute a Separate and Independent Unit’
Letter from Bahram Ali Mirza to M.A. Jinnah, 15 June 1947
Jinnah Papers, Vol. II, pp. 212–21

Golagunj, Lucknow

LONG LIVE THE QUAID-I-AZAM, LEADERS OF THE MUSLIMS AND BENEFACCTOR OF ISLAM!

Sir,

We hope to be excused for an intrusion upon your valuable time. But the nature of our mission which relates to the restoration of Oude is such that it cannot be deferred and compels us to bring the matter to your notice before it is too late.

Since your good self is the supreme commander of the Muslims of India, we implore you to intervene on our behalf and see that our wrongs are redressed and for this the present is the most opportune moment.

The Oude State was never conquered by the British and it can be proved on unimpeachable authority that the British took over the management of the Kingdom of Oude by assuming the role of a curator. They had also taken huge sums of money on loan from the Kings of Oude and interest on some of those securities is being paid by them monthly to the descendants of the Kings of Oude even to this day.

We are in possession of all relevant papers justifying our claim for the retrocession of Oude and we shall feel highly obliged if your good self condescends to grant us an opportunity of placing those facts before you for consideration.

In this connection, we further request you to go through a small book entitled Dacoity in Excelsis or The Spoliation of Oude, written by Major R.W. Bird, the last Assistant Resident of Oude, which will give you a clear insight into the pitiable case of the Oude State.

It must have also come to your knowledge through the papers and other channels that we have been demanding from time to time the restoration of Oude to its rightful claimants as an essential obligation long overdue. But it has proved a cry in the wilderness for want of influential support and powerful backing. Now that a statesman of your caliber has unfurled the banner of Islam and is at the helm of its affairs by the grace of God, our waning hopes have been revived and our energies have received a fresh stimulus.

The papers have hinted upon the determination of some members of the League High Command to demand the establishment of Oude as a separate province and the eviction or migration of its non-Muslim population. Politically it is an admirable counter-move to the agitation for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal besides its being otherwise a sound and sensible proposition.

We are ready to place all necessary documents in your hand, as stated before, so that you may be able to examine them in the light of law, equity and justice. Apart from the need for the emancipation of Oude on political grounds, it is imperative that Oude should constitute a separate and independent unit in accordance with treaty obligations and other commitments made by the British.

Again from Pakistan’s point of view, it is expedient to secure Oude to serve as a corridor between the Punjab on the west and Bengal in the east. A reference to the map of Oude will make it abundantly clear that Oude affords the main coign for such enterprise. Nay, it is not
only essential to aid in the establishment and linking up of Pakistan territories but is replete with opportunities for developing ultimately into a Pakistan province.

In any case the restoration of the erstwhile Muslim State of Oude will be a priceless acquisition conducive to the fulfillment of the aims and objects of Pakistan—a valuable asset for our creed and our nation.

Your good self has condescended to advocate the cause of the Kalat State in Baluchistan and we are confident that the case of Oude will be found equally strong and just if handled by you. Perhaps the time has come for the resuscitation of the once fertile and vast Kingdom of Oude.

We pray to God Almighty for your long life and prosperity so that the prestige, lives and properties of the Muslims of India may be preserved.

We are anxiously waiting for a favourable reply from you.

We beg to remain,

Sir,

Your devoted servants and ardent admirers,

(Prince) Bahram Ali Mirza

Secretary,

Oude Restoration Mission

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1 See Jinnah Papers, Vol. II, enclosure to Doc. 115.

57. Reactions to the 3 June Plan from Bombay

Extract from a letter from John Colville to Louis Mountbatten, 16 June 1947

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, BOMBAY

My dear Dickie,

Thank you very much for your letter of 9th June, also for your reply to my telegram of congratulations. I was so stirred when I heard all the broadcasts on 3rd June that I could not refrain from sending you a joyful message. Whatever may be ahead it was a wonderful achievement and you have now got final Muslim and Congress acceptance.

2. On the whole the plan has gone well here though a section of the Press is still attacking it. Official Congress circles take their cue from the Centre and accept with some reluctance but in a realistic spirit; Socialists and the Mahasabha oppose and Communists violently attack it. Mahomedans on the whole are pleased, and with the idea of Pakistan conceded do not appear inclined to quarrel over the arrangements for division. The Prime Minister when he read the statement shortly before your broadcast was obviously pleased at the prospect of immediate Dominion Status. So I think are my other Ministers although they are less outspoken. Kher observed to me that he had fought all his life for freedom and he believed that Dominion Status in fact gave full freedom. The prospect of splitting the Army is causing real concern to the more thoughtful and the hope is expressed that out of that headache will come a common defence policy which could retain co-ordinated services.
58. Tit for Tat Will Destroy Both Islam and Hinduism

Extract from M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 16 June 1947

CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 163-4

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

...If I can thus make myself heard by even the Hindus alone, you will see that India holds her head high in the world. I say nothing of the Muslims. They think I am their enemy but the Hindus and the Sikhs do not consider me their enemy. If the Hindus will heed my advice regarding the non-violence of the brave I shall tell them to throw their arms into the sea; I shall show them how the brave can rely on non-violence.

The Congress Working Committee consists of only a handful of men. I have seen that some of them are narrow-minded, as I could gather from one or two speeches. But I have information from all over India. They say, ‘Where will the Muslims now go? What the Muslims can do we can do, for we are in a majority. After the British leave we shall rule over them. We consider ourselves rightful rulers because we went to jail and submitted to beatings and whippings.’ It does not become us to talk in this way. This is violence. If you do not wish to listen to any talk of non-violence, if you are predisposed towards violence it is a matter of shame. If you go by the principle of tit for tat, you can take it that both the faiths will be destroyed. Islam will be finished, as also Hinduism.

If we practise the non-violence of the strong, the Pakistan that they have secured will only remain a plaything. We shall lose nothing through non-violence.

I do not consider Pakistan and India as two different countries. If I have to go to the Punjab, I am not going to ask for a passport. And I shall go to Sind also without a passport and I shall go walking. Nobody can stop me. They might say I am their enemy but if I went I would go not to become a member of some Assembly but to serve and it would not be for the first time in my life. I went to Noakhali and let no one imagine that, because it is now to be included in Pakistan, I would not go there again. A part of me lies there. I shall tell the Hindus there that if they are true Hindus they should not fear anyone even if they are surrounded by murderers.

I shall consider myself brave if I am killed and if I still pray to God for my assassin and I shall utter the name of God not with my lips alone but seeing Him in my heart. I shall not go to temples and mosques looking for God.

Today Badshah Khan, who has been so brave, is not able to show bravery. For years he has been instructing the Pathans in ahimsa. But today he says he cannot declare allegiance to India. If he did that there would be a carnage ten times as bad as in Bihar. What is he to do? Ahimsa is not a commodity which can be bought in the market. If we could display true ahimsa, the Frontier Province alone could save the whole of India.

The Muslims cannot drive a bargain with us. They cannot have all that they were given under the British regime. They cannot be given separate electorates if they ask for them. Separate electorates were a poisonous weed planted by the British but we shall be just to them. Their children will have as much opportunity of education as other children. In fact if they happen to be poor, they will have even more facilities. If we show such justice the people of India will have proved their courage....
59. ‘Swift Drift to Anarchy Must Be Checked—Disruptive Forces at Work, Warns Nehru’

Extracts from a report in The Hindustan Times, 16 June 1947

The A.I.C.C. on Sunday passed the Congress Working Committee’s resolution accepting H.M.G.’s June 3 statement by 157 votes to 29. Two hundred and eighteen members were present and 32 members did not vote.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel wound up the debate on the resolution which lasted nearly eight and a half hours. Both Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel bluntly told the Committee that the alternative before them was either to accept partition or to be faced with complete ‘balkanisation’ and anarchy.

Both the leaders declared that today there was no responsible authority in India to maintain order. Their first concern should be the establishment of a stable Government in India which could ensure peace and progress.

The A.I.C.C. resumed its session at 2-30 p.m. on Sunday and continued the debate on the Working Committee’s resolution.

Swami Sahajananda, the Bihar kisan leader, opposing the resolution, said that the Congress had always stated that it would be no party to a division of the country and it would not use force to keep within the Indian Union any unwilling part. The present resolution, however, put a premium on division. The British could do what they liked, but the Congress could not cut up a living body, for India was not yet dead. There would not be just two parts of India but many more. Since Mr. Churchill had agreed in this plan and he was no friend of India there was bound to be something sinister about the plan.

Better Than May 16 Plan

...Mr. Ansar Harwani opposed the resolution and characterized it as a surrender to Mr. Jinnah’s obstinacy. The situation, he said was identical with that of Britain in 1939 when Chamberlain had adopted a policy of appeasement.

Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, President of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee, said that some of those who were vigorously opposing the resolution today had on all previous occasions accepted the decisions of the Working Committee. They forget, however, that the resolution that was before the House was the logical consequence of those earlier resolutions to which, they had assented.

Joint Conspiracy

The Socialists, she said, do not oppose the Working Committee decisions just for the sake of opposition but because they had known that the British were planning to shackle the revolutionary urge in India. The present situation was created as a result of a joint conspiracy between Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery. The Congress had expressed its readiness to accept Dominion Status, but this was a far cry from the Congress demand of complete independence for the whole of India.

India had been caught in the British trap. She said that she would have agreed to Pakistan if it could solve the present problem, but unfortunately it did not put an end to communal strife in the country and at the same time divided the country into two. Concluding, Mrs. Asaf Ali said that she would ask them to vote one way or another. They must exercise their own judgement....
SARDAR PATEL’S APPEAL

Following Pandit Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in a vigorous speech extended his full support to H.M.G.’s statement of June 3. Looking at the Cabinet Mission’s proposals today in the light of his experience in the Interim Government during the last nine months, he was not at all sorry that the State Paper had gone. Had they accepted the State Paper the whole of India would have gone the Pakistan way. Today they had 75 to 80 per cent of India which they could develop according to their genius and make it strong. The League could develop the rest of the country.

The League Council which met in camera evidently nursed the ambition to capture the whole of India after August 15. It was the duty of every Congressman to work unitedly to make India strong, to build up an efficient army and strengthen her economic position.

The House had listened to their leader, Pandit Nehru. Never in the history of the Congress before the A.I.C.C. had to take a decision on such an important issue. He fully appreciated the apprehensions of his brothers from Sind and Punjab. Nobody liked the division of India and his heart was heavy. But there were stark realities of which they should take notice. The choice was whether there should be just one division or many divisions. The fight today was not against the British. The British have no desire to stay on in India and if they wished to stay they desired to do so only with India’s consent. And definitely they had no desire to govern this country....

Chance for India

... Further, taking any other course other than the one which the Working Committee had suggested would not only be injurious but would also make the Congress the laughing stock of the world. Here was a chance for India to attain her independence. Was she going to throw it away? It would be incorrect to say ‘first let the British go away, then all questions could be solved.’ How were they to be solved and what would happen afterwards?

His nine months in office, Sardar Patel said, had completely disillusioned him of the supposed merits of the State paper. He had noticed that Muslim officials right from the top down to the ‘chaprasis’ except for a few honourable exceptions, were all for the Muslim League....

No Room for Groups

Sardar Patel said that they had now a great opportunity to develop over three-fourths of India. They had not much time to waste. There was food shortage. There was labour unrest. In Multan and D.I. Khan food and cloth had been burnt. He had been told that for another four years we could not expect any import of textiles, and if so even the small ration of 12 years per head could not be kept up. Conditions were such that everyone should apply himself to his work energetically. He had heard many complaints against the Congress. The criticism should be met.

Freedom was coming. Congressmen should work hard to make that freedom a living thing and to make India strong. They might have a five-year plan and work it to schedule. They must build up industries. They must build up the army; make it strong and efficient.

It would serve no purpose indulging in vague criticism of the Congress. Nor would it do as was the case with the Communists, who alternately backed the British and then the League, to denounce the Congress. The Working Committee had not placed the resolution before the A.I.C.C. in a light-hearted manner but did so with a clear conscience.
Warning to Travancore

On the question of Indian States, Sardar Patel referred to Travancore, and said he would like to know how that State could become a sovereign State. Probably the statesmen who made declarations of independence and sovereignty did not understand the implications of those terms. So long as the Congress continued to have a foothold in Travancore, there was no question of independence and sovereignty....

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant then wound up the debate and the A.I.C.C. carried the resolution of the Working Committee by 157 to 29 votes. On the first count the votes were 153 for and 29 against, but after a recount the President Acharya Kripalani, announced that the resolution had been carried by 157 votes and 29.

Before the resolution was put to vote those amendments that had not been ruled out of order were either put to vote and lost or withdrawn.

The house then adjourned for tea after which the resolution on Indian States was taken up.—A.P.I.

60. Publication of Objectionable Articles

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Louis Mountbatten, 17 June 1947

SPC, Vol. IV, pp. 149-51

New Delhi.

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

You will recall our previous correspondence regarding the omission to accept the announcement of 3 June in a straightforward manner on the part of the League. The promised statement by Mr. Jinnah has not yet come out. In the meantime, the Dawn has been indulging in editorials which are hardly indicative of the peaceful intentions of which we have heard so much in private, or consistent with the impression gained by you that the League has accepted the announcement as a settlement and has no further claims to make. The articles which it has been publishing are similarly open to objection. As a sample, I would invite your attention to two news-items [see enclosures] which have appeared in today’s Dawn. One relates to Moplahs’ demand for a separate homeland and the other demands the dissolution of the Assam Ministry and the recall of the Governor. You will note that both the news-items have been sent by Dawn’s own reporter.

Yours sincerely,

Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE I

MOPLAHS’ DEMAND FOR SEPARATE HOMELAND IS BASED ON FACTS – MR. ISMAIL

New Delhi, Monday.—‘The Moplahs are racially different from the Hindus of Madras, being mostly the descendants of Arabs,’ said Mr. Mohd. Ismail, MLA, President, Madras Provincial Muslim League, explaining the resolution passed by the Madras Provincial Muslim League about Moplastan on 27 May.

‘Their religion, culture, civilisation, aspiration and outlook of life,’ he continued, ‘are different from those of the other inhabitants of the west coast of Madras. The Moplahs form the majority of the population in a considerable area of the west coast. The islands lying off the coast are populated exclusively by Moplahs.'
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

The area in question is about 3,000 square miles in extent with a total population of 15 lakhs of whom about 9 lakhs are Moplahs.

In the matter of population and area Moplastan is bigger than Cochin, a neighbouring Indian States, and larger than many other Indian States; and is considerably larger than European States like Albania.

In the new orientation of the country and the provinces, the Muslims want that Moplastan must be treated as a separate entity. The Moplahs have been demanding it for some time now. There is no doubt that they are on a firm and just ground in this demand of theirs and the Muslims of the province unequivocally support the demand.'

A Moplastan convention is going to be held at Manjeri which is in the heart of Moplastan and necessary arrangements are afoot for making the convention a success.

ENCLOSURE II

IMMEDIATE DISSOLUTION OF ASSAM MINISTRY DEMANDED

Shillong, Monday.—'Immediate dissolution of the Congress Ministry in Assam in the interest of a free and fair referendum proposed to be held in Sylhet district to determine whether it should be amalgamated with Eastern Pakistan as envisaged in HMG’s Plan of 3 June’ has been demanded by Mr. M.H. Siddikie, Secretary, Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industries, Assam, in a statement to the Press on Sunday.

‘Along with the Ministry,’ he added, ‘the Governor, Sir Akbar Hydari, must also go.’

‘The question of Immediate release of political prisoners, now that the civil disobedience movement is no more,’ Mr. Siddikie said, ‘has greatly agitated the Muslims of Assam. Taking advantage of the forced absence of our leaders, arch Muslim baiters like Mr. Basanta Das have set out on a whirlwind tour of Sylhet at the expense of public money for propagation of the caste Hindu view and this is being done under the very nose of Governor Hydari who has not kept it a secret that his sympathies are with the Hindu Congress.’

‘What’s the reason,’ he asked, ‘for keeping leaders still under duress particularly when a referendum knocks at the door? The reason appears to be that the enemies of Muslims are afraid of the tremendous popularity that our leaders enjoy among the people. They are afraid that once they are released all machinations and manoeuvres of the caste Hindu junta would miserably fail and ramshackle the structure of the house of Basanta Das which will fall into pieces.’

Continuing, Mr. Siddikie said that the Muslims of Sylhet will not grudge Mr. Das and his friends' political harakiri they have preferred to commit by [alienating] Muslims still further. He will never be able to keep Muslim Sylhet under caste Hindu domination. Instead of trying to create a rift in the ranks of the Muslims, Mr. Basanta Das will be well advised to keep his hand off from the land of Hazrat Shah Jalal.

‘Muslims need hardly be told,’ Mr. Siddikie added, ‘what Congress domination means to them. Fifteen months of Congress rule that has brought death and destruction to thousands of innocent Muslims is still fresh in the public mind. The Muslims and Scheduled Castes are determined to wipe out the rule of tyranny at least from the district of Sylhet and other non-Hindu districts.’

In conclusion, Mr. Siddikie appealed to the Viceroy to dissolve the present Ministry and recall Sir Akbar Hydari, else it was feared that the Muslims will be denied their legitimate role in the impending referendum.
My dear Shahrir,

... As you know, we have been intensely occupied here ever since Mountbatten came. As a result of numerous talks we have agreed to a division of India, that is to say to allow certain provinces and parts of provinces to vote themselves out of India if they so choose. Probably this process of voting, etc. will be completed within a month from now. The other process of a division of assets is a much more complicated one and will take longer. But the main picture should be clear enough by the end of July. You will appreciate that the division of the Army officers is a formidable difficulty....

About the 15th August there will be a major change in our constitutional position. The British Parliament is passing legislation to confer both upon India and the seceding part of it, Dominion Status. How does this Dominion Status fit in with our ideal of an independent Republic? As a matter of fact we adhere as before to our ideal of an independent Republic and our Constituent Assembly has already declared that in a Resolution of Objectives. When our new constitution is ready and we can give effect to it, I have no doubt that we shall declare India to be a sovereign independent Republic. Even Dominion status gives that right to complete independence and severance of any connection with Britain. We want to have close relations with Britain in many ways, but we do not want to give up the idea of the Republic. Indeed we could not do so because of the very strong public sentiment in regard to it.

Dominion Status is thus a temporary phase for an interim period to give place to other arrangements later. We have accepted this not in place of the other arrangements but only for the interim period.

Conditions in India have been very peculiar of late. In effect there is no real stable and final authority, although in law there is such an authority. The British Government which is still legally supreme cannot function satisfactorily and the administrative structure is breaking down. On the other hand no new authority can function. Thus there is deterioration and conflict in many places. It has become essential to get over this intervening period by the establishment of full authority in Indian hands. Every day’s delay adds to the confusion. Dominion Status, which will give us full authority by August next, will help us to meet these present conditions and to prepare the ground for a final changeover. What exactly our relations will be with the British Commonwealth I cannot just say now. But whatever they may be, I am sure that India will function as an independent Republic.

Perhaps you know that even in the British Dominions there is a strong tendency to loosen the present bonds that exist within the British Commonwealth. Canada and Australia object even to the words ‘Dominion’ and ‘Dominion Status’. It is clear that England has to face a very grave situation both in its domestic sphere and internationally. She cannot carry on an empire in any way. She seeks therefore friendly arrangements. The English people have shown better sense in this respect than the Dutch, for the Dutch really are much feebleler, and it is fantastic for them to think of holding on to an empire in any way. So also the French who are in trouble everywhere.

I have given you above some brief and rough idea of conditions in India at present so that you may be able to follow events here. We are going to have a difficult time during the next months, but we are determined to face every difficulty and to overcome it.
62. ‘At the A.I.C.C.’

Extracts from an editorial in *Dawn*, 17 June 1947

The decision of the All-India Congress Committee endorsing the Working Committee’s resolution on the British Plan of June 3 finalises the process of its acceptance by the Hindus of India. No one had doubted what the AICC’s verdict would be and therefore the floodgates of oratory need not have been so widely opened during its two-day session.... Not to speak of the lesser men and women who participated in the debate, some of them in a bitterly anti-Muslim mood, even Pandit Nehru, Mr. Patel and Mr. Kripalani said things that had better been left unsaid. Some of these unfortunate utterances cannot be allowed to go unchallenged.

These Congress leaders considered it necessary to refer to the communal disturbances which have tarnished the fair name of this sub-continent during the past nine or ten months, and in doing so they regrettably laid emphasis on the wrong places thereby painting the Muslims as the greater villains. The most heart-rending of all tragedies, the most brutal of all atrocities were those that were committed in Bihar, and to a lesser extent at Garhmukhteswar. But, to Bihar the Congress leaders made only passing references while of Garhmukhteswar they made no mention at all. Typical of this attitude was that passage in Pandit Nehru’s speech in which he mentioned ‘the riots in Rawalpindi, Multan, Amritsar, Calcutta, Noakhali and elsewhere’—as if Bihar was the least of all!...

The language of the Congress resolution and Pandit Nehru’s speech also show that the Congress is still obstinately and perversely holding fast to the illusion that India continues to remain one. The resolution speaks of ‘the essential unity of India’ and Pandit Nehru said: ‘India as an entity continues to exist except that certain provinces and parts of certain provinces now seek to secede.’ If this were only a case of men clinging pathetically to dreams and ambitions that have been shattered, in order today what Shakespeare called ‘the flattering unctions’ to their souls, we need have taken no notice of it. But there is a design underlying this attitude which is decidedly not honest. It is intended thus to continue to deceive foreign countries by keeping up the pretence that India as it has been known throughout the world since the days of British ascendancy still remains the same India and that the Hindus are about to become rulers of that India in succession to the British. We regret to have to use a strong expression, but to our mind this is no better than an attempt by the Congress to put across a diplomatic swindle on the world. Most foreign countries however have eyes and ears of their own, and we refuse to believe that this attempt to keep alive the fiction of an Akhand Hindustan that is dead will succeed in preventing the Chancellories of the world from recognizing a historic fact which is taking shape before their very eyes. Although Pandit Nehru would give Pakistan no better status than that of mere ‘seceding areas’ and although he would still have the world believe that ‘the Government of India is intact,’ it will not be long before he discovers that Powers greater than Hindustan have accorded to the great new country of this sub-continent, which is to emerge in two months’ time as the Sovereign State of Pakistan, the same recognition as to Hindustan. Indeed, this little bubble of the Pandit was pricked on the spot by none else than Mr. Patel who spoke on this particular point with greater realism. He said: ‘Today we have 75 to 83 per cent of India which we can develop according to our genius and make it strong. The League can develop the rest of the country.’ We would ask the unarithmetical Pandit Nehru to think it over!

Mr. Patel’s speech, however, contained certain passages which cannot but create concern in the minds of Muslims who will be living in Hindustan as a minority. He spoke of eradicating
what he called the plague of communalism, weightage, etc., and he significantly added: ‘Now
no more weightages.’ Is this a threat that the Muslims in Hindustan cannot expect from the
Government a just and equitable deal? Is it a threat that the constitution of Hindustan will
provide no safeguards whatever for the Muslims and that the Government of Hindustan will
consider itself free to ignore all Muslim rights and interests?...

The question of the minorities will undoubtedly loom large in the very near future and will
have to be settled. Mr. Kripalani has suggested that the two Constituent Assemblies should
appoint a Joint Committee to go into the matter of minority rights. The suggestion does not
represent any new idea, because it has always been understood that when the two sovereign
bodies come into existence, perhaps the most important treaty which they will have to negotiate
will be on the question of the minorities. We trust that these negotiations when they take place
will lead to a satisfactory understanding. As far as Pakistan is concerned, the minorities can
rest assured that the Government of Pakistan would not approach their problem in the same
callous and cavalier fashion as Mr. Patel has referred to the Muslims in Hindustan.

63. Efforts for Consolidation of Army and Central Government
Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to K.C. Neogy, 18 June 1947
*SPC*, Vol. V, p. 72

My dear Neogy,

I have received your letter of 7 June.

2. You must have seen the proceedings of the AICC which has taken the final decision. We
are now free to develop about 80 per cent of our country in our own way. If we can consolidate
our forces, have a strong Central Government and a strong army, we can, during the course
of five years, make considerable progress. If we can only make substantial progress in the
development schemes that are pending, it would give great hope to the country.

3. In Bengal, the decision for a division will be taken on the 20th when there will be election
for the Constituent Assembly. I know that you have no place [in] the future legislature unless
you are accommodated somewhere in the Western Bengal elections. I will try my best to see
that a place can be found for you.

4. Regarding the division of Bengal there seem to be no doubt now, and all bluffs and
threats or inducements and offers of bribes have disappeared. Things are progressing smoothly.
Hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,

Vallabhbhai Patel

64. Relations with Hindustan and Pakistan as Commonwealth Nations
Letter from F.F. Turnbull to Ronald Harris, 19 June 1947

Mr. Harris’s note below refers to paragraph 4 of the Viceroy’s private letter of the 12th June,
copy attached.

2. I think we should be very wary about this. Obviously one of the objections to partition
which the Congress have always felt strongly is the possibility that Pakistan will fortify itself
against Hindustan with the assistance of foreign powers, including in that term this country, the Americans and the Muslim States of the Middle East. Having been forced to agree to partition the Congress are now trying to re-insure themselves against such a possibility by giving it out that anyone who tries to give military or other assistance to Pakistan on a larger scale than to Hindustan will incur the displeasure of Hindustan. But they would not make so much noise about it if they were not frightened of the consequence.

3. We want good defence arrangements with Hindustan and Pakistan and good economic arrangements too. Just as this business of Congress suddenly coming round to Dominion status is partly due to the fear of Pakistan remaining in the Commonwealth and so getting the kind of advantages now in question, so it may turn out to be the case that we shall get much better arrangements with Hindustan by keeping open the possibility that if Hindustan does not give us good arrangements we shall come to more favourable ones with Pakistan. In short, to give the kind of assurance Mr. Gandhi wants might smite out of our hands the best negotiating weapon that we have or are ever likely to have, and moreover one which may be singularly effective for a long time to come.

4. Therefore, I think we should consider very carefully before making any statement of the kind the Viceroy propose. It may be desirable to make some such statement but I think it should be a little less pro-Gandhi than the Viceroy’s formula. I suggest it should begin by saying that we want friendly and close and effective arrangements with India in all fields, and particularly in the defence and economic field, on a basis of free negotiation, and that what we should like best is to have equally good arrangements with both parts. I certainly would not say that there can be no question of any differentiation. That would simply mean that, however uncooperative the Congress were, Pakistan could get nothing better however willing it might be. Also I would not say anything about a tripartite arrangement. The agreement itself is not by any means the whole of the matter. You can have an agreement which is worth very little if the other party does not cooperate in the proper spirit, and worth a lot if they do. If the agreement were tripartite everything that was done under it would require the assent of the new Dominion of India as well as of Pakistan. If it were not tripartite, we might be able, if it suited us, to do all sorts of things with the cooperation of Pakistan within the agreement which we could not do in Hindustan.

5. Surely the time has come when we can begin to consider British interests on their merits. Every opportunity should be given to Hindustan to cooperate on a friendly basis in the Commonwealth, but not on a basis which precludes somebody else from cooperating better. It will be remembered that the Chiefs-of-Staff recently took a strong view that if Pakistan or even Travancore or Hyderabad wanted Dominion status with the Commonwealth and Hindustan went out, it would be to the advantage of Imperial defence to allow them to have it.

F.F.T.

65. ‘Illusions Bursting about Peace Resulting from Partition’

Extracts from a report in a Delhi newsletter by A.S.R. Chari in People’s Age, 22 June 1947

The week that opened with the Muslim League acceptance of the British plan of dismemberment has closed with the Congress leadership’s pressure on the AICC to accept the plan trusting in the wisdom of their leaders.
In both the League Council and in the AICC there was very strong dissatisfaction and a desire to reject the plan. But in both organisations the choice placed before the members was either to accept the plan or repudiate the leadership which had already agreed to the plan in its main essentials before Mountbatten went to London.

While Mr. Jinnah choked all criticism and thus secured overwhelming majority support for the plan, inside the Congress with its strong democratic traditions the process was more difficult.

**Socialist Neutrality**
The Socialist Party leadership which had all along bitterly opposed partition and abused Mr. Jinnah most unrestrainedly now decided to take up a neutral attitude on this issue, and Sj. Lohia who spoke in the AICC explained this stand by saying that once the AICC had given its assent to all the previous steps taken by the Working Committee it could not now reject the step which inevitably followed from all the past policies.

The argument, however, did not cut much ice and I heard some persons remarking that the Socialist Party had sold its soul for just two or three seats more in high places. Characteristically enough, Sj. Jaiprakash Narain was away and did not attend the AICC at all.

This attitude of the Socialist Party left the opposition in the hands of the Mahasabha-minded Congressmen, the Muslim Nationalists and the non-Muslim minorities from Pakistan areas.

Nevertheless, the opposition speeches so strongly echoed the widely resident sentiment in the AICC that despite the threat given at the very outset by President Kripalani that ‘if you reject the resolution you will have to relieve us of our responsibilities and choose another Working Committee’, the House cheered the opposition speakers repeatedly....

**Time for Building**
The fact of the matter is that on both sides the leadership believes that this partition solves the main conflict and that now each can rule his area in peace little realising that the very manner in which these two States are coming into birth lays down the basis of the relations between them as the British imperialists would like to have them.

I have asked Congressmen and Leaguers whether they believe that this plan will lead to peace, but I have come across not a single person who really feels that the communal bitterness will now end.

Mr. Jinnah in the League Council Session assured the minority Muslims that a strong Pakistan State would “step in” to aid them.

There are rabid Leaguers who say that just as Islam was born in the deserts of Arabia and grew and spread rapidly so also the Pakistan State will expand.

Master Tara Singh quite undeterred by the immense sufferings of the Sikh community in Amritsar and other places in the Punjab and the NWFP, still sabre-rattles declaring that the Khalsa will extend its sway up to the Chenab if not right up to Kabul.

**Lust for Territories**
Communal-minded Congressmen still talk of how in the days of Ashoka even Afghanistan was part of Hindustan.

Such is not yet, it is true, the way of thinking of dominant sections, but it indicates how the poison of extending territories is beginning to spread.

Sardar Patel in his speech in the AICC appealed to all groups in the Congress and outside to close up the ranks, co-operate in strengthening the Government, and rapidly industrialise
the country so that the 75 to 80 per cent of territory that remains in India might be strong and prosperous enough to attract the parts that had seceded. This would also be able to check the expansionist ambitions of Pakistan if they ever chose to try it as they were threatening to do.

Acharya Kripalani in his closing speech said that if after separation the minorities in Pakistan were ill-treated, then the Government of India would serve a notice that if such things were allowed to go on, then the Government of India would not be able to hold back the people of Hindustan from wreaking their vengeance on the Muslims here.

It will be clear from all this that the leadership on both sides while talking and being desirous of peace, does not really believe that peace is won by this partition. The slogan is ‘Build your State, rapidly strengthen it so that while you are engaged in the arts of peace you are preparing for the aggression by the other side.’

The problem of minorities is also viewed as an issue that can only be settled by pressure tactics, by the theory of hostages.

On neither side is there a clear recognition of the fact that only the stopping of communal pressure tactics, the full democratisation of the State in both parts of India, the rapid abolition of landlordism and the nationalisation of key industries will make the friendly relations between them.

British Prop Them Up

It must be obvious that reactionary vested interests alone are interested in setting sections of people against each other and a system that leaves them in power will strengthen not the forces of peace and friendly relations but those elements that want communal discord and hostility and war between the two States.

The British who are quitting as rulers only to stay longer as “friends” of both the States will play a large part in the encouragement of these forces.

On the most important question as to what are the immediate propose as far as communal peace is concerned, the arson and murders that are now still going on in Lahore, Amritsar, Calcutta and even in Bombay and Cawnpore with days-long curfew are an obvious pointer.

‘Prophets of Evil’

Acharya Kripalani told the AICC that the Working Committee had accepted division to put an immediate stop to these savageries, but that there were ‘prophets of evil’, some in revolutionary groups, who said that this could not be achieved in this manner and it seemed that these prophets were right.

If this is so when both sides have accepted the Mountbatten Plan and issues appear to be ‘settled’, one can easily imagine what the position would be like when all the unsettled issues, and there are scores of them, come up shortly....

Boundary Commission

...Even if terms of reference and personnel are settled the fixation of boundaries is not likely to be done without big trouble in the areas concerned. For it is a fact that all sides to the dispute are thinking in terms of adopting a scorched earth policy if each does not get the town or area that it demands.

For instance, the Punjab Muslims say, that they would see Amritsar in ashes before they hand it over to the Sikhs, and what is going on now there is nothing but this policy in practice because it is felt that Amritsar will without doubt go out of Pakistan.
The Akalis declare that if they do not get the rich colony areas in Montgomery and Lyallpur as they have demanded as pioneers who developed the area, they would far rather blow up the irrigation dam-head rather than hand over the fruit of their efforts to the Muslims.

**Battle for Calcutta**

In regard to Calcutta, the position is very similar. The Muslim Birla—Ispahani—has all his property and interests in the city. Muslims in Calcutta do not want to lose Calcutta which is not only a growing port, but is regarded by all Bengalis as the very heart of Bengal.

Today, Calcutta is under threat of destruction. A prominent Muslim League Minister is reported to have told a Hindu coal magnate that he should write off Calcutta from his sphere of operations. If Pakistan got it, then the Hindu capitalists will have no place in it, and if it did not get it, then Calcutta will not be worth having because nothing will be left of it.

**It is a shameful fact that everyone has showered compliments on Mountbatten though he has followed the traditional British game of promising every party that it will get final boundaries which are nearer to its heart’s desire. This is probably why everyone is lost in admiration of Mountbatten, for he smiles and talks nicely and is all these to all men. A very successful Viceroy indeed!**

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66. **India Faces the Threat of Balkanization**

M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 24 June 1947

_CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 204–5_

Brothers and Sisters,

This *bhajan* dwells on the piteous plight of Rama in the story. Here is Rama, about to be crowned but ordered to go to the forest as an exile! Can there be anything more pitiable? Something similar is now happening before our eyes. There is on the one hand rejoicing everywhere in the world at the British Government’s decision to grant Dominion Status to India. On the other hand we are engaged in a fratricidal strife in the name of defending religion. I receive many letters every day attacking me. Some say I have destroyed the Hindus, some others that I have been appeasing the Muslims. They make no impression on me. I seek to appeal to no one except God, for we are all His creatures, His servants. And why should I allow myself to be annoyed by these letters? How have I offended? I only say that no one can protect his religion by doing sinful things or by committing atrocities on others. This applies to Hindus and Muslims alike. That Pakistan is a bad thing, I agree. What is there to rejoice over it? Our country has been divided. What is there to celebrate? For the last sixty years, since I was a schoolboy, I have believed that all Indians, be they Hindus, Muslims, Parsis or Christians, are brothers. Now that our land has been divided, does it mean that we should divide our hearts? How can the people of a country become two peoples? India can have only one people. When I say this they abuse me. Shall I listen to them and become a murderer? By so doing I shall only be harming myself. One is one’s own foe as well as one’s own friend. Hindus alone can destroy the Hindus and no one else.

Today flames are raging everywhere. Hinduism will be saved only if we can save ourselves from these flames. My physical powers are waning. I am no longer strong enough to put up with this heat. It is a permanent law that truth ever triumphs and falsehood perishes. What I say is not addressed to the feeble of heart but to those who are brave and unselfish, those who
know how to die defending their mother, their daughter and their religion. The man who can
die happily is more courageous than the man who kills. I want the whole of India to rise to
this standard of valour.

I shudder to see what is going on everywhere around me. With whom must I argue? We
are looking up to the British. How long must we? After the fifteenth of August the British will
have left. Whom shall we look up to then? It has been suggested that Punjab should be placed
under martial law. I have seen Punjab once placed under martial law. I know what martial
law means. It cannot change men’s hearts. I shall still say that if Muslims want to save Islam,
Hindus Hinduism and the Sikhs their Gurudwaras, they must together resolve that they will
not fight. If there is a dispute over division it should be settled not through resort to force but
through arbitration.

Sir C.P. says that Gandhi and the Congress are all too willing to grant independence to
N.W.F.P. but not to Travancore. How can a learned man like Sir C.P. say such a silly thing? If
Travancore becomes independent then Hyderabad, Kashmir, Indore and other States will also
declare themselves independent and India will be Balkanized. Then Badshah Khan does not
want to secede from India. He says that he will not join Pakistan. Must he then be a slave of
the Hindus? It is said that the Congress has been bribing him. If the Congress had resorted to
bribery to gain support of people it could not have survived. Badshah Khan tells us to frame
our Constitution first. In the meanwhile he will have come to some decision. But what Sir C.P.
says is something quite different. In N.W.F.P. it is the voice of the people. But in Travancore it
is a Maharaja and his Prime Minister speaking on behalf of the Hindus. Sir C.P. cannot throw
dust into people’s eyes by advancing the example of N.W.F.P. I would suggest to Sir C.P. that
Travancore should come into the Constituent Assembly.

67. ‘Sind League Welcomes Delhi Decision’

Extract from a report from *Dawn*, 24 June 1947

KARACHI, Monday.—Plans to prepare the people of Sind to receive power when transferred
by the British were discussed by the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League which,
at its meeting today passed a resolution welcoming the decision of the Muslim League High
Command to accept HMG’s June 3 Plan.

Mr. Yousuf Abdullah Haroon, President of the Provincial Muslim League presided over
the meeting.

The Council called upon the Muslim members of the Sind Assembly to vote for the
resolution that Sind should enter the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. Moving the resolution
Mr. M.A. Khuhro, a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League gave
them the background of the talks at New Delhi and said that Sind Muslims will greatly benefit
and they had a bright future in Pakistan particularly when Karachi became the capital of the
Pakistan Dominion Government. The resolution was unanimously passed.

Another resolution moved by Mr. M.H. Gazdar expressed ‘grateful appreciation for the
magnificent services rendered by Mr. Jinnah to the Muslims of India.’

The Council assured Mr. Jinnah that Sind Muslims would undergo all sufferings in order
to build-up a peaceful, progressive and happy Pakistan. Mr. Gazdar in a forceful speech paid
tributes to the services of Mr. Jinnah and said that but for Mr. Jinnah’s efforts the ideal of
Pakistan would have remained but an empty dream....
68. ‘Strong Centre Will Emerge out of Division’
*The Tribune, 25 June 1947*

Cuttack, June 24.—‘The settlement of the Bengal partition issue and the decision of the Hindu majority section of Bengal to join the existing Constituent Assembly will enable the emergence of a strong Union Centre,’ said Mr. Jai Prakash Narain the Socialist leader, in the course of an interview here. Mr. Jai Prakash Narain explained that though the continuity and structure of the Constituent Assembly might not violently be disturbed, henceforth it could not function under the terms and restrictions of the Cabinet Mission’s Plan. It would have to think in terms of a strong centre in respect of provinces and a loose one in respect of states. If states like Travancore felt so sure of her people’s support for the rulers’ move to declare independence, let a referendum on the issue be made and a verdict of the people obtained.

Asked about his reaction to the antagonistic attitude of official Congressmen towards the Socialist Party, Mr. Jai Prakash with warmth said: ‘If they want to cut their noses let them do so. We cannot act foolishly; we are Congressmen and will continue to remain in Congress so long as unsettled political conditions prevail and independence is not attained’—Globe.

69. ‘H.M.G.’s Plan “Unacceptable”—Defects to Be Removed’
*The Tribune, 25 June 1947*

Amritsar, June 24.—The Working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal, after several hours’ discussion in its meeting with Giani Kartar Singh, M.L.A., as President, passed a number of important resolutions, including one on the June 3 plan of H.M.G., which was declared as ‘unacceptable to the Sikhs’ and asked the Sikhs to put in all-out effort to have the defects of the plan removed. The resolutions are as under:

1. The Working Committee has, after deep deliberation, come to the definite conclusion that the latest plan of H.M.G. and subsequent developments are detrimental to the Sikh interests and as such unacceptable to the Sikhs.

It gives no political power or status to the Sikhs nor any means for the protection of their interests in either of the areas, despite the fact that their demand for partition of the Punjab was made to have an area where they could preserve their entity and develop their culture unhampered. The Shiromani Akali Dal profoundly feels that the time has come for the Sikhs to put in all-out effort to have the above defects of the plan removed.

2. After mature consideration, the Working Committee has reached the definite conclusion that it is essential that Sikh States should form a union of their own within India, to achieve a distinct position for themselves in the constitutional set-up of the country, thereby strengthening the Panth.

3. This meeting has learnt with great pain and sorrow that the N.W.F.P. Government has taken no steps for the maintenance and protection of Gurdwaras left by the Frontier Sikhs, who have been forced to migrate from the province. This meeting calls upon the provincial Government to take measures for the protection of Gurdwaras in N.W.F.P. till the return of the Sikhs.
70. Shock Expressed at the Congress Acceptance of Partition

Letter from J.K. Dutt to P.D. Tandon, 26 June 1947
P.D. Tandon Papers, File No. 42, Microfilm Acc. No. 369, NAI

Dear most respected Mr. Tandon,

Your address at Swami Ji Ka Mandir at Yehiapur is definitely one of the most immortal truths ever uttered by real patriot of our country. I have never taken part in politics of our country and yet I thoroughly agree with you when you say that the Congress, the Muslim League and the British Government—all have committed the greatest blunder in agreeing to partition India, although the motives of the three parties are quite different.

I am a Bengalee by birth but a true cosmopolitan in ideas, and that is why, I have been bitterly shocked to find that the Congress, which has been fighting for the unity of India, has at last become a party to the division of India, whatever may be its apology. You must pardon me for the remark that Mahatma Gandhi alone is responsible for the emasculation of the Hindus. His creed or policy of non-violence is a direct challenge to the teachings of the Gita and to the whole history of the human race. I have been thoroughly convinced that unless the political leaders of our country are thoroughly rid of the influence of Mahatma Gandhi in the political field, our country shall have to pay much dearer penalties in the near or distant future. I must say at the same time that for our social reforms Mahatma Gandhi can remain our eternal guide. If you just think of Mr. Jinnah, you will find him a man of action. He has actually achieved what he could never dream of, whichever party may have been at his back. Mr. Jinnah never yielded a single point to any body, and that is why, he has won the battle. But Mahatma Gandhi has been bartering away his body and soul in order to conciliate his enemy, and he has achieved nothing but complete defeat and also lost the confidence of the vast millions.

This letter to you may appear to be quite uncalled-for. I am an educationist and a penman. By holding jobs in colleges I have not been able to serve my country. Of course, I have written a few political books besides more than one hundred educational books. But I have been feeling as a penman that unless one can flatter a particular school of thought, one is sure to be ranked with a fool or a lunatic. I have been rather very free and bold with my pen, and that is why possibly, I have not been heard at all inspite of the widest publicity of some of my books. I do not regret in the least on that account, because broadcasting my own independent views to the world is my hobby.

I once approached you for a little contribution from your pen to one of my books and you very kindly sent me your blessings, but unfortunately, that book did not see the light. I still possess your letter as a precious autograph.

If you think, I can be of any service to my country at this psychological moment, I am ready to be guided by you. I have got only two weapons—my pen and my tongue. If you have any solid and constructive scheme for working out the unity of India and re-generation of the
Hindus, and if you think that my tongue and my pen can be helpful to that scheme, I would not mind working under your .... But I have got certain handicaps, which I must tell you plainly. I have got heavy family liabilities, being the father of six school-and-college going children. I need at least Rs. 500 per month for the maintenance and education of my children. You must not think that I am begging any job from you. I am already on a permanent job as Principal of an affiliated and Government-aided college. Of course, I am thinking of shifting to some other province and I have got one or two offers, which I may accept. But my ambition is no longer to merely hold jobs, and that is why, I am seeking your advice and help. This is a big moment for India and a big moment for the constructive talents too. You can give a serious thought to my proposal and see how far it is possible for you to utilize my services in any of the big centres in U.P., by putting me in charge of a responsible organization under your guidance to help the unity of India and the regeneration of the Hindus. At present, I am in full sympathy with the ideas and programmes of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha organization.

If you kindly reply to my letter, please direct your reply to 1, Cooper Road, Lahore, which is my present address.

With great regards,

Yours most respectfully

Sd./-

J.K. Dutt

To
Hon’ble Mr. Purushottamadas Tandon
Speaker
U.P. Legislative Assembly
Allahabad

71. Congress Will Not Subjugate Minorities
Letter from M.K. Gandhi to Louis Mountbatten, 27/28 June 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 225–7

Dear Friend,

I sent you a note in the afternoon. The time after the evening prayer and walk I wish to devote to talking to you on certain matters I was able to touch but could not develop when we met.

I told the Parliamentary Delegation that heralded the Cabinet Mission and the Cabinet Mission itself that they had to choose between the two parties or even three. They were doomed to fail if they tried to please all, holding them all to be in the right. I had hoped that you were bravely and honestly trying to extricate yourself from the impossible position. But my eyes were opened when, if I understood you correctly, you said that Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and the League members were equally in the right with the Congress members and that possibly Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah was more so. I suggested that this is not humanly possible. One must be wholly right in the comparative sense. You have to make your choice at this very critical stage in the history of this country. If you think that Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah is, on the whole, more correct
and more reasonable than the Congress, you should choose the League as your advisers and
in all matters be frankly and openly guided by them.

You threw out a hint that Qaid-e-Azam might not be able to let you quit even by 15th August
especially if the Congress members did not adopt a helpful attitude. This was for me a startling
statement. I pointed the initial mistake of the British being party to splitting India into two.
It is not possible to undo the mistake. But I hold that it is quite possible and necessary not to
put a premium upon the mistake. This does not in any way impinge upon the very admirable
doctrine of fair play. Fair play demands that I do not help the mistaken party to fancy that the
mistake was no mistake but a belated and only a partial discharge of an obligation.

You startled me again by telling me that, if the partition had not been made during British
occupation, the Hindus being the major party would have never allowed partition and held the
Muslims by force under subjection. I told you that this was a grave mistake. The question of
numbers was wholly untenable in this connection. I cited the classic example of less than one
hundred thousand British soldiers holding India under utter subjection. You saw no analogy
between the two instances. I suggested the difference was only one of degree.

I place the following for your consideration:

(a) The Congress has solemnly declared that it would not hold by force any Province
within the Union.

(b) It is physically impossible for millions of caste-ridden Hindus to hold well-knit though
fewer millions of Muslims under subjection by force.

(c) It must not be forgotten that Muslim dynasties have progressively subjugated India
by exactly the same means as the English conquerors later did.

(d) Already there has been a movement to win over to the Muslim side the so-called
scheduled classes and the so-called aboriginal races.

(e) The caste Hindus who are the bugbear are, it can be shown conclusively, a hopeless
minority. Of these the armed Rajputs are not yet nationalists as a class. The Brahmins
and the Banias are still untrained in the use of arms. Their supremacy where it exists
is purely moral. The Sudras count, I am sorry, more as scheduled class than anything
else. That such Hindu society by reason of its mere superiority in numbers can crush
millions of Muslims is an astounding myth.

This should show you why, even if I am alone, I swear by non-violence and truth together
standing for the highest order of courage before which the atom bomb pales into insignificance,
what to say of a fleet of Dreadnoughts.

I have not shown this to any of my friends.

If I have misunderstood you in any single particular you have only to correct me and I
shall gladly accept the correction. If I am obscure anywhere, I shall try to remove the obscurity
either by letter or by meeting according to your wish.

My anxiety to save you from mistakes as I see them is the sole excuse for this letter.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. Gandhi
72. Report from Madras

Extract from the fortnightly report for Madras for the first half of June 1947, 28 June 1947

Home Poll (I), File No. 18/6/47, NAI

...POLITICAL:—His Majesty’s Government’s proposals for the transfer of power have been on the whole well received. There is satisfaction and relief that all the principal Indian parties have accepted the new plan although it does not fully satisfy the demands of any one party. People have been quick to reconcile themselves to a partition of India which they have come to recognise as inevitable on account of the resolute Muslim League stand. The opposition to a partition of the country has been to some extent disarmed by the proposal to partition the Punjab and Bengal provinces—a proposition which was considered a natural corollary to the demand for Pakistan. There is less satisfaction over the decision to hold a referendum in the North West Frontier Province and it is argued in some quarters that there were not sufficient reasons for differentiating between that Province and the Punjab and Bengal provinces in the method of eliciting their decision regarding their future constitutional position and status. The chief merit of the new plan, however, is that it promises to call a halt to the blood shed and devastation which have cast such a dark shadow on recent Indian history, and it is earnestly hoped that that promise will be fulfilled. The future of the Indian States as to which the British Government’s Plan is silent has naturally evoked much discussion. The decision of Travancore and Hyderabad to stay out of the Constituent Assembly and declare their independence has been attacked as short-sighted and retrograde.

Typical of Communist reactions to the Plan was the speech of S.M. Kumaramangalam at a meeting in Madras on 4-6-1947. He condemned the division of India and characterised the entire plan as a subtle and cunning device of the British to continue their hold on India and to deny to India its exalted position in the comity of nations. Muslim League reactions are not yet clearly evident, but it is interesting to note that the Provincial Muslim League at a meeting on 29-5-1947 resolved that when Britain parts with power in India, the territories of the Nawab of Carnatic, taken over by the East India Company in 1801, should be restored to the original owners, the present descendants of the Nawab. ...

73. External Cooperation to National Government

Extracts from M.K. Gandhi’s talk with Prabhavati Narayan and others, 30 June 1947

CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 247

And it is possible that the experiments which were successful there may be quite unsuitable for this country and we may as a result find ourselves in the plight of a washerman’s dog. If you listen to my advice the best course, and the only course, for all of us is to extend as much co-operation to the National Government as we can. If you are opposed to certain things, if you do not like a particular policy, then you only have to...They are all very wise men. They will certainly listen to you if you try to explain to them your point of view. Give them as much active help as possible. We are all one body. If there is a thorn in one foot the whole body suffers for it. One feels relieved only when it is taken out. Similarly, we all have to suffer for the mass-slaughter going on in the country. What can Sardar and Nehru alone do? There are only a handful of such wise men in the country today. Do not let your abilities be frittered away
when the National Government is about to be formed. Utilize them in useful activities. It is not as if politics were the only field of service. There are so many others which are untrodden. Take up the one in which you are interested. Bear in mind the welfare of the country. I do not wish to say anything more.

74. Protest by Savarkar against the Vivisection of India
Statement by V.D. Savarkar, 1 July 1947
Savarkar and Joshi (Eds), Historic Statements — V.D. Savarkar, pp. 201–4

The following message was delivered by Veer Savarkarji for 3rd July 1947, a day which was observed by the Hindus as the Black Day and the Day of Protest against the vivisection of Hindusthan.

My message to Hindudom even on this Black Day in our History is to assure it once more, “Despair not!—a glorious future awaits the Hindus—if only they do not betray themselves!!”

This is not a mere rodomontade I am indulging in. Taking stock of all things past and present it amounts almost to the certainty of a law.

For, all laws are but generalizations primarily based on detailed observations. The detailed observation of the history of Hindus through centuries on centuries points incontrovertibly to the fact that the Hindu Nation is imbued inherently with such an amazing capacity for resurrection, of renaissance, of rejuvenation that the Black Day which finds them completely overwhelmed by anti-Hindu forces is precisely the moment which ushers in the Day of their Deliverance—to quote the Pauranic style—of the birth of an ‘Avatar’!! It was in the Darkest hour of the Night that Shri Krishna was born. It is the indomitable spirit of inherent vitality that has enabled our National Being to prove almost immortal in relation to other races or nations—ancient or modern and invested it with that strength which ultimately demolished and swept away all anti-Hindu forces which raised their head from time to time against us.

Where are the Greeks who accompanied Alexander and his successors right down to the Ganges and were driven back by the triumphant Hindu forces under Chandragupta beyond the ranges of Hindu-Kush! Not only that race of the Greeks but even the gods they worshipped are dead and gone! Dead, gone and forgotten are also the Huns who overran all Europe but were smashed in the battlefield by Hindu sword and surrendered or got converted to Hindudom through the Baptism of our Sacrificial Fire. Where are the mighty hordes of the Shakas? Defeated, driven out of Hindusthan and effaced so completely as an alien race that their very identity has become a matter of mythological conjectures. Then came almost within living memories, speaking historically, the Moslems!—What about them?

The Moslems are never tired of asserting that they came to India as conquerors and subjugating all Hindusthan raised up a mighty Moslem empire there. But they fight shy to tell the sequence. They shudder to revise the end of that story and try to hide it even from themselves! True it is that the Moslems came to India as conquerors but they stayed out too long to hold out against the marvellous capacity of the Hindus to stay out in the field and win in the long run. To validate this historical fact just look at the following two pictures.

This Picture and That
Just take up the map of Hindusthan about 1600 A.D. The Moslems ruled all over Hindusthan unchallengeably. It was a veritable Pakistan realized not only in this Province or that but all
over India. Hindusthan as such was simply wiped out. Then open out the map of India about
1700 to 1798 A.D. and what do you see? Beating the Moslem Army to a chip in hundreds of
battlefields the Hindu forces are marching triumphantly throughout India. The very Moghal
throne at Delhi is smashed to pieces literally with a hammer by Sadashivrao Bhau, the
Generalissimo of the Marathas.

Our Hindu-Sikh Brotherhood does ultimately deliver the Punjab and Kashmir from the
Moslem yoke and rules supremely from the borders of Tibet to the banks of the Kabul River;
Our Gurkha Hindus ruling Nepal, while the Marathas from Delhi to Rameshwari have planted
the Hindu Flag from Capital to Capital, from temple to temple. The Moslem Empire which
rose like a rocket fell like a stick and on its ruin rose up once more the Hindu Hindusthan
resurrected and victorious.

It will do good even to the Moslems if they realize the import of this historical truth. The
fate which overtook them when they had succeeded in converting the whole of Hindusthan
into an actual and factual Pakistan led by the might of an Aurangzeb cannot but overwhelm
the puny Pakistan of to-day led by Mr. Jinnah! If they still want to try again let them try to do
their worst.

And let the Hindus too rise up and try again. Nothing has happened in the meanwhile so
detrimental to Hindu Strength as to make us doubt our fitness to survive in the struggle for
existence. The undying spirit of renaissance, of rejuvenation so inherent in our race shall assert
itself once more and out of the very womb of the darkness of this Black Day in our History
shall burst out the Golden Dawn of a triumphant To-morrow,—if only O Hindus, you do not
betray yourselves.

In this faith let the Hindus rise and renew this vow,—

1. that we Hindus are a nation by ourselves,
2. that Hindusthan, this Bharat Bhoomi from the Indus to the Seas is our Fatherland and
Holy Land,
3. that in spite of the treacherous betrayal by the Congressite pseudo-nationalism in
its abetting the crime of vivisection of our Country and our State, we Hindus shall
continue to resist the revolting Pakistani areas till they are forced to get re-annexed
to our Central and Sovereign Akhand Hindusthani State.
4. That to achieve this consummation we will HINDUISE ALL POLITICS AND
MILITARISE HINDUDOM.

Observe Protest against Dishonour of Women

Letter from V.G. Deshpande to C.N. Zutshi, 5 July 1947
AIHM Papers, File No. C-160, NMML

Miss C.N. Zutshi,
Shivlal Balika Vidyalaya,
Madarsa Road, Kashmere Gate,
Delhi

Dear Madam,
Many thanks for your letter dated the 4th July 1947. We would arrange to... publish the
pamphlet. I would be highly obliged if you can show me the manuscript of the pamphlet. It
would be desirable if you can see me at the Hindu Mahasabha Bhavan. Kindly inform me the time and date on which it would be convenient for you to come to the Bhavan. If it would not be possible to come to the Bhavan I may come to your place.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/- Hon’y Secretary

OBSERVE
HARTAL    HARTAL
3rd July
to defend your mother, brothers & sisters. They are tortured, dishonoured and defiled.

NO PAKISTAN     NO DIVISION
PAKISTAN MEANS DEATH
DISHONOUR and Slavery
PROTEST IT Vigorously
Schools & Colleges, Offices, Vehicles, Shops must be closed.
Look at Punjab, Bengal, Sind
and N.W.F.P. and then move on.
Hesitation means Cowardice.

STRIKE    STRIKE ...

76. Congressmen Should Muster Support against Partition of India
Letter from Jugal Kishore to Ram Ratan Gupta, 7 July 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-6(II)/1947, NMML

G-6/385

Dear Mr. Gupta,

I was in receipt of your circular letter dated June 7th. I am sorry I have not been able to acknowledge it earlier. We are all sorry that there should have been partition of India. We made our best efforts to prevent it but force of circumstances and urgency of the situation demanded that we should make some decision unless we allowed things to drift further into chaos and anarchy. The British Govt. having decided to leave India by a certain date, we could not allow things to drift without coming to some decision. So now the question of partition is a settled fact. What its results will be remains to be seen. We need not be very pessimistic about it. It has its advantages and disadvantages. I hope the advantages will outnumber the disadvantages. We should at least strive to make the best of it.

It will not be possible through this letter to discuss all the points you have raised in your circular. They are debatable points and must need discussion. They have been discussed recently in the various papers and what is to be said for and against it has not been missed. It is only hoped that the fears of many people will not come true. We have to face them in any case and do our best to meet the situation as it develops.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
Jugal Kishore

L. Ram Ratan Gupta
Bihari Niwas, Cawnpore
Dear Comrade,

I am addressing this letter to you in the capacity of one who has had the privilege of being one of you for the last 25 years, an unflinching believer in and unstinted adherent of the principle of independent and united India, which the Congress has ever been vigorously advocating and to which it is solemnly wedded.

Let me state at the very outset that my conception of the obligations and responsibilities of a Congressman is that he must faithfully represent and voice the feelings of the dumb masses, regardless of any considerations, and express his honest opinion, in a democratic fashion and without any fear of contradiction, in regard to all those matters which affect the country and particularly the teeming millions who have watered with blood and tears the plant of our organization in the hope that in the end they would be enabled to get rid of all the miseries and hardships and to live a free, peaceful and happy life.

I believe you will certainly agree that the division of British India into two Sovereign States is a total denial of our demand for a united India, and the acceptance of this proposal by the Congress High Command is a sheer repudiation and negation of our avowed principles and a gross betrayal of the pledge we have given to the electorate on whose strength is based the edifice of our organisation.

Apart from ideological consideration we have to see whether the division will solve our problems or it will endanger the peace and progress of our country. Obviously, with the acceptance of the principle of partition new and more formidable problems connected with it will arise. In accordance with the theory of self determination the Muslim States in Hindustan Zone can and may choose to join Pakistan, sooner or later. And this may naturally give impetus to the demand for Muslim corridor. We may call it an absurdity. But, did we not call the demand of Pakistan and transfer of population as absurd in the past, while today we are accepting them without demur? And again when in the Hindustan, as situated at present, there will be left 45 million organised and armed Muslims concentrated in strong pockets in the various cities and towns and having 75-80 per cent representation in the Police service, what effective means will be available to us to check this menace? The Muslim Leaguers even in their existing position are much more armed and organised and capable of launching the offensive any moment. And they may do anything when the Sovereign State of Pakistan is established.

It is indeed fantastic and incredible to say that there will be friendly relations between Hindustan and Pakistan and that a peaceful era will usher in as a result of the establishment of a Sovereign Muslim State. When we accepted the communal electorates, we had entertained the same hope that Muslims would be pleased with this concession and there would be no communal trouble. And, ultimately, the circumstances could not but make us admit that we had committed a Himalayan blunder. That blunder delayed our freedom by 25 years, and one simply shudders to think of the incalculable harm that this greater blunder is bound to result in.

With the inclusion of the N.W.F. Province in the Pakistan, which is an undoubted certainty in view of the fact that there is to be a plebiscite on the clear issue of Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj, the whole of northern and north-western India including Baluchistan will be a Muslim State having direct and close contact with Afghanistan and Middle East which will provide a direct
route to have communications with the European countries. The deep port of Karachi and the geographical position of the Eastern Bengal will further add to the already strong bargaining position of Pakistan State.

In the present state of rabid power politics raging in the Middle East, where it is said the seeds of the third world war are being sown, the Pakistan State which will be the biggest and strongest Muslim State under the leadership of no other person but the same Mr. Jinnah, with his ambition to dominate whole of India, will be capable of doing immeasurable mischief which may surpass all the bestialities and barbarities to which the innocent masses were subjected by the Muslim Leaguers during the past months.

The existence of about 45 million strong Muslims in the Hindustan provinces, still owing allegiance to Pakistan who are in a position and rather sure to act as Gestapo and frustrate the administration of those provinces, will certainly be a great advantage to the Pakistan Government which may ultimately be utilized for creating a chaos in the Hindustan and thus seeking the opportunity to dominate the whole of India by force. The traditional submissiveness of the Hindus and the declared policy of our leaders in regard to our relations with the Mussalmans will be a guarantee to Pakistan that it can play the aggressor with impunity, and succeed in dominating and retaining its hold on Hindustan.

Precisely the acceptance of the principle of partition will hardly put an end to our problem. In fact it is bound to give rise to various manifold difficulties which may deteriorate our social and economic conditions instead of ameliorating them.

The belief that the Pakistan will be economically poorer and weaker and will thus be compelled to have friendly relations with and seek assistance from Hindustan is nothing but a misconception and betrays sheer ignorance of facts and economic statistics. This is quite obvious that the largest, the best and rich cotton and jute producing areas with world monopoly and wheat growing area have gone to the Pakistan along with rich mineral wealth of the Punjab and Baluchistan, while the number of people to be fed is comparatively lesser in that area. And therefore economically, Pakistan will be a stronger state than visualized by many of us. And India’s most important industries being those of cotton and jute, the Pakistan Government far from being in a submissive mood will dictate their terms to the Hindustan. Precisely it is vain to suppose that Pakistan will submit to Hindustan on economic grounds.

The Pakistan Government may well desire to grab other resources of Hindustan. And, obviously they would do it only by an act of force which we may be quite unable to resist, unless there is a revolutionary change in our temperament, tradition and every conviction in our being.

The argument of self determination derived from a Russian slogan also does not stand scrutiny because Russians adopted this slogan only when their revolution was successful and when the Soviet Government was fully armed with power. And then, in Russia this slogan remained only a slogan and was never put to practice. We must also remember that America went into war with revolting units and preserved the unity of the country and the outcome of this policy is evident by the very might of U.S.A.

Was the division of India inevitable? Certainly not! The argument that the British would not transfer power to the Union Centre is absolutely untenable and smacks of a lack of political farsightedness. Surely, in spite of the stubbornness and intransigence of the Muslim League, which was also the natural result of the appeasement policy of the Congress, the British Government could not concede Pakistan and spurn the demand of the nationalist
India, if we would have made it felt with equal stubbornness that India would not and could 
not be divided come what may. Ours would have been quite an honourable stand to stick to 
the May 16 proposal to which the British Government was irrevocably committed and which 
they could not abandon without the consent of Congress. Apart from that, according to a long-
term British Plan they had to keep India strong and friendly on which depended their whole 
scheme of relinquishing their active participation in Asiatic politics. This plan of theirs could 
not be fructified if they antagonised nationalist elements of this country. Moreover it was not 
in consonance with the strategic plan of Britain to erect such a strong state of Muslim India 
which is likely to encourage the pan Islamic movement in Middle East. We also ignored the 
fact that international opinion is deadly against the division of India which is bound to weaken 
its war potentiality.

However the conclusion is irrefutable that but for the climb down of the Congress Britain 
could never have forced this partition and Mr. Jinnah would never have got this unexpected gift. 

That there would be anarchy and bloodshed if the Pakistan would not be conceded or 
that the recent riots has shown that no organized defence in Muslim dominated areas could 
be possible is yet another argument that can hardly stand on the grounds of practical politics. 
Although it is a fact that the minority pockets in the Pakistan area are not strong enough, and 
this is also due to our negligence and self-complacency, yet here again one feels extremely 
sorry that a mighty organisation like the Congress, having adequate resources at its disposal 
should have felt so helpless and succumbed to the bullying tactics of the Muslim League. 

It is indeed a queer corollary that the Muslim League has been mustering thousands of armed 
and equipped men for enforcing its policy of coercion and aggression and the Congress leaders 
have been merely bandying words and proposing soulless panaceas and ineffective remedies. 
Apart from the blood-curdling holocaust of the East Bengal, the butchery of the Punjab and 
the blitzkrieg of the Frontier Province, the invasion of Assam, the armed onslaught in Gurgaon 
and the secret organisation of the combatant forces of Muslims concentrating in well fortified 
pockets in various towns and districts of U.P. should indeed serve as an eye opener to those 
who visualise peace and harmony after the establishment of Pakistan.

Whereas we are proud that the Congress leadership has eminently succeeded in the 
political battles against the British Government, we cannot escape the painful fact that it has 
utterly failed in dealing skillfully and judiciously with the internal elements, and the result 
is too obvious. The Muslim League which was a powerless body a decade ago, has cleverly 
exploited the appeasement policy of the Congress and has ultimately emerged triumphant, 
while the position of the Congress today is simply precarious.

Surely, the present executive of the Congress having secured the vote of the electorate 
on the clear issue of united India, it was their bounden duty, and the democratic principles 
certainly demanded to take a referendum from the public on the question of the division of 
the country. And having failed to do so and accepted the Pakistan against the wishes of their 
electors their action is certainly unconstitutional.

Let me bring it home to you that the masses and even younger elements in the Congress 
are utterly disgusted with the policy of the people at the helm which has resulted in such a 
tragedy as the acceptance of the division of India. And if we do not voice their feelings with 
all the emphasis at our command and take such concrete steps whereby we can offer a bright 
prospect to this vocal section we shall have to be sorry to find in the near future our organisation 
bereft of this element, the stamina, and the consequences are too obvious.
Comrade, being a member of the Nation’s Parliament the destiny of the millions of dumb-driven masses is in your hands. I hope you will agree that we cannot afford to be swayed by the sentiments of party prestige when broader issues are involved and the interests of the whole nation are at stake. Indeed, loyalty to the country is far more sacrosanct a thing than loyalty to the party. And it is your sacred duty to champion the cause of the common man with all your might, and express your strong opposition to the division of our motherland in most emphatic and unmistakable terms, and thus demonstrate to the world that the Congress is really a living democratic organisation where even the decisions and recommendations of the High Command are overthrown when they do not meet with the approval of the people’s representatives.

Verily, if the A.I.C.C. votes against the division of India and refuses to accept the latest British announcement, it will simply be keeping aloft the banner of democracy and vindicating the prestige and honour of the Congress and of the whole Indian Nation.

It is my fervent hope that you will leave no stone unturned to canvass and secure maximum possible support against the division and for the unity and integrity of our motherland.

Yours fraternally

R. RATAN GUPTA

77. Acceptance of Partition Means Suicide for Congress
Letter from R.S. Vidhyarthi to J.B. Kripalani, 10 July 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-18/KW-I (Pt-II)/1947–8, NMML

Respected Acharyaji,

I am enclosing herewith my views on the question of partition of India with a request to very kindly express your detailed comments upon it which would determine the position of the congress men [sic] of my way of thinking.

It is needless to say for me that I have been a loyal congressman since 1920.

With best respects,

Yours sincerely,

(R.S. Vidhyarthi)

The Congress & the Partition of India

The Indian National Congress stood for undiluted nationalism and represented India as a whole in her political ideals and aspirations. It was the Congress which rightly claimed to represent all the communities of India. A reactionary section of the Muslim led by the Muslim League and similarly a few Hindus under the Hindu Mahasabha ventured to oppose the Congress but both were doubted as communal organizations and the congressmen were prohibited to join them.

The Congress fought the battle of freedom of India in August 1942 with its slogans of ‘Quit India’. All attempts of British Govt. to suppress the Congress and to create communal disturbances in the country totally failed. The war ended and the world situation demanded
the solution of the Indian question. At such a juncture Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, and the Labour Government in Britain were themselves anxious to move in the matter. At this point some of the Indian leaders, who did not join the 1942 movement, at their own responsibility and initiative negotiated with the Viceroy and the Muslim League to have an agreement. The Muslim League leader from the very start refused to accept the position of the Congress as that of representative of the Indians as a whole. He emphatically refuted the Congress claim of representing Muslims and arrogated himself and his league, the position of sole representative of the Muslims of India. He nicknamed the Congress, Muslim leader Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as a ‘show boy’. He even dwarfed the Congress and minimized its position by declaring it to be the representative of caste-Hindus only. In spite of this position Gandhiji virtually knocked at the doors of Jinnah for compromise. Indian Congress leaders came out of the jails and met in conference convened by Lord Wavell and even accepted the position of the Muslim League as the representative of the majority of the Muslims. But even at that Jinnah did not feel appeased. Hence general elections were held and the Congress did not prove that the League was not the sole representative of the Muslims. The Muslim League could not form a ministry in any other province except Bengal & Sind where it was backed by the Governors and the Europeans. Even at that the Congress ignored the direct mischief of the British Government and its agents in India. In a way it played the British game so blindly that to-day every thinking-minded person in India feels pity at the plight of the Congress.

When the Congress placed one wrong step on the prespice [sic] it actually proceeded on the path of self extermination rapidly. To-day it can be said that Congress has committed suicide. It is a great wonder as to how Congress has taken up the position of negotiating with a communal organization like the ‘Muslim League’ and agreed to the partition of India by allowing a fairly big portion of the country, consisting of parts of the Punjab and Bengal & Assam and Frontier. This means the Congress has reduced itself from the position of a national organization to that of a communal one by conceding to a community a part of India which is populated by all communities in the country without any right to do so.

The Congress position could only be one of national body as such it could not allow any vital and fundamental concessions to any one or the other community at the cost of others. The question of partition of India could never be decided in between the two organizations or even by many organizations of the country, it is a matter which concerns every individual living in the country. The representatives elected by the country were given a clear mandate of undivided India. Even they were not consulted on the question of partition of India. So logically and justifiably the question of partition of India must be decided by referendum throughout the length and breadth of India with a right to vote to every adult.

Without that any decision of the partition of the country is not binding on the people of India. They have a right to revolt against such a decision. It is the time that every Indian individually and unitedly must rise in revolt against the decision of the partition of India in the supposed interest of a single community of the country. If the representatives elected on the basis of limited franchise want the partition of a province or India it is not justifiable to let them have it. Life or death, peace or war India must not submit to the decision of the partition of the country.

It is no doubt most regrettable that the Congress should have submitted to the decision of the partition of the country without any authority, to that effect from the people whom it claims to represent. But any way by accepting the decision of partition of India in favour of Muslim
League, a communal organization in the country, the Congress has committed suicide. Now the people of India are left with no other option but to take up the lead themselves. As the Congress declared in 1942 August that everybody should feel to be his own leader stands more true to-day. It is now time for the Indians to meet and decide their future. The voice of all the individuals is the voice of the people and is the ‘general will’ which is not being represented to-day fairly by any organization in the country. As such the people must assert themselves and must find out leaders from amongst themselves who can express ‘their will’ and see that it is carried through. This way alone lies salvation of the country otherwise with the suicide of the Congress India Stands [sic] betrayed to-day and the future of the country is in absolute dark.

78. No Way Out of Partition
Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to G.S. Bozman, 11 July 1947
SPC, Vol. 4, p. 469

New Delhi

My dear Bozman,

Thank you for your letter of 1 July 1947.

2. I am sorry to hear that your domestic circumstances make it incumbent on you to ask for leave preparatory to retirement. It is a pity that India should lose the services of an able officer like you.

3. I fully appreciate your reasons for disliking the decision to divide India. Frankly, speaking, we all hate it, but at the same time see no way out of it. We nurse the hope that one day Pakistan will come back to us.

4. I hope you are having a pleasant holiday. Here we are all preoccupied with partition. When you return in November you may find things quite different in several respects.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

Vallabhbhai Patel

G. S. Bozman Esqr., CSI, CIE, ICS
5 Ridway Road, Kettering
England

79. Gandhi Has Surrendered India’s Freedom
B.S. Moonje’s statement to the Press, 12 July 1947
B.S. Moonje Papers, Subject File No. 41, NMML

Nasik

Dr. B.S. Moonje has issued the following statement to the Press:

News of high level importance, though unexpected, has been announced. Mr. Jinnah becomes His Excellency the Viceroy of Independent Pakistan and the Congress, elated with joy and satisfaction at the completion of its political mission under the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi have, ignoring the rights and privileges of the Hindus, selected Lord Mountbatten, an Englishman, a foreigner, as their Viceroy under the independence of Hindusthan which now under the circumstances deserves to be described as faked.
We must therefore heartily congratulate both, that is, Mr. Jinnah as well as Mahatma Gandhi, as Dictators respectively of the Muslim League and the Congress. We welcome Mr. Jinnah in right royal Nazi fashion by shouting 'Heil Hitler' and we cannot similarly welcome Mahatma Gandhi otherwise than by shouting 'Heil Non-Violence.' Quite like Hitler, Mr. Jinnah proved to demonstration the efficacy of his planned violence which has terrified Mahatma Gandhi into submission and surrender and has now received the sanction and imprimatur of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor of India in his appointment with the consent of the Congress as the first Viceroy of Pakistan. But why is a Bhangi girl as proposed by Mahatma Gandhi not selected as the first Viceroy of Hindusthan? But perhaps she is reserved to be the President of the Republic whenever, if at all, it will be established.

According to Mahatma Gandhi’s arguments, since the time the ‘Quit India’ slogan was invented, Independence was coming. Independence has now come but the best and the most cherished part of it, has been conferred on Pakistan and it is only the second best of it which has fallen to the lot of Mahatma Gandhi’s Hindusthan. Would it be a Truth to say that Pakistan got the best part because organized violence deserved it and it was the non-violence that deserved the second best? But who can say that, as it is, it is not a great victory for non-violence? Otherwise how should it have been possible for an Englishman, the top most representative of His Imperial Majesty, to become with the consent of Mahatma Gandhi, both the Viceroy of Hindusthan as well as the Chairman of the Joint Defence Council? Could a more brilliant victory be conceived of to both violence and as well as to Non-Violence?

Previously England alone was the Imperial Ruler and now it has been so ordained that the Anglo-Moslem alliance should be the Ruler of India though divided into two Dominions within the British Commonwealth.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, says—‘British Rule which has endured so long, is now, at the instance of this country (England) coming to an end.’ Is it a Truth or [sic]; or is it more true to say that it is the result of Mahatma Gandhi’s slogan of ‘Quit India’?

The Prime Minister further says that it is however more because of the desire of ‘millions of Indians’, divided by race, caste, language and religion as they were who ‘shouted [sic] under our aegis justice and quiet life’, ‘the peace and security which had been denied to them during the anarchic period which followed the break-down of the Moghul Empire’, that they established the British Empire in India, having carried on to a successful issue their ‘Contest with the French for the mastery of the Peninsula, India.’ In this narration of historical events, the wars waged by the Sikhs and the Marathas against the Britishers are however quietly conveniently forgotten when the break down of the Moghul Empire is purposefully emphasised.

But who can deny that the present kind of Independence is not a real victory to non-violence, when there is the emblem of the British might, Lord Mountbatten installed as Governor-General, being the living guarantee for peace and security to Mahatma Gandhi, the prophet of non-violence, in rivalry with the violence of Mr. Jinnah, the Viceroy of Pakistan.

Such is the unique method of Mahatma Gandhi’s warfare in Non-violence [sic] to conquer hate by love, untruth by Truth and ambition by humility. Mahatma Gandhi has thus signed away and surrendered a part of Hindusthan and also the fate and fortune of the valiant [sic] soldierly community of the Sikhs in their very Homeland, the Punjab. But has he purchased Peace and security from the planned violence of his Quaid-e-Azam, Mr. Jinnah?

Sd/-
(Dr. B.S. Moonje)
80. Passive Resistance Only, Not Non-violent Satyagraha

Extracts from M.K. Gandhi’s discussion with visitors, 17 July 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 356-7

That is what you think. I tell you that I can show you the miracle today if Hindus maintain peace and show courage. But with what face can I tell the League not to indulge in atrocities? You say that if I give you the lead you will follow me. Have you ever thought against whom and to whom I can give the lead? The British have not partitioned the country. It has been done with the consent of the Muslim League and the Congress. Isn’t that so? The leaders had no other alternative. They thought it was better to partition the country so that both the parts could live happily and peacefully rather than let the whole country go to pieces. About this I did hold a different view. My view was that no one could take an inch of land by resorting to violence and murder. Let the whole country be reduced to ashes. They could take the whole country by friendly negotiations and peaceful methods. But though non-violence is a creed with me, it is not so with the Congress. There is only one other person in the country who has accepted non-violence as a creed and he is Badshah Khan. It is true that I had believed that our satyagraha struggles were based on non-violence. Only lately I realized that it was not true. I admit my mistake. I first started the satyagraha struggle in South Africa. At one of the meetings Mr. Hosken said that Gandhi was fighting a weak man’s battle. I strongly contradicted him and proudly said that what was needed for satyagraha was spiritual strength and not physical strength, and that we were fighting with soul-force. As you know we were quite successful in that struggle. Immediately after that I came away to India. I employed the same method here. At the time I did believe that people were fighting with genuine spiritual strength. I would not have launched the struggle if I had then realized that it was only ‘passive resistance’. But God had willed to use me for this mission and so he blurred my vision. And because our fight was not one of non-violence we see the result today. There is arson, murder, loot and chaos all around.

81. A Call for a Stand for United India

Extract from a bulletin on All Bombay Anti-Pakistan Conference, 19 July 1947
AIHM Papers, File No. M-18, NMML

DEAR SIR/MADAM,

From the previous bulletin issued by the Reception Committee on the 17th inst. you will have gathered that this Conference is going to be held in Bombay, on Saturday, the 26th inst. at the Blavatsky Lodge from 12 noon to 7 p.m.

The Conference is not intended to be a gathering of any party or any particular section in the City, it is rather a meeting place for all communities and all parties who are advocates of a United India and who are determined to fight Pakistan or any other separatist move and to fight it to the last ditch. No one who is not determined to fight Pakistan and to restore our Motherland to her territorial integrity has a place in the Conference: such men are not wanted. All the rest are cordially welcomed. Their services India needs most now. There is no party ban
either. Hindus, Mohamedans, Christians, Parsees and all other communities in the City, are cordially requested to become members of the Reception Committee or delegates. Members of the Congress Party, the Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Party, the Forward Bloc—no matter what party or association it is—if you are prepared to fight Pakistan, you are one of us. Chambers of Commerce, Trading Associations, Literary Societies, Trade Unions, Students Organisations, Women’s Associations, Learned bodies, clubs—in short all organised bodies, whatever their views in other matters, if they stand for United India—they are welcome.

There is no time to be lost. Our enemies are working hard day and night to meet us with a Fait Accompli and if we want to resist them successfully, we have to work without respite, without rest to make the Conference successful. We must remember that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. We need not emphasise the importance or the urgency of the Conference, we want that the voice of Bombay should be heard in no uncertain terms on Saturday at the Blavatsky Lodge. That voice should be a warning to the cliques engaged in cutting India to pieces, that the people are wide awake, that the clique has no authority or mandate for doing what it has done, that the indecent hurry with which it is proceeding to complete its handiwork is, to say the least, disgusting and despicable. The people won’t stand this betrayal of their vital interest, before long, at the bar of public opinion, these traitors will be judged at their proper worth and will be awarded a punishment for their crime against the nation, so fitting that it will be a warning to all traitors for all time.

You are therefore once more requested to register your name as a member of the Reception Committee by paying Rs. 5/- . Delegate’s fee is Rs. 2/- and visitor’s Re. 1/-.

Special seats are reserved for ladies.

Yours sincerely
R.K. Tatnis,
Arya Bhavan, Sandhurst Road, U.K. Oza
Bombay, 4. 19 July 1947
S.N. Ghate
Hon. Secretaries

ENCLOSURE

All Bombay Anti-Pakistan Conference

Arya Bhavan, Sandhurst Road
Bombay-4
17 July 1947

DEAR SIR/MADAM

Overleaf you will find a copy of the main resolutions unanimously adopted at a public meeting held at Blavatsky Lodge on Sunday the 13th inst. ‘pledging those present not to rest until the partition of India had been undone and the integrity of our Motherland was restored.’

A Committee was appointed at that meeting to hold a Conference before the end of this month where representatives of all Associations as well as individual citizens will be collectively voicing their protest against Pakistan and declaring their unswerving allegiance to United India....

The basis of the Conference is:

1. Complete democratic independence for the country in an undivided India.
2. Equality and social justice for all.
3. A truly internationalist outlook on world events and problems.

Yours faithfully
R.K. Tatnis,
U.K. Oza
S.N. Ghate
Hon. Secretaries

RESOLUTIONS

Passed at the public Meeting held at the Blavatsky Lodge on the 13th July 1947.

1. This preliminary meeting of those who loyally adhere to the fundamental principle of Indian unity and who stand for the democratic freedom of the Indian Nation based on social justice declares its considered and emphatic opinion that the Mountbatten Plan of 3rd June 1947 is a mere consummation of the crooked diplomacy of the British Imperialist and is in no sense a liberation of India from his stranglehold, it carries no support of the people of India who were not consulted in the last elections on this issue of Pakistan. On the contrary, the Congress party in particular over and over again assured the voters that they would resist Pakistan at all costs. The Sikhs did the same. The Plan of June 3rd therefore has no mandate of the people. In the name of the country therefore we totally repudiate this conspiracy of a clique for disintegrating and weakening India and we hereby pledge ourselves not to rest until India irredenta is once more restored to its integrity.

2. This meeting is fully convinced that the Congress party who surrendered to Pakistan in defiance of their election pledges to the nation, have committed a grievous breach of faith towards the people of this country and forfeited all their confidence. Their conduct amounts to a most shameful betrayal of the vital interests of hundreds of millions of people, they have exposed not merely the people of India but of the whole world to the dangers of chaos and anarchy. After their reprehensible conduct they do not deserve to hold power in this country and we hereby call upon them to resign forthwith.

3. This meeting declares that a nation-wide action to consolidate the resistance to Pakistan is urgently called for and to that end resolves to convene a Conference in Bombay of the members of all Associations and other citizens who agree with the programme set out above for the purpose of concerted and organised action.

4. ...

5. A most shameless attempt is being made by the Congress Party to represent its abject surrender to naked violence by means of which Pakistan has been forced on the people, as a triumph for the country and the establishment of Indian independence. Dishonest and hypocritical propaganda has been started to celebrate the partition of India as the day of India’s liberation. This meeting therefore earnestly appeals to the people not to allow the Congress to throw dust in their eyes. Instead the people should observe that day as the Day of Humiliation by putting black flags over their houses, observing hartals, closing all schools and business places and by a total boycott of all the hypocritical pretences of joy by which the Congress hopes to conceal its ghastly failure.
Gandhiji referred to a countryman from the South who had asked several questions which the latter invited him to answer as had become his wont of late, in his post-prayer speeches.

As the writer did not know the national language and as he rightly thought that he (the speaker) would not read Tamil with facility, if at all, the question was thus put in English:

'George Bernard Shaw has remarked that “an Englishman is never in the wrong. He does everything on principle. He fights you on patriotic principles; he robs you on business principles; he enslaves you on imperial principles; he supports his King on loyal principles and cuts off his King's head on republican principles.” I am eager to know from Gandhiji under which of these principles the Englishman is now quitting India. Is the Englishman glad over the present economic and political condition of our beloved country? Does he feel satisfied in the secession of Travancore and Hyderabad States from the Indian Union? Has he any axe to grind in scrapping the “May ’46 Paper” and bringing forward in its place the recent “Partition Plan”? Does he feel for the horrible happenings in Noakhali, Bihar and the Punjab—which happenings have forced the Congress to accept that Plan? What can be the reason or the idea behind Mr. Churchill and his company endorsing the Plan? Gandhiji has often said that he knows the mind of an Englishman better than any other Indian, and has repeatedly been advising us in his post-prayer speeches to trust the faith, sincerity and good intentions of the Englishmen in transferring power to our hands. I, therefore, believe that he should be in a position to make matters clear. He alone can dispel our doubts in a convincing manner.’

He (Gandhiji) could only paraphrase the idea in his speech. Bernard Shaw’s banter was by no means exhaustive nor were Englishman’s resources. He had no doubt that he was quitting India on principle. Man had the supreme knack of deceiving himself. The Englishman was supremest among men. He was quitting because he had discovered that it was wrong on economic and political grounds to hold India in bondage. Herein he was quite sincere. It would not be denied, however, that sincerity was quite consistent with self-deception. He was self-deceived in that he believed that he could not leave India to possible anarchy if such was to be India’s lot. He was quite content to leave India as a cockpit between two organised armies. Before quitting, he was setting the seal of approval on the policy of playing off one community against another. And he lacked the courage to do the right so far as the States were concerned. Gandhiji hoped that before he finally left on the 15th August, he would bring the two parties together, now that one had got all it wanted. He could do so, if he willed it, Travancore and Hyderabad had not yet become independent States. He, the speaker, admitted freely that if the Englishman left India in an uncertain condition and left the possibility of several warring States, all independent of England and, therefore, of one another, he could not conceive a greater reflection on the British name than this would be. Dominion Status would then stink in the nostrils. But he had not given up hope that British statesmanship would not have declared utter bankruptcy before August 15th. Till then he preferred to defer judgment in spite of the correspondent’s profound distrust of British declaration however high-minded they might be to read. Let their acts be the real judge of their words. He would believe a man’s word unless he had good reason to doubt it. That Mr. Churchill & Co. were disposed to bless the Bill for Indian Independence proved that they had realized the economic and political necessity of the
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

step. He, however, had no hesitation in admitting that recent signs were portentous enough to rouse suspicious. He did not, however, believe in dying before his death.

83. Boundaries Must Be ‘Natural’ in View of Defence and Administration

Extracts from a statement by B.R. Ambedkar, undated (c. 20 July 1947)

Hari Narake and others (Eds), Dr. Ambedkar Speeches & Writings, Vol. XVII, Part Two, pp. 355–7

New Delhi

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, in a statement today said that the partition of the Punjab and Bengal was not a local problem to be left to the people of these two provinces, but an ‘All India problem’ for it involves the fixation of the Frontiers of Pakistan and India and must be determined primarily by ‘considerations of facility of defence and administration.’

Dr. Ambedkar said: ‘From the reports of controversies going on in the newspapers regarding the fixation of the boundary line between the West Punjab and the East Punjab and between West Bengal and East Bengal and of the gists of the memoranda submitted to the Boundary Commission by the Muslims and Non-Muslims, it becomes clear that the results of the Boundary Commission may be disastrous to the country.

‘In the first place, the problem is treated as though it was a local problem, to be left to the people of the Punjab and Bengal to fight among themselves. In the second place, the problem is regarded by the local people as one of land-grabbing. In this scramble for land, a frantic search is being made to find out Muslim enclaves in Non-Muslim areas and Non-Muslim enclaves in Muslim areas with a view to push the national boundaries backwards and forwards and to bring as many Muslims from Non-Muslim area to Muslim area and as many Non-Muslims from Muslim area to Non-Muslim area.

Both these methods of approach are, to my mind, wrong and misleading. The shifting of national boundaries with reference to enclaves could have been justified if it was accepted that Pakistan and Hindustan should be homogeneous states. This has, however, not been the basis of partition, as is clear from the fact that neither the Congress nor the Muslim League has stipulated for transfer of population. No matter how the national boundaries are chopped and changed, a large number of Non-Muslims will remain in Pakistan and an equally large number of Muslims will remain in India. Consequently, the attempt to shift boundaries merely to include more of one’s fellow members is, I think, utterly misdirected.

Defence

Secondly, the problem would have been local, if Pakistan and India were not two Sovereign Independent States. The fact, however, is that they are, and each will have to defend itself against encroachment or invasion, should an occasion arise....

In the light of these considerations, the Government of Pakistan and that of India would not only be the proper parties before the Boundary Commission, but they will be the necessary parties. The boundaries between Pakistan and India being the frontiers of India, it was for the Defence Department of the Government of India to have insisted that the Boundary Commission should have military officers as assessors which is always done in the settlement of frontiers between two States.
Not only has the Defence Department of the Government of India failed to do so, it has not even cared to appear before the Boundary Commission to present the case from defence and administration points of view. It seems to have forgotten that the maintenance of the frontier will not be the responsibility of the East Punjab or West Bengal. From first to last, it will be the responsibility of the Government of India and it was, therefore, the primary concern of the Defence Department to have its say in the fixation of the frontiers.

**Natural Boundaries**

No one can deny that from the point of view of defence and administration, boundaries between Pakistan and India must be natural boundaries, i.e. they must run along a river or a mountain. From the nature of contentions raised in the memoranda submitted to the Boundary Commission, it is clear that these factors will not receive the considerations they deserve.

They are slurred over and not even mentioned. The danger is that the frontiers between Pakistan and India that are likely to emerge from the labours of the Boundary Commission, however satisfactory they may be from the standpoint of the communities immediately affected, will be most unsatisfactory from the point of view of India.

If my fears come true and the boundary drawn by the Commission is not a natural one, it needs no prophet to say that its maintenance will cost the Government of India very dearly and it will put the safety and security of the people of India in great jeopardy. I hope, therefore, that late as it is, the Defence Department will bestir itself and do its duty before it is too late.’

84. Mazdoor Raj Answer to Partition

Jayaprakash Narayan’s address to students in Bombay, 21 July 1947


We can reclaim Pakistan to the Indian Republic by the establishment of workers’ rule in both the States, for, the workers will vote for unity, but all thoughts of seizing power through terrorist activities must be given up. So long as we have a Constitution which guarantees democracy, it is possible to establish the government we want by peaceful means. It is the vote of the people that can bring in a change of government.

There is not a single patriot in the country who can express satisfaction and be happy over what has happened to our country. This is not the dream of freedom we had dreamt all these years. The picture as a whole has been shattered to shreds. Then you might ask me why the Socialist leaders were silent all along when important happenings were taking place. You might ask me whether our promise of revolution has gone into thin air.

When we did not oppose the resolution on Partition at the last A.I.C.C. meeting some people said we were bribed with promises of ministries and such other offers. If we wanted to go into the Government, we could have done so much earlier. Holding high office is not the aim of the Socialists. Revolution at that time was out of the question. Developments in the Punjab and Bengal and all over the country had reached such a crisis that bloodshed had to be ruled out as a method to achieve unity. But the responsibility for the acceptance of the partition plans lies entirely on the shoulders of the rightist elements in the Congress. What the Socialists stand for and what they have done to the country are facts which would convince the people of their bonafides.
August 15 cannot be said to bring freedom to India, for on that day India will not remain as one whole. Even after India becomes a Republic, there will be existing independent States and Pakistan. Where there is any kind of Government other than formed by the workers, freedom will not be complete.

There are two ways of bringing about unity—to muster an army in Hindustan and march upon Pakistan or to conquer it by the establishment of the rule by workers in both the States. The first, suggested by the Hindu Mahasabha, has to be ruled out. We have not fought the battle for freedom to install in power fattened capitalists and opportunists. There shall be equality of all men and no difference of religion, and no class privileges. There shall not exist opulence and abysmal poverty. When we establish the rule by workers in Hindustan and Pakistan, we will have proved our bonafides to the Muslims who will, in that case, cease to fear the possibility of domination by the Hindus. There can not be unadulterated freedom as long as India is divided and torn. A weak and vivisected India would be an invitation to the greedy powers of the world. What the Indian people had achieved after twenty-five years of struggle and sacrifice would be lost in five years. The cry of Hindu Raj raised by the Hindu Mahasabha and other communalists would lead to internecine communal warfare. If the Mahasabhaites were aspiring to bring back Pakistan by force there were imperialist minded Muslims in Pakistan who were dreaming of installing a Muslim Raj all over India.

The Muslims who voted for the League will realize when the State of Pakistan is established that it will be a Raj of Nawabs and Nawabzadas. The Muslim youths in Sind have started realizing the implications of Pakistan. The only way of winning the confidence of the Muslim peasants and workers of Pakistan is to establish a socialist society in the Republic of India and demonstrate to the Muslim brethren in Pakistan that it is not a Hindu Raj but a Government of the people. Only when the Muslim proletariat in Pakistan find out that they have been betrayed by their leaders there, they would ask for reunion with India. As the Socialist Party has failed to turn the Congress into a socialist organization, we have to decide after August 15, whether to remain in the Congress or to quit it and go ahead with our socialist programme. I see that the Congress becoming a socialist party is a remote possibility under the present circumstances.

The Socialist Party was so far small because it had remained within the Congress. The present leaders of the Congress are in league with capitalists and most of them seem to have abandoned the aims and objects which the Congress stood for. They have forgotten the workers and the poor. Day by day the capitalists get fattened. They wear Khaddar, stick up the Congress flag in front of their motor cars, and earn enormous black-market money. We find it impossible to stay within the Congress which supports such people and has forgotten the workers.

We have a plan which will change the face of the country in the next five years. We hope to make marked and immediate improvements especially in agriculture. Industries will be nationalized, but for sometime controlled capitalism will be allowed. There shall be cooperatives, but landlords will be allowed to hold limited land and be given compensation, if necessary.

The Socialist Party will gain enormous strength in the country. The Kisan, the worker in the factory, and other people are behind the party. But, I would like to make it clear to you that all our programmes for the achievement of the socialist State are to be of a purely non-violent nature. The Burmese episode should not be attempted here to finish a leadership, we do not want such things here. At present, it is the votes that decide who shall govern you. It is by mass awakening and support that we can establish the Mazdoor Raj.
It is not by shooting Pandit Nehru that you can establish a mazdoor government. Any party that aspires to form a government through terrorist activities clearly shows that it has no support of the people. So long as we have a constitution, which guarantees democracy, we need not resort to violence in order to establish a Government we want.

85. ‘CONGRESS MUST GIVE UP ONE NATION IDEA’
Article by Prof. Jawala Prasad Singhal in The Tribune, 23 July 1947

Every one desires unification of the country. The desire is laudable and praiseworthy. Unification is the genius of the country, the historical, the geographical, the economic, the political need of the country, for which so much has been sacrificed. The hearts of patriots are heavy because there has been partition. They are not happy, they are grieved, and they hope, they wish unity to come soon. But unity will not come by harping upon it, or by grieving for it. If this was going to be the attitude of the Congress leaders, then why did they declare years ago that Congress will not coerce unwilling parts to remain in a union? Was there a reservation in their mind that the Muslims will ask something which will be absolutely to their liking or did they expect them (the Muslims) to fall at their feet in admiration and respect and accept merely a dish of pudding. What has happened? How often it happens in the world that the elder brother earns a great deal of wealth for the joint family with a little intermittent half-hearted co-operation of the younger brother but when they come to partition the younger brother takes more than could be his share of earnings. Congress has won freedom. The fruits are shared by others also.

It is time to stand up and face realities. The danger now is not in the partition but in the continuance of that attitude of appeasement, of humility, of great goodness, of impartiality, of generosity, of cosmopolitanism, which has brought about this partition ultimately.

When the Congress was fighting the British Government its attitude was ‘whatever the British may do or say we need not care, we must look to ourselves.’ Why should not the Congress adopt the same attitude towards the League instead of waiting always for its sweet will?

Partition and Foreign Policy

It is manifestly wrong to consider partition as an unmixed evil and to be disheartened thereby. A fat bloated man without much internal strength is weak and a burden even to himself. On the other hand a lean and thin person with a wiry body and tough muscles is an asset to friends and a terror to enemies. Even if India were kept united with a weak centre it would have been a house divided against itself, and its influence in international affairs would have become weak. But now India can have a well knit strong centre and its views will be heard with respect in the comity of Nations. India will no longer be restrained from presenting impartial and fair viewpoints in international matters by delicate considerations of not displeasing the Indian Muslims. Take for instance the question of the Jews. If there is a certain area of Palestine legally occupied by the Jews alone then there is no reason why in such a homogeneous part of the country the Jews should not have their own independent Government. The matter must be looked at from the point of view of doing justice both to the Arabs and the Jews. Neither of them can be thrown out of the country. Then why should not the same remedy which has been found useful in India be applied to Palestine also? India could not present such a point of view so far because of the fear of displeasing Indian Muslims and to that extent India was not acting a honest and fair part but as a partisan. There will be numerous other occasions
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

on which this freedom from restraint will enable India to play her real part of an impartial adjudicator between warring nations, a part to which India will surely be called to play so as to produce peace and prosperity in a torn and lacerated world. And for this a homogeneous India with a strong Central Government will be a tower of strength for the U.N.O.

One or Two Nation?

But for this India must give up sentimentalism and look hard realities in the face. There is no use now in clinging desperately to the ‘One Nation’ theory of the Congress. The very acceptance of the June 3 plan has thrown that ‘One Nation’ idea overboard, and we differ most respectfully from Mahatma Gandhi when he says that the right action on the part of Hindus could be ‘acting as one nation by refusing to treat the Muslim minorities as aliens in their own homes.’ It is useless to cherish the hope that by such action the Pakistanis will again become Hindustanis.

Pakistan may join Hindustan or India if Pakistan finds that this will help the Muslim cause in international matters, otherwise it may not. Or it will join if it finds that the nationality of Hindustan means better and more comfortable life and it cannot be obtained without Pakistan becoming a member of the Indian Union.

Today the Cairo Press in Egypt is reported to be featuring the fact that Pakistan will emerge as ‘the world’s greatest Muslim State.’ While King Ibn Saud of Arabia congratulates the Indian Muslims, King Abdullah hopes for ‘the creation of a grand Muslim family extending from Tibet to Casablanca.’ Prof. Abdul Kadir-et-Samahy of Royal Military College, Cairo, considers the separation of Hindustan and Pakistan ‘a good and logical’ thing and hopes that collaboration of ‘kindred cultures and civilizations such as European, American, and Muslim’ will lead to ‘universalism’. Of course Hindustan has no place in this vision, and can not have one, for Hindus are neither Americans nor Europeans. But instead of noting these significant events the nationalist press in India would splash all over the statements from some Afghans that they are not interested in Pan-Islamism or from Azam Pasha that Pakistan cannot be admitted to the Arab League. People so easily forget the negative statements in diplomacy have no value at all, while positive statements are significant pointers.

Nationals or Aliens

Why do the Hindus insist upon claiming the unwilling Muslims as part of themselves? Surely, because they belong to the same country but now they have got their country separated. By what logic, by what considerations can Muslims be now said to have the same nationality as Hindus?

Whether Hindus will be destroyed or not if untouchability persists amongst them, we are certain that they will be destroyed if they do not give up their complacent attitude. We are certain that the Congress will be destroyed if it does not reorient its policy completely and stand out as a frank, honest, and strong protector of Hindu interests all over the world.

Socialists and Communists

There are other dreamers of unity. Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan is going to raise a magic wand and a Kisan Mazdoor Raj will be established uniting the kisans and mazdoors of Pakistan and Hindustan and abolishing the partition now created. We wish him all success, but we will request him very kindly to try his magic in Pakistan first and to refrain from disrupting any further the already torn and tattered society in Hindustan. We crave from him the indulgence of letting Hindustan consolidate and become strong. A unified revivified Hindustan will react
well to his wand when he raises it from Pakistan areas. Similarly we request the Communists to spare Hindustan. Pakistan is nearer Russia and so is better ground for their operations.

In Sind the prospective Pakistanis are driving out Hindus from services, trades, ration shops, and even landed property. All the big posts in the Sind Educational Department are manned by Muslims. Urdu is being made compulsory and educational institutions built up by Hindus are threatened. Even houses in Karachi are ordered to be allotted to Hindus and Muslims in the communal ratio. Mr. Suhrawardy is trying to disrupt Hindus to Eastern Bengal by offering them separate electorates. Mahatma Gandhi wonders whether this is an insidious way of inviting them to become Muslims, and yet he advises one nation treatment in Hindu provinces.

**Some Partition Problems**

There are numerous problems from the partition already settled to be decided. Do not increase them. Besides the exchange of population and the question of treating Muslims in Indian Union, there is the immediate problem of partitioning assets. Some experts are opining that the division should be according to the population of Pakistan and Hindustan. But this is wrong. The division should not be according to population, but according to the taxes paid by that population. Assets are built up with the help of funds and not by the number of persons irrespective of what they pay. Therefore their ownership also can be only according to the contribution made to their development. When two partners separate then the division is not according to the height or stature of each of them, but according to their contribution to those assets. If this contribution cannot be exactly calculated, surely the proportion and their ratio to each other can be easily found out even from the present day figures of tax revenue.

The Congress should also take care that the actual boundaries—both Eastern and Western—that may be settled by the Boundary Commission are strategically sound. Military advice should be taken and merely population considerations should not be the criterion but all necessary elements should be given due weight.

86. ‘Rest of My Life Is Going to Be Spent in Pakistan’

Extracts from a report in *The Tribune, 8 August 1947*

Lahore, Aug. 6—‘The rest of my life is going to be spent in Pakistan, may be it is in the East Bengal or the Western Punjab or perhaps the North-West Frontier Province which, because of the result of the referendum, is stated to be the future part of Pakistan.’ Thus observed Mahatma Gandhi while replying to a number of questions which were asked from him by a number of Congressmen who met him at the residence of his hostess Shrimati Rameshuri Nehru this evening before he left Lahore for Patna on his way to Noakhali.

Gandhiji added, ‘I am grieved to learn that people are running away from the West Punjab and I am told that Lahore is being evacuated by the non-Muslims. I must say that this is what it should not be. If you think Lahore is dead or is dying, don’t run away from it but die with what you think is the dying Lahore.’

Gandhiji had agreed to meet all those persons who wanted to come and meet him and was with them for about an hour and a half in an over-crowded room. In spite of the fans it was terribly hot inside the room but Gandhiji, who was sweating, continued sitting in the midst of that crowd of men, women and children listening to questions patiently and answering them.
He also made collections for the Harijan Fund by giving autographs and asked 'You give me as much money as you can.' One of the autograph-takers presented two pictures for his autographs and gave Rs. 5 along with them. Gandhiji said, 'I will sign only one and unless you pay for the other I won't do it.' The young enthusiast emptied his pocket but was not able to complete the sum of another Rs. 5. Gandhi reconciled himself to this and humorously remarked. 'I wish each one of you present here will empty his or her pocket before going away' (laughing).

Miss Indira Kohli, the blind daughter of Professor Ganga Ram Kohli, who came forward to pay her respects to Gandhiji and offered some money, got Gandhiji’s blessings. When told by Rameshuri Nehru that God had denied her light, Gandhiji said, 'I hope God has given her mind’s eye.'

Replying to a question put to him by Dr. Lehna Singh, General Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, Gandhiji said that if the Pakistan flag was such as would ensure equal rights and full protection to the minorities, they should all accept and honour the flag and have absolutely no hesitation in saluting it. 'I would ask you not to disown the Pakistan flag merely on the ground that it bears the Crescent.' He added, 'I must, however, say that in case no assurance of the kind I have mentioned is forthcoming, at least I will refuse to salute that flag.'

Gandhiji, while replying to a question in the same connection with regard to the flag of the Indian Union said, 'I must say that if the flag of the Indian Union will not contain the emblem of Charkha, I will refuse to salute that flag. You know the national flag of India was first thought of by me and I can't conceive of India's national flag without the emblem of Charkha. We have, however, been told by Pandit Jawaharlal and others that the sign of wheel or “Chakar” in the new national flag symbolises Charkha also. Some describe the wheel mark as “Sudarshan Chakar” but I know what “Sudarshan Chakar” means.'

My Heart with Punjab

'My heart has always been with the Punjab and the sad tales of woe of the sufferings of the Punjab which I had been hearing have made me always think of the Punjab. Don’t think that I had ever forgotten your province,’ said Mahatma Gandhi while replying to a question asked by Mr. Dev Raj Sethi, M.L.A. who suggested to Gandhiji that in view of the developments that had taken place in the country, more particularly in the Punjab, Gandhi should come to the Punjab to stay there.

Gandhiji said that he was fully aware of the sufferings of the Punjab and he had been yearning to come to the Punjab ever since he came to Delhi but there were certain forces, which he said were against his coming to this province. He had desired to come to the Punjab but he had been waiting for a call. He, however, said that his present place was in Noakhali and he would go there ‘even if I have to die. But as soon as I am free from Noakhali, I will come to the Punjab and I hope to be free from Noakhali very soon.’

Panic

Referring to the panic which prevailed in the West Punjab, Gandhiji asked people not to suffer from panic and he asked them to be brave and courageous people. ‘When you suffer from fear, you die before death comes to you. That is not glorious. I will not feel sorry and will not agree if I hear that people in the Punjab have died not as cowards but as brave men.’ He was not prepared to submit to any kind of compulsion or any interference with religion. He
would refuse to stop saying ‘Ram’ if he was forced to do so and would prefer to be murdered. Similarly he could not be forced to salute any flag. But if in that act he was murdered, he would bear no ill will against any one and he would rather pray for better sense for the person or persons who murder him.

Brave Sikhs

Referring to the Sikhs, Mahatma Gandhi said that his conception of a Sikh had always been of a brave person who did not fear death but who would not do any harm to any innocent person. When people said that a Sikh was equal to ‘Sawa Lakh’ he always looked at it from the point of view that a Sikh would not take up his sword unless he was faced with ‘Sawa Lakh’ opponents. The Sikhs, therefore, were really brave people but modern fashions and the ways of life which many of them were said to be leading had weakened them very much.

Ch. Sunder Singh asked what should be the attitude of the Harijans and other minorities if in Pakistan separate electorates were introduced. Gandhiji, replying to the question, said vehemently, ‘You must never accept separate electorates for they are the real cause of mischief.’

Referring to some demonstration against him at Rawalpindi where some young boys shouted, ‘Hindustan for Hindus, let Hindi be the “lingua franca” of our country and let “bhagwa” be the national flag of our country.’ Gandhiji said he was amazed why all this was shouted into his ears. He was incorrigible in that respect. He had still firm faith in India being the home of all Indians and Hindustani with Dev Nagari and Urdu scripts as the language of the country and the tricolour being the flag of the people. He thought that those persons who preached otherwise were doing wrong to Hinduism which they wanted to serve.

Gandhiji further said that if the present painful quarrel between Hindus and Mussalmans and Sikhs continued, it would serve an invitation to any foreign power to come and invade India. When he said any foreign power he made it clear that he did not mean British because he said the British have finally decided to quit India and they were doing it for good. He, therefore, made an earnest appeal to put a stop to the present quarrel which did credit to neither Hinduism nor Islam.

‘Act like Sita’ said Mahatma Gandhi replying to a question put to him by a lady worker who said ‘We don’t fear death but how to save our honour from the hands of goondas at the time of turmoil.’ Gandhiji added that if a woman was prepared to die then no one dare touch her honour.

One of the audience had sent him a written question in which Gandhiji was asked to explain if his policy of non-violence was not contrary to the philosophy of Gita.

Gandhiji, replying to the question, said that it was not so and those who thought otherwise, in his opinion, were not interpreting the teachings of the Gita correctly. Gandhiji added, ‘I must say that I am trying to write new history and I don’t follow old history’....

87. Why Congress Accepted Partition

Extracts from Jawaharlal Nehru’s speech at a public meeting, 9 August 1947

...Seeing the situation in India I can say that our joy on the present occasion is mingled with sorrow. I am happy that the ‘Quit India’ movement which started five years ago has terminated successfully. But I am sad that the picture of the free India has not come out as I had hoped
it would. The British authority is departing, no doubt, but it is leaving in its wake problems of great magnitude. The division of India is a great shock to all those who have worked for a strong united India. But the Congress has to agree to it because there is no other alternative. I would not have minded so much if the country had been divided politically, but unfortunately division has taken place in the hearts of the people of India.

It was India's misfortune that during the last few years of her life, some leaders had widely preached the gospel of hate and had incited innocent people to commit acts which brought nothing but degradation to the country. This was serious because feelings of hatred and distrust cannot be overcome easily.

Various reasons had forced the Congress to accept the division of India. We accepted partition so that India may be free. The demand for partition was strong from Bengal and the Punjab. The people said that to end the massacre that was going on in these two provinces it was essential to divide them. No Bengalee or Punjabi would have said this unless he was forced to do so. The very same people who vigorously opposed the partition of Bengal about 40 years ago, asked us to divide the province. Secondly, the Congress has to face the fact that certain sections of the people do not want to remain with the rest of India. Unity is a good thing but it cannot be achieved merely by resolutions. Men and women must accept it too, and the Congress has realised that division is better than a union of unwilling parts. Now that Bengal and the Punjab are being partitioned there are people who say that we should not have agreed to division. There are occasions when we have to choose between the lesser of two evils.

So far as I am personally concerned, I take full responsibility for all that I did during the past 16 months. Circumstances forced me to do what was very painful.

The use of violence at this time to maintain Indian unity will have disastrous results. Civil war will check the progress of India for a long time to come and the problem before India is of such a serious nature that no delay can be tolerated.

I hope that new relations will be established between the two divided parts of India and a better understanding will ultimately mitigate the evils of division.

During the last one year, the people of India have lost considerably in prestige as a result of the communal frenzy and they have now developed a narrow sectarian outlook. The Government have extensive plans before them for the development of the country, but that narrow outlook has prevented those plans from being put into practice....

88. ‘Congress Policy Implies No Surrender to League’

Extract from a report in *The Tribune*, 13 August 1947

New Delhi, Aug. 11.—‘Our first task is to stabilise, consolidate and strengthen ourselves and the rest can have only a secondary priority’, declared Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel addressing a mass meeting here today. The meeting was held in connection with the ‘Liberty Week’ celebrations.

The Sardar warned Indian States against the policy of standing aloof from the rest of the country.

Sardar Patel emphatically denied that he and his colleagues agreed to the partition of the country either because of fear or out of a sense of defeat. Under the prevailing conditions in the country, partition was the best thing possible and he had no qualms about it.

In a matter of weeks they had divided the country, the army, the services, etc., and this indeed was a colossal task performed. He, however, strongly believed that those who had seceded today would be disillusioned soon and their union with the rest of India was assured.
The Sardar made an earnest appeal to the people to rub out from their minds the memories of the past two years, thinking it was a terrible nightmare and forget it, and to look forward with single-minded purpose to make India strong, prosperous and happy. This could only be done by hard toil. A socialist Government in Britain was calling upon the workers to sweat an hour more a day and the strange contrast here was that our socialists and others preached strikes and encouraged wage boosts.

Sardar Patel said that he would make no efforts to explain away the responsibility of the Congress to divide the country. 'We took these extreme steps' he said 'after great deliberation. In spite of my previous strong opposition to partition, I agreed to it because I felt I was convinced that in order to keep India united, it must be divided now.'

Experience in office during the past year showed that it was impossible to do anything constructive with the Muslim League. The League representatives during their continuance in office did nothing but to create deadlocks and their role was entirely an obstructionist one.

**No Surrender to League**

The only way out of the sickening situation, the Congress realized, lay in the elimination of the third party, the British power. The British on their part had declared that they would quit by June 1948. But the period was long. Also their statement promising to hand over power to the authorities in the provinces gave rise to a vigorous effort to dislodge the ministries in Assam, the Punjab and in the Frontier....

**80 Per Cent of Country With Us**

Most of the opposition to the Congress in this partition had gone from quarters who had never in the past given evidence of any strength. Despite the division it must be remembered we had 80 per cent of the country with us which was a compact unit with great possibilities. Twenty per cent had gone over to Pakistan and he wished that state all success and prosperity. He wished them to be strong because then alone there could be friendly relations and amity between two states. There could be no friendship between a strong unit and a weakling. India harboured no ill-will against Pakistan and would, in fact, do all in her power to help the new state.

The main task before India today was to consolidate herself into a well-knit and united Power. The obstacle of foreign domination was now gone but there were serious problems that confronted us. Economically India was in a sad plight. The war had resulted in making India a creditor nation but that did not mean much. The United Kingdom was our debtor and owed us a huge amount but they did not appear to have anything to pay us now. In fact the big powers had so arranged their economies that smaller and poorer countries remained at a disadvantage.

Appealing for a concerted effort for the economic regeneration of the country, Sardar Patel said that the socialists in India were always talking of a Socialist Republic. Instead of restricting their activities to more agitation, he would ask them to take over the administration of one province and solve the problems which had arisen in the wake of a prolonged war. In contrast to their counterparts in Great Britain the Indian socialists were pursuing an opposite course. Strikes were encouraged and higher wages demanded. If there was no water in the well, none could draw any to drink. By all means let them take away the wealth of a few rich in the country but to what extent would this afford any relief to the teeming millions of the poor? The need of the hour was to increase the wealth of the country and this could be done by only putting in
more and more work and thus increasing production. This required the maintenance of peace in the country. For one year now there was disorder in the country. Now that Pakistan had been established, there was no more fight between Hindus and Muslims, if unfortunately there should be a recurrence of this internal strife, it would not be the cowardly killings of innocent people, but would be between two armies of the two states. He appealed to the people not to indulge in mutual strife but to create a calm atmosphere and engage themselves in constructive activities which were essential for the building up of a new India.

**Indian States**

Dealing with the Indian states question, Sardar Patel said that the co-operation of all the Rulers was necessary to consolidate and strengthen the Indian Union. When the foreign power was eliminated the Princes would have to adjust themselves to the new democratic order. The days of those rulers who did not command the confidence of their subjects were numbered. The majority of the states had acceded to the Union and he appealed to the rest to join the Union before August 15. States which did not come now but might decide to join at a later date would have to accede on different terms. These days no state could afford to live in isolation.

He cautioned the people to exercise reserve in judging the role of the Princes at the present juncture. The rulers were not free up till now and many of them did not even now believe that paramountcy was lapsing on August 15. Many of them being descendants of great and benevolent Rulers of the past ages, he had no doubt that they would not hesitate in pursuing a correct policy and become popular rulers.

**Have Strength to Defend Yourself**

Continuing, Sardar Patel said that our problems were mainly domestic. Ever since he was released from prison he had been saying that imperialism was on its last legs not only in India but in all Asia. The British were quitting India and he thought that Dutch imperialism would meet its end in Indonesia.

In dealing with our domestic problems Sardar Patel said, there could not be in the future, any more separate electorates or weightages and special treatment. Every community must get what was its due but if a community which formed 15 per cent of the population had 60 per cent representation, say in the Police Department, it undoubtedly created a problem.

Referring to the agitation for cow protection, Sardar Patel said that he agreed with the demand but asked why no such agitation was sponsored in the past. In countries where cows enjoyed no legal protection they were looked after better and yielded more milk. But at a time when the Government was faced with the problem of protecting human beings the question of protecting cows would not have priority.

He deprecated attempts which were supposed to unite the country but in fact divided the Hindus. Nobody today, except the Congress could undertake the task of uniting the country.

Concluding, Sardar Patel said that India had nothing but goodwill towards all but if her safety was endangered, she must have the strength to defend herself and for this people must work.
89. Reaction of ‘Mother’ and Sri Aurobindo to the Declaration

Press release from Shri Aurobindo Asram, Pondicherry, Undated
AIHM Papers, File No. M-18, NMML

This is the Word that came to the Mother when she heard on the radio the declaration of June the 2nd Issued by the Viceroy to the leaders of the Indian Parties; it has been approved by Sri Aurobindo.

A proposal has been made for the solution of our difficulties in organising Indian Independence and it is being accepted with whatever bitterness of regret and searchings of the heart by Indian leaders. But do you know why this proposal has been made to us? It is to prove to us the absurdity of our quarrels.

And do you know why we have to accept these proposals? It is to prove to ourselves the absurdity of our quarrels.

Clearly, this is not a solution, it is a test, an ordeal which if we live it out in all sincerity, will prove to us that it is not by cutting a country into small bits that we can bring about its unity and its greatness, it is not by opposing interests against each other that we can win for it prosperity; it is not by setting one dogma against another that we can serve the Spirit of Truth. In spite of all, India has a single soul and while we have to wait till we can speak of an India one and indivisible, our cry must be:

‘LET THE SOUL OF INDIA LIVE FOR EVER.’
Chapter 27. Interim Government

1. Dissolution of Interim Government Imperative—Demands Nehru

Telegram from Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel, 27 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/160, Acc. No. 4938, NAI

Immediate
New Delhi

Secret

No. 1616-S. At the meeting of the Indian/Burma Committee on 28th May the future of the present Interim Government was considered in the light of papers by the President of the Board of Trade and the Secretary of State for India, and I was invited to discuss this question with the Indian leaders and keep you informed.

2. I had hoped that it would be possible for the present Interim Government to carry on for the 7 weeks that remain until the transfer of power, since any change must inevitably distract Departments from their all important task of partition. Congress have, however, been insistent and have reminded me that they only agreed to partition in the belief that I would dismiss the Interim Government at the earliest possible date after the decision of the Provinces became known.

3. We had a long discussion on the problem at the Partition Council yesterday. Congress being represented by Patel and Rajendra Prasad, and the League by Liaquat and Nishtar. The discussion was inconclusive and I sent them away with three alternative solutions and the request that they should let me know which they preferred today. It was clear that the League would not commit themselves without consultation with Jinnah.

4. I had arranged a meeting for 10.00 a.m. this morning with the same party, except that Jinnah was to come in place of Nishtar. Before the meeting started, however, I got an urgent telephone message from my own sources that Nehru had blown up and was determined to resign unless the Interim Government were dismissed.

5. I postponed the meeting an hour and saw Patel and Jinnah separately. I got the former to agree to the following draft announcement: Begins: Now that Bengal and the Punjab have voted for partition, and East Bengal, West Punjab and Sind have voted to form a separate Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, the question of the Governments of the Centre and the partitioned Provinces arises. The Viceroy has called for the resignation of all Members of the Central Government and is asking the leaders each to nominate their own future Governments. Legally these will form Committees of the Cabinet, and Cabinet meeting will be attended by all members of both Governments.

In view of the fact that the Government of the Union of India will continue in Delhi whilst the Government of Pakistan will move to Karachi, the Union of India Members of the Cabinet
will hold the portfolios but be responsible only for their own future areas. The League Members holding corresponding portfolios will have overriding powers both to refer to the full Cabinet and in event of disagreement to the Viceroy for his own decision, any proposal which solely or predominantly affects Pakistan and to which they object, and also to initiate any action required for the Pakistan areas, which must be acted upon by the Member concerned. Ends.

6. I propounded the scheme to Jinnah in my private talk with him, but the above statement had not been typed before it became necessary to start the meeting.

7. When I unfolded the plan Jinnah resisted it on grounds of equity and legality. As regards equity, he said that the Congress Ministers would hold the actual portfolios and sign all the orders, while the Muslim members would be merely watchdogs. This was not a position which he could possibly accept with honour and he would have nothing to do with it. I argued that whatever the façade, Pakistan's interests would, in fact, be completely safeguarded and new Pakistan Ministers would have a chance of learning their business.

8. At this point the draft statement appeared and was circulated. Jinnah gave me the impression of being slightly less dissatisfied, and in the ensuing discussion he concentrated more on the legal aspect of the case. He contested that I had no right in law to do this. I countered by saying that I had taken the precaution of consulting the Cabinet Committee when I was in England, and that they had, on advice, assured me that my proposition was entirely legal.

9. Mr. Jinnah said that legal opinions were often influenced by the manner in which a problem was presented. I therefore told him that if he would present his case, I would submit it to you for legal opinion. He agreed to do so and has undertaken to let me have a paper tomorrow night. I will telegraph this to you at once, and I shall be most grateful if you could let [me] have a reply as a matter of the greatest urgency.

10. The next meeting of the Cabinet is at 10.00 a.m. on Wednesday, 2nd July. This will be the last meeting of the present Cabinet. I shall call for their resignations and inform them of the new arrangements. It is therefore most important that I should have the legal opinion by Monday night at latest, so that I can inform Jinnah on the Tuesday. I cannot help hoping that if this is favourable, Jinnah will reluctantly accept and in any case he has no other choice.

11. Both parties agreed to the reconstitution of the Bengal Government on the lines proposed for the Centre in para. 5 above, and both also agreed that the Punjab Governor should appoint two groups of advisers representing East and West Punjab respectively. Action is being initiated at once in Calcutta and Lahore by the Governors.

2. Congress Wishy-Washy over June 3 Plan

Extracts from minutes of Viceroy's forty-eighth staff meeting, 28 June 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 202, NMML

Secret

Mr Gandhi

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY read out a letter which he had received that morning from Mr Gandhi. He stated that throughout this letter Mr Gandhi had completely misinterpreted what he had said at his meeting two days previously. In fact, he had told Mr Gandhi that he was finding increasing difficulty in helping to get matters connected with Partition settled. He had pointed out that it was for Congress not a question of fair play to ensure that the various issues were settled speedily, but of sheer expediency. If Congress took the line that they were
not going to help, Mr Jinnah would point out to the world at large that Congress’s acceptance of the Statement of 3rd June had not been honest. He had told Mr Gandhi that it would be very foolish of Congress to give Mr Jinnah any excuse for not being ready to take over power on 15th August. He had assured Mr Gandhi that he intended in any event to hand over power on that date, but had explained that Congress would be put in a very poor position in the eyes of the world if they made it difficult for Mr Jinnah to take over. Mr Gandhi had stated that the words ‘fair play’ did not exist in any Hindustani dialect. He (The Viceroy) had reiterated that he was not expecting or demanding fair play; all that he was requesting was a degree of common sense so that Congress would not put themselves in the position of wrecking an agreement which had been honourably reached.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY:
directed P.S.V. to draft, for his approval a reply to Mr Gandhi’s letter.

3. Nine Congress Members Resign
Telegram from Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel, 8 July 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 82B, NMML

Ismay from Mountbatten
I have now received resignations from the nine Congress Members. The five Muslim League Members have for the present refrained from handing in theirs, and Liaquat has written asking for details of my plan of reconstitution because the Muslim League can only decide whether to send in their resignations when they know the full proposals.

2. I fear this may be the beginning of a further obstructive move by Jinnah and have sent for him this afternoon.

3. Meanwhile I saw Nehru this morning, who agreed that I need take no steps to reconstitute the Government until the normal Cabinet meeting on 23rd July, but he said he could not possibly afford to allow it to be held beyond this.

4. Of course the later I could put this off the easier for Jinnah but the worse for Nehru. I shall therefore probably have to fix on the 23rd July and hope the Bill will be through by the 21st or 22nd. You will realise that it would be an embarrassment if it went through much earlier.

4. League Members Resist Dissolution of Interim Government
Telegram from Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel, 8 July 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 82B, MMML

Ismay from Mountbatten.
Further to my telegram 1832-S of 8th July. I have had a very long and rather difficult interview with Jinnah on the subject this evening. He says that all League Members of Cabinet are extremely bitter at this deliberate humiliation being inflicted on them in the last three weeks by the Congress and they have not yet decided their course of action.

2. They are considering refusing to resign in order to force me to dismiss them, and refusing to accept fresh portfolios in order to indicate that they have been deliberately deprived of their fair share of government in the last three weeks.

3. Liaquat went so far as to say to Jinnah that he presumed that this was a manoeuvre to enable Congress to pull a fast one over Pakistan, in removing assets.
4. I think I persuaded Jinnah that this was not the case and got him to see why Congress were so keen to be masters in their own house at the earliest possible moment.

5. I pointed out how I had fought his battles step by step, how I had prevented this issue from coming to a head before I went to London; that I had on return postponed the date from June 4 to July 4 and finally to July 23. This final date was within three weeks of the setting up of the new Government in Karachi and I suggested that most of the three weeks would be required for the move. I appealed to him that his Members should resign and that he and I could together phrase an announcement which would take the sting out of this reconstitution and make it appear a reasonable move.

6. He said he could not give me an answer until all his Members returned from the referenda on the 17th.

7. He then said in that affectionate tone which he has recently begun to use with me: ‘I appreciate your difficulty and you can rely on me to make everything in your path as smooth and easy as possible.’

8. It has however occurred to me that this matter might arise in the debate, and in my next following telegram I am transmitting a possible question with a suggested reply. In view, however, of the prospects of my getting Jinnah to accept this peacefully I would prefer that this measure should not be used unless a genuine question arises or I telegraph at a later date asking for the question to be asked.

5. Both Nations Must Remain in the British Commonwealth

Extract from the record of interview between Louis Mountbatten and M.K. Gandhi, 9 July 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 194, NMML

I think and hope that I have satisfactorily cleared up the misunderstanding referred to in his letter of the 27th/28th June, 1947. I told him that my sole object up to 15th August was to ensure a peaceful and efficient transfer of power to the two Dominions in accordance with the will of the people of India and their respective future Governments. He next raised with me the fear which he had expressed consistently in his recent post prayer meetings that the British would leave a legacy of war, and that the partitioned armies would be left in a state in which there was every likelihood that they would be used for making war on each other.

2. I told him that of course I shared his view that nothing should be left undone which would ensure the removal of the threat of war between two neighbouring members of the British Commonwealth.

3. I told him in confidence that Lord Ismay was this day seeing the British Chiefs of Staff to discuss the future Commonwealth defence arrangements with particular reference to India. While I could not prophesy what would be the outcome of those discussions, I hoped that they would result in defence discussions between the United Kingdom, Pakistan and India taking place after the 15th August and before 31st March.

4. I pointed out that the institution of the Joint Defence Council which would last until at least that date, would remove all risk of war before that date, and that this gave us eight months in which to arrange some form of agreement which would reduce the chances of the two Countries fighting each other.
5. I pointed out that the greatest guarantee for the future peace of the Indian Sub-Continent lay in both nations remaining members of the British Commonwealth. He reproved me for using the word ‘nations’ and invited me to use States or Countries instead.

6. I further pointed out that so long as Pakistan and India remain within the Commonwealth, there was no reason why a Commonwealth Conference should not be called to Delhi since this was the most central capital in the whole Commonwealth, and at such a meeting arrangements could be discussed which would ensure other members of the Commonwealth devising means to prevent Pakistan and India from making war on each other.

6. Report from Viceroy

Extracts from Viceroy’s personal report, 11 July 1947

TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL

This has been another busy week, as, in addition to the usual Cabinet meeting, there have been two meetings of the Partition Council as well as a meeting with the Hyderabad delegation, and I have also been considerably occupied with the question of the reconstitution of the Interim Government and the nominations for Governors-General of the two new Dominions. I will refer to these matters later on.

4. I have just sent Abell down to Calcutta to ascertain how the reconstituted Cabinet there is working and to enquire about the progress of partition work. It is rather early as yet to judge the success of the arrangement by which the Congress have been put in office as a sort of ‘Shadow’ Cabinet. Nevertheless, the start has been propitious and Burrows reports that at present there is plenty of goodwill. The Congress are pressing to be allowed to see all papers that go to their opposite numbers and it is not certain that the Muslim League will consent to this since the basis of the request is that the existing Ministers cannot be trusted to show their new colleagues papers which do, in fact, concern Western Bengal.

5. If a difficulty arises in the Cabinet it is more likely to arise over law and order policy in Calcutta than over anything else. The Governor has, however, taken certain action in regard to the posting of Police Officers in the last few days which has given satisfaction to the Congress and he thinks that, with good luck, he will be able to jolly along his odd Ministry until the 15th August.

6. The partition work in Bengal is not going ahead very fast. The Congress are at present being quite co-operative but the main burden falls on the Muslim League, who have to set up a new capital at Dacca and start a new administration. The resources of Dacca are small and the time available is very short. The Muslim League High Command themselves take a good deal less interest in East Bengal than in Western Pakistan and I am afraid East Bengal is at the bottom of the priority list. The attention of our Steering Committee here in Delhi has been drawn to the importance of giving certain priorities to Dacca and possibly things will improve. I am writing to Jinnah about all this.

10. I saw the Maharaja of Patiala yesterday, and impressed on him once again that if the Sikhs showed any sign of fight they would have the Armed Forces of India against them and would be crushed. He fully realised this and undertook to do everything in his power to try and steady them. He had brought ten retired Sikh officers as a delegation to see me about
the Boundary Commission; I refused to see them and turned them over to the Chief of the General Staff (in the absence of the Commander-in-Chief) to explain to them that the terms of reference of the Boundary Commission had been settled by the leaders, that I had nothing more to do with the Boundary Commissions, and that they must address themselves to the Sikh Judge on the Punjab Boundary Commission. Patiala agreed that this was the right decision....

16. The Cabinet Meeting on Wednesday the 9th July was a very tame affair. There was a very short agenda as the routine business of the Government of India has practically come to a standstill. Much of the time was taken up by a discussion, in which there was a distinct note of acerbity, between the Congress and Muslim League over the final destination of 22 million ounces of silver, now lying in the Mint in Lahore. There had been an administrative decision last March that this silver should be moved to Bombay, but for one reason or another it has not yet got under way. It is required ultimately to repay the loan of silver from the United States, and is not required for monetary nickel. Although no Congress member actually said so, the fear was quite obvious that Pakistan would use this treasure to finance itself, and if 15th August arrived before the silver was in Bombay, that would very likely be the last of it which India would see. Finally the matter was shelved by calling for a report of the full facts involved; this is supposed to come up next week....

20. Now that advice has been so unanimous and strong that I should accept the Governor-Generalship of India and the Chairmanship of the Joint Defence Council, my mind is fully made up and I shall carry on and do my very best. I must however record the feeling which I cannot altogether dismiss that it is a tragedy that I have had to take a position with one side when hitherto I have managed to retain my complete impartiality. I must also point out that this will be an extremely difficult position for Congress leaders to put over on their back-benchers; for Jinnah scores an undoubted victory over Congress from a psychological point of view in having an Indian Governor-General for Pakistan.

21. The one bull point in the favour of the Congress leaders is that by my continuing as Governor-General the continuity entity of India as opposed to Pakistan is more firmly established in the eyes of the world. The second is that I have only accepted for the ‘transition’ period—probably about eight months—so that it cannot be looked upon as establishing permanent inequality between the two Dominions....

35. I thought it might amuse the members of His Majesty’s Government to know that a manifesto was recently issued in Bihar announcing the formation of a Muslim League Left Wing. In laying down the proposed rules of the new party, the first principle was ‘The Left Wing will always uphold the cause of the right’.

M. OF B.

7. Division of Portfolios between Congress and League

Extract from a letter from Louis Mountbatten to Jawaharlal Nehru, 11 July 1947
IOR, R/3/1/160, Acc. No. 4938, NAI

Personal

As you know, before Krishna left he helped us both to clear up the muddle I had got myself into about the reconstitution of the Government.

2. You will remember that I promised you that I would give all the portfolios for India territories to the Congress as soon as I could legally do so.
3. You have always very honourably upheld the view that you did not wish the Congress to interfere with the Pakistan territories. Krishna had always meant to work out a scheme along these lines, but I am afraid I rather got off the lines, and he tells me that he recently discussed the matter with you and came to the conclusion that the best solution would be to give all the portfolios to Congress Ministers for the India territories, and the portfolios for the future Pakistan territories to the League.

4. Sardar Patel has written to me saying that he wished me to arrange matters that all those Muslim officials who had opted to go to Pakistan could be removed from their present offices in the Government of India, since their continued presence was nothing but an embarrassment....

6. Furthermore, I do not propose to wait until 23rd July, since this date is based on the Bill not being through until the 21st.

7. It seems certain that the King’s assent will be given on the 17th, and I therefore propose to reconstitute the Government along these lines on the morning of the 18th.

8. If therefore you accept my wording, I shall immediately send for Mr Jinnah and hand him the Communiqué.

9. As soon as this has been done, I would suggest that you should consider who is to hold the five League portfolios in the Congress India Cabinet.

10. I would also suggest that when this is done, I should issue orders concerning the posting of India and Pakistan officials in sufficient time to enable the detailed posting to be prepared to be implemented on the morning of the 18th....

Draft Communiqué on the Reconstitution of Government

In order to facilitate the setting up of the new administration of Pakistan His Excellency the Viceroy has decided with the concurrence of the party leaders that the Interim Government should be reconstituted on the following lines.

The Government will consist of two groups representing the two successor Governments. There will be nine members from India and nine from Pakistan.

The two groups will meet separately to consider matters concerning their own territories, and jointly under the chairmanship of the Governor-General to consider matters of common concern.

The personnel who have chosen to serve in Pakistan will be withdrawn from existing departments, and will staff Pakistan departments which will be organised at once in Delhi and will serve the Pakistan members of the Cabinet.

There will thus be what amounts to provisional Governments, one for India and one for Pakistan, each dealing with its own business and consulting the other on matters of common concern.

8. On Interim Government and Official Appointments in Pakistan

Extract from record of interview between Louis Mountbatten and M.A. Jinnah, 12 July 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 194, NMML

I discussed the Reconstitution of the Interim Government with him and gave him a copy of the draft communiqué. He did not appear particularly grateful and said in his usual manner ‘I will consider this with my people’. I pointed out the only alternative was the scheme I had
previously described to him, of giving all portfolios to Congress and giving only a Shadow Cabinet to the Muslim League. He told me that he had considered this with his Members of the Executive Council and they had decided that they would in no circumstances co-operate with or even accept such a scheme. I pointed out to him how lucky he was that I had been able to find an alternative, as it was no longer in his power to prevent me putting through any scheme I liked under Clause 9 of the Bill. I informed him of my interview with the Hyderabad Delegation, and told him of the lines I was working on. He informed me that if Congress attempted to exert any pressure on Hyderabad, every Muslim throughout the whole of India, yes, all the hundred million Muslims, would rise as one man to defend the oldest Muslim dynasty in India...

Mr. Jinnah then informed me that he was considering making Nishtar Governor of Baluchistan. I suggested that he should not take any such step until he had discussed the matter with Sir Conrad Corfield, on the basis of obtaining his advice as to whether a Pathan from the North-West Frontier like Nishtar, would be acceptable to the tribes of Baluchistan, and alternatively discussed which of the British political officers would be the most suitable to put there. I gave him a copy of the Secretary of State's telegram No. 8962, announcing the acceptance by Sir George Cunningham of the governorship of the N.W.F.P., subject to certain conditions. I asked him to let me know as soon as possible that he accepted the conditions.

I informed him that the Foreign Office had now authorised negotiations to begin with Lord Killearn, and that I had that day telegraphed him to Singapore to come and stay with me at Delhi to discuss the governorship of East Bengal and Sylhet with Mr. Jinnah.

I then handed Mr. Jinnah the original letter, D.O. 201 of the 11th July, from Vice-Admiral Miles, concerning candidates for the future Flag Officer, Royal Pakistan Navy. I invited Mr. Jinnah to send for Admiral Miles and discuss this letter with him, and if necessary, subsequently to arrange for the two officers concerned to come and see him. I asked him whether he had made up his mind about the Pakistan Dominion flag, and he told me that it was his great personal regret that he had been unable to find one single supporter for the idea of having a Union Jack in the upper canton of the Muslim League flag. He explained that it would be repugnant to the religious feelings of the Muslims to have a flag with a Christian cross alongside the crescent. I told him that so far as the Navy was concerned, I considered that they would have to fly the British Commonwealth white ensign at the ensign staff, but that they could fly their Pakistan flag (whether it had a Jack in it or not) at the Jack staff. I told him that this was the custom throughout the navies of the Commonwealth, and I hoped he would agree so that I could give Admiral Miles the necessary instructions. He replied ‘Certainly’. He then raised with me the question of his G.C.M.G., and said that he had been surprised to find the strength of the opposition among his party to accepting this honour. He pointed out that the Muslim League had only recently passed a resolution rejecting all British honours and that his followers considered that he would put himself in an impossible position if he now accepted a British honour.

He wished me to know how much he personally regretted this, and how much he hoped that the time would come in the not too distant future when he would be able to bring about a change of heart among his followers, and when not only he, but he hoped others in Pakistan who might have rendered distinguished service, would be prepared to accept British honours and decorations. I told him I would raise this with him again at a later date, wherever I might be. He then went on to say that although there might be these apparent rebuffs of the British, such as the Governor-General, the G.C.M.G., the flag, etc., they would find that Pakistan intended
to be a loyal and permanent member of the Commonwealth whose friendly relations with the rest of the British Dominions would improve year by year, until all feeling of bitterness had passed and they could regard themselves as truly a member of the British family.

I asked him whether he would agree to fly the generally accepted flag of a Governor-General, namely a dark blue flag with the letters ‘Pakistan’ in yellow and a yellow crown above, both for Government House and his car, and hoist in a warship if he went afloat, he said he would be honoured to do this and I undertook to supply him with his first flag.

(NOTE:—The question of what flag the Governors in Pakistan are to fly, was not discussed but will require urgent consideration.)...

Finally, I discussed with him the question of the King's signature. I told him that I had felt that he had acted rather ungraciously at the Partition Council in opposing the suggestion which I had put up and which had already been privately agreed to by the Congress Leaders. Namely, that the King should continue to sign ‘George R.I.’ after he had dropped the title ‘Emperor of India’. Mr. Jinnah said that he was the last person to wish to dictate to His Majesty how he should sign his name and if the King elected to continue to sign his name ‘George R.I.’ no one in Pakistan would object. If, however, it was a question of asking Pakistan to agree to invite the King to continue with a legally incorrect signature, that was another matter and one on which he hoped I would not press him. We therefore mutually agreed that I would recall the Minutes of the Partition Council dealing with this matter and that I would inform the Congress Leaders what had occurred and suggest that they also take no further action and leave it to His Majesty to continue to sign in any way he pleased.

9. Setting Up of New Governments for India and Pakistan

Record of interview between Louis Mountbatten, M.A. Jinnah, and Liaquat Ali Khan, 15 July 1947

Mountbatten Papers, File No. 194, NMML

SECRET

I kept them back after the meeting of the Partition Council, from 11.30 to 12 noon. I first handed them both a copy of the Order I proposed to make reconstituting the Government on the 19th July.

Mr. Jinnah did his usual business of demurring and saying he would have to give it due consideration. I told him that that was quite unnecessary since this was not an Order in Council on advice but an Order from myself made legal under clause 9 of the Bill, and that I proposed to circulate it to the Cabinet the following morning as an act of courtesy prior to making the order.

I pointed out that resignations were not required under this Order, and that I, on the contrary, required a Pakistan Council for two vital purposes: (a) to be the Council to advise me on the Orders in Council for the amendment of the 1935 Act as required by the future Pakistan Government; and (b) to advise me if the present Government in the N.W.F.P. refused to resign after having lost the Referendum.

Finally I pointed out the immense advantage to Pakistan in being able to set up their own departments with their own officials as well as Ministers well in advance of the move to Karachi.

(As they were leaving I kept back Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan for a moment to make it quite clear that I could not make the Orders in Council for Pakistan on the advice of Mr. Jinnah, since he
was going to become the constitutional Governor-General of Pakistan and should therefore no longer give me advice on this matter. I had not wished to rub this point in to Mr. Jinnah, but I wished Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan to be under no illusions that I would take no advice whatever from Mr. Jinnah on this matter from now on, which would have to be submitted through the Pakistan Council. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan appeared to see the point, as he nodded and said ‘Thank you very much’.

Item 2. I referred once more to the question of flags and expressed renewed regret that Pakistan would not accept a small Union Jack on the Dominion flag. This gave Mr. Jinnah the chance of saying that the last thing he wished to do was to sever his connection with the Commonwealth in any way, and in fact he was looking forward to building up an ever closer connection as time went on. I told him that flags were an important outward and visible symbol and I hoped that he would at least adopt the custom of hoisting the Union Jack alongside the Dominion flag, either on the same pole or on two separate poles, on all special occasions such as birthdays of the Royal Family, Dominion Days of other Dominions (and presumably their own on the 15th August each year), and in general on as many occasions as possible. He replied: ‘Certainly, if you will give me a list of the days on which the Union Jack should be hoisted throughout Pakistan, I will see that it is done’.

Item 3. I urged him to make up his mind on the Army Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan and told him he could not possibly do better than appoint General Messervy; he was already in command at Rawalpindi with his H.Q. Staff and to that extent Pakistan would have an advantage over India, who would have to set up a new Headquarters for the new C-in-C India. I told him General Messervy was coming here for our Silver Wedding and he would have an opportunity of seeing him again in the next two or three days. Mr. Jinnah said he would like to talk it over with General Messervy and would let me know his decision immediately afterwards.

Item 4. I asked them both whether they thought any useful purpose would be served by keeping Lord Ismay on, on my staff (paid by HMG), with a view to keeping liaison with Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. Both of them became excited and enthusiastic and said that they considered it absolutely essential that Lord Ismay should stay, and indeed that this would be the perfect solution to the problem of liaison between the two Governments in the early days on high level policy questions, and would reduce the chance of friction to a minimum. I told them that I could not guarantee that Lord Ismay would accept, but that I knew that the opinions they had both expressed would weigh greatly with him.

Item 5. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was anxious to know whether I had had a reply from Sir Patrick Spens yet about the Arbitral Tribunal, as they had selected their candidate and were anxious to discuss the matter with him. In fact they wanted to ask their candidate to come up to Delhi to meet the Chief Justice. I advised against this as it might make the Chief Justice feel that his hand was being forced. I told them that Sir Patrick Spens was expected in Delhi within the next day or two.

Item 6. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan then asked what successor body I intended to establish after the 15th August to take the place of the Partition Council. I said I had not yet given this matter much thought, but would now consider it and let him know.

Item 7. He asked me whether I thought I could use my well known persuasive powers to get the Congress to agree to let the Pakistan High Commissioner and his Staff be housed in the Red Fort. I said I would go into this.
10. Provisional Arrangements in View of the Reconstruction
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 19 July 1947
IOR, R/3/1/160, Acc. No. 4938, NAI

SECRET
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT
NEW DELHI

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

In view of the reconstruction of the Government that has taken place, I have consulted my colleagues and we are of opinion that at present only provisional arrangements should be made. We shall undoubtedly have to add to the number of members of the Government, but we do not wish to do so immediately. We may be able to suggest names for additional members in the near future. Meanwhile, all arrangements are strictly provisional and subject to change.

We propose that the following existing members of the Cabinet should continue:

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad,
Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
Dr. John Matthai,
Sir Rajagopalachari,
Sardar Baldev Singh,
Mr Jagjivanram,
Mr C.H. Bhabha and
Jawaharlal Nehru.

These existing members will continue to hold their present portfolios and will, in addition, take charge of the five portfolios and departments vacated by the Muslim League nominees. This will be done in the following manner:

Finance: Mr C. Rajagopalachari
Communications: Dr. John Matthai,
Commerce: Mr Bhabha,
Health: Mr Jagjivanram,
Law: Jawaharlal Nehru.

As Mr Jagjivanram has not returned yet and it is not quite clear how soon he will be able to take charge of his injury, I am prepared to take temporary charge of the Health Department, till Mr Jagjivanram can do so, or till some other arrangement is made.

These arrangements, I would repeat, are provisional only and subject to change in future.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru
11. Provisional Government of Pakistan
IOR, R/3/1/160, Acc. No. 4938, NAI

My dear Mr Liaquat Ali Khan,

This morning you gave the distribution of portfolios in the provisional Government of Pakistan to H.E., and he asks me to write to you as was arranged at the meeting for your confirmation that the list enclosed is correct. Could your reply please be telephoned.

Yours sincerely,
G.E.B. Abell

Enclosure

DISTRIBUTION OF PORTFOLIOS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Portfolios</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Hon’ble Mr Liaquat Ali Khan</td>
<td>Finance, External Affairs, Commonwealth Relations and Defence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hon’ble Mr I.I. Chundrigar</td>
<td>Commerce, Industries and Supplies, Works, Mines and Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hon’ble Mr Abdur Rab Nishtar</td>
<td>Communications, Railways, Transport, Information and Broadcasting, and States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hon’ble Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan</td>
<td>Health, Food and Agriculture and Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hon’ble Mr Jogendra Nath Mandal</td>
<td>Law, Education and Art, and Labour</td>
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12. British Governor Will Maintain Good Relations with India and Pakistan
Extract from a telegram from G.E.B. Abell to A. Carter, 20 July 1947

Immediate
Confidential
NO 2052-S. Your 9262 July 18th. Cunningham.

2. Viceroy has had further talk with Jinnah. Jinnah is most anxious to have Cunningham, but is genuinely embarrassed at any suggestion that one Government should be treated in a special way. He points out that concession would not remain secret and have three other British Governors are involved.

6. H.E. is most anxious that Cunningham should accept, and hopes Secretary of State will appeal to him to do so. He would also be grateful for a very early decision so that Cunningham’s name may be submitted to the King.
7. The need to seize every vacancy for Governorships offered to the British seems to all of us out here of paramount importance for future good relations. The prospects of Pakistan remaining within Commonwealth may partly depend on this.

13. We Owe a Great Deal to Imperial Influences

Extracts from a letter from Tej Bahadur Sapru to Sita Ram, 22 July 1947
Sir Sitaram Papers, File No. 29/121, NAI

My dear Sir Sita Ram,

...Thank you very much for congratulating me on the advent of the new Constitution. Generally I am in agreement with the provisions of the Constitution which have appeared this morning but there are some features of it which I do not like and I think they will lead to great corruption in future, e.g. election of Governors. However, I have kept all my ideas to myself. I know nothing as to whether the Indian Republic will be on Irish model or a complete severance from old moorings. Whatever you may say of the British, the British Constitution, or the English language, in your cooler moments you must admit that you owe a great deal to these influences. The word ‘Republic’ does not frighten me. Ireland is a Republic but in many respects very British in its constitutional problems. It is a tribute to the British Constitution that it can stand any strain. It is my misfortune that I should have been disabled from rendering service to the country at the last stage of my life. I have, therefore, refrained from expressing any opinion publicly, but I may tell you that I have been feeling very unhappy since yesterday morning when I read about the outrage committed in Burma. I fear it foreshadows a similar misfortune in India. Some people are talking wildly. Assuming that the Congress has gone wrong in accepting the partition what is it they wanted the Congress to do?—resign office, start Civil Disobedience and leave it to be dealt with by the Muslim League. It is a practical question which ought to be answered in a practical manner. You will pardon my saying so that these critics always appear on the scene when some important event is to happen but the brunt of the fight is always borne by Congressmen. That is the reason why these critics have not acquired any influence so far. For a few days there will be much flutter in some districts and then things will quiet down. If my estimate of the future is wrong then trouble will continue long and probably it will not be trouble between Hindus and British but between Hindus and Mohammedans who, on such occasions, are much more prepared in many ways. This does not at all mean that I approve of what Jinnah has done or of the attitude of the Mohammedans during the last one year. To my mind nothing could be more unpatriotic. We must not however lose our heads in regard to practical questions....

Yours very sincerely,
Sd/ Tej Bahadur Sapru

The Hon’ble Sir Sita Ram
President,
United Provinces Legislative Council,
Albany Lodge,
Naini Tal.
14. ‘Naga Leaders Claim Independence’
*The Tribune, 22 July 1947*

New Delhi, July 20.—A delegation of Naga leaders arrived at New Delhi by air to discuss with appropriate authorities and leaders what they described as ‘their claim for independence’ after the British withdrawal, from India on August 15.

It is understood the delegation has already met Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah and placed before them their viewpoints.

They are likely to meet Mr. Jaipal Singh, Adibasi leader, and members of the Tribal Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly today.

The delegation will also meet Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other officials of the External Affairs Department, U.P.

15. Statement by the Partition Council

Telegram from Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel, 24 July 1947

IOR, L/P&J/10/82, Acc. No. 3654, NAI

MOST IMMEDIATE

No. 2916-S.

Press note at their meeting at 5 p.m. on Tuesday, July 22nd 1947. The members of the Partition Council (which included Sardar Baldev Singh for this item) decided to issue the attached statement. Those present were, in the Chair, His Excellency the Viceroy, for the future Government of India the Hon’ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and the Hon’ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad, for the future Government of Pakistan Mr. Jinnah and the Hon’ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, and on behalf of the Sikhs—the Hon’ble Sardar Baldev Singh.

2. Statement by the Partition Council. BEGINS: Now that the decision to set up two independent Dominions from the 15th August has been finally taken the members of the Partition Council on behalf of the future Governments declare that they are determined to establish peaceful conditions in which the processes of partition may be completed and the many urgent tasks of administration and economic reconstruction taken in hand. Both the Congress and the Muslim League have given assurances of fair and equitable treatment to the minorities after the transfer of power. The two future Governments re-affirm these assurances. It is their intention to safeguard the legitimate interests of all citizens irrespective of religion, caste or sex in the exercise of their normal civic rights. All citizens will be regarded as equal and both the Governments will assure to all people within their territories the exercise of liberties such as freedom of speech, the right to form Associations, the right to worship in their own way and the protection of their language and culture. Both the Governments further undertake that there shall be no discrimination against those who before August 15th may have been political opponents. The guarantee of protection which both Governments give to the citizens of their respective countries implies that in no circumstances will violence be tolerated in any form in either territory. The two Governments wish to emphasize that they are united in during the determination to safeguard the peace. In the Punjab, during the period of changeover to the new conditions, both Governments have together agreed on the setting up of a special military command from the 1st August covering the civil districts of Sialkot, Gujranwala, Sheikhpura, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Ferozepore and
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

Ludhiana. With their concurrence Major General T.W. Rees has been nominated as Military Commander for this purpose and Brigadier Digambar Singh Brar (India) and Colonel Ayub Khan (Pakistan) have been attached to him in an advisory capacity. After August 15th Major-General Rees will control operationally the forces of both new states in this area and will be responsible through the Supreme Commander and the Joint Defence Council to the two Governments. The two Governments will not hesitate to set up a similar organization in Bengal should they consider it necessary. Both Governments have pledged themselves to accept the awards of the Boundary Commissions whatever these may be. The Boundary Commissions are already in session. If they are to discharge their duties satisfactorily it is essential that they should not be hampered by public speeches or writings threatening boycott or direct action or otherwise interfering with their work. Both Governments will take appropriate steps to secure this end and as soon as the awards are announced both governments will enforce them impartially and at once.

16. Nehru Invites Patel to Join His New Cabinet

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Vallabhbhai Patel, 1 August 1947

As formalities have to be observed to some extent, I am writing to invite you to join the new Cabinet. This writing is somewhat superfluous because you are the strongest pillar of the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. Patel Affirms His Loyalty to Nehru

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Jawaharlal Nehru, 3 August 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Many thanks for your letter of the 1st instant. Our attachment and affection for each other and our comradeship for an unbroken period of nearly 30 years admit of no formalities. My services will be at your disposal, I hope, for the rest of my life and you will have unquestioned loyalty and devotion from me in the cause for which no man in India has sacrificed as much as you have done. Our combination is unbreakable and therein lies our strength. I thank you for the sentiments expressed in your letter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel
18. Induction of Non-Congressmen in Cabinet

Extracts from Viceroy’s Personal Report No. 16, 8 August 1947

*TOP*, Vol. XII, pp. 594–606

Top Secret and Personal

...20. Gandhi’s absence from the celebrations in Delhi on the 15th August is, of course, intentional. He has never given the 3rd June plan his unqualified blessing and his position might be difficult. He also realises that it would not be possible to fit him into the programme in the way to which he would feel himself entitled. Arrangements for these celebrations are going well; and I think they will be worthy of the occasion.

21. Gandhi has announced his decision to spend the rest of his life in Pakistan looking after the minorities. This will infuriate Jinnah, but will be a great relief to Congress for, as I have said before, his influence is largely negative or even destructive and directed against the only man who has his feet firmly on the ground, Vallabhbhai Patel.

22. The astrologers are being rather tiresome since both the 13th and 15th have been declared inauspicious days, whereas the 14th is auspicious. I was not warned that I ought to consult the astrologers before fixing the day for the transfer of power, but luckily this has been got over by the Constituent Assembly deciding to meet before midnight on the auspicious 14th and take over power as midnight strikes which is apparently still an auspicious moment.

23. They then proposed to send a delegation to Viceroy’s House (which a few minutes previously will have become Government House) to invite me to accept the Governor-Generalship of India. The fact that the King will already have legally appointed me had been overlooked, but a formula has been found to overcome this and I gather the resolution will merely be to endorse what has already been done.

24. One or two of the more superstitious members of the Cabinet wished to have all the ceremony done at midnight in the Durbar Hall, but as, fortunately, the older members of the Cabinet usually go to bed at 9 o’clock, Sleep won the swearing-in battle over Superstition; and we are now going to have the swearing-in ceremony in the presence of 500 people at 8.30 on the morning of the 15th, after which we will all proceed to the Constituent Assembly which I am to address in their new capacity as the Legislative Assembly for India.

25. It has been very difficult to find a Governor for East Bengal, owing to both Killearn and Rowlands turning down Jinnah’s invitation. But Bourne, the Governor of the Central Provinces, in a very public-spirited way, responded to my personal appeal to oblige Jinnah by taking over East Bengal temporarily on the 15th.

26. When I saw Mr. Pakwasa, Bourne’s relief in the Central Provinces, yesterday, I asked if he would mind flying from Bombay to Nagpur on the 13th to enable Bourne to fly to Dacca on the 14th. He regretted that the astrologers would not permit him to undertake any journey on the 13th, so is now going to fly to Nagpur on the 12th for turnover discussions with Bourne, and fly back that evening to Bombay, and then fly over on the 14th again to Nagpur, thus spending the inauspicious day at home....

29. I have previously reported to the Secretary of State that the Indian leaders agreed that the Union Jack should be flown together with the Dominion flag on public buildings on certain days of the year. I now attach as Appendix II a list of the agreed dates. This list, when it came up for discussion at the Partition Council meeting, included Anzac day. The reason for the deletion of this day, which I and my staff did not previously spot, is of course that it commemorates a victory over the Turks, a Muslim nation whom Pakistan naturally does not
want to embarrass in any way. I also originally had ‘Empire Day’ down against 24th May. There was unanimous feeling among all the leaders that this was an unfortunate expression so far as India is concerned, but they would accept the date if the title were changed to ‘Commonwealth Day’. I had put down the 15th August as Independence Day for India and Pakistan; but Nehru wrote pointing out that this was the least suitable day in the year to fly the Union Jack. Liaquat suggested that each Dominion might fly the flag of the sister dominion on this day. Congress would not give an immediate agreement, but undertook to consider the matter in the summer of 1948...

48. It is of course admirable that they should have got an important member of the Hindu Mahasabha to join the Government, and Mukerji is an intelligent man (whom they wanted to remove from Bengal); but Burrows, who knows him well, described him to me recently as being so low that a snake could not crawl under his belly. I therefore felt that this would be going out of the frying pan into the fire and, fortified by the reconciliation between Auchinleck and Baldev Singh, I had no hesitation in eating my words about the latter. It now appears certain that Baldev Singh will be Defence Member. He seems slow in the uptake, but he has had a hard row to hoe, and I am inclined to think that he means well.

49. Nehru has now sent me his proposed list of Cabinet Ministers. I attach a copy of this as Appendix IV. He has taken my advice (which I outlined in paragraphs 36 to 39 of my last Report) so far as new members of the Cabinet are concerned, having changed four of them since I spoke. I understand that Gandhi has written to Maulana asking him as a gesture to Congress to make way for a younger man; but the old Maulana has not yet taken the hint and they cannot drop him until he does. Gandhi’s secretary, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur is a delightful person, included at Gandhi’s insistence. She is earmarked for Health. She admits she knows nothing about health, and I rather doubt her competence as a Minister. But she is a great friend of my wife’s and has written asking if she may lean on her. The full allocation of portfolios has not yet been decided; but Nehru says that he does not intend to make any change among the eight members of the existing Cabinet who will continue in office.

50. Of the new members, Sir Shanmukham Chetty is a man of great administrative experience and was until recently President of the Tariff Board. I did not expect Ambedkar would find a place and his selection has given me great satisfaction. Gadgil is a Congressman and a student of economics, and people think highly of his abilities. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai is now a Minister in the United Provinces.

51. The Cabinet is still far from being an ideal selection but the requirements of party politics could not entirely be done away with. On the whole, it must be conceded that Congress have been very generous and have included as large a proportion of non-Congressmen as one could possibly expect. Sir Shanmukham Chetty in particular has been a bitter critic of the Congress for a long time. He will probably hold charge of the portfolio of Finance.

52. The appointments of Governors, which have been officially announced this week, have, on the whole, been welcomed. The only exception to this is an attack by Sarat Chandra Bose (brother of the I.N.A. leader) on the appointment of Rajagopalachari as Governor of West Bengal, as ‘an insult to West Bengal and her people and indeed to all fighters for freedom in the country.’ This attack is mainly founded on the accusations that Rajagopalachari advocated at one time that Bengal and the Punjab should be ‘forsaken’ on the ground that these two Provinces were obstacles in the way of the rest of India attaining independence; that his record as an administrator is bad; and that his record as a Congress-man during the war period was
‘miserable’. On the other hand, I am delighted with this appointment; for I think he will make a much better Governor than a Minister.

53. I referred to the problem of the North-West Frontier Province in paragraphs 19 to 23 of my last Report. Just before Jinnah left for Pakistan (in my aircraft) he and Liaquat asked me what I was doing about the N.W.F.P. Ministry, as they were getting very worried. I replied that I had referred the matter to London as I did not wish to act in an unconstitutional manner. Liaquat then told me that he had evidence that Khan Sahib intended to declare the independence of ‘Pathanistan’ on the morning of the 15th if still in power; but I have not heard any supporting evidence of this from any other source. I told them that I had it in mind to tell Lockhart to call on the Ministry to resign on the 11th and that if they failed to do so to dismiss them on the 12th. The new Governor, Cunningham (who was of course the Governor up to 1945) is seeing Jinnah in Karachi on the 11th, and me in Delhi on the 12th, and arrives at Peshawar on the evening of the 12th. He will be sworn-in on the morning of the 13th and his first act can be to form a new Ministry in accordance with Jinnah’s instructions in anticipation of the transfer of power on the 15th August. This proposed has been telegraphed to the Secretary of State for approval. Jinnah did not like this delay, but finally shrugged his shoulders and said ‘I am in your hands in this matter.’...

Appendix II

PROPOSED DATES ON WHICH THE UNION JACK WILL BE FLOWN ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st January</td>
<td>Army Day (India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st April</td>
<td>Air Force Day (India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24th May</td>
<td>Commonwealth Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th June (May be varied)</td>
<td>King’s Official Birthday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14th June</td>
<td>United Nations Flag Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th August</td>
<td>Queen’s Birthday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th November</td>
<td>Navy Day (India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th November (May be varied)</td>
<td>Remembrance Day for both World Wars.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Optional on other Dominion days, particularly those who have High Commissioners in Delhi or Karachi. These are:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26th January</td>
<td>Foundation Day, Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31st May</td>
<td>Union Day, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st July</td>
<td>Dominion Day, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24th September</td>
<td>Dominion Day, New Zealand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Appendix I, III, and IV not reproduced here.

19. British Quitting India Only Way to End Deadlock

Vallabhbhai Patel’s speech during Liberty Week celebrations, 11 August 1947

I make an earnest appeal to people to wipe out from their minds the memories of the past—trea
ting it as a terrible nightmare and look forward with single-minded purpose to make India
strong, prosperous and happy. *This can only be done by hard work.* A Socialist Government in Britain is calling upon workers to sweat an hour more and a strange contrast here is that our Socialists and others are preaching strikes and encouraging wage-boosts. This will only end up in a serious trouble.

*I wish Pakistan all success and prosperity.* I wish her to be strong because then alone could there be friendly relations and amity between the two States. India harbours no ill-will against Pakistan; and, indeed, it will do all in her power to help the new State.

I am sure all the Indian States will join the Indian Union as none can afford to keep out and live in isolation. *First thing should be done first; and the first job is to get the States to accede to the Union and consolidate it.* The demand of people in the States for a democratic regime raises an entirely different issue. I cannot see how an Indian ruler exists with his subjects in hostility and clamouring for popular government!

The Congress had pledged to rid the country of foreign domination; and, after making considerable sacrifices and bearing prolonged sufferings, it has now succeeded. But the Congress has also strived for United India and a union of all communities. Unfortunately, it could not lay claim to success on that count. This was due to factors beyond its control. *Their joy on August 15 would have been fuller and greater had not India been divided!*

I would make no efforts to explain away the responsibility of the Congress to divide the country. We took these extreme steps after great deliberation. *In spite of my previous strong opposition to partition, I agreed to it because I was convinced that in order to keep India united it must be divided now.*

My experience in office during the past year showed that it was impossible to do anything constructive with the Muslim League in. *The League Representatives during their continuance in office did nothing but to create deadlocks and their role was entirely an obstructionist one.* Besides, I found that the Muslims, save for a few exceptions, engaged in all capacities in the Government, were with the Muslim League. Thus the rot that had set in could not be permitted to prolong any longer except at the risk of a disaster for the whole country. Indeed, at one stage, things had become so bad that with the killing at Calcutta riots spread all over and it became a perilous adventure for Hindus and Muslims to visit one another’s localities. The economic life of the country was paralysed and there was little security of life or property.

The only way out of the sickening situation, the Congress realized, lay in the elimination of the third party—the British Power. The British, on their part, declared that they would quit by June 1948. But the period was long. Also their Statement promising to hand over power to the authorities in the Provinces gave rise to a vigorous effort to dislodge the Ministries in Assam, the Punjab and the Frontier Province. The League succeeded in the Punjab. Even though they failed in the Frontier Province and Assam, the League movement caused great misery and bloodshed.

*In order to settle the issue immediately and prevent the slaughter of innocent people, the Congress decided to agree to the division of the country and demanded the partition of the Punjab and Bengal.* This was no surrender to the League threats or the policy of appeasement.

*Today the partition of India is a settled fact and yet it is an unreal fact!* I hope, however, that partition would remove the poison from the body-politic of India.

India is one and indivisible. One cannot divide a sea or split the running waters of a river. The Muslims have their roots in India. Their sacred places and their cultural centres are located in India. I do not know what would they do in Pakistan and it would not be long when they would like to return.
Despite the division, it must be remembered, we have 80 per cent of the country with us which is a compact unit with great potentialities.

The main task before India today is to consolidate herself into a well-knit and united power. The obstacle of foreign domination has gone but there are serious problems that confront us. Economically, India is in a sad plight. The War has resulted in making India a creditor Nation but that does not mean much. The United Kingdom is our debtor and owe us a huge amount. But they do not appear to have anything to pay us now. In fact, the Big Powers have so arranged their economies that smaller and poorer countries remain at a disadvantage.

The need of the hour is to increase the wealth of the country and this can only be done by putting in more and more work and thus increasing production. This necessitates preservation of peace in the country. For one year now, there has been disorder in the country. Now that Pakistan has been established, there should be no more fights between Hindus and Muslims. If unfortunately, there would be a recurrence of strife, it would not be the cowardly killings of innocent people, but it would be between two armies of the two States.

I appeal to people not to indulge in mutual strifes but create a calm atmosphere and engage themselves in constructive activities essential for the building up of a new India.

With the exit of foreign power, the princes will have to adjust themselves to the democratic order. The days of those rulers who do not command the confidence of their subjects are numbered. The majority of the States have acceded to the Union and I appeal to the rest to join the Union before August 15. The States which will not come in now, but might decide to join at a later date, would have to accede on different terms. These days, no State can afford to live in isolation.

I should also warn the people to exercise reserve in judging the role of princes at the present juncture. The rulers were not free up till now and many of them do not even now believe that Paramountcy is lapsing on August 15. Many of them are descendants of great and benevolent rulers of the past ages, and I have no doubt that they will have no hesitation in pursuing a correct policy and become popular rulers.

Essentially, our main problems are domestic. Ever since my release from prison, I was saying that Imperialism was on its last legs not only in India but in all Asia. The British are quitting India and I hope that Dutch imperialism will also meet its end in Indonesia.

In future, there would not be any more separate electorates or weightages and special treatment. Every community must get what is its due.

India has nothing but goodwill towards all. But if her safety is endangered she must have strength to defend herself; and, for that, people must work hard.

20. Members of the New Cabinet

Note by Jawaharlal Nehru, 14 August 1947

SWJN, Vol. III, p. 48

The new Cabinet, which will function from August 15, 1947, will consist of the following members. Their portfolios are indicated opposite their names:

Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister; External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations; Scientific Research

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home; Information and Broadcasting; States

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Food and Agriculture
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
Dr. John Matthai
Sardar Baldev Singh
Shri Jagjivan Ram
Mr. C.H. Bhabha
Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
Rajkumari Amrit Kaur
Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
Shri R.K. Shanmukham Chetty
Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Shri N.V. Gadgil

Education
Railways and Transport
Defence
Labour
Commerce
Communications
Health
Law
Finance
Industries and Supplies
Works, Mines and Power

Jawaharlal Nehru
Chapter 28. Indian Independence Bill

1. British Claim on Islands Will Lead to ‘Flare-up’
   Extract from Viceroy’s Personal Report No. 9, 12 June 1947

...25. It is, however, becoming increasingly clear to me that any attempt by His Majesty’s Government to claim the Andaman Islands as colonies, to be treated in the same way as Aden, will cause an absolute flare-up throughout the length and breadth of India, and will probably call forth violent opposition from Pakistan as well as from the rest of India. My own position would be permanently undermined if I were to act on behalf of His Majesty’s Government in this matter; it will therefore have to be left to the High Commissioner or some other authority. But I believe that the only reasonable solution would be to suggest some form of joint control or a leasing of the naval and air bases under a treaty. Yet another alternative might be to refer the case of these islands to U.N.O. or some form of arbitration. The one thing I am quite certain about is that any high-handed action by His Majesty’s Government about these islands at this moment will destroy all the good feelings which now exists between the two countries, and that we must be careful to avoid dealing with any items appropriate for a treaty in a piecemeal way...

2. Raising Andaman & Nicobar Issue Will Adversely Affect Negotiations
   Telegram from Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel, 12 June 1947
   Mountbatten Papers, File No. 3, NMML

Ismay’s top secret and personal letter of April 12th to Monteath.

A statement appeared in the Times of India on June 9th saying that it is reliably understood that the Andaman and Nicobar Islands are to be ceded to the British Government under the new arrangements.

2. This has brought a sharp rejoinder in the Hindustan Times on June 11th, probably inspired, to the effect that the British Government have not raised the question of the future of these Islands with the Interim Government, and that if any suggestion of the type motioned is made hereafter, it will be surely rejected. In my opinion there can be no question of raising this controversial subject at the present delicate stage of our political negotiations. It is a matter on which Indians feel deeply and if we were to raise the question now of being allowed to use the Islands as a naval or air base, which is about all we can hope for, we should ruin our chances or success.

3. The line that I propose to take, if this question is raised by either side, is that it is one of the very many problems which will have to be settled by negotiation when we are framing the
treaties or agreements with the two new Dominions which will be the natural result of their assumption of Dominion Status, and that it would be wrong to take up any of these points in isolation.

3. Avoid Including Andaman & Nicobar Islands in Either Dominion
Telegram from Earl of Listowel to Louis Mountbatten, 12 June 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File. No. 3, NMML

Future of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Cabinet Committee considered yesterday evening your 1423-8 of June 13th, and views expressed in paras. 24 and 25 of your personal report No. 9 of June, 12th.

2. Minister of Defence represented to Committee strong view fully supported by Chiefs of Staff as to strategic importance of the Islands and their great value to Commonwealth defence on which great emphasis was laid in your discussions with them, the sea and air landing facilities there are essential to our imperial defence communications and it is vital that we should not be deprived of them. Committee however appreciated danger that arbitrary retention of the Islands as British territory would severely damage our future relations with India.

3. Committee felt that Clause 16 of the Bill in its existing form would be to be omitted but if no other provision is inserted the Islands automatically become part of the new Dominion of India by virtue of Clause 2 (1) of the Bill. We note that the Muslim League claim that they are entitled to a share in the Andamans as an all-India asset. Committee thought that we should avoid if possible including the Andamans in either Indian Dominion pending discussions about them. They would be glad to have your views urgently as to whether a clause could be included in the draft Bill in the sense that the Islands should continue to be governed by the Chief Commissioner under the Governor-General until agreement has been come to about their future.

Committee felt that in any such negotiations some account might have to be taken of the Burmese interest.

4. Demand for Two Acts for India and Pakistan
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 26 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/153, Acc. No. 3467, NAI

New Delhi

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

It has been announced in the press and on the radio that legislation is going to be introduced in Parliament in regard to amending the Government of India Act on or about July 7th. You were good enough to inform us that before any legislation was so introduced we would have an opportunity of examining it. It would be unfortunate if the draft was finally prepared and there was something in it to which we took strong exception. Although the main lines have been agreed upon, it is a matter of vital importance what the approach should be.

The question is not one of repealing the Government of India Act but of amending it. Any repeal would create grave difficulties and would leave us without any kind of a constitution. In fact, you mentioned in your broadcast that one of the reasons for giving Dominion Status was to enable India to have a constitution until the Constituent Assembly made a new constitution.
The amending Act would confer Dominion Status on India and delimit the territory of India by the exclusion of the seceding areas. It would constitute the Constituent Assembly into a sovereign legislature with power necessarily to amend the Constitution Act as it thought fit. It would thus bring this Act into line with the Statute of Westminster. The Act would apply to all the territories of India, with the exception of those that have seceded, which territories would be dealt with separately and constituted into a Dominion.

There would thus be two Acts. If there is only one Act dealing with these processes in India and in Pakistan then there will be a great deal of confusion and the status of India would be affected. We are naturally interested in the continuing entity that is India. As regards Pakistan, though we may be interested, it is for the representatives of Pakistan to say what they want and how they want it. Mixing up the two will lead to obvious difficulties. Parliamentary legislation will embody our constitution till such time as our Constituent Assembly draws up another constitution. If that parliamentary legislation deals with Pakistan also it will mean that our constitution is contained in a Statute which also contains the constitution of another country. That would not only be incongruous but legally and constitutionally inadvisable.

The two processes of creating a Dominion of India and a Pakistan Dominion are not simultaneous, even though they might follow each other in quick succession. The Pakistan Dominion follows the secession of certain areas. Therefore, the Act for creating the Pakistan Dominion has to be a new and separate Act following the constitution of India as a Dominion.

There may also be other practical difficulties in the way of dealing with India and Pakistan together in the same legislation. India is not only a continuing entity but also a running organisation. Pakistan as a state is starting from scratch. Any attempt to tie them up legally will mean putting two things together which are dissimilar and which are functioning differently. That would not be good either for India or for Pakistan. The legislation, therefore, has to deal with each separately and on merits.

These are some points that I should like to place before you again, as I am anxious that parliamentary draftsmen should not ignore them at this stage. If a single bill is drafted for parliamentary legislation dealing with all these processes, it will raise all manner of complications and difficulties and it would be unfortunate if we have to raise objections at that stage.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Britain’s Relations with the Two New Dominions

Extract from a letter from Earl of Listowel to Louis Mountbatten, 27 June 1947

Private and Secret

Dear Mountbatten,

I have no letter from you to answer this week—not that I was expecting one after what you said in the last paragraph of your last letter.

2. In paragraph 4 of your Private and Top Secret letter of the 12th June you said that Gandhi was pressing for an announcement to be made to the effect that H.M.G.’s wish was either to enter into tripartite arrangements with both the new Dominions or to have similar bilateral agreements with each of them and that in any event there would be no question of
differentiation. You suggested that this might be referred to by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons in his speech on the Second Reading of the Bill.

3. This proposal of Gandhi’s seems to me to be of such importance that I have put the matter before the India Committee. We all felt strongly that we should be extremely guarded in dealing with it.

Clearly one of the main objections to partition from the Congress point of view has been the danger that Pakistan would fortify itself with outside assistance from ourselves, the Americans or others. It seems to have been the fear of this happening through Pakistan remaining in the Commonwealth which in the end brought Congress to agree to temporary Dominion status and several utterances have been made to the effect that anyone who indulges in giving support to Pakistan will incur the hostility of Congress. The Congress would hardly pay so much attention to this point if they did not regard it as a serious danger.

4. Our position is that we want good defence arrangements with India as a whole and from our point of view it would be much best if they were on the same basis with both the Dominions and if the Commonwealth relationship provided the nexus between the two. But we feel that we should be very careful not to say that we shall not in any circumstances have closer relations with Pakistan than with India. Once we have said that, it will be open to the Congress to refuse any definite arrangements with us in regard to defence and other matters and then to say that we are precluded from having any better relationship with Pakistan. The best hope of getting an effective relationship with the Congress derives from their fear that if they do not play up we shall have differential and better relationships with Pakistan and possibly with non-acceding Indian States. The probability is that this is the strongest bargaining point we have with the Congress and it is one that may continue to operate for a substantial period. We feel that we should be very ill-advised to throw it away.

5. Further we do not think that we should say at this stage that it is our wish to enter into tripartite arrangements. Of course, if all parties were co-operating fully a tripartite arrangement would be the best but there can be a great deal of difference in the way in which an identical agreement is operated by two different parties. If we had a tripartite arrangement all the arrangements under it would require the assent of the three parties. If, on the other hand, we had separate agreement with Pakistan and India we should be free, even though the agreement were in identical terms, to develop our relations with Pakistan under agreement without India having the right to object. In practice, formal agreement about defence matters cannot contain more than general principles and what really matters is the kind of arrangements which are reached between the Chiefs of Staff or between the Governments in implementing the general agreement. Clearly Gandhi’s idea is that we should commit ourselves before we even begin to negotiate not to have any arrangements with Pakistan different from those which we have with Hindustan. Once we have said that, Hindustan can decide what arrangements, if any, we shall be committed to have with either of the new Indian Dominions.

6. At the same time we recognize that it is of immense importance to have, if possible, good and close relations with the new India and we agree that the Prime Minister in the Debate on the India Bill should refer to our desire to have close and effective arrangements with both the new Dominions in all fields and particularly in the defence and economic field on a basis of free negotiation. It might be added that what we hope for is to have equally good and close arrangements with both the new States in India....

Yours sincerely,

Listowel
6. Draft Bill to Be Shown to Congress and Muslim League
Letter from Louis Mountbatten to Vallabhbhai Patel, 29 June 1947
SPC, Vol. IV, pp. 182–3

Dear Sardar Patel,
I hope shortly to receive from London copies of the draft ‘Indian Independence Bill,’ which is going to be introduced into Parliament next month.

2. His Majesty’s Government has agreed that I should show you copies of this draft. In doing so, they have pointed out that it is completely contrary to usual parliamentary practice to show texts of Bills to other parties concerned before publication.

3. His Majesty’s Government has therefore insisted that I should not give you copies of the draft Bill for retention. I am sure that you will appreciate the reasons for this.

4. I invite you to come to the Viceroy’s House at 10 a.m. on Tuesday, 1 July, to study this draft. I would propose that the representatives of the Congress and of the Muslim League should sit in separate rooms for two hours and read the draft through. The Muslim League representatives would be in Her Excellency’s sitting-room and the Congress representatives in my study. I shall be obliged to withdraw copies of the draft Bill after you have studied them.

5. I am also inviting

Pandit Nehru
Mr. Jinnah
Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.

6. I suggest that Sir B.N. Rau should be available to give you any assistance you require when you read through the draft. Mr. H.M. Patel will be present in any case as Secretary. I am similarly suggesting to the Muslim League representatives that Mr. Justice Rahman and Mr. Mohammed Ali should be available for them. My Reforms Commissioners will also be in attendance, ready to be summoned by either party to elucidate any points.

7. I myself will be available towards the end of the morning to hear any points which you might wish to suggest that I should take up with HMG.

8. Let us arrange, on Tuesday morning, any further meetings that are required—either that evening or on Wednesday evening, perhaps.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

7. Nehru Emphasizes Careful Consideration of the Bill
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 29 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/153, Acc. No. 3467, NAI

Dear Lord Mountbatten,
Thank you for your two letters of today’s date. I shall come as suggested on Tuesday the 1st July at 10 a.m.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

2. I am not competent to say anything about the procedure in regard to draft Bills for Parliament. But we are naturally deeply concerned with any legislation which is going to affect the future of India vitally. Indeed this Bill is likely to be the basis for the interim constitution of India. It will not only define the relations of India to the United Kingdom but also to Pakistan. It may deal with the position of the States in India. All these are highly intricate and sometimes controversial matters and require the most careful consideration.

3. So far as I know, any Bill establishing Dominion Status has not only originated in the Dominion in question but has also received full consideration there before it became a Bill for Parliament. The procedure being adopted here is entirely different and the whole drafting of the Bill takes place without any reference to us and we are only given a chance to see the draft and perhaps suggest some amendments at the last stage. I am afraid this will prove very unsatisfactory. Sir, B.N. Rau’s presence will, no doubt, prove helpful and we would welcome it. But we would like to consult a number of other eminent lawyers, experts and constitutionalists such as Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyer, Sir N. Gopalaswami Aiyengar, Mr. K.M. Munshi and possibly others who may be available here. In any complicated piece of legislation it is desirable that several minds view it so that no important matter is overlooked.

4. I should particularly like Gandhiji to see the draft Bill and to advise us in regard to it. His advice is especially valuable in such matters as he has considerable experience of this kind of thing and is interested in it. For him to see it after it has been finalized and then to point out some deficiencies would be unfortunate.

5. It is your desire, as it is ours, to have a Bill which carries with it the willing assent of all parties concerned. If this is not obtained, then the object of the Bill is somewhat nullified.

6. I would, therefore, earnestly request you to consider this matter afresh and, if necessary, consult HMG in regard to it so that we may have the fullest opportunities of consulting our colleagues and our advisers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Need to Preserve Confidentiality
Letter from Louis Mountbatten to M.A. Jinnah, 30 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/153, Acc. No. 3467, NAI

New Delhi.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,
I am so glad to know that you are satisfied with the composition of your party for considering the Indian Independence Bill tomorrow, for I feel that the fewer people who are in the know the less chance there is of leakage. You with your great experience with the Privy Council in London will realize what great importance H.M. Government attach to there being no leakage; and I am therefore appealing to both leaders to ensure that there will be no leakage from their teams.

I also thought it would be advisable to authorize Congress to bring Mr. Gandhi if they wished to; for although, of course, he does not as a rule attend such meetings, I particularly do not wish any difficulties caused through his omission.

You will find that the new Bill includes a provision for each Dominion to have a separate Governor-General and a clause making it lawful for one person to hold both appointments
for such period as may be determined by either dominion after 15th August. I therefore trust that you will be able to let me have a letter by Wednesday morning informing me whom you wish to nominate as the first Governor-General of Pakistan, so that I may communicate this to the King. Congress, as you know, have already sent me their nomination.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/ Mountbatten of Burma.

9. Opposition Leaders React to the Bill
   Telegram from Earl of Listowel to Louis Mountbatten, 1 July 1947
   IOR, R/3/1/153, Acc. No. 3467, NAI
   Secret.
   1949-S

   MOST IMMEDIATE.
   PRIVATE. Discussion with Opposition leaders from both Houses took place this afternoon. In general their attitude was helpful and Bill was on the whole well received. There was however, not unnaturally, a general undercurrent of anxiety though this did not crystallise in any form of counter proposals. Only two points appeared likely to give rise to any considerable criticism. These were

   (a) Use of title India for Hindustan. There was a certain uneasiness about this based on a feeling that it would antagonize the Moslems and was not justified on merits. There was however a feeling that 'Union of India' should be kept for any organisation wider than either Dominion which may develop.

   (b) Strong feeling was expressed by Conservatives against title 'Independence Bill' and we were pressed to agree to 'Indian (Self Government) Bill' and to substitute 'two self governing dominions' for 'two independent dominions' in long title and in clause 1. We put all arguments and finally pointed out that time factor made it impossible to alter Bill on this point before it was shown to Indians. Opposition to this title was not withdrawn but we are not disposed to alter it.

   2. There was general feeling that it would be suitable to have a preamble to Bill but proposal was not pressed for in view of difficulty of finding a form of words which would command general assent.

10. Churchill Objects to the Title of the Bill
    Letter from Winston Churchill to Clement Attlee, 1 July 1947
    Premier 8/541, Part 11, Acc. No. 4046, NAI
    28, Hyde Park Gate,
    London. S.W.7

My dear Prime Minister,

I am much concerned to hear from my colleagues whom you consulted yesterday that you propose to call the India Bill, 'The Indian Independence Bill'. This, I am assured, is entirely
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

contrary to the text, which corresponds to what we have previously been told were your intentions. The essence of the Mountbatten proposals and the only reason why I gave the support to them is because they establish the phase of Dominion status. Dominion status is not the same as Independence, although it may be freely used to establish independence. It is not true that a community is independent when its Ministers have in fact taken the Oath of Allegiance to The King. This is a measure of grave constitutional importance and a correct and formal procedure and nomenclature should be observed. The correct title would be, it seems to me, 'The Indian Dominions Bill'. I should however be quite willing to support it if it were called, 'The India Bill, 1947' or 'The India Self-Government Bill'.

I am glad to hear you are considering such alterations.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Winston Churchill

11. Need for Status Quo in the Interim Government for Smooth Passage of the Bill

Telegram from Earl of Listowel to Louis Mountbatten, 1 July 1947

IOR, R/3/1/153, Acc. No. 3467, NAI

MOST IMMEDIATE

Private. Following personal from Sir Stafford Cripps BEGINS. Following is message from me to Nehru BEGINS. I have not worried you with any letters because I know how desperately busy you must be with all the changes that are taking place but I want now to ask you to help us in getting through necessary legislation before the beginning of August. You will realise we can only do this on the basis of an agreement here with Opposition to facilitate passage of Bill. This depends very largely upon continuance of agreement in India upon all major steps that are taken. This applies particularly as regards the question of Interim form of Government up till August 15th next. If there were to be a major dispute upon this it would most seriously jeopardize our chance of getting legislation through in time.

I understand there is a strong difference of opinion as to steps if any which should be taken to reconstitute present Indian Government for short period that will elapse before coming into force of new legislation. I am sure that you will realise our difficulties especially in view of all that Viceroy and Government here have done to meet you and to facilitate your most difficult task and that is why I make strongest personal appeal to you to help us at this critical moment.

It seems to me that as you will be realising your independence on August 15th if all goes well it is hardly worthwhile to jeopardise that date by insistence upon a particular form of Interim Government for intervening few weeks.

Would it not be possible for you to leave matters as they are for the present and until major change is made.

This would certainly be most helpful to us in our task here. If this cannot be done for some reason which I do not at the moment appreciate then is it not possible to arrive at the same method of sharing power with Muslim League which will enable them to retain at least the appearance of effective administrative control over some of the portfolios. It does not seem quite fair that in this interim period all portfolios should pass to your party in view of what is
to happen immediately afterwards. We have got so far together along the road we have (gr. cor) been seeking out that I hope you will feel able to give us your help to complete the final stages of journey smoothly and safely.

You know how passionately I wish for independence of India and how I and others at this end have worked for it. It would indeed be tragic if some incident were now to make it impossible for us to complete the final stages by the time fixed. Please do all you can to help.

When you see Vallabhai [sic] will you pass on a message from me to him in the above sense.

I send you all my very best wishes and godspeed in your difficult and trying times and when August 15th comes and with Indian independence I shall indeed have a song in my heart. Stafford. ENDS.

12. Congress Unwilling to Compromise

Telegram from Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel, 2 July 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 82B, NMML

MOST IMMEDIATE

PERSONAL. Please pass following to PRIME MINISTER.

Most grateful for your telegram No. 77. Situation here incredibly explosive and more dangerous than any I have seen to date. Have been using Krishna Menon as contact with Nehru and V.P. Menon as contact with Patel, and had a meeting with them today at which both agreed that all Congress leaders are firmly united in their complete refusal to be dictated to by Jinnah any longer. Disastrous consequence of withdrawal of Muslim League on chances of getting Bill passed unopposed through Parliament this session were fully explained. Both Nehru and Patel said they would face any consequences rather than yield once more to Jinnah which they consider would be quite fatal to their standing with their own followers.

2. They point out that in that case they will in any event hold all the portfolios for India and that this will suit them quite well.

3. My private opinion is that Gandhi is adopting his usual Trotsky attitude and might quite well like to see the present plan wrecked, so he is busy stiffening Congress attitude.

4. I am advised that no compromise on any different system will be accepted.

5. In these circumstances the legal objections contained in Secy of States’ telegram 8453 have come as a Godsend, since I now propose to take up the line that I cannot legally put this through until the Bill has been passed in Parliament giving me necessary legal cover. I am advised that Clause 9(C) may not give me necessary cover and if so it will help us to be able to say that Bill is being modified for the purpose.

6. I have pointed out that July the 4th was always the date on which I proposed to call for resignations of the Cabinet, and that I proposed to adhere to this date and ask them to carry on provisionally. To adhere literally to my word would involve setting up the new form of government before next weeks’ Cabinet meeting about 9th or 10th July.

7. Since it now transpires that the legality of such action can be challenged I propose to say that Government will not permit me to put this new procedure into effect until the Bill is passed.

8. Krishna Menon has stressed the great urgency of getting the date on which the Bill becomes law advanced as far as possible. He feels that if we could give a target date of the 20th July Congress might accept with good grace, but if it were put off much later they would feel that they had been cheated out of the reconstruction.
9. If therefore you could send me a most immediate telegram undertaking to use your best endeavours to get the Bill passed by the earliest possible date and that you were enquiring whether it could be as early as July the 20th, I could use this to show to Nehru and Patel when I meet them on Thursday prior to the Cabinet meeting on Friday.

10. As regards Jinnah, I understand that he proposes to start moving the League members of his Government to Karachi on 7th August, and the League Members of the Interim Government will therefore presumably start winding up their Cabinet activities a few days before this. If therefore the reconstruction of the Cabinet does not take place before the 20th July, there would only be approximately a fortnight left for the Muslim League to have to serve under the new conditions which they so dislike.

11. Observing that Congress accepted Jinnah’s exactly similar proposals for Bengal when he refused to give them regional ministries or a coalition, and observing that Jinnah would very well say that he was setting up his new Ministry on the 20th July and that they would be as busy organising their secretariat and getting ready for the move that they did not wish to be burdened with the responsibility of a few more days in the Central Government, I have a feeling that this really is a compromise which might prove equally acceptable to both sides. It would certainly be fair to the League.

12. At any rate this is what I am aiming at and a telegram from you along the lines of my immediately following telegram would be of the utmost help.

13. ‘Congress Amendments to India Bill Handed Over to Mountbatten’
   National Herald, 4 July 1947

New Delhi, July 3.—Congress leaders met the Viceroy this morning and are believed to have conveyed to him their suggestions on the draft India Bill.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Sir. N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, Mr. K.M. Munshi and Sir B.N. Rau met the Viceroy this morning.

It is understood that this conference was preceded by prolonged discussions among the legal advisers of the Congress including Sir Allady Krishnaswamy Iyer, when the draft Bill was scrutinized. As a result of this study it is believed the Congress has suggested a few amendments to the bill. At the conference with the Viceroy, the draft of the proposed amendments was formally handed over to Lord Mountbatten to be communicated to the British Cabinet before they finalised the draft bill and present it to Parliament.

Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan also met the Viceroy today and are believed to have conveyed to him their observations on the draft bill.

The absence of any reference to the visit of the leaders to Viceroy’s House, including that of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah who hold no official positions in the daily court circulars is ascribed to the complete ‘off the record’ nature of the discussions on the draft bill the publication of which before presentation to the Parliament would involve a breach of the privileges of the House of Commons.—API.
14. Congress Rejects League’s Claim on Islands

Extract from Congress’ comments on the Bill forwarded by Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 4 July 1947

SWJN, Vol. III, p. 128

... Clause 2:—

The Dominion of India does continue the international personality of the existing India, retaining whatever is not specifically transferred to Pakistan. We cannot possibly agree to any amendment which will throw doubt in this position. On the contrary, we have proposed amendments designed to confirm it beyond any possibility of doubt.

As regards the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, their total population, according to the census of 1941, was about 34,000, of whom about 12,000 were Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists; about 11,000 aboriginal tribes; about 8,000 Muslims; and about 3,000 others. It will thus be seen that they are very predominantly a non-Muslim area; it is not even correct to say that the majority of the population consists of tribes. In the judicial sphere, their administration is for certain purposes linked with the High Court at Calcutta. In other respects they are administered as a Chief Commissioner’s province.

The islands do not lie on the direct route between the two parts of Pakistan. If they are of strategic importance to Pakistan, much more so are they to the Dominion of India. The claim that these islands should be allotted to Pakistan is therefore wholly untenable. There can be no question of their being allotted to or forming part of Pakistan; only such areas can be included in Pakistan as have expressed a wish to that effect; the rest remains with India....

15. Jinnah Protests at the Inclusion of Andaman & Nicobar Islands in India

Letter from M.A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten, 5 July 1947


IMMEDIATE/MOST URGENT

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am enclosing herewith the draft [of a] telegram and request you to communicate it to the Prime Minister and also to the Leader of the Opposition. I did not like to send the telegram direct without informing you about it, but if you find any difficulty in doing so, I hope you will not mind letting me know so that I can then send it on directly today to the Prime Minister and the Leader of [the] opposition.

There is one more matter which I am examining and that is the authority or sanction behind who would be able to execute and enforce the partition award in terms of the decision of the comtemplate[d] Arbitral Tribunal. I shall sent that on to you on Monday. But if you are unable to send the enclosed telegram today, it follows that I shall similarly have to communicate the other matter directly on Monday.

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH
Clause 2 of Indian Independence Bill allots Andaman and Nicobar Islands to Dominion of India. These islands have never formed subject of discussion or agreement between parties at any time. Their sudden inclusion in India raises very grave issue. They are not part of India historically or geographically. They were British possessions administered by Government of India and are not in same category as other Chief Commissioners' Province being reserved to Governor-General under Constitution Act 1935. Majority of population consists of tribes who are not connected with peoples of India by ethnic, religious or cultural ties. Pakistan's claim to these islands is very strong since only channel of communication between eastern and western Pakistan is by sea and these islands occupy important strategic position on sea route and provide refueling bases. Dominion of India have no such claim. They should form part of Pakistan.

I pointed out above facts on seeing Bill and suggested that if no immediate decision was feasible islands should be excluded from scope of Bill and dealt with separately. Surprised to find no alteration in Bill as published this morning. Urge most strongly this grave injustice to Pakistan be rectified in Parliament.¹

¹ In a telegram to the Viceroy dated 5th July, the Secretary of State said 'Geographical position of these Islands makes it impossible to assign them to Pakistan, nor did any form of joint control by both Indian and Pakistan Governments seem to us practicable. We felt that to exclude Islands altogether from either India or Pakistan would not be acceptable.' The islands were finally allotted to Indian by the India Independence Act. T.O.P., Vol. XI, pp. 907–8.

16. The Bill Certainly Contains the Poison

M.K. Gandhi's speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 5 July 1947

Brothers and Sisters,

Lady Mountbatten has been to see me today. She had no particular business with me. I even told her on the telephone not to take the trouble to come and see me. But she said that since I had gone and seen them so many times she felt bound to return the visit. I pointed out that I only went to see the Viceroy on business. But she was firm and she came. She has simple ways. She came and squatted down as we are squatting here, and enquired after everything. She asked how we find it here and listened with interest. I told her that I lived here among the sweepers. I also told her that I lived in a temple which was clean as it ought to be. If she wanted to see the living conditions of the sweepers she should visit their quarters which were nearby. She visited the sweepers quarters and inspected the condition there with much interest. I did not go with her because crowds might have collected. Then she went to Harijan Nivas where Harijan boys are given training. She was very happy to see it.

I have today received a letter which I had not intended to deal with here. But now I feel that I should not keep it over till tomorrow. What has happened among the Sikhs on the issue of division of the Punjab is distressing. Formerly there was no distinction between the Hindus and Sikhs. All the poison was spread by Macaulay who wrote the History of the Sikhs. Since Macaulay was a well-known historian, everyone swallowed what he said. The Granth Sahib of the Sikhs is actually based on the Hindu scriptures. Sikhs are a brave community. But their
number is small. If the Punjab is divided Sikhs must be divided too. The letter says that the Sikhs who have now come over to East Punjab will be all right. But what will happen to the Sikhs in West Punjab, he asks. Will the Congress help if they find themselves in trouble? I can only say that those who are brave do not need anyone’s help. They should only look to God for help. And why must you assume that the Sikhs in West Punjab will find themselves in trouble? If something happens to them, do you imagine that the vast masses of people in India will look on indifferently and do nothing? The Sikhs therefore should not worry.

The Bill that has been introduced in the British Parliament will very soon be enacted into law. India will then be divided into two Dominions, that is to say, the British Commonwealth will have two new members. The Bill has 20 clauses which I have read. I cannot say that it has any ambiguity or that the English have used a language which can bear different interpretations. No Englishman wants to deceive us. But the Bill certainly contains the poison. That poison we have drunk and so has the Congress. The British carried on their rule in India for 150 years and the British Government accepted the fact that politically India was one nation. They also tried to develop it as a nation and to some extent they succeeded also. Before them the Moguls had made a similar effort but they were less successful.

Having first unified the country, it is not a very becoming thing for them to divide it. I do not say that was their intention. The Cabinet Mission too had treated India as one single country and had produced arguments in support of this assumption. Today those arguments have become irrelevant. Thus the Bill in creating two Dominions gives us poison. It is true that both the Congress and the Muslim League gave their assent to the Bill. But accepting a bad thing does not make it good.

What the Quid-e-Azam used to say has come to pass. I think one can say that he was won complete victory. In my view the Bill puts to test all the three parties including the British. It makes us a Dominion but that is only a temporary phase. The Governor-General will have to put his signature to the Constitution that the Constituent Assembly has framed. He cannot change even a comma of the document. The same thing will happen in Pakistan. If after the constitution comes into being the two Dominions proclaim their independence from the British Commonwealth, nobody can stop them. It seems to me that is what they will do. Of course all these things belong to the future and nothing definite can be said at present. What is clear at the moment is that India is now broken up into two self-governing Dominions.

The British have also given rise to a situation which will be yet another test of their bona fides. All the various Princely States in India ought to have been brought within the Indian Union. The present dangerous situation should not have been allowed to remain.

The supporters of Pakistan have now got what they wanted. It may not be very much in terms of land area but they have been brought on a footing of equality. Till recently when the fight for Pakistan was on I was unable to understand what Pakistan meant. Even today I cannot understand it. The outline of Pakistan will emerge after its Constituent Assembly gives shape to its Constitution. But the real test of Pakistan will be the way it treats the nationalist Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and Hindus in Pakistan. Then Muslims themselves have various sects; there are Shias and Sunnis and various others. It is to be seen how these various sects are treated. Will they be friends with the Hindus or will they declare war against them? Will they perhaps take it into their heads that they are masters and all the rest are slaves? They will have to furnish answers to these questions in their Constituent Assembly.

India too has to show whether the Muslims in India will be treated as friends or as enemies. To me all religions are one. They are branches of the same tree. All religions worship the same
God. Formerly there used to be wars over religion in Europe too. But there is a new climate in the making. People have got so fed up with such strife that they are even giving up God. If this is the way the world is moving, how long can India be kept behind?

To those who consider India one nation the question of majority or minority does not arise at all. This Bill in a way is a test for all the parties. If we pass the test, we can accept it as a godsend. If not it will act as a noose for us.

17. Nehru Asks for Amendments in Indian Independence Bill
Telegram from Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel, 5 July 1947
IOR, R/3/1/154, Acc. No. 3468, NAI

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1767-S. Following is text of note received from Nehru about Indian Independence Bill. Nehru says Congress recognize that nothing should be done to delay passage of bill but are strongly of opinion that changes suggested should be incorporated.

2. Note Begins. While some of the suggestions have been accepted, the more important amendments required have not been given effect to. We think that the non-inclusion of these amendments is very unfortunate and likely to lead to grave difficulties.

2. Even if there were no two Bills, as suggested by us, it should have been made perfectly clear that the international personality of the existing India continues and that India continues to be the parent state exercising all its rights and performing all its obligations under international treaties, etc.

3. In the Bill the argument might be advanced that the Dominion of India is only one of 564 major and minor fragments into which the Bill has divided India. This argument may be met by adducing various considerations, but the definition should have been so clear as to prevent the possibility of doubt or argument.

4. In clause 7(i)(b) and (c) a proviso has now been inserted. But this does not go far enough and even this is subject to unilateral denunciation by any party. The effects of this are very difficult to foresee. We think it essential that the proviso should be in the form suggested by us previously.

5. The proviso to clause 19(3) has been retained almost in its original form. The change made does not go far enough and the difficulties pointed out in our previous note remain. We think it necessary that the proviso should be as suggested by us in our previous note. It must be made perfectly clear that the powers of the existing Constituent Assembly are in no way reduced by this Bill. Ends.

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1 Pandit Nehru sent copies of his note to Lord Mountbatten and Lord Ismay. In a covering letter to Lord Ismay, Pandit Nehru wrote: ‘I have purposely only referred to three matters which we consider very important ... I should like to emphasise that we attach great importance to these proposed changes.’
18. Withdrawal in Peaceful Conditions Likely

Extract from a letter of J.D. Tyson, 5 July 1947

TO.P., Vol. XI, pp. 939–41

Government House, Calcutta

Dear Folk,

The news of the week is that contained in today’s papers—the publication of the ‘India Independence Bill’—as I see it is now to be called. I have not had time to examine the cabled version of the Bill in its present form (i.e. in its final form as a Bill for introduction in Parliament) but I saw an earlier draft and I gather the changes are not numerous. From our own point of view the important thing is that Dominion Status, in the Bill, is to be conferred on the 15th August.,—whether or not they have partitioned Bengal, the Punjab and India by that date. Hitherto we had always understood that the date would be ‘by Oct. 1st at the latest, and earlier if the Governor General so decided’. We knew that the G.G. himself was aiming at August 15th, but whether that was an early date selected to bring a sense of urgency to the Indian leaders and in the hope of ensuring that we really did hand over by August 31st (say) or September 15th or, in the last resort, by 1st Oct. was for some time in doubt. There has been no doubt at all, of late, that the Viceroy, by sheer persistence and by talking of no other date, had induced what I may call a ‘15th Aug.’ complex and people were definitely working to that date: but so far we have always had the feeling that if we were not ready (or if the Punjab was not ready, or some other part of India was not ready) to be left on its own on the 15th Aug., there might be a short postponement, say to the 31st. This has made all planning of a private character difficult. From this point of view the great thing about today’s announcement is that it settles the date of Dominion Status (and of the British handing over of power) as August 15th irrespective of the success of Bengal, the Punjab and the Central Government in ‘partitioning’ themselves by that date. Assuming that Parliament passes the Bill in its present form—as no doubt it will—British power in India will cease on the night of the 14th/15th August. It is satisfactory to know where we are. I must say, Mountbatten is a hustler: ever since he came out he has pursued shock tactics—well, at all events after his initial month of reconnaissance (seeing Gandhi, Jinnah, Nehru and Co. interminably, which some Indians seemed to think was a waste of time!! Curious people: they would have been furious if he had gone ahead without doing so). After this rather prolonged and very intensive reconnaissance, he made his plan. He put this in embryo form before the Governors’ Conference that I attended. Even then there was no talk of our being out before June 1948: but it was from that date or soon after that the blitz began. And since the time when he launched his blitz he has given no one any rest—the Indian leaders least of all. He has kept them so busy—so much on the run—that they have not had time to draw breath and criticise. Before they know where they are we shall be out—and I believe, now, we shall withdraw in fairly peaceful conditions—whatever may happen after we have gone. If we can withdraw in peaceful conditions, it will makes things better for the Europeans who remain and it will make for better feelings between great Britain and India in the future—the two Indias, that is. I think there will be very unsettled conditions in India for some time to come, especially in places like Calcutta where the two communities meet: but the trouble will be primarily between Hindus and Muslims—not anti-European. The Europeans will suffer discomfort and, at times, the danger inseparable from disturbed conditions, but they will probably not be the main target as they would undoubtedly have been if we had been pushed out by force even partially successful.
Things here are getting more and more difficult in every way and we shall be glad to go. I would not have said this two years ago, but I say it whole heartedly now. We have had about enough and the India of ‘after August 15th’ will not be the kind of country I should want to serve or live in.

19. Bill Provides No Authority for Enforcing Arbitral Awards
Letter from M.A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten, 7 July 1947
IOR, R/3/1/154, Acc. No. 3468, NAI

MOST URGENT AND IMMEDIATE

10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of 5th July informing me that you have sent my telegram dated the 5th July, which I requested you to send to the Prime Minister and the Leader of Opposition, to the Secretary of State asking him to communicate it to the Prime Minister and also the Leader of Opposition. I shall feel grateful if you will now similarly send the second telegram, copy of which I am enclosing herewith, with regard to another matter which was under my consideration and which I promised to let you have today at the latest and was indicated in my letter of 5th July.

Thanking you,
Yours sincerely,
M.A. Jinnah

Enclosure

TELEGRAM

There is one most serious omission in Indian Independence Bill which might vitiate whole scheme of partition. This is lack of provision for setting up an authority with sanction behind it which could enforce arbitral awards that may be made by Boundary Commissions and the Arbitration Tribunal. I impressed its vital importance upon Viceroy before he went to the U.K. in May and have repeatedly urged its necessity on him ever since I have seen the Bill.

A complete division and transfer and delivery of property equitably between two Dominions by 15th August 1947 is a physical impossibility. It will take many months for Arbitration Tribunal to give its awards. The act of partition is not complete until the award has been executed and physical possession of property taken over by rightful party. Until then assets in question cannot rightfully become property of either Dominion but must remain vested in Crown. A fallacious proposition is advanced that in whichever Dominion property is situated [it] belongs to that Dominion and if that Dominion refuses to carry out terms of the award there is no way of forcing defaulting Dominion to give delivery of property to the Dominion to whom it should be transferred in terms of the award. This, I submit, is opposed to every principle and canon of jurisprudence of every country and particularly of Britain and India. The mere situ of property in one or other Dominion cannot make it belong to that Dominion but must be delivered to one or other Dominion in terms of award. Almost all assets are located in Dominion of India which could thus not only deny their use to Pakistan until award is given.
but could refuse to carry out the award if dissatisfied with it. Adjustment of financial liability between two Dominions would provide a poor solution indeed since grave injury to Pakistan from lack of assets which cannot be had in the market for love or money owing to extraordinary conditions created by war would be of most dangerous character affecting and obstructing stability and whole economic structure and progress of this Dominion. An exceedingly serious situation would thus be created and very grave consequences would follow if there would be no means left to enforce execution of terms of award. Same situation would arise if the awards of Boundary Commissions are not given till after 15th August and the dissatisfied Dominion refuses to comply.

Muslim League consider that H.M.G. alone is appropriate authority that should undertake and guarantee that awards are given effect to and carried out in all respects. This guarantee will only remain in force till such time as partition is finally and completely effected.

Provision to this effect should be made in the Bill by amending proviso (b) to clause 8(2) and other relevant clauses. It would also be necessary to provide that these provisions cannot be amended or deleted by either Constituent Assembly.

If H.M.G. find it absolutely impossible to amend the Bill in the above sense, an authoritative declaration should be made by them in the course of the debate in Parliament that they are responsible for execution and carrying out terms of arbitral awards in all respects. This is the least that should be done in the name of fairplay and justice and in fulfillment of their clear responsibility.

20. Only God Can Undo What Man Has Decided to Do
M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 7 July 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 296–7

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Last evening I told you why it was that the prospect of freedom that is about to be ours did not fill me with joy. Today I wish to tell you how you can turn a bad thing into a good thing. What has happened has happened. Nothing is to be gained by brooding over it or blaming others. In legal terms it will be only a few days before freedom comes into effect. All the parties have arrived at an agreement and they cannot go back upon their word. Only God can undo what man has decided to do.

The easiest way would be for the Congress and the League to come to an understanding without the intervention or the help of the Viceroy. In this the League would have to take the first step. I do not in the least imply by this that the decision about Pakistan should be undone. It should be taken as final, no more open to discussion now. But if ten representatives of either party sit together in a mud hut and resolve that they will not leave the hut till they have arrived at an understanding, then I can say that the decision they arrive at will be a thousand times better than the present Bill which is before the British Parliament and which envisages the setting up of two Dominions. If all the Hindus and Muslims who come to see me or write to me do not deceive me, then it is clear that no one is happy with the division of India. They all accept it against their will.

There is also another method, perhaps as difficult. The army is going to be divided—the army which so far had one single purpose—whatever that purpose might have been. This division of the army certainly fills the heart of every patriot with fear and misgivings. Why
are two armies being created? Are they to defend the country against foreign aggression or are they to fight against each other and prove to the world that we are good only for fighting and killing each other?

I have deliberately painted before you this frightful picture so that you may be warned. The way to escape this is, at any rate in my view, attractive. Will the Hindu masses and all those who have taken part in the struggle for freedom pass the test today? Will they rise up and say that they have no need for an army or at least take a pledge that this army will not be used against their Muslim brethren whether they be living in India or Pakistan. By saying this they will turn their thirty-year-old weakness into strength. Maybe the method I suggest will be considered foolish. However, I must say that God has the power to turn foolishness into wisdom as He has done so many times in history. Those who have set out on the dangerous course of dividing the army should pay heed to what I say.

21. ‘Balance Sheet of Indian Independence Bill’

Extract from an article by P.C. Joshi in *People’s Age*, 13 July 1947

The Indian Independence Bill does nothing more than give a legal and constitutional garb to the Mountbatten Plan. In legal jargon, unintelligible to the common man, the Bill at once embodies the concessions the British are forced to make to the Indian national movement as it provides for the play of disruptive forces through which the British hope to make Indian independence formal.

The concessions to Indian strength are two:

1. **Establishment of the two Dominion Governments on August 15.** Under the chairmanship of Sardar Patel, the Reforms Commissioner Mr. V.P. Menon, at his Press Conference, explained their powers thus:
   ‘The new Bill will transfer full sovereign powers to the two Dominion Governments on August 15 and they will be able to do anything except make a man a woman and a woman a man.’

2. **Recognition of the sovereign character of the two Constituent Assemblies.** Explaining the provisions of the Bill concerning the same, Mr. Menon said:
   ‘It established beyond doubt or dispute the sovereign character of the legislatures of both the Dominions and gave them absolute independence.
   Every possible element of subordination or dependence on the British Parliament had been removed and the provision laying down that the power of repealing or amending “this or any existing or future Act of Parliament” in so far as it effected the two Dominions constituted a complete and unreserved transfer of power.’

**British Counter-Strokes**

The British counter-strokes to nullify the above constitutional concessions and safeguard their imperial interests are also two:

1. **Partition.** The British Government resisted what would have been genuine transfer of power to the Interim Government and recognise the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly. It is carrying out the traditional strategy of divide and rule by being formed to be able to extract maximum concession for itself from both.
(2) **Princes.** The Indian States have been declared independent. Five hundred and sixty-two British puppets have been declared the equal of the representatives of 400 millions so that they can dictate their, i.e. the British masters, terms inside the Constituent Assemblies.

The British game is to plant their own Fifth Column inside the State structure of the Indian Union and Pakistan and also retain one of the States as their independent bases inside our country. Such is the purpose, Princely ‘Independence’ to attack Indian independence and democracy both from within and without.

Only the Communist Party has come out with a realistic estimate of British imperial policy as ‘double-faced’ which at once recognises the new opportunities India has won to go forward and also lays bare the new round of British manoeuvres that is being set afoot.

**There is no going forward for our people unless it is fully realised how the British are plotting to push us backwards. The way to go forward is to beat back British intrigues all along the line.**

Gandhiji has noted that ‘the reason for lack of enthusiasm that should accompany such a great event as the imminent advent of full freedom, was the division of the country into two States which were to be turned into two armed camps.’ But he expects the initiative to come from the League!

Sardar Patel has declared the Independence Bill ‘unique in the history of Parliament’ but also admitted that ‘there are some difficulties and doubts, there are many circumstances that will create difficulties.’ But a power-politician as he is, he has not stated them.

The League leadership after the first glorification over the establishment of Pakistan has been keeping scrupulously silent.

There is urgent necessity for rank-and-file opinion to assert itself and ensure the adoption of policies that will mean realisation of common independence and building of common prosperity.

**Partition Plan**

The two Dominion Governments will get established by August 15 but all vital matters will remain pending till March 31, 1948, by which date partition has to be completed.

**The Bill makes Lord Mountbatten the pilot of the Partition Plan with supreme authority over all issues where differences may arise between the two Governments, i.e., the real dictator of our future if he is not faced with a Joint Front.**

He is already reported to have got from the League leadership as the price of partition the pledge that Pakistan will be a British Dominion. He will utilise the very concessions the British secure within Pakistan to get similar concessions from the Indian Union as the price of being fair between the claims of the two States against each other!

**Communal peace, economic welfare and political independence are at stake at Mountbatten’s hands.**

Either a consistent implementation of the very principle of Hindu and Muslim majority areas which both the Congress and the League have accepted or a new round of riots which will not remain confined to the border areas but spread throughout the country as a retaliatory wave, which will endanger not only the very life of minorities in the two zones but influence the relations between the two States.
Assets
While the most unseemly wrangling is going on in dividing up the files and typewriters in New Delhi, the British have managed to postpone the issue of Sterling Balances, on which depends the urgently needed industrialisation of the country as a whole, for at least one year more.

The country expects the Congress leadership, as the major leadership of our country, to offer all help in the establishment of the newly-born Pakistan State, win the confidence of the Muslims and demand that the Pakistan Government join hands with it in immediately claiming from the British what they owe us both.

Military
By exploiting Hindu-Muslim differences the British are out to create not only two hostile States on communal lines but also give them two communal armies against each other. This is the meaning for us of the way they have divided up the army. And in the bargain, they have strengthened their own position.

The nationalisation of the armed forces has been postponed for a year, both the armed forces will be led by British chiefs, and the Supreme Commander, too, will be a Britisher. Retention of British troops has been provided for.

The British are creating the nuclei for what they consider ‘Joint Defence’ of two hostile armed forces separately held together by British Commanders but jointly led for Britain’s imperial needs.

The alternative is a common declaration to enter into no military alliance with Britain, negotiate the closest possible military alliance between Pakistan and the Indian Union for the common defence of the country, and rapidly nationalise and democratise both the armed forces....

Princely Independence
By declaring the Indian Princes independent the British have let loose their puppets and all the grim warnings that the Communist Party had been giving are coming true. Gandhiji, who is not prepared to doubt British bonafides, has declared—‘the relations of the Princes remained in a most unsatisfactory condition’....

Way Forward
The British would desperately manoeuvre through Lord Mountbatten in this crucial transitional year as the umpire between Pakistan and Indian Union to turn them hostile to each other and the Indian Princes will be desperately used as British pawns against Indian independence. These intrigues can and must be defeated. The Communist Party puts forward the following proposals:

1. Send Mountbatten back to England after August 15 and demand from the British Government the appointment of Congress-League Governor-Generals who will help to build friendly relations between our two States and not set them against each other.
2. Establishment of a Joint Congress-League Commission for the following:
   - Formulate common democratic rights for the minorities to be embodied in the constitutions of the two States.
   - Retain closest economic cooperation in the transitional period and formulate the basis for closest economic relations in the future in our mutual interest.
Negotiate a close military alliance between the two States and jointly demand withdrawal of British troops and liquidation of all traces of British military control.

3. All-out support to the States’ people’s movement to scotch all British conspiracies to retain their footholds on Indian soil, and carry forward the battle of Indian independence, democracy and unity.

4. Start nation-building on the basis of a plan to abolish landlordism and nationalise key industries to save our country from worsening crisis and guarantee food, cloth and human life to the common people.

Mass Pressure Needed

The Communist Party will rouse Congress and League opinion to demand such a policy from the two Dominion Governments. Immense mass pressure would be needed before the protagonists of Dominion Status being the same as independence, inside the League, and the appeasers of the Princes and friends of vested interests who occupy strategic places both inside the Congress and the League, are defeated and we can all say now the British are on the run, we are fighting our real enemies and building our own future.

Such a necessary turn in our political life will never come unless the Congress as the main national organisation takes the initiative and goes ahead irrespective of the attitude of the League.

In fact, a firm and fraternal lead from the Congress will strengthen pro-unity and anti-imperialist elements inside the League.

The responsibility of the organised working-class and peasant movements who have kept alive Hindu-Muslim unity under the Red Banner is decisive to rally and unite the people behind the urgent tasks of the hour.

22. ‘Commons Pass Independence Bill’

Extract from a report in National Herald, 16 July 1947

London, July 15.—The Indian Independence Bill, which will create the two Dominions of India and Pakistan on August 15, was given its third reading without division in the House of Commons tonight after just over three and three-quarter hours of debate. It will now go to the House of Lords for debate tomorrow.

Members of all parties in the house joined Sir Stafford Cripps who moved the third reading, in wishing success and pledging future assistance to the new dominions.

Introducing what he called ‘the last debate in this house on Indian affairs’, Sir Stafford declared that it would do more to create ‘a real and living friendship with India than any other action which this country has ever taken’.

Sir Stafford added that by giving independence to India Britain was establishing her ‘honesty of democratic purpose’.

Mr. R.A. Butler, head of the Conservative Committee on Indian Affairs, in his turn, emphasised that with this move Britain was showing that she was practicing as well as preaching the principle of self-government...
23. ‘Britain Pleads for Friendship with India’

Extract from a report in *The Hindustan Times*, 17 July 1947

London, July 16.—‘We are at the end of one epoch and the opening of a new one—an epoch of co-operation.’ This was the keynote of speeches made in the House of Commons last night when the Indian Independence Bill was given its third reading.

Members representing different sections of the House expressed the hope that the interdependence of Britain and India would be stronger than in the past.

Replying to the debate, Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister, expelled the misgivings with which some members approached the question of division of India. He believed that the long course or time in which Indians of different creeds and castes and from different parts of the country had worked together in Government had brought about real unity of India and that ‘this division will not man [sic] disruption.’

**An Era of Pride**

Mr. Clement Davies, Leader of the Liberal Party, said this was a deeply emotional moment. Today the members of the British House of Commons would give a third reading to this Indian Independence Bill without a single dissentient voice. So would end an era.

‘It has been an era upon which we and the generations which follow can look back with justifiable pride,’ he declared. The British people had striven conscientiously and loyally for the welfare of the peoples of India. There had been many mistakes; there had been on occasions bad mistakes; but they had, so far as they could, brought peace from external sources and had established a system of law and administration and justice.

Britain would wait with anxious pride and throbbing hope the efforts which the Indian people would make in reaching forward to those things which were before them. It would be for the new India and Pakistan to decide what that new structure would be. Each had colossal tasks and among those was an immense economic task.

Britain wished them well and a true and real success and would do all she could to help at any time....

**End of a Chapter**

British administration in India had caused a great increase in human happiness and a great mitigation of human misery. It had set up in India standards never known there before. But there was much hope in the chapter which was being closed. The curtain was being rung down upon a scene of the most colourful drama ever witnessed and it was being rung up upon another drama....

**Future Relationship**

He believed that the inter-dependence of Great Britain and India might be even stronger than in the past. The responsibility on a brother was no less heavy than that of a proprietor or trustee, and Britain’s relationship in the future would be that of a brother.

The approach to the peoples of India must be through the heart and not through the head. In the last 30 or 40 years Britain had lost touch with the great heart of India. There was increasing loss of contact between administrators and those whom they ruled....
Economic Problem

The great difficulty in India was going to be economic. It had been overshadowed by the political question, but their economic position would have to be taken into account. Three hundred million people lived on the land and great strides would be necessary in scientific development of agriculture before the Indian people could support themselves on a reasonable basis.

Lord John Hope, Conservative, and son of the former Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, said he hoped the House would tolerate a brief intervention from one closely associated with a Viceroy who had something to do with the later stages towards the goal of independence.

An Objective Analysis

He wondered whether the House as a whole realised the gravity of the hour. Although he had supported the policy of the British Government all through he felt that support for a measure was really no excuse for shirking an objective analysis of the situation.

Stripped of all sentimental embroidery what would this Bill do? It enabled Britain to leave India, and a fundamental factor in the whole Indian situation would have been irrevocably removed—British responsibility.

In spite of communal dissension in the past, the British gave to India political unity and by the desire of the Indians that unity went at a stroke. Britain could not help this, but she could say that she regretted it....

No Civil War

Sir Walter Smiles, Conservative, did not believe that either the Prime Minister or Sir Stafford Cripps was feeling elated. They were feeling responsible and praying in their hearts for the success of the great work they had done.

There was a certain danger of the House of Commons turning itself into a mutual admiration society, he said, ‘We must not cheer until we have got out of the wood. Everyone prays there will be no civil war in India.’

Tribute to Attlee

Lord Winterton winding up for the Opposition, said they should all pay tributes to the persuasive patience which the Prime Minister had shown in all these negotiations....

He asked the House not to ignore the immensity of the racial and religious problems facing India. For a long time past, he had thought partition was inevitable. The highest form of statesmanship was to accept the inevitable and not try to get round it; that was why he welcomed the Bill.

It was difficult for the British people to understand the religious fervour in India, but in the past Europeans had killed thousands of people in religious wars that should help in understanding how this sub-continent of, on the whole, kindly people sometimes engaged themselves in what were euphemistically called communal riots, but which were really religious civil wars.

Partition May Bring Peace

Partition may bring peace to these warring people because it gave security and hostages to both. He thought partition would continue, but that the whole trend of events showed there
was a real chance of the closest co-operation in the things which really mattered between the two Dominions—provided only that they kept a separate identity as they did under the Bill.

In a tribute to the Viceroy, Lord Winterton said that with the possible exception of Wellington, no man in British history had been given such twin gifts of leadership in the military and constitutional field....

**Attlee’s Reply**

The Prime Minister, who was greeted with loud cheers, said he had really little to add to what he had said on the second reading of the Bill....

**Break as Friends**

‘We extend a warm friendship to the Indian people. Many of us have close friends amongst them. I have friends who are Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and who belong to the Depressed Classes. I see them from time to time and we are able to talk together as friends. Now that this big idea of domination is being removed, we must break as friends and equals. We can help India and India can do a great service in helping the world.

‘I would draw the attention of the House to the magnitude of this experiment. This concerns 400 million human beings. To expect to get complete agreement amongst them is really a dream.’

**No Disruption**

‘Some people do suggest we should bring the great masses in Europe into one polity. In India the unity was brought about because it was superimposed. When that was taken away old rivalries appeared again.

‘But I believe this long course of time in which Indians of different creeds, castes and from different parts of the country have worked together in the Government, side by side in campaigns, has brought about real unity of India and this division will not mean disruption.

‘But building up a federation is very difficult,’ Mr. Attlee added. ‘It has seldom been done by splitting a unitary Government into federation. It has come about by the union of separate partners who, having felt their own independence have then felt the need for collaboration. I am hopeful that in course of time this separation will come into a larger unity, a federation in which the partners will have full scope and at the same time unity.’

**Good of India**

‘In parting with this Bill from this House, I do it not with a feeling of elation but with a feeling of responsibility and some feeling of anxiety, but also with an unquenchable hope that things will work out for the good of all the people of India.’ There were loud cheers when the Prime Minister sat down.

The Speaker then put the question that the Bill should be read a third time and this was carried without a dissenting voice. Cheers were renewed when the Prime Minister and Sir Stafford Cripps left the Chamber.—Reuter.
24. Any Demand Leading to Balkanization of India Unwelcome
Letter from Krishna Menon to Louis Mountbatten, 18 July 1947

47 Strand, London, W.C. 2

PERSONAL

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I hope you feel a slight sense of relief that the Bill has become law and that your efforts have been successful. H.M.G. have been better than their word on time-table. The Lords were particularly tame, and cooperative. The under-current of opposition in the Commons did not come to much, though obviously the Opposition had been briefed. Some of the ‘efforts’ of those who must have thought they are being helpful to us (and are our side) to ‘organise’ public opinion were not very helpful—particularly letters to the Times and circularisation of back bench M.P.’s! However, it is all over, even though there is little of enthusiasm anywhere. Partition and strife cast their shadows dark and long.

Your letter and a personal note from Jawaharlal which I brought were sent to Downing Street on Sunday last when I arrived here. It was at once sent on to Chequers, where the P.M. was. His secretary telephoned me before six and the P.M. saw me at 10 the next morning. You have educated them all in hustling! The P.M. was glad to see me and hear about you and about all the news. I then tried to put our case about the States. He called in the Law Officers and Henderson, and we had about seventy minutes over it. Mr. Attlee was anxious to help. We went over the amendments to Clause 7, and even tried some other devices. The Law Officers, who appear most crusted, were stogy [stodgy], and the P.M. felt unable to do anything beyond saying something in speeches. They were all of opinion that Mysore and Benares could not revert to pretreaty positions as they had acquired sovereignty under British suzerainty. It is all an odd kind of constitutional theory and will not hold good outside Whitehall, but there it was. There was not lack of desire on the part of the P.M. to be of assistance.

I found there and everywhere else that the ‘Fuhrer’ had overplayed his hand. Mr. J’s last effort smells very badly, and even the man in the street has begun to understand the business. I rather suspect it helped the speedy passage of the legislation in the Commons and unnerved the Opposition.

I have also seen Listowel, Henderson and Cripps, all of whom promised to do what they could in speeches to indicate that H.M.G. would not welcome Balkanisation or Dominion Status for Princes. All of these were very cooperative. Altogether there is a new atmosphere in this country. One could not help wishing that it were so in India also. But I am afraid that this won’t be the case, and I have done my best to indicate fully to all concerned this aspect of the situation and its reasons—which I thought desirable.

Affectionate regards,
Krishna
Chapter 30

An Act to make provision for the setting up in India of two independent Dominions, to substitute other provisions for certain provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, which apply outside those Dominions, and to provide for other matters consequential on or connected with the setting up of those Dominions.

[18 July 1947]

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lord's Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. The new Dominions.—(1) As from the fifteenth day of August, nineteen hundred and forty-seven, two independent Dominions shall be set up in India, to be known respectively as India and Pakistan.

(2) The said Dominions are hereafter in this Act referred to as 'the new Dominions', and the said fifteenth day of August is hereafter in this Act referred to as 'the appointed day'.

2. Territories of the new Dominions.—(1) Subject to the provisions of sub-sections (3) and (4) of this section, the territories of India shall be the territories under the sovereignty of His Majesty which, immediately before the appointed day, were included in British India except the territories which, under sub-section (2) of this section, are to be the territories of Pakistan.

(2) Subject to the provisions of sub-sections (3) and (4) of this section, the territories of Pakistan shall be—

(a) the territories which, on the appointed day, are included in the Provinces of East Bengal and West Punjab, as constituted under the two following sections;

(b) the territories which, at the date of the passing this Act, are included in the Province of Sind and the Chief Commissioner's Province of British Baluchistan; and

(c) if, whether before or after the passing of this Act but before the appointed day, the Governor-General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum which, at the date of the passing of this Act, is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the North-West Frontier Province are in favour of representatives of that Province taking part in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the territories which, at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in that Province.

(3) Nothing in this section shall prevent any area being at any time included in or excluded from either of the new Dominions, so, however, that—

(a) no area not forming part of the territories specified in sub-section (1) or, as the case may be, sub-section (2), of this section shall be included in either Dominion without the consent of that Dominion; and

(b) no area which forms part of the territories specified in the said sub-section (1) or, as the case may be, the said sub-section (2), or which has after the appointed day been included in either Dominion, shall be excluded from that Dominion without the consent of that Dominion.
(4) Without prejudice to the generality of the provision of sub-section (3) of this section, nothing in this section shall be construed as preventing the accession of Indian States to either of the new Dominions.

3. Bengal and Assam.—(1) As from the appointed day—

   (a) the Province of Bengal, as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, shall cease to exist; and
   
   (b) there shall be constituted in lieu thereof two new Provinces, to be known respectively as East Bengal and West Bengal.

(2) If whether before or after the passing of this Act, but before the appointed day, the Governor-General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum which, at the date of the passing of this Act, is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the District of Sylhet are in favour of that District forming part of the new Province of East Bengal, then, as from that day, a part of the Province of Assam shall, in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (3) of this section, form part of the new Province of East Bengal.

(3) The boundaries of the new Provinces aforesaid and, in the event mentioned in sub-section (2) of this section, the boundaries after the appointed day of the Province of Assam, shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the appointed day, by the award of a boundary commission appointed or to be appointed by the Governor-General in that behalf, but until the boundaries are so determined—

   (a) the Bengal Districts specified in the First Schedule to this Act, together with, in the event mentioned in sub-section (2) of this section, the Assam District of Sylhet, shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of East Bengal;
   
   (b) the remainder of the territories comprised at the date of the passing of this Act in the Province of Bengal shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of West Bengal; and
   
   (c) in the event mentioned in sub-section (2) of this section, the District of Sylhet shall be excluded from the Province of Assam.

(4) In this section, the expression ‘award’ means, in relation to a boundary commission, the decision of the Chairman of that commission contained in his report to the Governor-General at the conclusion of the commission’s proceedings.

4. The Punjab.—(1) As from the appointed day—

   (a) the province of the Punjab, as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, shall cease to exist; and
   
   (b) there shall be constituted two new Provinces, to be known respectively as West Punjab and East Punjab.

(2) The boundaries of the said new Provinces shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the appointed day by the award of a boundary commission appointed or to be appointed by the Governor-General in that behalf, but until the boundaries are so determined—

   (a) the District specified in the Second Schedule to this Act shall be treated as the territories to be comprised in the new Province of West Punjab; and
   
   (b) the remainder of the territories comprised at the date of the passing of this Act in the Province of the Punjab shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of East Punjab.
(3) In this section, the expression ‘award’ means, in relation to a boundary commission, the decision of the Chairman of the commission contained in his report to the Governor-General at the conclusion of the commission’s proceedings.

5. The Governor-General of the new Dominions.—For each of the new Dominions, there shall be a Governor-General who shall be appointed by His Majesty and shall represent His Majesty for the purposes of the government of the Dominion:

Provided that, unless and until provision to the contrary is made by a law of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions, the same person may be Governor-General of both the new Dominions.

6. Legislature for the new Dominions.—(1) The Legislature of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to make laws for that Dominion, including laws having extra-territorial operation.

(2) No law and no provision of any law made by the Legislature of either of the new Dominions shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the law of England, or to the provisions of this or any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, or to any order, rule or regulation made under any such Act, and the powers of the Legislature of each Dominion include the power to repeal or amend any such Act, order, rule or regulation in so far as it is part of the law of the Dominion.

(3) The Governor-General of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to assent in His Majesty’s name to any law of the Legislature of that Dominion and so much of any Act as relates to the disallowance of laws by His Majesty or the reservation of laws for the signification of His Majesty’s pleasure thereon or the suspension of the operation of laws until the signification of His Majesty’s pleasure thereon shall not apply to laws of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions.

(4) No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed on or after the appointed day shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion unless it is extended thereto by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion.

(5) No Order in Council made on or after the appointed day under any Act passed before the appointed day, and no order, rule or other instrument made on or after the appointed day under any such Act by any United Kingdom Minister or other authority, shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion.

(6) The power referred to in sub-section (1) of this section extends to the making of laws limiting for the future the powers of the Legislature of the Dominion.

(7) Consequences of the setting up of the new Dominions.—(1) As from the appointed day—

(a) His Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom have no responsibility as respects the government of any of the territories which, immediately before that day, were included in British India;

(b) the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it, all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and the rulers of Indian States, all functions exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to Indian States, all obligations of His Majesty existing at that date towards Indian States or the rulers thereof, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction
exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise; and

(c) there lapse also any treaties or agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and any persons having authority in the tribal areas, any obligations of His Majesty existing at that date to any such persons or with respect to the tribal areas, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable at that date by His Majesty in or in relation to the tribal areas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise:

Provided that notwithstanding anything in paragraph (b) or paragraph (c) of this subsection, effect shall, as nearly as may be continued to be given to the provisions of any such agreement as is therein referred to which relate to customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs, or other like matters, until the provisions in question are denounced by the ruler of the Indian State or person having authority in the tribal areas on the one hand, or by the dominion or province or other part thereof concerned on the other hand, of are superseded by subsequent agreements.

(2) The assent of the Parliament of the United Kingdom is hereby given to the omission from the Royal Style and Titles of the words ‘Indiae Imperator’ and the words ‘Emperor of India’ and to the issue by His Majesty for that purposes of His Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal of the Realm.

8. Temporary provision as to government of each of the new Dominions.—(1) In the case of each of the new Dominions, the powers of the Legislature of the Dominion shall, for the purpose of making provision as to the constitution of the Dominion, be exercisable in the first instance by the Constituent Assembly of that Dominion, and references in this act to the Legislature of the Dominion shall be construed accordingly.

(2) Except in so far as other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion under sub-section (1) of this section, each of the new Dominions and all Provinces and other parts thereof shall be governed as nearly as may be in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935; and the provisions of that Act, and of the Orders in Council, rules and other instruments made thereunder, shall so far as applicable, and subject to any express provisions of this Act, and with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as may be specified in orders of the Governor-General under the next succeeding section, have effect accordingly:

Provided that-

(a) the said provisions shall apply separately in relation to each of the new Dominions and nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as continuing on or after the appointed day any Central Government or Legislature common to both the new Dominions;

(b) nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as continuing in force on or after the appointed day any form of control by His Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom over the affairs of the new Dominions or of any Province or other part thereof;

(c) so much of the said provisions as requires the Governor-General or any Governor to Act in his discretion or exercise his individual judgment as respects any matter shall cease to have effect as from the appointed day;
(d) as from the appointed day, no Provincial Bill shall be reserved under the Government of India Act, 1935, for the signification of His Majesty’s pleasure, and no Provincial Act shall be disallowed by His Majesty thereunder; and
(e) the powers of the Federal Legislatures or Indian Legislature under that Act, as in force in relation to each Dominion, shall, in the first instance, be exercisable by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion, in addition to the powers exercisable by that Assembly under sub-section (1) of this section.

(3) Any provision of the Government of India Act, 1935, which, as applied to either of the new Dominions by sub-section (2) of this section and the orders therein referred to, operates to limit the power of the Legislature of that Dominion shall, unless and until other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (1) of this section, have the like effect as a law of the Legislature of the Dominion limiting for the future the powers of that Legislature.

10. Secretary of State’s Services, etc.—(1) The provisions of this Act keeping in force provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, shall not continue in force the provisions of that Act relating to appointments to the civil services of, and civil posts under, the Crown in India by the Secretary of State, or the provisions of that Act relating to the reservation of posts.

(2) Every person who—
(a) having been appointed by the Secretary of State, or Secretary of State in Council, to a civil service of the Crown in India continues on and after the appointed day to serve under the Government of either of the new Dominions or of any province or part thereof; or
(b) having been appointed by His Majesty before the appointed day to be a Judge of the Federal Court or of any Court which is a High Court within the meaning of the Government of India Act, 1935, continues on and after the appointed day to serve as a judge in either of the new Dominions, shall be entitled to receive from the governments of the Dominions and provinces or parts which he is from time to time serving or, as the case may be, which are served by the courts in which he is from time to time a judge, the same conditions of service as respects remuneration, leave and pension, and the same rights as respects disciplinary matters or, as the case may be, as respects the tenure of his office, or rights as similar thereto as changed circumstances may permit, as that person was entitled to immediately before the appointed day.

(3) Nothing in this Act shall be construed as enabling the rights and liabilities of any person with respect to the family pension funds vested in Commissioners under section two hundred and seventy-three of the Government of India Act, 1935, to be governed otherwise than by Orders in Council made (whether before or after the passing of this Act or the appointed day) by His Majesty in Council and rules made (whether before or after the passing of this Act or the appointed day) by a Secretary of State or such other Minister of the Crown as may be designated in that behalf by Order in Council under the Ministers of the Crown (Transfer of Functions) Act, 1946.

11. Indian Armed Forces.—(1) The order to be made by the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act shall make provision for the division of the Indian armed forces of His Majesty between the new Dominions, and for the command and governance of those forces until the division is completed.
(2) As from the appointed day, while any member of His Majesty’s forces, other than His Majesty’s Indian Forces, is attached to or serving with any of His Majesty’s Indian Forces—
(a) he shall, subject to any provision to the contrary made by a law of the legislature of the Dominion or Dominions concerned or by any order of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act, have, in relation to the Indian forces in question, the powers of command and punishment appropriate to his rank and functions; but
(b) nothing in any enactment in force at the date of the passing of this Act shall render him subject in any way to the law governing the Indian forces in question.

12. British Forces in India.—(1) Nothing in this Act affects the jurisdiction or authority of His Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom, or of the Admiralty, the Army Council, or the Air Council or of any other United Kingdom authority, in relation to any of His Majesty’s forces which may, on or after the appointed day, be in either of the new Dominions or elsewhere in the territories which, before the appointed day, were included in India, not being Indian forces.

(2) In its application in relation to His Majesty’s military forces, other than Indian forces, the Army Act shall have effect on or after the appointed day—
(a) as if His Majesty’s Indian forces were not included in the expressions ‘the forces’, ‘His Majesty’s forces’ and ‘the regular forces’; and
(b) subject to the further modifications specified in Parts I and II of the Third schedule to this Act.

(3) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (2) of this section, and to any provisions of any law of the Legislature of the Dominion concerned, all civil authorities in the new Dominions, and, subject as aforesaid and subject also to the provisions of the last preceding section, all service authorities in the new Dominions, shall, in those Dominions and in the other territories which were included in India before the appointed day, perform in relation to His Majesty’s military forces, not being Indian forces, the same functions as were, before the appointed day, performed by them, or by the authorities corresponding to them, whether by virtue of the Army Act or otherwise, and the matters for which provision is to be made by orders of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act shall include the facilitating of the withdrawal from the new Dominions and other territories aforesaid of His Majesty’s military forces, not being Indian forces.

(4) The provisions of sub-sections (2) and (3) of this section shall apply in relation to the air forces of His Majesty, not being Indian air forces, as they apply in relation to His Majesty’s military forces, subject, however, to the necessary adaptations, and, in particular, as if—
(a) for the references to the Army Act there were substituted references to the Air Force Act; and
(b) for the reference to part II of the Third Schedule to this Act there were substituted a reference to Part III of that Schedule.

13. Naval Forces.—(1) in the application of the Naval Discipline Act of His Majesty’s Naval Forces, other than Indian Naval Forces, reference to His Majesty’s navy and His Majesty’s ships shall not, as from the appointed day, include references to His Majesty’s Indian navy or the ships thereof.

(2) In the application of the Naval Discipline Act by virtue of any law made in India before the appointed day to Indian naval forces, references to His Majesty’s navy and His Majesty’s ships shall, as from the appointed day, be deemed to be, and to be only, references to His Majesty’s Indian navy and the ships thereof.
(3) In section ninety B of the Naval Discipline Act (which, in certain cases, subjects officers and men of the Royal Navy and Royal Marines to the law and customs of the ships and naval forces of other parts of His Majesty’s dominions) the words ‘or of India’ shall be repealed as from the appointed day, wherever those words occur.

SCHEDULES

FIRST SCHEDULE

Section 3

BENGAL DISTRICTS PROVISIONALLY INCLUDED IN THE NEW PROVINCE OF EAST BENGAL

In the Chittagong Division, the districts of Chittagong, Noakhali and Tippera.
In the Dacca Division, the districts of Bakarganj, Dacca, Faridpur and Mymensingh.
In the Presidency Division, the districts of Jessore, Murshidabad and Nadia.
In the Rajshahi Division, the districts of Bogra, Dinajpur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi and Rangpur.

SECOND SCHEDULE

Section 4

DISTRICTS PROVISIONALLY INCLUDED IN THE NEW PROVINCE OF WEST PUNJAB

In the Lahore Division, the districts of Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhupura and Sialkot.
In the Rawalpindi Division, the districts of Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi and Shahpur.
In the Multan Division, the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan and Muzaffargarh.

26. ‘India Bill Becomes Law’

The Tribune, 20 July 1947

London July 18.—Precisely at 10.40 (G.M.T.) today 4.10 P.M. (I.S.T.) the great new Dominions of India and Pakistan were born and the 400 million people of India came into their inheritance of full political freedom, when the British House of Lords, a Royal Commission of Peers with ceremony and ritual, dating back to William the Conqueror’s time, announced the Royal assent to the Indian Independence Bill, writes Fraser Wighton, Reuter's political correspondent.

‘Roile Eult’—in the Norman French of 1066 A.D., the Clerk of Parliament, Sir Henry Baddeley, uttered the fateful words—‘The King wishes it.’ In this single pregnant phrase was the birth and the inheritance.

The ceremony which transferred Britain’s 200-year old responsibility for India to the people of that country took barely 15 minutes. The Royal Commission, indeed within the brief space of time, passed 18 bills, of which Indian Independence, sandwiched between a penicil in measure and a National Service Act authorising peacetime compulsion came third.

The little Chamber of the Lords, normally the king’s ‘robing room’, and functioning as the Upper House only because part of the Houses of Parliament were bombed during the war, held a mere handful
of Peers, though many public spectators, when, on the stroke of 10-30 (G.M.T.) a Royal Commission of
five Peers, magnificently arrayed, entered the Chamber and sat on the Chancellor’s seat.

Heading the Commission was Lord Chancellor, Lord Jowitt, in crimson-gold-black-and
ermine robes, full bottomed wig and a three corner silk hat surmounting it. The Commissioners
were Secretary of the State for India, Lord Listowel, the Earl of Lytton, Lord Stansgate, formerly,
Mr. Wedgewood Benn, and Lord Lewelly, a conservative Peer. Similarly garbed but with cocked
hats, they wore no wigs. At a sign, High Lords Official Black Red Admiral Sir Geoffrey Blake
stepped towards them. He was garbed in his black court dress with knee breaches [sic], silk
stockings and buckled shoes. Around his neck was the gold chain of the Order of the Garter
and on his breast glittered the bejewelled badge of the Commandership of the Bath.

Clasped in one hand was his famous rod of office, an ebony staff with gold tip and extremity,
the tip fashioned in the shape of the lion, shield and the crown of the Garter. He bowed to the
Royal Commission.

Gravely the Lord Chancellor rose and addressed Black Rod desiring him to ask the
Commoners’ ‘immediate attendance in this House to hear the Commission read.’ Black Rod
bowed in reply and departed through the corridors to summon the Commons in the Lords’
Chamber with its mellow gold and red beauty and colourful murals of the knights of the round
table, no one stirred.

Meanwhile zealous Commons attendants on the watch for strangers espied the approach
of Black Rod and slammed the great oak brass door of the Commons in his face to re-affirm
the liberty and independence of Commons.

Three raps of his Rod on the door secured Black Rod admittance, however, and walking
up the Chamber towards the chair with measured tread, passing occasionally to bow, he at
length delivered his message.

‘Mr. Speaker,’ he said. ‘The Lords, who are authorized by virtue of His Majesty’s
Commission to declare his Royal assent to Acts passed by both Houses desire the presence of
this Honourable House in the House of Peers to hear the Commission read.

The begowned and bewigged Speaker Colonel Clifton Brown nodded assent and climbed
down from his Chair. The Chief Commons Officer, the Sergeant-at-Arms-Sir Charles Howard
grapped the great Gold Mace from the clerk’s table, and proceeded by attendants in court dress
and followed by Black Rod, the Speaker, the Speaker’s Secretary and the chaplain formed the
head of a procession.

Behind formed up in double file the Prime Minister Mr. Clement Attlee partnered by
Opposition Acting Leader Mr. Oliver Stanley, the Commons Ministers and rankers following
two by two. This solemn procession walked to the Lords. In the procession were other Cabinet
Ministers—Chancellor of the Exchequer Hugh Dalton, Food Minister, Mr. Stratchey, and
Under Secretary of State for India Arthur Henderson, Commonwealth Relations Secretary of
State Lord Addison, was already in the chair. Amid the grandeur and panoply of the Royal
Commission the Commons’ delegation seemed a colourless visitation, apart from its vanguard
of office bearers, yet in this little crowd huddled at the back of the Chamber taking a merely
nominal part in the proceedings was the man who by general consent of British political
quarters has in the long-term sense been the main architect of the Indian settlement, Prime
Minister Clement Attlee.

The opposition Leader Mr. Winston Churchill, Attlee’s frequent partner in Royal
Commission, was not present. None of the Indian Cabinet Mission members indeed were
discernible.
At the call of the Lord Chancellor a clerk of Parliament arose and read the Royal Commission a lengthy document.

Then solemnly the Lord Chancellor spoke the fateful words that immediately proclaimed the freedom of India. They were: ‘In obedience to His Majesty’s commands and by virtue of the Commission which has now been read, we do declare and notify you the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled that His Majesty has given his Royal assent to the several acts in the Commission mentioned, and the clerks are required to pass the same in the usual form and words.’

With the end of the Chancellor’s words two officials arose gowned bewigged. One was Sir Henry Baddeley, Clerk of the Parliaments, the other his assistant.

The time was 10.39 (G.M.T.). A long list of the bills was in the assistant clerk’s hands. In a sudden stillness he called out the name of a bill. Sir Henry turned and cried out ‘Le Roi le Veult’ and bowed to the Commoners. A second bill was called and the procedure repeated. Then in loud tones the title of the Indian Independence Bill was read. Sir Henry turned again and in a firm voice declared: ‘Le Roi Le Veult.’ In that moment the two dominions were created.

Rapidly the other bills were named and the King’s assent given.

27. ‘Future of India League’

National Herald, 30 July 1947

LONDON, July 29.—The passing of the Indian Independence Bill meant considerable change in the outlook of the more important Indian societies, operating in Britain. Principal among these is the India League, for so many years associated with the name of Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon, which had as its main objective the securing of independence for India. Now that this has been achieved the question arises as to what shall be done with the League’s most considerable organisation extending to most major towns and cities in the British Isles.

A meeting is to be held in the Caxton Hall on August 6 when the future work and functions of the League will be discussed. Many associated with the League feel that much useful work remains to be done.

On the immediate political side there is the position of Indians in South Africa, on whose behalf the League has been conducting a vigorous campaign.

Later, and because of India’s greater participation in international affairs, other political issues may well arise in which a powerful non-official organisation could take a useful part. On the social and cultural side there is ever present the problem of the welfare of Indian students and the desirability of providing Indians with opportunities to gather together.

One such occasion is being provided on August 9, when at the Friends House, Lord Listowel, Mr. Julius Silverman and Mr. Krishna Menon will speak on Tagore. There will be readings from Tagore’s works and Indian songs and also Indian dances.—Globe.
Chapter 29. Boundary Commissions

A. Punjab*

1. Boundary Demarcation: Claims of the Sikhs
   Letter from Evan Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten forwarding a note of his interview with Giani Kartar Singh, 10 July 1947
   Lionel Carter (Ed.), Punjab Politics, Vol. V, pp. 143-7

   Secret
   No. 694

   Dear Lord Mountbatten,

   I think Your Excellency may be interested in the enclosed record of a conversation I have just had with Giani Kartar Singh. The Giani was extremely frank about the intentions of the Sikhs, and what he said confirms my view that they mean to make trouble if the decision based on the Boundary Commission’s report is not to their liking, or if the new Governments are set up before the decision is given. According to a recent Press report, Baldev Singh is taking the same line in public, which seems odd in view of his acceptance of the Plan.

   2. My personal view is that the Boundary problem cannot be solved in any rational way, and that the only solution which will give the two new Provinces a peaceful start will be one negotiated by the Parties—in other words a settlement out of court. I believe that there is quite a lot in the claim of the Sikhs—and for that matter of other residents of the Eastern Punjab—for a share in the canal colonies, and the Giani’s idea that the Montgomery district should be allotted to the East is by no means as ridiculous as it sounds. The district, if so allotted, could be ‘recolonized’ so as to concentrate the non-Muslims there and to transfer Muslims to Lyallpur, which is agriculturally on the whole a better proposition. But with the Sikhs demanding the Chenab as the Western boundary and the Muslims hoping to stretch their tentacles as far east as Ambala, and everyone behaving as though they had just been at war and were going to have a new war within a few weeks, I see little hope of any solution of this kind.

   Yours sincerely,
   E.M. JENKINS

*For related documents also see Chapter 31 titled ‘Partition of Punjab’.
NOTE BY JENKINS

July 10th, 1947

Giani Kartar Singh came to see me today at 4.45 p.m. at his request. He was to have come at 3 p.m., but he seems to have had some trouble with his car driving in from Nankana Sahib.

2. He said that he had come to see me about the Indian Independence Bill and the Boundary Commission. The Bill made it clear that if orders were not passed on the recommendations of the Boundary Commission by 15th August, two new Governments would be set up on the basis of the 'notional' boundary. The Sikhs did not believe that fresh orders about the boundary would be enforced after 15th August, and wanted to know what the enforcement arrangements would be. The Sikhs would not accept the ‘notional’ boundary even provisionally, and if an attempt were made to set up two new Governments on the basis of this boundary on 15th August, the Sikhs would refuse to join the Government of the Eastern Punjab and would refuse also to have anything to do with the Union Government of India. They would have to take other measures.

3. Proceeding, the Giani said that there must be an exchange of population on a large scale. Were the British ready to enforce this? He doubted if they were, and if no regard was paid to Sikh solidarity, a fight was inevitable. The British had said for years that they intended to protect the minorities, and what had happened now was a clear breach of faith by the British....

6. The Giani then elaborated the Sikh claim. He said that they must have at least one canal system; they must also have Nankana Sahib; finally the arrangements must be such as to bring three-quarters or at least two-thirds of the Sikh population into the Eastern Punjab. An exchange of population on a large scale was essential—he thought that at least 400,000 Sikhs should be moved to the East and 400,000 Muslims were to the West (later in the conversation he said that the number of Sikhs would be 500,000 or 600,000 and the number of Muslims about one million. Property as well as population should be taken into account in the exchange, and the Sikhs are on the whole better off than the Muslims). The Giani asserted that unless it was recognized by H.M.G., the Viceroy and the Party Leaders that the fate of the Sikhs was a vital issue in the proceedings for the transfer of power there would be trouble.

7. I asked how the Giani proposed to effect his large transfer of population, and what he meant by ‘one canal system’. Did he mean in concrete terms that if the Sikhs got a part of the Montgomery district, from which Muslims could be transferred to Lyallpur and to which Sikhs could be transferred from Lyallpur, the Sikhs would be content? The Giani said that the Sikhs would be content with the whole of the Montgomery district and Nankana Sahib, and that if this could be effected, the exchange of population would be more or less automatic. On my pointing out that the inclusion of Nankana Sahib in the Eastern Punjab would be an extremely difficult operation, he gave me a long and rather involved account of the communal distribution of population in parts of the Lyallpur and Sheikhupura districts, and said that the transfer of Nankana Sahib to the Eastern Punjab was practicable....

9. I then reverted to the somewhat minatory remarks of the Giani about the attitude of the Sikhs should the new Governments be established on the basis of the ‘notional’ boundary. I asked exactly what he meant by ‘other measures’. The Giani replied that the Sikhs would be obliged to fight. I retorted that this would be very foolish and enquired how they expected to fight against trained troops. The Giani said in quite a matter of fact way that the Sikhs realised that they would be in a bad position and would have to fight on revolutionary lines—by
murdering officials, cutting railway lines and telegraph lines, destroying canal headworks, and so on. I reiterated that this seemed to me a very foolish policy, to which the Giani retorted that if Britain were invaded, he had no doubt that my feelings would be much the same as his.

10. I enquired when the fight would begin. The Giani said that protests would continue from now on. The Sikhs felt that it would be useless to wait for two or three years before taking violent action, and the execution of their plan would start with the departure of the British.

11. I pointed out that violent action would hardly endear the Sikhs to the Congress, with whom the Panthic Party was now allied. The Giani replied that he had never trusted and did not now trust the Congress. Rather illogically he added that Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel had been sympathetic to the establishment of a Sikh homeland with the Jat districts separated and joined to the U.P. For such a homeland the Sikhs must have a reasonable boundary in the west and their population mainly concentrated east of that boundary. He saw the final Sikh State as a kind of buffer-state between Pakistan and the Union of India.

12. I said that the real solution was a reasonable settlement between the representatives of the future Governments of the West and East Punjab. I asked whether such a settlement was quite out of the question (I have always felt that the boundary problem is really a political problem which can be settled only 'out of court'). The Giani said that there was no one among the Muslims big enough to take a decision that might seem detrimental to the Muslim community. Personally he thought any discussion with a view to a settlement quite useless. The Sikhs would not abate their claim, and the Muslims would go on hoping to secure territory as far east as Ambala. The Muslims were now putting out some conciliatory propaganda but their intention was that of a sportsman who is careful not to disturb the birds he intends to shoot. He believed that the Muslims would try to make the Sikhs in the Western Punjab feel secure and would then set about them in earnest.

13. Finally, the Giani appealed to me to do all that I could to help the Sikhs during a period of great trial. Having served in the Punjab for so many years, I could not wish to abandon it to misery and bloodshed; but there would be misery and bloodshed if the boundary problem were not suitably solved.

14. The Giani was matter of fact and quiet throughout our conversation, but wept when he made his final appeal. This is the nearest thing to an ultimatum yet given on behalf of the Sikhs. They are undoubtedly very puzzled and unhappy, but I see no reason to suppose that they have lost the nuisance value which they have possessed through the centuries.

E.M.J.

1 Only excerpts reproduced here.

2. Demand by Depressed Classes for Inclusion in India

Memorandum submitted to the Punjab Boundary Commission by Prithvi Singh Azad and others, 18 July 1947


Sir,

The representatives of the Depressed Classes of the Punjab met on the 16th July, 1947, at Lahore and adopted the attached Memorandum. We request you to keep in view the demand
of the depressed classes while demarcating the boundary line of the Eastern and Western Punjab.

We are,
Yours etc.

1. Prithvi Singh Azad, M.L.A
Vice-President, A-I Depressed Classes League,
Leader of the Harijan M.L.A.s’ Group,
And President of the meeting, Sheeshmahal Road,
Lahore.

2. Feroze Chand,
Municipal Commissioner, Amritsar,
President Punjab Depressed Classes League

3. Sant Ram, M.L.A.,
Secretary, Harijan M.L.A.s’ Group and
President Punjab Balmik Sabha,
Kot Pashaka Jullundur.

4. Lakha Singh Bajaj,
President, Khalsa Bradri, Prabandhik Committee,
Amritsar.

5. Karam Singh Maskin,
President, Mazhabi Sikh Committee, Amritsar.

6. Bir Singh,
President, Mazhabi Sikh Dal.

7. Matu Ram, M.L.A., Muktsar,
President Dhanik Mahasabha,
Punjab.

8. Sundar Lal, M.L.A.,
Radaur.

9. Sundar Singh, M.L.A., Sialkot,
Secretary, Punjab Ravidas Sabha.

Enclosure
Memorandum submitted to the Boundary Commission on behalf of the
Depressed Classes of the Punjab through their representatives

The total population of the Scheduled Castes in British India, as indicated in the census enumeration of 1941 is 3,99,20,807 and they constitute 13.5% of the total population of the country. They are, however, unequally distributed in different provinces as is evident from the statement given below:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Scheduled Castes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.P.</td>
<td>1,17,17,158</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>80,68,492</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>78,78,970</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>43,40,379</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces &amp; Berar</td>
<td>30,51,413</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the table given above, it is evident that the vast majority of the Scheduled castes exist in Hindu majority provinces.

A reference to the appendix at the end of Government of India Act 1935 shows that out of a total number of 808 general territorial seats in the various provincial Legislative Assemblies, 151 seats have been reserved for the Scheduled Castes. In the province of the Punjab, out of 42 general territorial seats, the Scheduled Castes have been allotted 8; but in the last elections they won two more additional general seats from the purely Hindu constituencies. Thus their present strength in the Punjab Legislative Assembly is 10.

Ever since the question of dividing India into Hindustan and Pakistan became a live issue, a large majority of the representatives of the Scheduled Castes have been opposing such a division and have been backing up the case for united India. Now when division of India has become a settled fact, the Scheduled Castes of India in general and of the Punjab in particular, are keen that as great a bulk of them as possible should be included in India rather than in Pakistan. When on 23rd of June 1947, the question was put to vote on the floor of the Punjab Legislative Assembly whether the Punjab, in case it remained united, should join India or Pakistan, all the 9 Scheduled Caste members who were present voted in favour of the Union of India.

The Scheduled Castes feel that their number in Pakistan will be so small that they will not be able to safeguard their rights and interests effectively. The table below will elucidate the point:

### North West Zone of Pakistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Province</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Population of the Scheduled Castes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>45,35,008</td>
<td>1,91,634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.W.F.P.</td>
<td>30,38,067</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>5,01,631</td>
<td>5,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 districts of the Punjab with Muslim majority in population</td>
<td>1,68,70,900</td>
<td>3,36,779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>2,49,45,606</td>
<td>5,33,779</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the statement given above, it is evident that out of a total population of 2,49,45,606 in the North West Zone of Pakistan the Scheduled Castes will number 5,33,779 i.e. 2.14 per cent.
of the population. In the Union of India, however, they will constitute about 10 per cent and will thus be in a better position to have an effective voice than in Pakistan.

In the Punjab, the total population of the Scheduled Castes is 15,92,320 including Ad-Dharmis and is distributed as per table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambala</td>
<td>6,50,404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jullundur</td>
<td>5,82,269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1,96,505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>1,48,801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawalpindi</td>
<td>21,341</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the statement given above, it is evident that the Scheduled Castes are concentrated in the divisions of Ambala and Jullundur where their total strength comes to over one million. If Amritsar district is added on to these divisions then their total strength comes to 12,55,377 i.e. 78% of their total strength. The representatives of the Scheduled Castes are anxious that their solidarity should be maintained and as many of them as possible should be included in the Eastern Punjab.

It is an admitted fact that the members of the Scheduled Castes are part and parcel of the Hindu community, their culture, customs and traditions are common; their political, social and economic interests are inter-linked with the rest of the Hindus.

Having regard to the recent happenings in the Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions of the Punjab and Noakhali and Tipperah districts of the Eastern Bengal, the members of the Scheduled Castes have begun to entertain serious misgivings if their life and property will ever be safe and honour of their women-folk protected in Pakistan where religious considerations would reign supreme. Being educationally backward and economically depressed, they feel diffident if they will be able to resist on-slaughts on their religion and culture.

It may be pertinent to remark in passing that the Scheduled Castes as a rule do not own any agricultural land. They generally work either as tenants at will or as un-skilled labourers or as menials. Some of the members of the Scheduled Castes, however, have been allotted squares of land in the colonies of Montgomery, Sheikhpura and Lyallpur in recognition of military services rendered by them in the last two Great Wars.

Taking into consideration the solidarity of the Scheduled Castes as well as their economic interest, we respectfully submit on their behalf that the Chenab should be the boundary line between Eastern Punjab and Western Punjab. This will have the effect of not only placing 97% of the Scheduled Castes in the south-east zone of the Punjab but will also include the districts of Montgomery, Sheikhpura and Lyallpur in which they own landed property in the Eastern Punjab.

The view put forward in the Memorandum is supported by resolutions passed at numerous meetings of the Scheduled Castes in various parts of the province. These resolutions will be produced before the Commission.
3. Muslims Threaten Sacrifices to Achieve Desired Boundary

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Louis Mountbatten, 19 July 1947
IOR, R/3/1/157, Acc. No. 3820, NAI

New Delhi

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

You will recall that, the other day, in the Partition Council Mr. Jinnah made much of the so-called ‘intransigence’ of the Sikhs towards the decisions of the Boundary Commission, in case they were adverse to their demands. I would invite your attention to the attached cutting from today’s Dawn, which shows how Muslim opinion practically all over the Punjab has been roused, probably on an organized basis, in favour of an extreme and impossible demand for boundaries, and threats have been held out that all sacrifices shall be made for its achievement. The warning is addressed to His Majesty’s Government, yourself and the Boundary Commissioners.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Enclosure

Clipping from the Daily Dawn, New Delhi, dated Saturday 19th July, 1947

PUNJAB MUSLIMS WILL NOT YIELD AN INCH OF PAKISTAN
HENDERSON’S STATEMENT, AN AFTERTHOUGHT

Delhi, Friday

Muslims all over the Punjab are unanimous in their demand that all contiguous Muslim majority areas extending up to the River Jumna must be included in Pakistan and warn the British Labour Government, the Viceroy and the Boundary Commissioners that the award of the Boundary Commission will be acceptable to the Muslims only if the demand mentioned above is fully and unreservedly met. They are, however, determined to achieve their objective irrespective of whatever sacrifice, they have to offer for its achievement, as is indicated by the hundreds of telegrams that ‘Dawn’ is daily receiving from the Punjab.

In a cable sent to the British Premier Attlee, copies of which have been sent to the Quaid-e-Azam, Lord Mountbatten and Sir Cyril Radcliffe, Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, Vice-President, Punjab Muslim League and President, Anjuman Islamia says: ‘India Under-Secretary, Mr. Henderson’s latest interpretation of “Other Factors” that the “Sikh religious shrines will be taken into account” in determining the boundaries between East and West Punjab is sheer injustice, partiality and a belated discovery. The declaration in fact renders the Boundary Commission a farce. If the “principle” enunciated above is to be applied, it should be applied to all historic Muslim mosques and the holy shrines lying in Hindustan.’

AMRITSAR

Mir Anwar Saeed Mahmood, General Secretary, City Muslim League, Amritsar, in a similar cable sent to Mr. Attlee, copies of which have also been forwarded to the Quaid-e-Azam, Lord Mountbatten and Sir Cyril Radcliffe, states: ‘Amritsar City Muslim League is shocked at
India Under-Secretary, Mr. Henderson’s unjust and partial interpretation of “Other Factors” concerning the consideration to be given to the Sikh religious places....'

**SIALKOT**

By a resolution adopted at an emergency meeting held on July 15, the Working Committee, Muslim League, Sialkot, demands that all the Muslim majority areas of Jullundur, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Ludhiana, Ambala and other districts be included in Pakistan and that population be the only criterion in the demarcation of boundary lines between Pakistan and Hindustan. ‘Any deviation from this principle will be resisted to the utmost of our capacity.’...

**LAHORE**

‘The Punjab Muslims are greatly concerned over the non-Muslim attempts to influence the Boundary Commission findings by threats of force or other underhand means ... says the General Secretary, Anjuman Moghlia, Tarn Taran, in a telegram sent on behalf of the Anjuman....’

**FEROZEPORE**

While the President, Muslim League, Ferozepore, wires: ‘It will be a sheer injustice not to include the Muslim majority areas of Ferozepore, Zira, Muktesar and Fazilka in Pakistan. The Ferozepore Muslims will shed their last drop of blood for their inclusion.’...

**JULLUNDUR**

The President, Muslim League, Jullundur Cantonment, demands inclusion of the whole of Jullundur Division extending east of Sutlej and other areas up to River Jumna in Pakistan. ...

**DHANDAURA**

...The Salar, Muslim National Guards, says that Jullundur and Nakodar Tehsils and greater parts of other Tehsils up to River Sutlej are Muslim majority areas and taking other factors into consideration the whole of Jullundur district is naturally a part of Pakistan....

**BAHADUR GARH**

The Secretary, Muslim League, Bahadur Garh wires: ‘The demand for inclusion of every single village of Muslim Majority areas of the East Punjab in the Western Punjab is based on justice and Muslims demand nothing but justice and fairplay. Any unfair deal about the demarcation of the boundary lines will nullify the June 3 Plan.’

**AMBALA**

The Secretary, Muslim League, Ambala, says: ‘Muslims of Ambala demand demarcation of boundary lines on population basis. Any departure from this fundamental rule will be fought tooth and nail.’

**LUDHIANA**

‘Ludhiana town and Bet area have an overwhelming Muslim population. Muslims demand their inclusion in Pakistan and they will certainly resist any injustice perpetrated on them,’ says the Secretary, Ward No. 7, Muslim League, Ludhiana....
JHANG
Muslims will shed their last drop of blood in retaining the Muslim Punjab. Let British Government beware of it, declare Muslims of chak 168, Jhang, in a telegram.

MIANWALI
There are numerous telegrams from Mianwali; as many as 47....

RAWALPINDI
No trampling upon of Muslim rights in the fixation of the boundary lines will be tolerated. Muslim majority areas must be included in Pakistan, demands Mr. Mohammad Amin, Secretary, Sheikh Youths’ Association, Rawalpindi in a telegram....

SAJHOWAL KOT KHAN
‘We will shed our last drop of blood in retaining Muslim Punjab’, declare the Musalmans of Sajhowal Kot Khan in a telegram.

4. ‘Punjab Leaders Warn Boundary Commission’
Extract from a report in Dawn, 21 July 1947

Lahore, Saturday.—Khan of Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, Begum Shah Nawaz, Sheikh Karamat Ali and Mian Iftikharuddin in a thousand word statement to the Press have defined their attitude towards the Punjab Boundary Commission.

They say: The time has come when we, who have the honour to represent the Muslims of the Punjab must give a clear and unqualified expression to our attitude towards the Boundary Commission. Our position admits of no equivocation or misunderstanding.

We accepted the decisions of His Majesty’s Government contained in their statement of policy of June 3, 1947, because they were based on certain democratic principles which we recognised to be in accord with the spirit of the times and an expression of the ideals for which India’s long and glorious struggle for freedom had been fought.

HONEST ACCEPTANCE

We accepted the mechanism suggested for working out the detailed application of these principles to the concrete set up in India, and our acceptance was without reservation the honest and straightforward sense, that we were prepared to submit to the results of this procedure based on these principles, whether in any particular detail it worked to the advantage or disadvantage of the Muslims....

The principle we accepted was that no large section of the peoples of India who were populous enough to form an absolute majority in any appreciable territorial area were to be coerced against their will to remain under the domination of another people.
This democratic principle was to imply the right of the Musalmans to form an independent State in the regions of their majority, and at the same time to permit such non-Muslims’ concentrations of population as formed a majority in any particular portion of the Muslim majority provinces to exercise their option between joining Pakistan or Hindustan, so long as they were contiguous to the Hindu majority provinces.

**PRINCIPLE REITERATED**

...Today the time has come when this principle is to be worked out in the delimitation of the boundary between Pakistan and Hindustan. But at this time, we find that a deliberate and mischievous confusion is being created which strikes at the very root of the principle on which the whole superstructure of India’s freedom is based, considerations which are the exact antithesis of democracy and the freedom and dignity of the individual human soul are being imported to rob a people of their heritage.

Attempts are being made to enslave and strangulate Muslims in areas which of right belong to them by the very definition evolved by Mr. Attlee, announced by Viscount Mountbatten, and ratified by the unanimous acceptance of all the people of India, because in these areas the Muslims are in an absolute majority contiguous to the uncontested territories of Pakistan.

The very arguments which would sanctify a peoples’ heroic struggle against economic exploitation, against slavery under a dominant and ruthless minority, against oppression and want, are being employed to justify the continuance of this oppression and exploitation for all times to come.

So long as these delightful ratiocinations proceeded from the lips of our Sikh brethren alone we were no more than amused, because we were aware of the quality of the logic familiar to them, and of the impasse [sic] in which a benighted leadership had led them.

**FIRST AXIOM OF JUSTICE NOT HONOURED**

But when these arguments are used by people in authority close to the British Government and when it is not made clear that ‘other factors’ may be employed only to round off the angularities of a boundary strictly drawn according to principles of democracy and self-determination or to vary in a slight degree, but not to an extent to enslave masses of people who have the opportunity to exercise the right to be free, a line so fixed also as to accommodate unalterable economic facts, etc., and when this first axiom of justice is not clearly honoured that each and every criterion laid down for boundary demarcation shall apply in equal degree to the advantage or disadvantage of each party, we begin to have doubts as to the very basis on which we all agreed to accept the plan and procedure of His Majesty’s Government.

The Muslims of the Punjab therefore give final warning. We are loyal to our great leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah and to the word given by him on behalf of the Muslim people, and the principles and procedure of the British plan as accepted by him. Beyond that, therefore, we claim not an inch, but of that we will yield not an inch.

Therefore, we formally declare with the fullest sense of responsibility and of consequence that every man, women and child in Muslim Punjab will fight to the bitterest end, if a single man or a single acre of land, which properly falls within Pakistan and must belong to us, is kept away from us.
We have not threatened when others have raved, but we are as well prepared, as determined, as wholly resolved as anyone else, to protect, to guard and, if need be, to snatch what rightfully is ours to claim and to possess.

Let those who might plan to deceive and betray, to brow beat and threaten, take nose [sic] of the aroused might of a united people.

It is not necessary to call upon our people to prepare themselves, if need be, for the final struggle and the final sacrifice. We know that the call is already in every Muslim heart. (A.P.I.)

5. Government to Curtail Large Demonstrations

Telegram from Evan Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten, 23 July 1947


Immediate
Confidential
No. 189-G

Sikh Political Conference to press usual Boundary Claims is announced to be held Nankana Sahib, Sheikhupura District on Sunday July 27th. Poster which is general encouragement to resist unfavourable award purports to come from 22 members of Punjab Assembly. Actual organiser is almost certainly Giyani Kartar Singh (one of 22) and intention is that large *jathas* should converge on Nankana from Lyallpur and Sheikhupura village. If we take repressive action *morcha* will be established at Nankana. If not, further mass meetings will be held with a view to disturbances later.

2. Public meetings are banned in Sheikhupura District and this meeting which does not come within religious exemption is illegal. I have taken following action. First, Swaran Singh informed that meeting is illegal and will be dealt with unless stopped. He has promised to do what he can but is not one of 22 signatories of poster. Second. Special forces consisting of Headquarters and one Squadron 18th Lancers and one Battalion 3rd Baluch Regiment being sent by Lahore Area to Nankana in addition to Gurkha Company already in district. Force will be under command of 23 Bde. and will be in position morning July 25th. Third. Police and troops will make every possible effort to discourage attendance by control posts on roads and railways and by patrolling. Railway bookings to Nankana and adjacent stations will be suspended.

3. Mass demonstrations on Boundary question are most dangerous and we will do all we can to stop this one. But we must if possible avoid large-scale clash with Sikhs within precincts of Gurdwara and I am instructing officials concerned to bear (?) this in mind in handling situation on spot.
6. **Congress Case Presented to the Punjab Boundary Commission**

Letter from A.N. Khosla to Rajendra Prasad forwarding the Congress memorandum, 23 July 1947

R.P. Papers, File No. 2-B/47, NAI

Memorandum
Submitted to
The Punjab Boundary Commission
by
Indian National Congress

Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission, New Delhi

My dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

In accordance with instructions from the Punjab I am sending herewith one copy of the Memorandum submitted to the Punjab Boundary Commission by the Indian National Congress.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

(A.N. Khosla)

Hon’ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Member, Department of Food & Agriculture,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

**ENCLOSURE**

...Census 6. The Census taken periodically is generally considered the most accurate record of the number and composition of the population of a country. In the Punjab, however, certain unusual factors have in recent times come into play and have seriously affected the accuracy of the census. Though a rough enumeration of the population of the Punjab was made as far back as 1855, no regular census giving the figures for different communities was taken until 1881. The censuses of 1881, 1891 and 1901 showed that in the Punjab, including the States, non-Muslims were in a majority. The percentage of the *non-Muslim* majority appears from the table given below:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>52.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>52.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>50.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the States were excluded, the Muslims were in a small majority. The table given below gives the *Muslim* percentage of the population in the British Punjab:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>52.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>51.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>52.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since 1909, a political interest has come to be attached to the census because of the introduction of separate electorates with reservation of seats and this development has vitiated the accuracy of all the subsequent censuses. In 1911 the Superintendent of Census, Punjab, observed as follows at page 97 of his Report (Vol. XIV):

‘The members of the depressed classes, i.e., Chuhras, Sansis, etc., who did not profess to belong to Islam or Christianity were returned as Hindus in the three previous censuses and similar instructions were issued in the recent census. Nevertheless, a number of Sansis and Chuhras residing in Mohammedan villages were returned as Mohammedans, as some Chuhras living in Sikh villages were returned as Sikhs.’

In 1920, i.e., a year before the census of 1921, the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were introduced and emphasis was laid on the numerical strength of the communities as a basis of their political representation. This became an incentive for exaggerating the numbers in order to gain political advantage. About this time, however, certain events happened which led the Hindus and Sikhs to abstain from offering co-operation to the Census authorities. On the 1st August, 1920, the non-co-operation movement was launched by Mahatma Gandhi. It covered a wide range and involved the withholding of co-operation from all governmental activities including the census operations. In the case of Sikhs, the spirit of non-cooperation was further stiffened by reason of the notorious Nankana massacre which took place on the 20th February 1921, about four weeks before the day of enumeration for the Census of 1921, namely, the 18th March, 1921.

The census operations of 1921 in the Punjab were carried on under the supervision of Mr. Middleton, I.C.S. and Mr. Jacob, I.C.S. as Superintendents. At page 106 of the Report (Vol. XV, Part I) they observe:

‘Evidence as to the unreliability of the census of the number of inhabitants per building carried out in Lahore, Amritsar, Rawalpindi and Jullundur, though, of course, the accuracy to be expected is much less than that of the census proper, is afforded by the statistics themselves. Thus by adding up the number of buildings with the specified number of inhabitants per building, it is found that in the case of Wards 1—6 of the Lahore City, there must be no less than 1,17,140 inhabitants as against 92,533 enumerated in the census. The difference of over 24,000 cannot be accounted for except by the inaccuracy of one or other of the enumerations. In the case of Ward 3 of Rawalpindi City the discrepancy is even more marked.’

Before the Census of 1931, there was a recrudescence of the boycott movement started as a protest against the appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission, known as the Simon Commission. This was intensified by the Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the Indian National Congress in 1930. At that time the Muslim Community had at the Round Table Conference in London demanded the extension of the system of separate electorates and it was generally known that the new reforms would give effect to the demand. While, therefore, the politically-minded Hindus and Sikhs kept aloof from the census operations of 1931, the Muslims fully availed themselves of the
opportunity afforded to them. The following remarks of Khan Sahib Ahmad Hussain Khan, Superintendent, Census Operations in the Punjab at page 80 of his Report (Vol. XVII, Part I) throw a revealing light on the situation:—

‘Another factor came into play on the present occasion and deprived the census operations of the calm atmosphere, which is essential to the obtaining of correct returns. The people had realised that their political rights depended upon the census figures. The new constitution for India was to be framed at no distant date, and value attached to the communal figures brought out by the census was greater than ever. Consequently the atmosphere was surcharged with propaganda, carried on through various agencies, and attempts were made in some places by enumerators to swell the figures of their communities by means of bogus entries, or to curtail the strength of a rival community by scoring out persons who were actually present in their houses on the final census night. There were also some cases, in which the residents of houses returned bogus names with the same motive. This mostly took place in certain urban areas, the worst offender in this respect being the city of Amritsar.

‘It may also be remarked that while bogus entries were made to swell the figures, in some of the large towns the apathy on the part of the enumerators was responsible for certain cases of omission. For example in Lahore several cases came to notice in which whole families were left unenumerated.’

At page 81 of the Report it is stated that while the number of houses recorded in the province during the preliminary enumeration was 8,167,739, on the final census night 5,943,652 houses only were found occupied.

Conditions deteriorated further in the years preceding the next Census of 1941. In the year 1935 the Government of India Act was passed, which confirmed and elaborated the system of separate electorates. On the 23rd March 1940 the Muslim League passed a resolution demanding separate autonomous States in the north-east and the north-west. These factors influenced the Census of 1941 about which Mr. Yeatts, Census Commissioner, has observed at page 9 of Vol. I (Tables) as follows:—

‘1940–41 saw also political influences on the census but in the opposite direction, since whereas the difficulty in 1931 had been to defeat a boycott, the difficulty in 1941 was to defeat an excess of zeal.’

It is well-known that at the time of the 1941 Census, communal passions ran high in the Punjab and very little value can be attached to the enumeration records.

The late Diwan Bahadur Raja Narindra Nath, Retired Commissioner, and the then President of the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha, made a statement in this connection to the Press, dated the 5th of March 1941, which is published in the Tribune of the 6th of March. He stated:

‘I have received numerous complaints from different places in the Punjab bringing it to my notice that the enumeration of Hindus in several tracts has been omitted and that in most places, false entries have been made with regard to the language spoken. Those who have brought to my notice the omissions and false entries have asked me to intervene.'
'As regards places other than Lahore Municipality, I have brought these irregularities and omissions to the notice of the Deputy Commissioners concerned. About Lahore the complaints have been forwarded to the Administrator of the Municipality. In many places in Lahore the enumerators were not supplied with the requisite number of pads with the result that the enumeration could not be done. A large number of complaints are to the effect that no enumerators came to them to take their returns. From Lahore alone more than 20,000 cases have been brought to the notice of the Administrator through me and there is a regular stream of such cases coming to me even now. This being the plight of Lahore, the seat of Government and a place with an awakened population, one can imagine the conditions in the districts. It seems to me that in the Punjab census has been vitiated by communal bias of enumerators and others. The vital statistics collected will have no value. I have sent the following telegram to the Census Commissioner and the Home Member to the Government of India:—

‘Complaints being received from all over Punjab regarding deliberate omission of enumeration of Hindus and false returns with regard language and script. Complaints founded on good evidence. Census made absolutely unreliable. Please fix another date for fresh census.’

On the 15th of March, 1941, a public meeting of the Hindus of Lahore was held at Lahore under the presidency of Diwan Bahadur Raja Narindra Nath at which the following resolution was passed (reported in the Tribune dated the 16th of March, 1941):—

‘In the opinion of this meeting of the Hindus of Lahore convened under the auspices of Hindu Young-men’s Association, the statistics collected in the Punjab in the last Census held on the 27th and 28th of February are absolutely unreliable and that either a fresh census should be held on another date or if this be not practicable figures collected should not be made the basis of any change in the representation of various communities either in the Legislature or Local Bodies or in the services.’

The Census Sub-Committee of the Sikh Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar, also passed a resolution on the 19th of March 1941 in which the grievances of the Sikhs against the enumerators of the 1940-41 Census were set out in extenso.

The Census Authorities realised the situation and refused to act on the enumeration record in several places, for example in Lahore, and arrived at their computation by relying on the 1931 census figures as adjusted by the vital statistics for the years 1931 to 1941. Such a computation would obviously not represent the true figure of the population as, apart from other considerations, it omitted to take into account the large influx of population into Lahore from outside areas since 1931.

It is noticeable that the recorded rates of increase of population have been much higher in the Punjab and Eastern Bengal and much higher during 1921 to 1941 than in the previous decades. The following are the figures relating to the Punjab:—
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>Percentage of variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1,86,52,614</td>
<td>12,90,101</td>
<td>6.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1,99,42,715</td>
<td>12,90,101</td>
<td>6.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1,9579,047</td>
<td>3,63,668</td>
<td>-1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>2,06,85,478</td>
<td>1,10,643</td>
<td>5.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>2,35,80,864</td>
<td>28,95,386</td>
<td>13.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>2,84,18,919</td>
<td>48,37,955</td>
<td>20.51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this connection the following remarks of Mr. M.W.M. Yeatts, I.C.S. at page 23 of his Report on the 1941 census (Vol. I—Tables) are significant:

'The increase is by no means uniform, although a greater figure than for the previous decades is practically universal. Rates are noticeably larger in the north than in the south and have two distinct peaks in the extreme west and northwest and in the east. In fact we have in the Punjab and Eastern Bengal two swarming areas.'

It is obvious, therefore, that the census records have been vitiated and do not afford reliable data for computation. This feature of the recent census returns greatly emphasizes the danger of relying on these figures for the purposes of the demarcation of boundaries.

Terms of Reference of the Boundary Commission for the Punjab

9. The terms of reference of the Boundary Commission for the Punjab were published on the 1st of July, 1947. They provide as follows:

'The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account other factors.'

It will be noticed that the Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts on the basis of the ascertainment of the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims and that, in doing so, it has to take into account other factors also. It is submitted that on a true construction of these terms of reference, the Commission in demarcating the boundaries is not to be guided solely by the basis of contiguous Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas, but that it has also to consider and weigh other factors which would naturally have importance in demarcating the boundaries of two different States.

It has to be remembered that the Punjab has been a homogeneous province where the population of the two communities is closely interspersed and it has for about a century been governed as one entire provincial unit, all communities in the province joining in one common effort for its development and prosperity. This feature of the province would make a division solely on the basis of contiguous majority areas highly inequitable. It is with a view to avoiding this inequitable result that the terms of reference have specifically provided that in demarcating the boundaries the Commission is to proceed not merely on the basis of contiguous majority areas, but is to have regard...
to the other factors which by reason of their importance, may well over-ride
the considerations arising from particular areas having a Muslim or a non-
Muslim majority.

Other Factors

10. It will be out of place to enumerate all factors of importance which have
to be taken into account in the demarcation of boundaries. But some of these
which have a special relevance in reference to the Punjab and their relation
to the two parts of the Province as shown in the notional division, may be
briefly stated:—

(a) In order to appreciate the position of the Sikhs in the Punjab, a brief
historical survey of the rise and growth of the Sikhs in the province is essential.
Originally founded as a reformed sect of the Hindus by Guru Nanak at the end
of the 15th century, the Sikhs were organised into a powerful military group by
the later Sikh Gurus on account of the policy of religious persecution pursued
by the later Moghals towards them. This transformation was completed
under the leadership of the tenth Guru, Guru Govind Singh, and from that
time onwards, the Sikhs made a bid for political power which they regarded
essential for the preservation of their faith and freedom. The confusion which
followed the decay of the Moghal Empire and the invasions of Nadir Shah and
Ahmad Shah Abdali, gave the Khalsa their chance to establish their power
in the land of their birth. A map of the Punjab in 1760 reveals that the Sikh
territories at that time extended from the Sutlej to the Chenab, while their
sphere of influence went beyond to the Jumna and the Indus. The authority
of the Sikhs during this period extended up to Multan and the foot of the
Siwalik hills and their power based on the active support of the people of the
area was so well entrenched that Abdali and the Afghans found it impossible
to subdue them. Subsequently, the conquests of the Sikhs were consolidated
into the powerful kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who extended the Sikh
dominion upto Peshawar and Kashmir in the north and Bannu and Dera
Ismail Khan in the west. South of the Sutlej were situated a number of Sikh
principalities which embrace the present districts of Ferozepore, Ludhiana,
Ambala, Karnal and the present Sikh States of Patiala, Jind, Nabha and
Faridkot. The whole of this territory which corresponds to the whole of the
present Punjab and most of the present North-Western Frontier Province
passed from the Sikhs to the British in the later forties of the last century.

The rise of the Sikhs with their social, political and cultural institutions
effected the solidarity of the Punjab to a degree which it had never attained
before. The Sikhs sprang from the central and middle-eastern parts of the
Punjab and this region may well be described as their homeland. They own
the major part of the agricultural land in the Central Punjab and they have
contributed their very best to the development of this region. The Sikhs
have very little to look forward to outside the Punjab. Out of a total number
of a little over 41½ lakhs in the whole of British India, 37½ lakhs live in the
Punjab. It is not merely that they have their homeland and holy places in the
Punjab; they are rooted in the soil and their destinies are interwoven with the
destinies of the Punjab. The intimate association of the Sikhs with the Punjab
through long years of rule and residence entitles them, at any rate, to resist
their being uprooted and dislodged from their homelands.

The historical events referred to above and the recent happenings at
Rawalpindi and elsewhere show that it will be impossible for the Sikhs to
live peacefully and with honour and in enjoyment of their religious freedom
in the Western Punjab. It is, therefore, essential as much to the peace of the
two divisions of the Punjab as to the protection of Sikh culture and solidarity
that they should not be divided and that as many of them as is feasible be
brought into the eastern part of the province.

One of the chief occupations of the Sikhs is military service. Having regard
to the relations which have, for generations, existed between the Sikhs and
the Muslims, it is obvious that the Sikhs, retained in the western part of the
province, will be altogether denied this occupation.

The special position of the Sikhs in the Punjab was recognised by the
Cabinet Mission in their proposals of May, 1946. It was also referred to by
Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy in his broadcast of the 17th of May, 1946 and
by Lord Pethick Lawrence, the then Secretary of State, in a letter dated the 1st
of June, 1946. His Majesty's Government's Statement dated the 3rd of June
and the Press Conference by His Excellency the Viceroy following upon it
have also recognised the special position of the Sikhs in the Punjab.

Under the notional division the Sikh community will be completely
torn and mutilated and all its economic, cultural and other interests totally
destroyed. Such a division will result in splitting the community into almost
two equal divisions between the western and the eastern parts of the province.

The Sikhs form a fairly large group in some of the districts in the western
part, e.g., Lyallpur, Montgomery and Sheikhupura. In Lyallpur particularly,
they form, along with other non-Muslims, a majority in a large tract. If this
tract is included in the eastern part along with Sheikhupura and Montgomery,
the solidarity of the Sikhs can in the main be preserved. The inclusion of these
districts in the eastern part will also satisfy the strong religious sentiments of
the Sikhs by bringing in the holy shrine of Nankana Sahib in the eastern area.
The contribution made by the Sikh colonists to the growth of the colonies
in Lyallpur and Montgomery and the fine qualities of colonists as cultivators
have been frequently eulogised. These constitute additional grounds for not
disturbing the Sikh peasant proprietors from their colony homelands.

A very important consideration to be borne in mind is the situation
of the holy shrines of the Sikhs. Among these may be enumerated the
Nankana Sahib, the birthplace of the founder of the sect and Khara Sauda in
Sheikhupura district; Kartarpur, Derababa Nanak and Sri Gobindpur in the
Gurdaspur District; the Golden Temple, the Gondwal shrine, Khadur Sahib
and Tarntaran in the Amritsar District, the shrines connected with Guru
Arjun Dev in the Lahore district and Shahidganj in the city of Lahore. Any
demarcation of the boundary which places these shrines in the western part
of the province, would be unjust.
### Consideration of strategy and defence

(b) It has to be remembered that the boundary between the eastern and the western parts of the Punjab is not to be a boundary merely between two provincial zones. The boundary line to be demarcated by the Commission will form the north-western boundary of the Indian Union, separating it from the territory of the Pakistan Government. In the circumstances, all considerations applicable to the fixation of a suitable international boundary will have to be taken into account. It will have to be a boundary which will give a natural and defensible frontier to the Indian Union in relation to Pakistan and to Pakistan in relation to the Indian Union. It is obvious that the boundary line cannot be a zigzag, straggling line with wedges or tongues of the territory of one state running into the territory of the other. Having regard to the physical features of the Punjab, a suitable and natural boundary line would be one of the larger rivers of the Punjab. A boundary line drawn along the Chenab, or, at any rate, for the greater part along that river will have the advantage of providing a suitable defensive line both to the Indian Union and the Pakistan Government. Apart from the considerations mentioned above, even for the maintenance of the peaceful and friendly relations between the Indian Union and the State of Pakistan, it is essential that the boundary should be drawn in such a way that the possibility of border raids, frontier incidents, smuggling and other like troubles may be eliminated.

### Movement of population consequent on the partition

(h) Having regard to the circumstances which have brought about the partition of the Punjab, a considerable section of the non-Muslim population which will be left in the western part of the province will, in order to safeguard its person and property migrate from the western part to the eastern part. Further with the colonization of the new areas there has always been a movement of population from the over-populated and old colony areas. There has already been some movement of population for the development of the Haveli Colony in the Montgomery and Multan districts which is still in progress. Further, the Thal canals having been opened, it will be necessary to find a large number of suitable colonists for the new colonies which are springing up. This will mean a movement of population to the extent of about 10,00,000, which, in the circumstances, will consist mainly of Muslims. Having regard to the density of population in the eastern part and the large number of non-Muslim immigrants who are sure to migrate to the eastern part, it is essential that large tracts should be available to the eastern part in which these immigrants can be settled. These considerations strengthen the claim of the eastern part to have allotted to it the districts of Lyallpur and Montgomery.

### Extent of the area claimed for the eastern part of the province

11. The area claimed for the eastern part of the province comprises

1. Ambala Division ... (Gurgaon, Rohtak, Hissar, Karnal, Ambala and Simla districts).
2. Jullundur Division ... (Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Kangra districts).
3. Lahore Division ... (Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Sheikhupura districts).
(4) Lyallpur district, and
(5) Montgomery district.
(6) Such other adjoining parts as may be necessary from canal or colony considerations.

This is a compact contiguous non-Muslim majority area. It has a substantial majority of non-Muslims. The placing of the whole of this area in the eastern part of the province has the great advantage of ensuring mainly the integrity of the canal systems and reducing the split of the Sikhs to the minimum. Out of a total population of 37,57,401 Sikhs in the British Punjab, there will be included in this area about 34 lakhs. The further advantage of constituting this area as the eastern part of the province will be to give the Indian Union a firm and suitable frontier which is a matter of importance for the purposes of strategy and defence.

12. We will now proceed to examine each of the divisions and the districts above-mentioned with a view to show that the claim that they should be included in the eastern part of the province is well-founded....

Conclusion.

It is imperative to remember that the boundary to be demarcated is an international boundary being the boundary between the Pakistan State and the Indian Union. It is obvious that such a boundary cannot be settled solely on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In order that the Commission may be free to consider all aspects of the matter, the terms of reference clearly provide that in demarcating the boundary it has to consider other factors also. It is clear that in demarcating a boundary between the two States, considerations may arise which may entitle the Commission to altogether over-ride the population factor. The detailed review in the foregoing pages of various parts of the province discloses the existence of very vital and important factors in regard to those parts which, it is submitted, clearly require the Commission to disregard the population basis in deciding whether those parts should or should not be put on the one or the other side of the boundary line.

The claims of the eastern part of province to the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions and to the Amritsar district are supported as much by the population basis as by every other factor of any importance. In regard to the district of Gurdaspur the facts stated disclose that the eastern part is entitled to that district even if the matter were considered solely on the basis of the population of the district. However, numerous other factors have been shown to exist in the case of that district which clearly require the inclusion of that district in the eastern part of the province. The Lahore district has a small Muslim majority, much smaller than the one disclosed by the Census figures of 1941. However, there exist a large number of considerations which clearly fall within the sphere of other factors mentioned in the terms of reference and which entitle the eastern part to claim that district notwithstanding the small Muslim majority. In the case of the city of Lahore, the true position as to population reveals an equality of the Muslims and the non-Muslims. From the facts set out in reference to the city of Lahore, it is abundantly established that the
present city of Lahore in all its aspects, economic, cultural, and educational, is the creation almost entirely of non-Muslims who have for about 150 years laboured in every way towards its growth and development. No factors stronger than those which have been mentioned can exist for the inclusion of this city within the boundaries of the eastern part of the province.

The colonies are a special feature of the Punjab and form a class by themselves because they have been the single largest source of the prosperity of the province and are its most valuable economic asset. The official records referred to demonstrate beyond doubt the great part played by the non-Muslims in their development and the preponderatingly large economic interests of the non-Muslims in the colony areas. Substantial tracts in the colony areas have a non-Muslim majority. The facts in regard to the growth of the colonies and their present economic structure in relation to the non-Muslims, are factors of overriding importance, strong enough to out-weight considerations arising by reason of there being a majority of Muslims in some parts of the colony areas. The districts of Sheikhupura, Gujranwala and Sialkot, though each of them contains a Muslim majority, should, by reason of the very cogent considerations already mentioned, be allotted to the eastern part of the province.

It is appropriate that attention should finally be drawn to a most important consideration governing the demarcation of the boundary. This consideration is the preservation of the solidarity of the Sikhs, a consideration which has been referred to on numerous occasions in documents of State by persons in high authority. As has been pointed out, modern Punjab owes its rise, growth and integrity as a province, in no small measure, to the valiant Sikh community. This small, but brave people, have a religious history of their own and their holy shrines, spread over the central parts of the Punjab, mark their rise and growth. It is but just that every effort should be made in demarcating the boundary to preserve the solidarity of the Sikhs. This solidarity can be preserved in a great measure by demarcating the boundary of the eastern part of the province along the Chenab river.

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1 Only extracts have been reproduced here.

7. Sikh Memorandum to the Punjab Boundary Commission

Extracts, undated (c. July 1947)
Kirpal Singh (Ed.), *The Partition of Punjab*, pp. 226–63

...Terms of Reference

5. As contemplated in Paragraph 9 of the Announcement of 3rd of June, 1947, this Boundary Commission has been setup with instructions to ‘demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account other factors.’

6. To give an exhaustive account of factors which may be included in the phrase ‘other factors’ referred to in the announcement of His Majesty’s Government dated the 3rd of June,
1947, may not be possible. Whenever, however, the question of a boundary line between two states has arisen in the recent past in Europe or other countries, race, religion, language, history, economic considerations, geographical contiguity, influence of national prejudice and the needs of national defence have been taken to be some of the factors that conspire to indicate the best frontiers of any state. It will not be out of place to refer in this connection to the terms of reference of Orissa Boundary Commission. The Commissioners, in their Report at page 2 of Volume I, observe that they ‘agree with the Statutory Commission that the question of boundaries cannot be settled by any single test. Language, race, the attitude of the people, geographical position, economic interests and administrative convenience are all relevant factors, and in framing the proposals we have taken account of all of them.’

The Punjab

7. Originally, the Punjab or the ‘Land of the Five Rivers’ is the country enclosed and watered by the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej, but the Province as now constituted includes also the table-land of Sirhind, between the Sutlej and the Jamna to the south of the former river, the Sind Sagar Doab or wedge of country between the Jhelum and the Indus and West of the latter river, and the two tracts which form Dera Ghazi Khan and Isa Khel sub-district of Mianwali District. The British Punjab has an area of 99,089 square miles, and its population as recorded in 1941 was 28,418,819.

8. The Isa Khel sub-district of the Mianwali District, Dera Ghazi Khan District and the Baloch Trans-frontier Tract are overwhelmingly Muslim. This area lies across the Indus River and is more properly a part of the Frontier Province. The area of Isa Khel sub-district of the Mianwali District, Dera Ghazi Khan District and the Baloch Trans-frontier Tract is 8,728 square miles with a total population of 699,466. Out of this population 625,304 persons profess the Muslim faith.

9. The Punjab proper extended to the banks of the Jhelum, excluding Jhang and Multan districts and the trans-Jhelum area. The tract comprising the present Jhang and Multan districts and the trans-Jhelum area, were added by conquest by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and retained by the British as an integral part of the British Punjab for administrative convenience.

10. From the boundary of Delhi to the banks of the Jhelum river, excluding the Multan and Jhang districts, the population is divided as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>10,761,560</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sikhs and other non-Muslims</td>
<td>11,184,866</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. From the boundary of the Delhi Province to the banks of river Chenab, excluding Multan and Jhang districts, the population is divided as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>9,191,618</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sikhs and other non-Muslims</td>
<td>10,885,844</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Population and the Census Operations

12. The Muslim population of the Punjab at the census of 1931 was 14,929,896, of this population 4,659,957 was divided as under:

| Faqirs (or mendicants) | 256,533 |
| Julaha or weavers    | 612,579 |
| Herdsmen             | 421,347 |
This part of the Muslim population is not rooted in the soil of the Punjab and is essentially of a floating character. The floating population amongst the Hindus and Sikhs, according to the census returns, is almost nil.

In the Punjab, including the Punjab States, the Muslims have been returned as under in the various census operations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>47.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>47.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>49.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>51.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>51.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>52.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>53.22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Between the years 1881 and 1901, the Muslims in the Punjab, including the Punjab States, were in a minority. It is only after the census enumeration of 1911 that they appear in a small numerical majority. The Superintendent of Census Operations, 1911 at the page 97 of the Report gives an explanation of this rise in the Muslim percentage: ‘The members of the depressed classes, i.e., Chuhras, Sansis, etc., who did not profess to belong to Islam or Christianity were returned as Hindus in the three previous censuses and similar instructions were issued in the recent census. Nevertheless a number of Sansis, the Chuhras residing in Mohammedan villages were returned as Mohammedans.’ Full details are given at page 100 of the same Report. The census figures of 1911, as compared with the census figures of 1901, show that in the 1911 Census the Hindus lost 158,806 Chuhras and 179,103 Chamars. The Mussallis in the Province numbered 57,410 in 1901, and this figure rose to 309,568 in 1911. ‘The abnormal rise of 252,158 i.e. about 39% in the number of Mussallis,’ observes the Census Superintendent, ‘would indicate that in some places Chuhras have been returned as Mussallis at the recent census.’

16. As regards the census operations of 1931, Khan Sahib Ahmed Hassan Khan, Superintendent of Census Operations, Punjab at page 79 of his Report, observes: ‘Under the circumstances it is not surprising that, while some people complained of omissions in enumeration, some asserted a swelling of figures of the community other than their own by means of bogus entries.... Another factor came into play on the present occasion and deprived the census operations of the calm atmosphere which is essential to the obtaining of correct figures. The new Constitution for India was to be framed at no distant date and value attached
to the communal figures brought out by the census was greater than ever. Consequently, the atmosphere was surcharged with propaganda carried on through various agencies and attempts were made in some places by enumerators to swell the figures of their communities by means of bogus entries or to curtail the strength of rival community by scoring out persons who were actually present on the final census night. There were also some cases in which the residents of houses returned bogus names with the same motives. The non-Muslims figures of 1931 were also affected by the boycott of the census by the Congress.

17. The census figures of 1941 were notoriously affected by political motives. The census was taken in March, 1941. The Muslim League had already proclaimed the enormous importance to be attached to a numerical majority, by its Lahore Resolution of the 23rd of March, 1940. Mr. M.W.M. Yeats, C.I.E., I.C.S., Census Commissioner for India at page 9 of his Report admits: '1940-41 saw also the political influences on the census.' At page 23 of his Report he states: 'The increase is by no means uniform, although a greater figure than for the previous decades is practically universal. Rates are noticeably larger in the North than in the South and have two distinct peaks in the extreme West and North-West and in the East. In fact, we have in the Punjab and Eastern Bengal two swarming areas.' Apparently, therefore, there are good grounds for doubting that the census figures possess the accuracy which is claimed for them.

18. The variation percentage in the total population of the Punjab during the decennial periods beginning from 1901 gives point to the observations of the Census Commissioner set out in the preceding paragraph. The variation percentages are:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Variation Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901-11</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-21</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-31</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-41</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...Historical Background of the Sikh Case

21. It will not be possible to appreciate the Sikh Case without knowing the past history of the Sikh-Muslim relations. Emperor Jehangir in his Memoirs, called the Tuzk-i-Jehangiri, writing about Guru Arjan, the Fifth Guru of the Sikhs, stated in 1606 A.D.:

'So many of the simple-minded Hindus, nay, many foolish Muslims too, had been fascinated by his ways and teachings. He was noised [sic] about as a religious and worldly leader. They called him Guru, and from all directions crowds of fools would come and express great devotion to him. This busy traffic had been carried on for three or four generations. For years the thought had been presenting itself to my mind that either I should put an end to this false traffic, or he should be brought into the fold of Islam.'

Emperor Jehangir further recorded: 'I fully knew of his heresies, and I ordered that he should be brought into my presence that his houses and children be made over to Murtza Khan, that his property be confiscated, and that he should be put to death with tortures, for State reasons.' This order was fully carried out, and Guru Arjan was placed in boiling cauldrons of water, and was made to sit on red hot iron sheets, and was then drowned in the River Ravi. Dera Sahib at Lahore, one of the more sacred temples of the Sikh nation, commemorates the Martyrdom of the Guru. Emperor Jehangir was determined to exterminate the Sikhs, and he threw into the fort prison of Gwalior, the Sixth Guru of the Sikhs, Guru Hargobind, for a period of twelve years. The famous Persian traveller, Mohsin Fani, a contemporary of Guru Hargobind, in his Travel
Notes, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, records that the Moghal Emperor ‘did not allow Guru Hargobind to eat salty food during his incarceration in the Gwalior prison.’ The Seventh and the Eighth Gurus of the Sikhs fared no better at the hands of Muslim Emperors, and Aurangzeb, the last of the Great Moghals, ordered the Ninth Guru of the Sikhs, the saintly Guru Teg Bahadur, to be beheaded at Delhi, again for ‘State reasons.’

James Brown in his *History of the Sikhs*, published in 1787, has observed: ‘This is most barbarous and outrageous of all the instances of cruelty exercised on the propagators of a new doctrine. Defenceless women and children have usually escaped even from religious fury.’ After the death of Aurangzeb, a period of almost half a century of ruthless persecution of the Sikhs follows in the Punjab under the direct orders of the Muslim Emperors.

Sayed Muhammad Latif, in *The History of the Punjab* records: ‘Abdul Samed Khan, (the Military Governor of Lahore) having humiliated the Sikhs and caused the destruction of their leader Banda, now took vigorous steps to destroy their power and to extirpate the race. A Royal edict was issued to put all who professed the religion of Nanak to the sword, and a money reward was offered for the head of every Sikh. The infuriated Muhammadans gave them no quarter, and wherever a Sikh was found, he was butchered without mercy. In order to give full effect to this Royal Mandate, Muhammadans and Hindus were strictly enjoined to clip their hair short. The Hindus were ordered to shave their heads, and any Hindu found with long beard or hair was immediately slain. The extreme measures of persecution spread terror and consternation throughout the whole Sikh nation.’ Again, according to Muhammad Latif, ‘the Governor Yahya Khan of Lahore issued a proclamation for a general massacre of all Sikhs, wherever they could be found. Death was to be the punishment of all persons who invoked the name of Guru Govind Singh, and a reward was offered for the heads of Sikhs. Thousands were put to death daily and their heads brought before the Military Governor of Lahore for reward.’ Again, writing about another Military Governor of Lahore, Mir Muin-ul-Mulk, alias Mir Mannu, Abdul Latif records in *The History of the Punjab*: ‘Firmly established in his authority, Mir Mannu considered the best mode of chastising the Sikhs. He then stationed detachments of troops in all parts infested by the Sikhs, with stringent orders to shave their heads and beards wherever they might be found. These measures being rigorously enforced, checked the progress of Sikh proselytism, and compelled the votaries of the Guru to conceal themselves in the mountains or jungles. Mir Mannu issued strict orders to the hill Chieftains to seize the Sikhs and send them in irons to Lahore. These orders were obeyed, and hundreds of Sikhs were brought daily to Lahore and butchered at the Horse Market, the Nakhas, now known as the Shahidganj, outside the Delhi Gate, in sight of multitudes of spectators. The young Mannu became an irreconcilable foe of the Sikhs, and was determined to extirpate the nation. ‘It was to meet this situation that the Sikh people rose in rebellion, and after four generations of hard struggle succeeded in establishing their supremacy in the Punjab.’

22. The well-known book *The Confederacy of India*, was published by the late Nawab Sir Muhammad Shah Nawaz of Mamdot in 1939. The author of the book at page 187 observes: ‘In the past there have been very grave political differences between the Muslims and the Sikhs. They revolted against the Moghal Government and the hostilities exchanged in those times form the respective traditions of the Sikhs and the Muslims in the Punjab. Then again during the period of the Sikh Rule in the North-West, the Sikhs showed religious intolerance towards the Muslims on account of which distrust of the Sikhs was born amongst them. These sad past relations are responsible for the antagonism which they show against each other at times.... Past
political rivalries dominate their minds and they mutually seize upon the provocation caused by Jhatka and cow slaughter respectively to give vent to them.' The Muslim attitude always and since political power passed into their hands in the Punjab in recent times, their well planned policy, towards the Sikhs has been regulated by these historical considerations. The Muslim policy has all along been directed at breaking the moral backbone of the Sikhs. The planned and inhuman massacre of Sikh minority conclaves in the dominantly Muslim majority areas of Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions since March 1947 has been a natural and logical outcome of this policy. The Cabinet Mission had possibly a vague premonition of Rawalpindi and Multan happenings, when it frankly admitted that the division of the Punjab on a mere population basis would not afford an acceptable solution of the communal problem.

23. The reason for which partition of the country is sought is the solution of the communal problem. The Creed of the All India Muslim League since 1940 has been that democracy is not suited to India and for that reason the League has wanted the division of the country into India and Pakistan. The reason for it, according to the Muslim League, is that the Muslims constitute a separate nation and as such differ from all others inhabiting this country in culture, social life, outlook and religion; and they should, therefore, have a separate homeland in which they would be free. The inclusion of any considerable number of Sikhs in the North-Western Pakistan, particularly when they are concentrated on its Eastern Frontiers, is thus bound to interfere in and obstruct the free growth and development of the Muslims in Pakistan and defeat the very purpose for which Pakistan is sought to be created. If by reason of separate religion, and consequently separate culture, national life and outlook, a Muslim majority has a right to a separate homeland, a strong non-Muslim minority concerned [sic] on the Eastern Frontiers of Pakistan, cannot, in justice, be coerced to go into Pakistan....

The Sikh Homeland

25. As mentioned above, the claim of the Muslim League to Pakistan proceeds upon the assumption that the Muslim community, being a separate nation, must have its own National Home. That is the Creed of the Muslim League as embodied in Article 2 of the Creed of the League Constitution. This claim of the Muslim League came up for consideration before the Sapru Conciliation Committee in 1945. Paragraph 176 of the Constitutional Proposals of the Sapru Committee states: 'The Hindus claim the Punjab to be as much their homeland as of the Muslims. The Hindus have been there since the dawn of history. As for the Sikhs, if a community can lay special claim to the Punjab as its homeland, it is they. They were the last rulers of the Punjab and their most important shrines stretch from Sirhind on the one side to Panja Sahib on the other, with the Golden Temple in Amritsar in the centre of the Province. It is not only the homeland but the holy land of the Sikhs, to which they are attached by all the intimate bonds of religion, history and tradition. The Sikhs number a little less than six millions. About five millions are settled in the Punjab where lie all the Sikh States.'....

Economic Interests

27. The factor of economic interests has always been considered as one of the most important factors in the demarcation of boundaries. The Sikhs are mainly concentrated in the two central Divisions of the Punjab and the colony districts of Montgomery and Lyallpur. In this area the Sikhs have vital essential agricultural interests. In fact the agricultural economy of the Jullundur and Lahore Divisions of the Punjab and colony areas depends very largely upon the labour that the Sikhs have put in this area.
....It is clear that the Jat Sikh from the central districts of the Punjab has been very largely responsible for the building up of the colony areas of Lyallpur and Montgomery in the Punjab, which form the granary of a large part of India....

The Sikhs & the Indian Army

28. The part that the Sikhs have played in the defence of the country is well known. The Military strength of the Sikhs is derived mainly from the Jats of Majha or those of the Central Bari Doab and Malwa....With the partition of the Punjab the Eastern Punjab becomes the frontier Province of India and the Sikhs become literally the gate keepers of the Union of India. Long before the Announcement of the 3rd June, 1947, the Sikhs had declared their irrevocable opposition to the State of Pakistan. When under the Announcement of the 3rd of June, 1947, the non-Muslim legislators were required to record their vote for or against Pakistan the Sikh representatives en bloc from both parts of the Punjab recorded their vote in favour of the Constituent Assembly of India. That being so, any division of the Punjab which does not maintain the solidarity and integrity of the Sikh community in the Eastern Punjab will be highly prejudicial to the best interests of the community as well as the country....

Language

30. Language has always played a forceful and determining part in the political coherence of a people and establishment [sic] of the States. Language statistics have not been tabulated in the census of 1941....For the language statistics, therefore, we have to go back to the Census Report of 1931, compiled by Khan Ahmad Hassan Khan, Superintendent Census Operations, Punjab and Delhi, 1931. The Census Superintendent deals with the language question in Chapter X of his Report. At page 272 of the Report he observes:—

‘There is no doubt in my mind that many persons returned Urdu or Hindi as their mother tongue in place of Punjabi, and thus the figures of Hindustani have been unduly swollen at the expense of Punjabi.’ Table XV, Part II, Volume 17, of the Census of India, 1931, gives the linguistic figures for the Punjab. Figures for the Jullundur Division show that Punjabi was returned as the language of 3,684,755 persons out of the total population of 4,606,466 of this Division. The population of Kangra District in Jullundur Division was 801,312 at that census, and out of this population 13,137 persons returned Punjabi as their language. The language returns for Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Ludhiana and Ferozepur districts show that out of a total population of 3,805,134 as many as 3,671,618 persons returned Punjabi as their mother tongue at the census of 1931. Again in Lahore Division, 5,463,825 persons returned Punjabi as their mother tongue out of a total population of 5,879,075. Obviously, Punjabi is the language of Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Ferozepur and Ludhiana districts of the Jullundur Division, and Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Sheikhupura, Gujranwala and Sialkot districts of the Lahore Division. In Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions we find that Punjabi was returned as the language of 2,498,016 persons out of a total population of 9,017,766. The language statistics further shows that the majority of the Punjabi speaking persons in these two divisions reside in Gujrat District, and colony districts of Shahpur, Montgomery, Lyallpur and Multan. According to Sir George Grierson, who has examined the question in The Linguistic Survey of India, the dividing line between the Lehnda language and Punjabi language passes through the districts of Gujrat, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura and Montgomery....
The linguistic requirements also necessitate that the Eastern Punjab must extend up to the bank of the river Chenab and include in it the whole of the Punjabi-speaking tract in the Rachna Doab of the Punjab.

The Sikh Colonists

31. As already shown the colonists of Lyallpur and Montgomery districts were mainly recruited from the Eastern Punjab, namely the districts of Ludhiana, Ambala, Jullundur and Amritsar. These colonists have their homes in their parent districts and have as well acquired land in the Lyallpur and Montgomery districts. The colonists from the Eastern districts of the Punjab have put up new villages which are named after the names of villages in the Eastern Punjab. In actual practice, these colonists spend part of the year in the colony areas and part of the year in their original homes. In the interests of efficient cultivation families are divided up, some members living in the colony area and others in their original homes. With the partition of the Punjab, in case the colony areas are not included in the Eastern Punjab, great complications including that of nationality in the same family are bound to arise. Two sons of the same father may come to belong to two different nationalities. This aspect of the question does not affect the Hindus or Muslims to any appreciable extent, as there are not colonists in the Eastern Punjab from the Western Zone. The colonists in the Lyallpur and Montgomery districts are very largely Sikh Jats of Ambala, Jullundur and Amritsar Districts of the Punjab. Sir Malcolm Darling at page 143 of The Punjab Peasant writes: ‘Lyallpur is the daughter of the Central Punjab as Shahpur is of the North and of the West, and its influence is felt accordingly. From Amritsar alone, over 100,000 have migrated to the Bar.’

Non-Muslim Population

32. The non-Muslim population of the Punjab, according to the census of 1941, is 43% of the total. The population in the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions and Amritsar District of the Lahore Division, hereinafter called the Eastern Part, is 40.6% of the total population whereas the area of this part of the Province is 35.6% and the canal irrigated area in this part is 22.1% of the total. It is obvious that any division of the Punjab on the basis of Muslim and non-Muslim majority districts in the Punjab would be unfair to the non-Muslim communities.

The Sikh Claim

51. An attempt has been made in the preceding paragraphs to set out some of the important considerations that must govern the demarcation of the two parts of the Punjab. In the House of Commons debate on the 15th of July, 1947, Mr. Richard Butler stressed the imperative necessity of so defining the boundary ‘that the maximum portion of the Sikhs should be included within one conglomerate whole.’ Mr. Arthur Henderson speaking on the same occasion is reported to have said that amongst ‘other factors’ the Boundary Commission ought to take into account the location of the Sikh religious shrines. The Sikhs claim the tracts mentioned below for the Eastern Punjab:

(i) Ambala Division;
(ii) Jullundur Division;
(iii) Lahore Division;
(iv) Lyallpur Division;
(v) Montgomery District and Khanewal, Vihari and Mailsi sub-districts of Multan Division.
Signatures to the Memorandum submitted to the Punjab Boundary Commission

1. Swaran Singh, M.L.A.
2. Ajit Singh, M.L.A.
3. Dalip Singh, M.L.A.
4. Gurbachan Singh Bajwa, M.L.A.
5. Gurbachan Singh, M.L.A.
6. Ishar Singh Majhail, M.L.A.
7. Jagjit Singh Mann, M.L.A.
8. Jaswant Singh Dugal, M.L.A.
9. Joginder Singh Mann, M.L.A.
10. Kartar Singh, M.L.A.
11. Man Singh, Jathedar, M.L.A.
12. Narinder Singh Sant, M.L.A.
15. Prem Singh Mahant, M.L.A.
16. Rattan Singh of Lohgarh, M.L.A.
17. Sardul Singh, M.L.A.
18. Shiv Saran Singh, M.L.A.
19. Tara Singh, M.L.A.
20. Udham Singh, M.L.A.
21. Ujjal Singh, M.L.A.
22. Waryam Singh, M.L.A.
23. Sarmukhr Singh, M.L.A.
25. Shiv Singh, M.L.A.
27. Bachan Singh, M.L.A.
29. Kabul Singh, M.L.A.
31. Parkash Kaur, M.L.A.
32. Rattan Singh, M.L.A.

HARNAM SINGH,
Advocate,
12, Infantry Road, Lahore

8. Muslim League Memorandum to Punjab Boundary Commission

Extracts, undated (c. July 1947)


1. In carrying out its very responsible and delicate functions the Boundary Commission will no doubt regard itself bound by its terms of reference and the statement of His Majesty’s Govern-
ment, dated the 3rd June, 1947, which is the authority under which the Commission has been set up. It will also keep in view the larger background which has necessitated the division of India and ultimately in consequence the partition of the Punjab.

2. The main territories comprised within the Province of the Punjab have over a very long period constituted not only a Province for administrative purposes but also a broadly homogeneous, cultural and linguistic area. It also forms a compact economic unit, the various parts of which are inter-dependent upon each other for their prosperity and, indeed, for the maintenance of even such standards of living as have been attained during the first half of this century.

3. The division of the Punjab, therefore, is a step which is fraught with the gravest consequences to the economy of the province as a whole and the welfare and prosperity and the prospects of progress and advancement of all sections of its peoples.

4. The partition of the province was resolved upon the [sic] His Majesty’s Government not because they themselves desired it or were not conscious of the gravity of the consequences likely to flow therefrom, but because political parties in India had arrived at a deadlock which made a division of India inevitable and His Majesty’s Government felt that in consequence a partition of the Punjab and Bengal could not be denied or avoided. Whatever the degree of political urgency which necessitated this division, the Commission in carrying out the duty of demarcation of boundaries laid upon it must take note of the particular features of the situation. Some of these are set out in the broadcast of His Excellency the Viceroy, made on the 3rd June, 1947, as a preface to the statement of His Majesty’s Government of the same date....

5. ...the partition of the Province has been resolved upon on account of the reluctance of the non-Muslims to consent to the continuation of such areas in which they are in a majority to form part of the Province in which the Muslims have an overall majority in the population. The non-Muslims desire that in the events that have happened, contiguous areas in which they form a majority of the population should be separated from the rest of the Province. His Excellency has explained that the demand on behalf of the Congress for the partition of certain Provinces was based upon the same arguments on which the demand of the Muslim League was based for the partition of India. The League demanded a partition of India on the basis of the separation of those provinces in which the Muslims were in a majority from the rest of India. No claim was made by the League for the allotment of areas to Pakistan on the basis of religious sanctity, historical associations, sentimental attachment, proprietary interests, cultural considerations, educational facilities or any other similar factor. In making its demand for partition and basing it on the single consideration of majorities in the populations of certain Provinces it confined itself to the democratic principle of a single human soul having a value which could not be estimated in terms of property or of any of the other factors set out above. In taking its stand upon this principle the Muslim League was conscious that it must reconcile itself to leaving out of Pakistan its great religious and historical monuments like the Juma Masjid, the Red Fort, the Qutab Minar, Tughlaqabad, the shrines of Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Aulia and other great saints, the tombs of Humayun, and other great Muslim Emperors who reigned over the greater part of India before and after him and numerous other monuments which cluster in and around Delhi, the Taj Mahal, which by virtue of its splendour, its beauty and its pathos ranks not only as one of the great wonders of the world from the point of view of architectural proportion, perfection and magnificence but also operates as a powerful spiritual magnet giving tangible expression to many aspects of the secret yearnings of the human soul; the tomb of
Akbar, the greatest secular ruler that the world has so far produced, at Sikandra, that glory of the art of mosaics on the left bank of the Jamna, i.e., the Tomb of Aitmad-ud-Daula; the imperial city of Fatehpur Sikri, the fort, palaces and mosques and many other monuments of religious and historical association in and around Agra; the similar monuments in and around Lucknow, the Shrine of Hazrat Moin-ud-Din at Ajmer around which cluster the tombs and mausoleums of a large number of Muslim saints; the mosque of Aurangzeb at Benares; the numerous religious monuments in Patna and at Bihar Sharif; the Muslim University at Aligarh and many other monuments, places of learning, sacred shrines and other institutions, which have throughout the centuries shone as jewels in and shed their lustre upon the pattern of the history of Muslims in India and with which the deepest sentiments of Muslim hearts and the highest aspirations of Muslim souls are indissolubly intertwined. Nor was the stand taken by the Muslim League affected by less sentimental and more material considerations of a nature upon which a good deal of insistence from the non-Muslim side has been noticed in the press ever since the question of partition of the Punjab has become one of the principal topics of discussion. Muslims own large and valuable blocks of property of various kinds in different parts of India noticeably in the shape of Taluqas in Oudh which are in themselves reminders and witnesses of the position that the Muslims for centuries occupied in the political history of India and yet the Muslims and the Muslim League representing them, adhered to the truth that men are infinitely more valuable than money and that human souls and the care of them are of infinitely greater importance than property and material possessions. Whatever the attitude of the League towards these factors and considerations, it is undeniable that the whole case of the League with regard to the measure to be adopted for the partition of India was based upon the factor of population, and as His Excellency stated that the same arguments were used for demanding the partition of certain provinces, the conclusion is inevitable that the non-Muslim case for the division of these provinces was also based upon the population factor alone. This is put beyond any shadow of doubt and, indeed, outside the pale of argument or controversy, by the statement of His Majesty’s Government dated the 3rd June, 1947, and the terms of reference of the Commission.

6. The function of the Boundary Commission described in this paragraph is to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims and in demarcating the boundaries the Commission may take into account other factors and make local adjustment in the boundary so, however, that no considerable section of the population in a local area is transferred from a majority area to a minority area. This has been made more precise in the terms of reference of the Commission which run as follows:

'The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In so doing, it will also take into account other factors.'

The obvious interpretation of which alone these terms are susceptible is that the Commission should proceed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab and for this purpose should ascertain the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. Once it is determined which are the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims it shall proceed to draw the boundary line between the two parts of the Province on that basis, but in doing so, that is to say, in demarcating the boundary line on this basis, it will also take into account other factors. This can only mean that if the boundary line based upon the division of
the Province into contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims should encounter some other relevant factor, the Commission may take it into account, and if the taking into account of such factor necessitates a local deviation of the boundary line so as to secure an equitable adjustment of such factor such local deviation shall be permissible. It is clear that the consideration of other factors and taking them into account in demarcating the boundary can only arise after the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims have been ascertained and a boundary line on the basis of this ascertainment has first been demarcated. Local adjustments in the boundary line may be made in deference to other factors which must be taken into account and must be equitably adjusted. Other factors, whatever character they may possess, cannot be taken into account in ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. Such ascertainment is the determination of a question of fact and the determination must be based upon the data available. It is true that the Commission must adopt some definition or test of contiguity, but in determining the definition of contiguity it can take into account only what contiguity does mean or should mean in the determination of boundaries between Provinces or parts of a Province. Other factors would have no relevancy at this stage. Once the definition of contiguity has been determined the ascertainment of contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims becomes a question of pure fact, which should be capable of easy determination on the basis of figures of the 1941 Census. As has been submitted, other factors, whatever they may be, if relevant, have only to be taken into account in demarcating the boundary line which must be done on the basis of contiguous majority areas.

7. The Commission will be under the necessity of laying down some definition or measure for the purpose of determining contiguity. In one sense the whole of the Province is a contiguous majority area of Muslims. It is obvious that if a Province were to be taken as a unit, the whole of the Punjab and the whole of Bengal would be adjudged Muslim majority Provinces. Partition of these Provinces having, however, been decided upon, a smaller unit must be adopted as a measure for determining contiguity. The notional partition adopted a District as a unit, as it was the easiest and readiest measure available by which contiguity could roughly be determined. This was, however, not intended to be final. Had this been final, there would have been no need to set up Boundary Commissions for demarcation of actual boundaries, as the actual boundaries of districts are nowhere in doubt. In adopting a definition of contiguity or a measure or standard by reference to which contiguity is to be determined one paramount consideration will of necessity be borne in mind by the Commission. The statement of His Majesty's Government, as well as the terms of reference of the Commission, lay upon the Commission, the duty of demarcating the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab. This means that the Commission should for the purpose of demarcating the boundary adopt a standard which should result in the drawing of what would amount to a boundary between two parts of the Province, each of which is expected to function separately as a Province. In other words, the boundary should be a workable and practicable boundary from the point of view of administration and should be capable of fulfilling the functions of a boundary between two neighbouring States. It should not be a crazy line running backwards and forwards over the areas of several districts and in and out of every village in those districts so as to result not in the separation of two parts of a Province which might each be constituted into a Province but, into a nightmare tapestry of a futurist design. It is inevitable, therefore, that the Commission must adopt some sort of administrative unit as a standard for this purpose. The district being ruled out, the only other administrative unit which could be adopted would be a Tehsil....
10. If these principles are accepted, it will be found that, subject to considerations arising out of other factors, the Pathankot Tehsil of the Gurdaspur District, would be detached from the West Punjab and included in East Punjab. In every other Tehsil of the Gurdaspur District, and in every Tehsil of the remaining sixteen districts at present included in West Punjab, the Muslims have an overall majority. The Ajnala Tehsil of the Amritsar District, which has a majority of Muslims in its population and is contiguous to the Lahore, Sialkot and Gurdaspur Districts, will be included in the West Punjab.

11. It will also be found that the Jullundur and Nakodar Tehsils of the Jullundur District, which are contiguous to each other and are in their turn contiguous to the Zira and Ferozepore Tehsils of the Ferozepore District, have like the last two mentioned Tehsils a majority of Muslims in the population.

12. There is a compact majority area of Muslims contiguous to the Ferozepore Tehsil running along the left bank of the River Sutlej through the Mukhtar and Fazilka Tehsils up to the border of the Bahawalpur State. This area also includes the Sulemani weir of the Sutlej Valley Project, the canals taking off from which furnish irrigation to the Montgomery and Multan Districts of Western Punjab and the Bahawalpur State. This area is also contiguous to the Montgomery District on the opposite bank of the Sutlej. Both sides of the river along this stretch are populated by the same Muslim tribe, viz. the Wattus.

13. Starting from a point between the Nakodar Tehsil of the Jullundur District and the Zira Tehsil of the Ferozepore District on the River Sutlej a compact Muslim majority area runs along both banks of the Sutlej up to and including the town of Ruper and ending on the boundary between the Punjab and Nalagarh State. This area is inhabited by homogeneous Muslim tribes.

14. At the opposite end of Jullundur Tehsil there is a contiguous compact majority area of Muslims in the Dasuya and Hoshiarpur Tehsils of the Hoshiarpur District, part of which runs along the river Beas opposite to the Batala and Gurdaspur Tehsils of the Gurdaspur District, and is thus contiguous both to the Jullundur Tehsil and to the Batala and Gurdaspur Tehsils.

15. Apart from the consideration, of other factors, which will presently be adverted to, the boundary line between West Punjab and East Punjab should, therefore, run as shown from point ‘A’ along line ‘B’, ‘C’, ‘D’, ‘F’, ‘G’, ‘H’, ‘I’, ‘J’ and ‘K’ up to the point ‘L’ marked in green on map I attached to this memorandum.

16. According to this demarcation, the Tehsils of Amritsar and Tarn Taran in the Amritsar District which have a non-Muslim majority in the population would be blocked by Muslim majority areas and would not be contiguous to East Punjab. The same would, however, be the case with the Ferozepore Jhirka and Nuh Tehsils of the Gurgaon District which have a large majority of Muslims in the population and which are contiguous to each other but not contiguous to the West Punjab. The Muslims must, therefore, reconcile themselves to these two Muslim majority Tehsils being left in East Punjab, while the non-Muslims must reconcile themselves to leaving Amritsar and Tarn Taran Tehsils of the Amritsar District in West Punjab. 

18. It has been urged on behalf of the Sikh Community that several of their shrines are situated in various parts of West Punjab, though it is not yet known what precise argument is based upon that factor. Surely, it could not be contended that the whole area of the Province comprising the towns and villages where any of these shrines may be situated should be included in East Punjab. This would mean that West Punjab as far as the district of Campbellpur, which includes the town of Hasanabdhal where the Panja Sahib is situated should be included in East Punjab. This is not a factor which could under any circumstances be taken into account in
demarcating the boundary line between East and West Punjab. There are Sikh shrines at Patna (the birth place of Guru Gobind Singh) and at Nandher (the last resting place of the remains of the same Guru) within the dominions of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and at several other places outside the Punjab with regard to which Sikh sentiment is presumably as strong as it is with regard to shrines situated in West Punjab, yet it has never been suggested that the towns and places where these shrines are situated should form part of or be in any manner attached to the Punjab. This applies with particular force to the shrine at Nandher which is within the dominions of the premier Muslim ruler in India. No complaint has at any time been made with regard to any prejudice that may have resulted to the Sikh community or any injury that may have been inflicted upon Sikh sentiment in consequence of the fact that the shrine at Nandher is situated within the dominions of His Exalted Highness the Nizam.

19. If, however, the question of shrines belonging to one community is a factor which must be taken into account in the demarcation of the boundary line the Muslims claim that all the districts of East Punjab should be included within West Punjab as they are dotted with tombs and shrines of Muslim saints and heroes who are held in great veneration by the Muslims and with mosques and monuments possessing great historical importance and significance to which Muslim sentiment and tradition are strongly attached. At many of these shrines fairs are held at various times of the year to which Muslims resort in large numbers. In several instances holidays are observed in local Government offices in honour of these saints. Muslim sentiment is not less deeply attached to these saints and their shrines and the mosques and other monuments than Sikh sentiment may be alleged to be attached to Sikh shrines in West Punjab.

20. A persistent campaign has been and is being carried on in the press that the partition of the Province should be based upon the proportionate amount of landed and other property and interests owned by the Muslims and non-Muslims. Here again the precise formula which may be derived from such considerations is not yet known and, therefore, cannot be dealt with in the memorandum, but it is perfectly obvious that having regard to the background of the whole problem and the terms of reference of the Commission no such consideration can be taken into account in demarcating the boundary line. In any event this factor was ruled out of consideration by His Excellency the Viceroy during his press conference on 4th June, 1947. His Excellency observed in this connection that ‘His Majesty’s Government could hardly be expected to subscribe to the thesis of landed property’ ...
it would be the height of irony to deprive Muslims of areas in which they constitute a majority of the population on the basis that the non-Muslims had in the past successfully carried out exploitation of the wealth and resources of the Muslims in that area. It is a fact of which the Commission would take judicial notice that the colony areas of the Shahpur, Lyallpur, Sheikhupura, Montgomery and Multan districts were all owned by Muslim tribes whose principal source of wealth lay in cattle and constituted their grazing lands. With the advent of canal irrigation in these areas the greater part of the land of these areas was declared to be Crown waste and was sold or granted to people from other districts of the Punjab. This was a feat of expropriation which has always constituted a serious grievance on the part of the expropriated Muslim owners. Many of the non-Muslims who purchased proprietary rights in these areas paid for them out of the resources which had been accumulated as a result of money lending operations, the nature of which may be gathered from administration reports and other relevant documents which dealt with the whole problem of the indebtedness of the peasantry in this Province towards the end of the last century. These disclosed so deplorable a state of affairs that Government was compelled to intervene and passed a restrictive piece of legislation known as the Punjab Alienation of Land Act, 1900. Even this failed to check the evil and the problem of the indebtedness of the peasant, particularly the Muslim peasant, continued to cause grave anxiety to the administration. More recent investigations made by Mr. Calvert and Sir Malcolm Darling disclosed that the problem was still an acute one. Only a few years ago as the result of this investigation, the Punjab Legislature was forced to put through several relief and remedial measures of legislation. In this state of affairs it would be heaping injustice upon injury to take into account the property factor in demarcating the boundary line.

26. There is no question of any kind of expropriation of either one community or the other in West Punjab. There is no proposal to interfere, with the full exercise of proprietary rights. It is not understood, therefore, on what basis it is sought to make ownership of property a factor in determining the boundary line between the two parts of the Province.

27. In this connection the Commission must be reminded that partition is not being forced either upon the Sikh community or upon the non-Muslims as a whole. The Sikhs and the Hindus have joined together in the demand for partition of the Province and as explained by His Excellency the Viceroy the basis of the demand is the factor of majority areas of non-Muslims in the Province. Having themselves demanded a partition of the Province the non-Muslims cannot further seek to prejudice the Muslims by dragging into the question of the determination of the boundary line factors that have no relevance thereto.

28. It must further be borne in mind that East Punjab has decided to form part of what is described in the Indian Independence Act as India, that is to say, it will become a unit of India, which in the matter of population, resources, compactness, coast-line and every factor which may be expected to contribute towards the security, welfare and prosperity of a state would occupy a situation of far greater advantage than would be the case with either or both sections of Pakistan. From this point of view also it would be highly unfair to press in aid irrelevant factors in order to augment the boundaries of East Punjab, that is to say, of India, at the expense of Pakistan. If any considerations of a general nature were relevant to this question the overriding consideration should be that the much larger and much more advantageously situated State i.e., India should not gain any advantage at the expense of the much smaller and much more precariously situated State i.e., Pakistan.
29. A peculiar feature of the position adopted by the Sikh community is that for all purposes of partition it has chosen to merge itself into the Hindu community, from which the conclusion must follow that its interests are identical with those of the Hindu community and yet it continues to press for special consideration. If partition had been forced upon the Sikhs and they had found themselves in the position of a helpless minority, which had perforce to submit to partition against its will, there might have been something to be said in favour of its interests being specially safeguarded in carrying out the partition. But the Sikh community have themselves been foremost in urging the partition of the Punjab and have for this purpose secured the support of and made common cause with the Hindus. They must, therefore, be treated for the purpose of all questions arising in connection with partition as being part of one community composed of both Hindus and Sikhs.

30. The boundary line suggested in the earlier part of this memorandum is based upon percentages of Muslims and non-Muslims in the various Tehsils of the Province. It is understood that the Christian organisations in the Province are anxious that as large a part as possible of the Christian population of the Province should be included in West Punjab. They view with apprehension the prospect of any considerable numbers of their people being included in East Punjab. This means that so far as the factor of population is concerned, the Muslim claim is supported by the Christian community. The net effect of this on the population figures would be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tehsil</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Christians</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ajnala</td>
<td>59.4 p.c.</td>
<td>5.3 p.c.</td>
<td>64.7 p.c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jullundur</td>
<td>51.1 p.c.</td>
<td>1.5 p.c.</td>
<td>52.6 p.c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakodar</td>
<td>59.4 p.c.</td>
<td>.6 p.c.</td>
<td>60.0 p.c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zira</td>
<td>65.6 p.c.</td>
<td>1.6 p.c.</td>
<td>67.2 p.c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Ferozepore| 55.2 p.c.| 1.9 p.c.   | 57.1 p.c.

31. In one respect, however, this consideration would make a practical difference to the boundary line. In the case of the Dasuya Tehsil of the Hoshiarpur District, the total population is 273,246 out of which 132,105 are Muslims. This gives a percentage of 48.4. The number of Christians in this Tehsil is 4,729. The total number of Muslims and Christians thus is 136,834 which is just above one half, i.e., just over 50 per cent of the population. On this calculation the whole of the Dasuya Tehsil must be included in West Punjab.

32. In brief the Muslim League case is that the Commission should proceed to demarcate the boundary between East and West Punjab in strict conformity with its terms of reference uninfluenced by any extraneous considerations based upon factors that have no relevance to the terms of reference. The terms of reference require the boundary to be based upon the ascertainment of contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. Any ‘other factors’ that may be relevant can only be taken into account if they involve no more than a local adjustment of the boundary line and do not lead to a contravention of the principle that no large area in which one community has a majority is to be compelled to live against its will under a Government in which another community has a majority. In other words, in attempting an adjustment of ‘other factors’, the Commission must safeguard itself against falling into the error of contravening the over-riding directive contained in its terms of reference and against inflicting an injury upon or doing an injustice to a community any portion of whose majority area would as the result of the adjustment of the boundary line be transferred to the majority area of the other community.
33. These are the considerations on the basis of which we invite the Commission to demarcate the boundaries of East and West Punjab, but we place our trust in the righteousness of our cause and the Benevolence and Providence of Almighty God, who is the Master of the East as well as of the West and humbly pray to Him and beseech Him so to direct the hearts of the Members of the Commission and of all those who will take part in its proceedings and deliberations as to inspire them with the single purpose of achieving that which shall afford the maximum of ultimate satisfaction and happiness to all His Creatures in this Province as well as outside of it and shall serve to usher in an era of peace and goodwill among different sections and to cause His Holy Name and His Glory to be exalted above everything else. Amen.

TABLE I

POPULATION COMMUNITY-WISE ACCORDING TO THE
DISTRICT ASSIGNED NOTIONALLY TO THE WESTERN PUNJAB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Area in sq. miles</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Sikhs</th>
<th>Scheduled Castes and Ad-Dharmis</th>
<th>Caste Hindus</th>
<th>Christians and others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16,830,654</td>
<td>13,323,585</td>
<td>1,683,853</td>
<td>3,36,943</td>
<td>2,036,176</td>
<td>450,097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>73.2%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE II

SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN WEST PUNJAB
ACCORDING TO BOUNDARY LINE CLAIMED IN THE MEMORANDUM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Area in sq. miles</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Sikhs</th>
<th>Scheduled Castes and Ad-Dharmis</th>
<th>Caste Hindus</th>
<th>Christians and others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20,427,946</td>
<td>14,271,676</td>
<td>2,604,712</td>
<td>548,360</td>
<td>2,498,473</td>
<td>504,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>69.86%</td>
<td>12.75%</td>
<td>2.68%</td>
<td>12.24%</td>
<td>2.47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE III

SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN TEHSILS OF AJNALA, FEROZEPORE, NAKODAR, ZIRA, JULLUNDUR AND CONTIGUOUS COMPACT MUSLIM MAJORITY AREAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Area in sq. miles</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Sikhs</th>
<th>Scheduled Castes and Ad-Dharmis</th>
<th>Caste Hindus</th>
<th>Christians and others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,462,825</td>
<td>1,440,599</td>
<td>479,707</td>
<td>196,152</td>
<td>306,465</td>
<td>39,902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>58.49%</td>
<td>19.48%</td>
<td>7.97%</td>
<td>12.44%</td>
<td>1.62%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. Demand of Ahmadiyyas for Inclusion of Their Headquarters in West Punjab

Memorandum submitted by the Ahmadiyya community to the Punjab Boundary Commission, c. July 1947

MEMORANDUM ON BEHALF OF THE AHMADIYYA COMMUNITY, WITH HEADQUARTERS AT QADIAN, TEHSIL BATALA, DISTRICT GURDASPUR AND BRANCHES ALL OVER THE WORLD

**Main Features**

Being the Headquarters of the Ahmadiyya Community, Qadian should be placed in the Western Punjab, because:

1. It is the living centre of the world-wide Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam.
2. Its sanctity is greater than that of any other shrine in India.
3. People flock to it from all over the world seeking religious instruction and missionary training.
4. Most of the basic Ahmadiyya literature written by the Holy Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement is in Urdu which is the language of Pakistan and which is being discarded in Hindustan.
5. 74% of the branches of the Ahmadiyya Community lie in Pakistan.
6. Most of the financial assets of the Community lie in Pakistan.
7. The District in which Qadian lies has a clear Muslim majority and is contiguous to Western districts.
8. The services of the Community in Peace and War are second to none. Its interests, therefore, should not be sacrificed to those of any other community.

The Headquarters of the Ahmadiyya Community, an important religious section of Muslims having branches all over the world, is situated in the district of Gurdaspur. In the tentative division between West and East Punjab this district is situated on the frontier between the two parts of the province. In the controversy over the boundary line this district is being claimed by both parties. For safeguarding their legitimate rights, therefore, the Ahmadiyya Community deem it necessary to submit their views before the Boundary Commission.

Before, however, we give an account of the special circumstances in which our community (vis-a-vis their Headquarters in the Gurdaspur district) is placed, we wish to put before the Commission some basic points, bearing on the demands which we propose to submit hereunder.

We believe that the function of this Commission is to divide areas on the basis of Communal populations of the Punjab. It is not among its functions to attempt a political or economic division of the province. If that were so, then among its terms of reference we should have had a special emphasis laid on natural boundaries and economic resources; or we should have had a stress laid on the administrative division of the province. But neither in the tentative division which has already been made, nor in the reference made to the Commission, is there any mention of any primary factor other than the factor of population. In the tentative division, the unit of division is the district. Districts in which Muslims are in a majority have been put
in the Western Punjab, while districts in which non-Muslims are in a majority have been put in the Eastern Punjab. If administrative factors had been in view, the district of Amritsar would have gone to Western Punjab. For in the tentative division Amritsar is the only district west of the river Beas which has been placed in the East Punjab Section in spite of the fact that in administrative divisions natural boundaries such as rivers and hills must have a preponderating importance. Similarly, if economic factors had been in view, the district of Kangra would have gone to Western Punjab. The Railway connects Kangra with Western Punjab. Its trade also is connected with Western Punjab. The fact that both Amritsar and Kangra districts have been placed in East Punjab shows that in the division of Punjab the factor of population is the major factor in view.

There is no doubt that the Commission’s Terms of Reference contain the words ‘other factors’. But these ‘other factors’ clearly occupy a place subordinate to the factor of population. They do not constitute a second or a parallel factor, but only a factor subordinate to the first. These ‘other factors’ can become relevant only when Muslim and non-Muslim populations are evenly balanced, or when the contiguity of the population of one community is interrupted by the emergence of a small area of population of another community, when the interruption in the contiguity of one by the presence of another is so slight that the interruption cannot be regarded as a serious one.

If ‘other factors’ were intended as being equal in importance to the factor of population, then they should have been kept in view even in the tentative division of the province. Instead, they have been included only in the reference to the Commission, and that also as a factor subordinate to the factor of population. This shows that ‘other factors’ pertain only to small matters which may have to be taken into account while shaping the boundary line, it being understood that the question of population will always have a priority of consideration. The Commission is concerned primarily with the question of population and its contiguity. To ignore this question or for that matter to give any other factor equal importance is beyond the powers and scope of the Commission....

After submitting these general considerations we turn to the question in which the Ahmadiyya Community is specially interested, the question which relates to the special circumstances attaching to Qadian and areas around, which should be taken into consideration while settling the boundary line between Eastern and Western Punjab. We beg to submit the following points in this connection:—

1. Qadian is situated in Thana Batala, Tehsil Batala, District Gurdaspur. We submit that the claim that the district of Gurdaspur should form part of Western Punjab is so clear and well founded as to make a discussion of it virtually outside the scope of the Boundary Commission. There is no doubt that at the Press Conference the Viceroy said that in this district Muslims had a majority only of 0.8% and that therefore parts of Gurdaspur would necessarily have non-Muslim majorities. We submit, however, that the Viceroy is not correctly informed on the point. In the 1941 Census Report, the Muslim population of the District of Gurdaspur is 51.14% of the total. This gives it an excess of 2.8% and not 0.8% over the rest.

Muslims have this excess of 2.8% over non-Muslims, only if we assume that Scheduled Castes and Indian Christians are in political alliance with Hindus and Sikhs. We should remember, however, that the Christian leader Mr. S.P. Singha (who belongs to Batala in the Gurdaspur District) has declared unambiguously that his community will prefer to live in Pakistan. The Central Christian Association has since expressed confidence in Mr. Singha’s leadership.
Christians in the district of Gurdaspur are 4.46%. If we add the Christian to Muslim population, then those of the Gurdaspur District who wish to go into Pakistan rise to a percentage of 55.60. This difference is indeed very considerable. In the H.M.G. Plan, the district of Jullundur has been included in Eastern Punjab even though Jullundur has a non-Muslim majority only of 54.74%. Is it not strange that the District of Gurdaspur having a majority of 55.60% in favour of Pakistan should be considered to be a disputed area? If it is said that the views of Christians cannot alter the decision to bracket Christians with Hindus and Sikhs, then we should submit that nothing can alter facts. If Christians declare that they wish to go into Pakistan, no one can say that Christians do not wish to go into Pakistan. The Government can no doubt say that they do not care where Christians wish to go, that in determining the boundary between the two Dominions, no regard will be paid to the views of Christians; but it does not stand to reason that the Government should treat the pro-Pakistan attitude of the Christian community as anti-Pakistan. Even if we exclude Christians the Muslim population of Gurdaspur still has an excess of 2.28%. This clear excess of the Muslim Population should undoubtedly have the importance which is its due.

2. We must also remember that if the Muslim majority in the district of Gurdaspur is slight it is because one of its tehsils viz. Pathankot, has a Muslim population of only 38.88%. If we look at the other three tehsils, we find that the tehsil Batala has 55.07% Muslims, tehsil Gurdaspur 52.15% and tehsil Shakargarh 53.14% (Census Report, 1941). According to these figures, it is evident that even if we bracket Batala tehsil Christians with Hindus and Sikhs, Muslims in tehsil Batala have an excess of 10.14%, in tehsil Gurdaspur an excess of 4.30%, in tehsil Shakargarh an excess of 6.28%. If the number of Christians is added to the number of Muslims then those who wish to live in Pakistan in tehsil Batala have a majority of 60.53%, the percentage of those wishing to go into Hindustan is reduced to 39.47. In tehsil Gurdaspur, the collective Muslim-Christian population acquires a majority of 59.24% and the rest become reduced to a minority of 40.76%. In tehsil Shakargarh, Muslim-Christian population rises to 54.84% and the rest drop to 45.16%. If we keep these figures in view and leave Pathankot out of consideration for the present, it becomes obvious that there can be no question of separating any part of the remainder of Gurdaspur and joining it on to Eastern Punjab. Taking the three tehsils together the Muslim-Christian population has a majority of 53%. It follows that according to the Viceroy’s declaration none of the three tehsils (Batala, Gurdaspur and Shakargarh) can be separated from Western Punjab and joined on to Eastern Punjab. It would be utterly unjust and unconstitutional to do so....
his spiritual disciple and Successor Ahmad, the Holy Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement to serve the cause of Islam. The Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement who declared Qadian to be the Headquarters of the Movement is according to Ahmadis the Great Reformer of the latter days fulfilling in his person the prophecy regarding the second advent of Jesus Christ. He is also the spiritual disciple and God-appointed Khalifa of the Holy Prophet of Islam and fulfills in his person the prophecies of all previous prophets of the world relating to the latter days. No other Indian shrine therefore can compare with the sanctity of Qadian. Other communities are of course at present greater in number but the principle on which they base the sanctity of their shrines is entirely different from that on which the sanctity of Ahmadiyya Headquarters is based. This is why no other Community is drawn to its centre as the Ahmadiyya Community is drawn to Qadian....

10. From certain declarations of responsible British authorities, it appears that the words 'other factors' have been used to benefit the Sikhs specially, who have rendered great services for the British Government. We admit that the Admadiyya Community is very small in numbers compared with the Sikhs, but in respect of services unselfishly rendered by the Community in World Wars it is in no way behind the Sikhs taking into consideration the proportional strength of the two communities. Qadian with its population of about 14 thousand supplied more than 1400 recruits to the Army which fought on behalf of the Allied Nations in World War II. The Ahmadiyya Community is still a very small community, yet more than two hundred Ahmadis attained the King's Commission (See Appendix No. III) and in this respect the community undoubtedly occupies the first place among all Indian Communities taking into consideration the proportional strength of the communities concerned....

Next we wish to take up the question that in addition to the right of Gurdaspur District being placed in Western Punjab on the basis of the majority of its population, there are other factors as well which support the same view.

1. For one thing the principle of natural boundaries has been ignored to place Amritsar in Eastern Punjab. There can be only one reason on the basis of which this has been done, and that is consideration for the wishes of the majority of population of the District. But this has given to Eastern Punjab an opportunity to push its military organisation beyond the river Beas—i.e. into an area which rightfully belongs to Western Punjab. In case Gurdaspur too or portions of it, are handed over to Eastern Punjab, in spite of the fact that the majority of the population is Muslim it would not only involve a sacrifice of the wishes of the majority, but also secure the flank of the spring-board of Eastern Punjab, viz. Amritsar, against Western Punjab. All this would be tantamount to Western Punjab being delivered to Eastern Punjab bound hand and foot.

Of course both Hindustan and Pakistan are proclaiming their intention to live like peaceful neighbours; but there can be no guarantee against future complications between the two. The possibility of war between them should not, therefore, be ignored or overlooked. If Gurdaspur District, or any portion of it, be apportioned to Eastern Punjab, then, in the case of hostilities between the two, Amritsar would be a big centre of military activity; and the tip of its territory being about 18 miles from the capital of Western Punjab, it would be admirably placed for exerting pressure against Western Punjab. For the proper defence of Lahore from this point of view and of Western Punjab of which this town is the capital, it is necessary that Gurdaspur District should be placed in Western Punjab. Should Gurdaspur belong to Western Punjab,
portions of Eastern Punjab lying this side of the Beas would not be left free to attack Western Punjab any time they liked. But the situation would change radically from the military point of view if Eastern Punjab should also hold Gurdaspur District in addition to Amritsar. In that case not only would Eastern Punjab be able to maintain strong garrisons almost at the throat of Lahore, and therefore of the whole of Western Punjab, but also have elbow room for them in the adjoining territory of Gurdaspur district; and this would constitute a military threat to Western Punjab which would be well able to paralyse its entire defensive system. Therefore, Gurdaspur being a Muslim majority district (and this majority is desirous of being included in Western Punjab) Western Punjab has a right to insist upon getting this territory which is essential for its defensive system against an attack from the east.

It is an accepted canon of justice in the settlement of boundary disputes that where a disputed territory happens to be so situated as to have strategic value in the defensive plan of one claimant to its possession on the one hand, and a similar importance for offensive purposes in the case of the other community claiming it, ‘other factors’ being equal, the claim of the community is given preference in the case of which it has a value for defensive purposes.

2. Among the Gurdaspur Muslims, the majority are Jats, of which tribe the greater portion lives in the Western districts like Sialkot, Sheikhupura, Lyallpur and Lahore. Gurdaspur Muslims therefore should not be cut off from areas inhabited by the larger body of the tribe to which these Muslims belong. Jats are no doubt to be found in the Ambala Division as well, but, for the greater part, they are Hindu Jats; and they have moreover, no connection with the Jats of the Gurdaspur district. Thus, to cut off Gurdaspur from Western Punjab would raise insurmountable difficulties in the social life of the Gurdaspur Muslims.

3. The dialect spoken in Gurdaspur closely resembles the one spoken in Lahore, Sialkot and adjoining parts of Sheikhupura and Gujranwala districts; while it does not at all resemble the one spoken in the eastern districts. As the larger number of people using this dialect would be living in Western Punjab, the Gurdaspur Muslims too should be apportioned to the same side.

At the end we wish to say something in regard to the advantages and disadvantages of natural boundaries. For, whereas they constitute natural barriers and can be easily held, in many cases experience has also shown them to be a constant source of awkward disputes. For instance, when a river forms the boundary line between two countries, every time it changes its course, or floods the countryside, disputes arise as to the ownership of strips of territory affected. Great difficulty is also experienced when the question of erecting local dams arises. Fishing and navigation rights are some of the other factors which often breed long drawn out feuds. We therefore recommend that if and where a river is decided to be the boundary line then, instead of being partitioned lengthwise, it should be apportioned breadthwise, for this would minimise the chances of disputes of this kind.

Finally, we pray to God Almighty that He be pleased to guide the members of the Boundary Commission to a decision that should satisfy all sections of the population of the areas concerned; and that He should also be pleased to guide all those, including ourselves who are trying to help the Commission by placing their views before it. God grant that the aim of all of us in this crisis be to win the approbation of God, to establish peace, and to serve mankind. AMEN
1. Mirza Bashir Ahmad, M.A.
Chief Secretary
Ahmadiyya Community
Qadian

2. A. R. Dard, M.A.
(Ex Imam London Mosque)
Secretary for Education
Ahmadiyya Community
Qadian

3. Mirza Aziz Ahmad, M.A.
Secretary for Missionary Work
Ahmadiyya Community
Qadian

4. S. Zainulabadin
(Late of Ayyubia College, Jerusalem)
Secretary for Home &
Foreign Affairs
Ahmadiyya Community
Qadian

5. Abdul Bari, B.A. (Hons.)
Secretary for Finance
Ahmadiyya Community
Qadian

6. M. Abdullah, B.A.
Secretary for Entertainment
of Guests,
Ahmadiyya Community
Qadian

7. Sher Ali, B.A.
Secretary for Publication of
Literature
Ahmadiyya Community

8. F. Mohammad Sial, M.A.
Joint Secretary for Missionary Work,
Ahmadiyya Community
Qadian

MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL AHMADIYYA ASSOCIATION, QADIAN

1 The three Appendices of this memorandum have not been reproduced here.

10. The Boundary Award and the Sikh Situation

Extract from a letter from Major Short to Stafford Cripps, 3 August 1947
T.O.P., Vol. XII, p. 492

17 Tughlak Road, New Delhi,

Things here go on apace. By God’s grace they will prosper.

But J. has, I think, made his first major blunder—looking for the G. Gship. This has certainly complicated the Sikh situation. Now he, and he alone, can draw them in: and then only by offering extravagantly generous terms. Of course that miracle may yet happen. That failing, the nature of the award will determine events. If it meets the least the Sikhs think fair, peace will reign—and prosper. If it does not, in ratio to the extent that it offends Sikh sentiment, peace will be a calm before a growing guerilla situation. For, unless it flagrantly affronts Sikh feeling, I doubt an immediate really dangerous reaction except in one quarter. The armed forces massed to keep peace on the border. There, and not in the Sikh country, is, I feel, the powder magazine. I am v. much alone in this view. But I seen [sic] no reason yet to depart from it. But come what may, the most delicate factor is the obstinate popular belief that Radcliffe will award as H.E. dictates. And this is a truly popular belief. Whatever any Indian may say
to H.E., I living here, with Indians, am all too aware that nothing will shake their conviction that this is so. Which means—well, you will draw all the conclusions.

However, this is a temporary assessment. And necessarily based on instinct more than anything. I must not [?] move about to test my antennae. So maybe my next letter may say something different.

11. Report of Mr. Justice M.C. Mahajan to the Punjab Boundary Commission

Extracts, 3 August 1947


A.—REPORT OF NON-MUSLIM MEMBER

(a) Report of Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan

This Commission has been constituted to divide a Province which is really incapable of a satisfactory division. Those who made the present day Punjab never imagined that a situation would arise when it would have to be split into two parts. But however difficult the task may be, it has to be done. It is certain that however honestly and conscientiously the border is demarcated, for the time being it will not give satisfaction to any of the communities concerned, though it may eventually lead to the contentment and happiness of them all and the individuals residing in East Punjab and West Punjab.

The major parties to this dispute have claimed the maximum area that they could possibly do for their respective Provinces on any interpretation of the terms of reference most favourable to them. These claims are supported by several associations having a common interest with them and by a number of individuals who have submitted memoranda to the Commission. The two States of Bahawalpur and Bikaner have also supported the claim of the community to which the rulers of these states belong, though on grounds affecting their own States. It has been contented [sic] by these States that if the headworks of the Ferozepore canal which irrigates their respective States are included in the Province of the community to which the rulers belong, it would safeguard their rights in that work.

The claims put forward can be stated in the form of the following issues:

(1) Whether on the terms of reference, the Muslims are entitled to claim for Western Punjab, besides the 17 districts (minus a part of the Pathankot Tehsil) allotted to it in the notional division, the following areas:

(a) Ajnala Tehsil of the Amritsar district.
(b) Majitha Zail of the Amritsar Tehsil of the same district.
(c) Portions of Fazilka and Muktsar Tehsils of the Ferozepore district.
(d) Zira and Ferozepore Tehsils of the Ferozepore district (excepting the Nathana Sub-Tehsil which is not claimed).
(e) Jullundur and Nakodar Tehsils of the Jullundur district.
(f) Parts of Dasuya and Hoshiarpur Tehsils of the Hoshiarpur district.
(g) The area along both banks of the Sutlej upto and including the town of Rupar and ending on the boundary between the Punjab and Nalagarh State, including the town of Ludhiana. (Parts of various tehsils of different districts including the district of Ambala are also claimed?)
(2) Whether any reasonable grounds exist for splitting up the Pathankot Tehsil which is admittedly a non-Muslim area?

(3) Whether the Amritsar and Tarn Taran Tehsils of the Amritsar district constitute a non-Muslim pocket in a Muslim majority area and, therefore, should be included in the Province of West Punjab?

(Under these issues the point to decide would be whether 19½ districts should go to West Punjab and East Punjab should consist of 9½ districts, and if so, whether on this basis a just and equitable boundary line can be drawn between two sovereign States?)

(4) Whether on the terms of reference non-Muslims are entitled to claim for East Punjab the following areas over and above the 12 districts allotted to it in the notional division and whether on this basis a just and equitable frontier can be delimited separating the two Provinces:

(a) The whole of the Gurdaspur district.
(b) Lahore district including the city of Lahore.
(c) Lyallpur district.
(d) Montgomery district.
(e) Sheikhpura district.
(f) Sialkot district.
(g) Gujranwala district.
(h) Parts of Multan district?

This claim means the addition of seven districts to East Punjab, reducing the West Punjab to 10 districts.

(5) If neither of these claims can be held valid, partially or wholly, what is the proper boundary line between East Punjab and West Punjab, keeping in view the terms of reference of the Commission?

Before deciding these points it is necessary to apprehend clearly the scope of the reference. It seems to me that those responsible for the draft of the reference left the matter of demarcating the boundary entirely to the discretion of the Commission, subject of course to the direction that the primary consideration on which the Commission is to proceed is to ascertain the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In other words, the Commission was instructed to keep in the forefront the communal population consideration, but it was also told in clear terms that in demarcating the boundary it may take into account other factors. In other words, its discretion in making the delimitation was not necessarily limited to majority population consideration. The question what those other factors would be was left open, obviously for the reason that these factors are bound to vary according to the facts disclosed in regard to each area. The view that I have expressed about the terms of the reference finds support in the speech made by the Under Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on the 14th of July, 1947. He said that 'the primary basis of demarcation must be majority of population. In certain cases there may be factors which justify departure from that principle'. In other words, a departure from the population factor may be justified if other factors justify it. This interpretation has been vehemently contested by the learned counsel for the Muslim League. I shall deal with his contention and give my reasons for not accepting it in a later portion of this opinion....

It is obvious from the above quotations that what has to be demarcated by the Boundary Commission is predominantly Muslim areas and that a bare majority of Muslims or non-Muslims
in any area may well be ignored in view of other factors, in order to avoid a boundary line which may run in a zigzag shape like the claws of a crab or which may be indefensible on strategical grounds. It has been very aptly pointed out in the Muslim League Memoranda that ‘the boundary should be a workable and practicable boundary from the points of view of administration and should be capable of fulfilling the functions of a boundary between two neighbouring States. It should not be a crazy line running backwards and forwards over the areas of several districts and in and out of every village in those districts so as to result not in the separation of two parts of a Province which might each be constituted into a Province, but into a nightmare tapestry of a futurist’s design’. The Congress and the Sikhs fully subscribed to this view.

Having stated my views about the scope of the reference, I now proceed to examine the contentions raised by Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan and give my reasons for not agreeing with them.

In a forceful argument the learned counsel urged that partition must be made on the population factor alone and that the scope of the words ‘in doing so the Commission will also take into account other factors’ was limited to taking into account local factors only, but that such factors cannot override the primary principle of division, namely the population basis. It was stressed that the only principle on which the partition was agreed upon by the parties and was accepted by His Majesty’s Government was based on the principle of non-coercion enunciated by the Congress, namely that large areas in which there was a substantial preponderant population of one community could not be coerced to live in an area in which the other community had a majority. It was said that the economic factor urged by the counsel for the Congress and for the Sikhs overlooked this point and was contrary to the interpretation that His Excellency the Viceroy placed on the wording of paragraph 9 of His Majesty’s statement of the 3rd of June, 1947, which statement in substance employed the same phraseology as was contained in the terms of reference. Reference was made to the words used by His Excellency in the broadcast of the 3rd of June, 1947, in which mention was made of the principle that there was no question of coercing any large areas in which one community had a majority to live against their will under a Government in which another community had a majority and that this principle could not justify taking into account of economic, agricultural, industrial and commercial considerations or the factor of maintaining the integrity of the Sikhs. It was emphasized that if this attitude had been taken by the Congress or the Sikhs, the Muslim League would never have agreed and that if these factors were to be taken into consideration, the whole of the Punjab might well have been allotted to the Indian Dominion. Next, reference was made to the paragraph dealing with the partition of the Punjab. It was demanded by the Congress at the instance of Sikh community. It was said in the resolution that the partition of India necessitates the division of the Punjab into two Provinces so that the predominantly Muslim part be separated from the predominantly non-Muslim part. In other words, the population factor was put in the forefront and any area in which one community has predominance over the other could not be kept in one or the other Dominion as the case may be. It was observed that in the broadcast His Excellency reviewed the Sikh position and noticed that they were equally divided as a result of their own request and that he was unable in spite of his best efforts to solve this problem. In view of these observations the point was made that if the phrase other factors contained in paragraph 9 of His Majesty’s statement of the 3rd of June, 1947, was intended to include the factor of the integrity of the Sikhs then His Excellency need not have
been shocked or surprised and he could have easily said that the matter can be solved by the Boundary Commission, and His Excellency need not have expressed any regret. In my opinion these contentions do not in any way affect the interpretation that I have placed on the terms of reference. My reasons are these:

(1) The population factor undoubtedly is the main factor in the division, but I cannot agree that in no circumstances can it be overridden. Suppose, for instance, that the boundary on this basis cannot be laid satisfactorily in view of strategical grounds or because of the situation of the headworks of a canal, this factor shall have to be overridden. The Muslim League themselves have suggested that in the Pathankot Tahsil the majority factor be ignored owing to the situation of the headworks of the canal. We are told that before the Bengal Boundary Commission the Muslim League is claiming predominantly non-Muslim areas on the ground of economic factors.

(2) Whether any other factors, including the factor of the integrity of the Sikhs, will override the population factor, will, in any case, depend on the circumstances of each area. Suppose, for instance, the population factor is not predominant but there is a meagre majority of one community over the other. Such a case cannot fall within the resolution of the Congress which was sponsored by them at the instance of the Sikhs and which was agreed to by the Muslim League. The resolution clearly said ‘any areas in which there is predominance of one community over the other’. Those words cannot include cases of meagre or bare majorities in the population. In those cases other factors may override the population factor. A nominal majority was not the majority contemplated in any of the statements that have been placed on the record. The words used there are ‘substantial areas’ and ‘substantial population’ or ‘predominant population’. The only question to decide is whether any large areas are left in which one community has a predominant majority over the other under the rule of the other community.

(3) His Excellency the Viceroy never gave any exhaustive definition of the phrase ‘other factors’ in any of his statements or speeches.

(4) Whatever His Excellency said about the Sikhs was said before the terms of reference were finally settled and strictly speaking it is not relevant when the Commission is called upon to interpret the terms. That interpretation is not binding on the Commission, on the same line of the argument that was adopted by the learned counsel that the interpretation of the terms of reference after they had been accepted by the Under Secretary of State at the committee stage of the India Bill in the House of Commons was not relevant. In my opinion, strictly speaking, neither the interpretation of the Under Secretary nor the interpretation of His Excellency the Viceroy about the terms of reference is relevant. It is, however, open for the members of the Commission to place their own interpretation and then say that their interpretation is the same as was put by either of these high personages.

(5) If the population factor was really the sole basis of division, I do not see what necessity there was of employing the phrase ‘in doing so the Commission will take into account other factors’. It seems to me that both parties who were represented in the committee to settle the terms of reference kept a mental reservation. The Muslim League did not at that stage say that other factors should be defined and it should be clearly stated that these can in no case override the population factor but that they are only intended to be contained in the terms of reference for settling locally the boundary. Had they
raised that point, possibly the Congress or the Sikhs may not have agreed. Similarly the Congress and the Sikhs did not give any definition of the words ‘other factors’ by clearly including in them the case of the integrity of the Sikh community or other economic factors now mentioned by them, as obviously the League would not have agreed to their inclusion in the terms of reference. The result was that phraseology was employed which both could later on interpret in the manner most convenient to their contentions.

(6) Construed according to ordinary canons of interpretation, the phraseology in the reference cannot lead to the meaning that in demarcating the boundary the Commission cannot take into account other factors and that it is bound to give effect to the population factor and can never ignore it. The reference only says, ‘ascertain the populations and then proceed to demarcate the boundary after that ascertainment has been done, by taking into account other factors as well.’ I cannot read in this phraseology that other factors mean merely local and subsidiary factors....

(8) In considering the line of demarcation it must be borne in mind that no ethnic and linguistic differences really divided the people of the Punjab from one another. The factor of religion must, in the light of history in Europe, be regarded as an unfortunate incident in all probability of a temporary nature. With the spread of modern ideas, this factor will recede into the background and other factors economic and ideologic will tend more and more to supersede it as governing factors in the life of the state. If this is so, and there seems no good reason to doubt it, far greater importance must be attached to ‘other factors’ in the final definition of the boundary, even though for the present the population basis, based on the religious factor, must be given predominance.

In demarcating the boundary line it has to be prominently borne in mind that the partition is being done on the basis of communal and religious considerations. The Western Punjab is to be a part of the Pakistan Dominion, a Muslim State, and for the time being there is no love lost between the Muslims on the one side and the Sikhs and Hindus on the other. The historical background shows antagonism between them and the recent events in the various Provinces of India, and particularly in the Punjab, have demonstrated that they are willing to fly at one another like wild beasts and, in some cases, even in worse manner than those beasts. If any doubt existed on the point, the lengthy address of the counsel for the League on this point amply proves it. It is immaterial which party was blameworthy in the matter. Any boundary line between Provinces which have to be carved out for such parties cannot ignore this state of feelings between the two communities. The line must be one which avoids frequent and daily border incidents resulting in communal fights and reduces the contact between the two to a minimum. It should again be one which is capable of being defended on either side conveniently and at the least possible cost. In other words the line should not be such as would lead to the construction of numerous cantonments and army stations. Any line which projects from one area into another with a slight gain to one side or the other cannot be justified. Its length should be reduced to the minimum between the two parts and, if possible, it should follow a natural boundary either of a river or of a hill or some other natural configuration....

Having regard to the principles enunciated in the above quotations the question is what other factors can be properly considered by the Commission in the present instance. I am of the opinion that the Commission will have to take into consideration historical associations of
the various communities residing in different tracts, economic life of these people and their economic stability, the geographical situation of the various tracts, the factor of the lines of communication, markets, etc., and the extent of their economic interests in the lands of the different tracts and, most important of all, strategical considerations. Where ethnological consideration is indefinite and inconclusive, these other factors, if predominant, will override it. In the peculiar position of the Province of the Punjab, the position of the Sikh community is a very important factor. It is not at all a moot point and is not seriously disputed even in the Muslim League memoranda that the Sikhs are an important community in the Province and have special interests here. That the Central Punjab is their homeland is a matter which has been admitted in all historical documents written during the last hundred years. That their main occupation is agriculture and military service, again, is not a matter which requires any discussion. It is plain that by the notional division their population has been split in almost equal halves in the two sovereign States of India and Pakistan. According to this division, about 21 lacs of Sikhs are in the Eastern Punjab and about 16 lacs in the Western Punjab. Any boundary to be satisfactory, should at least be such as does not keep this population on either side of this line equally divided and, if possible, their desire to be consolidated as much as possible in the Eastern Punjab should be kept in view in marking out the boundary. In my opinion, it is in the interests of peace and good government of both the parts that the split in the community is reduced to the minimum. They will then be able to safeguard their religion and culture and will develop as a community in one Province. I do not think it is seriously disputed even by the Muslim League that administrative convenience, geographical situation, the integrity of the canal system and economic considerations are factors for consideration by the Boundary Commission, and that, so far as possible, the boundary should be such as avoids inter-statal and daily skirmishes and that it should be one which does not economically jeopardize the life of those residing in one part or the other and contributes to the economic stability of both the Provinces.

I have already pointed out the instance of the Upper Bari Doab Canal in which the League themselves have overridden the population factor. I fully sympathise with the Sikh demand for a homeland in the Central Punjab, if it can be found for them within the terms of the reference. The districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Lahore have been described by several writers as the ‘home districts’ of the Sikhs. They are mostly found in the two divisions of Jullundur, Lahore and owing to the colony policy of the Government a substantial number of them are found in the colony areas. A community may claim a homeland even if its population is small as compared to the other people residing in certain regions. If I may say, their claim for a homeland can only be raised as regards the tract of Majha which is said to be their principal home with their religious metropolis in Amritsar. Of course the Sikh claim is that the whole tract from Beas to Chenab is the original Sikh land or the country of Baba Nanak and the cradle of their faith and the nursery of chivalry of the followers of the Gurus. This feature is a special feature of this Province and cannot be ignored in the delimitation of the boundary. It has been pertinent to point out that the Sikh soldiers and other non-Muslim soldiers who had been promised grant of land owing to war services, will not be able to get what they have been promised if the Province of the Eastern Punjab gets no colony lands, it being admitted that the whole of the unallotted area in the colony lands which is considerably over 18 lacs of acres is situated at present in the Province of the West Punjab.
It may also be observed that the area of the Province to be divided according to survey figures is 99,000 square miles though according to revenue papers it is 91,000 odd square miles. In partitioning this huge area into two parts, in my opinion, it will not be proper to take into consideration small areas of 50 or 100 square miles on the strict theory of contiguity of Muslim or non-Muslim population. Similarly nominal contiguities will have to be ignored and unless the areas are substantially contiguous to one another, they will have to be left out of consideration. If these small matters are taken into consideration, it will lead to the creation of numerous wedges and tongues in the area of either zone and this will be repugnant to all the principles on which a boundary between two sovereign States has to be demarcated.

Before proceeding to examine each item of the claim made by the major parties, I would like to point out that on a fair and just view of the whole matter, the dispute between the contestants should have been narrowed down to the central districts of the Punjab. The two divisions of Ambala and Jullundur in the east have admittedly a preponderant non-Muslim majority. In both these divisions it is over 65 per cent of the total population. One of these tracts is situated between the rivers Jumna and the Sutlej and the other between the Sutlej and the Beas. The population of each tract is more or less homogeneous. Beyond the Sutlej the language is different and social customs and habits are different. In the Doab between the Sutlej and the Beas, the people residing in the districts in that Doab are knit up together by all kinds of ties. Their social life is the same; their economic life is knit together; their markets are common; the communications are intermixed and in all manners they are the same people. The non-Muslims’ interest in the commercial, economic and industrial life of these tracts as well as in the agricultural life is predominant, and, therefore, they are predominantly non-Muslim areas. Similarly, the two divisions in the west, Rawalpindi and Multan, should have been entirely left out of the contest. In those two divisions the Muslim population is predominant and the population majority factor cannot be overridden by other considerations, though the non-Muslims have considerable economic interests in those areas both commercially and industrially and from the agricultural point of view. But as the dispute is raised even as regards parts of these divisions, the matter will have to be decided....

The boundary line suggested by me fully supports the fundamental idea underlying this division. The total population of the Province 28,418,819, out of which 16,217,242 are Muslims, is divided into three blocks:—(i) a block of 99 lacs of Muslims goes in West Punjab, (ii) a block of 93 lacs of non-Muslims goes in the East Punjab, and (iii) a block of 92 lacs of population is split up into two parts, 29 lacs non-Muslims going in West and 63 lacs Muslims going in East. As Muslims are in a majority in the whole Province, this result to a certain extent is bound to follow. The total population of the west will be 12,800,000, while the area assigned to it will be much larger in ratio to the population....

For the reasons given above I am of the opinion that the only frontier between the sovereign State of India and the sovereign State of Pakistan is the frontier indicated by me. Though, as already stated, I am quite positive that the line indicated by me will, for the time being, give no satisfaction to the contending parties, but I have a feeling that this line, if adopted, would eventually contribute to the happiness and contentment of the respective communities residing in the two different parts demarcated by this boundary.

Mehr Chand Mahajan

The 3rd August, 1947.
12. Report of Mr. Justice Teja Singh to the Punjab Boundary Commission

Extracts, 4 August 1947

(a) Report of Mr. Justice Teja Singh.

...Different motives underlay the demand of the Muslims for the vivisection of India and that of the Sikhs for the division of the Punjab into two parts. The Muslim League depended solely upon the fact that they formed the majority of the population of the Provinces which they desired to be made into an independent State. The Sikhs, on the other hand, not being in majority in any district of the Punjab demanded that the part of it in which the bulk of them lived and which they claimed to be their homeland, be separated from the rest of the Province so that they might escape the communal rule of the Muslims. They knew that unlike the Muslims they could not have a State of their own but they preferred to live in that part of the Punjab which would join the Indian Union rather than Pakistan. They never relied upon their numerical strength, but stressed that because of certain factors they occupied a special position in the Province and were consequently entitled to a special consideration on that account. These factors are *inter alia*—

1. that they were rulers of the Province immediately before it was annexed by the British Indian Empire;
2. that the Central Punjab extending from the boundary of the Ambala Division right up to Chenab was their homeland;
3. that the most important of their sacred Gurdwaras were situated in this tract;
4. that they owned and tilled the bulk of the land in this part of the Province and paid the largest amount of land revenue; and
5. that they had largely contributed in money as well as in labour in the development of the colony area, which was the main source of the wealth of the Province, and they occupied bulk of the land in that area.

They demanded that their solidarity and integrity should be preserved. His Majesty’s Government appreciated the attitude taken up by the Sikhs in principle and hence appointed this Commission to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts in which the province is to be divided after taking into account the population factor as well as other factors.

In formulating the terms of reference in the manner they did His Majesty’s Government did nothing unusual or extraordinary. History bears testimony to the fact that whenever countries were divided and boundaries were demarcated a large number of factors, such as ethnological, geographical, economic, strategic and linguistic were taken into consideration. My learned brother Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan has referred to a number of authorities and precedents on this point and it is not necessary for me to recapitulate them. The nature of factors to be considered must naturally vary with the circumstances and requirements of each case. What factors are relevant in the present case it is for us to decide. All that I wish to emphasize at this stage is that in view of the fact that the partition of the Punjab has been taken in hand at the desire of the Sikhs and because of their refusal to live in a purely Muslim state the factors of the first rate importance that demand our attention in this case are the position of the Sikhs in the Province and the effect that the demarcation of boundaries is going to have
upon their solidarity. The total population of the Sikhs in the British Punjab according to the
census figures of 1941 is 3,757,401. Out of this 1,683,855 live in the seventeen districts, which
according to the notional division form the Western Punjab, and 2,073,546 in the Eastern Punjab.
This means that if the notional division is adhered to, and the boundaries are demarcated
according to it about 17 lacs, i.e., a million and above seven hundred thousand of Sikhs would
be left stranded in the Western Punjab. Of these 1,368,962 belong to the districts of Gurdaspur,
Lahore, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura, Lyallpur and Montgomery which will be the border districts
just on the frontier of the two States that are to be sovereign States. To perpetuate this state
of affairs would very materially weaken the position of the Sikhs, inasmuch as it would make
them politically impotent in both the parts and would be highly unjust to them....

We are all aware that unlike the Muslims and the Hindus, the Sikhs are confined to the
Punjab where they were born and flourished and which is their homeland in the literal sense.
If any Hindu faces any difficulty in one part of India he can move to another part. The same
is the case with the Mussalman. But as far as the Sikhs are concerned whatever might happen
to them they cannot leave the Punjab. Accordingly, if the partition of the Punjab into two parts
is to do the least injustice to the Sikhs, it is imperative that it should be carried out in such a
manner and the boundary of the two parts should be so demarcated that the solidarity of the
Sikhs should be maintained and as few of them as possible should be left in the Western Punjab.

The contention that boundaries should be demarcated merely on population basis runs
counter to the very reasons for which partition of the Punjab has been conceded. It is mentioned
in paragraph 9 of the Statement that the Commission is to make a detailed investigation
of boundary question. Had the intention been to demarcate the boundaries merely on
population basis no detailed investigation by a Commission was necessary and the words
that the Commission will also take into account other factors would be simply redundant. I
am inclined to think that in that case the whole thing would have been left over to a surveyor
and it was not necessary to appoint a Commission at all, much less a Commission consisting
of five persons possessing considerable judicial experience. Learned counsel for the Muslim
League referred us to the Press Conference held by His Excellency on the 4th June, and he
urged that if the solidarity and integrity of the Sikh community and the inclusion of the Sikh
shrines in the Eastern Punjab were the factors to be taken into account by the Commission in
demarcation of boundaries this would have been clearly stated by His Excellency but he did
not do anything of the kind. Now, a perusal of the statement made by His Excellency in the
Press Conference and the questions put to, and the answers given by him in that Conference
go to show that he did not take it upon himself to elucidate what factors the Commission would
take into account in addition to the population. He left the whole matter to the Commission,
and said nothing from which it can be inferred that the solidarity of the Sikh community
and the situation of their shrines were not included among the other factors. It is true that he
observed that when the resolution of the Congress demanding the partition of the Punjab was
brought to his notice he sent for a map with the population of the Sikhs marked and he was
astounded to find that the plan which they had produced would divide the Sikhs into almost
equal halves and he had not been able to find any solution to this difficulty. But he also added
that he hoped that the leaders of the respective communities would appoint a committee to draw
up the terms of reference of the Boundary Commission which should have representatives of
the interested parties on it. It is admitted that the terms of reference as given in His Majesty's
Order appointing the Boundary Commission were approved by the parties and since the terms
lay down that the Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries not merely on the
basis of ascertaining contiguous majority areas but also by taking into account other factors, it follows that all points urged by the Sikh community in support of their special position have to be considered. If the intention was that they were not to be taken into account this should have been made clear either in the terms of reference or in the Press Conference. The words are ‘other factors’. They include all factors relevant to the question, and it cannot be urged with any show of reason that the necessity of preserving the solidarity and integrity of the Sikh community and the situation of their shrines are not relevant.... It is a pity that the terms are rather vague and the phrase ‘other factors’ has not been defined, but it appears to me that it was designedly left vague so that the Commission after hearing the principal parties might decide what factors other than population it would take into account. I also venture to think that it is not open to the Commission to reject any factor put forward before it unless it is totally irrelevant and has no bearing upon the demarcation of boundaries. It is interesting to note that the Ahmadiya community who supported the stand taken by the Muslim League and to which community belongs the learned counsel (Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan) who argued the Muslim League case before us stressed the necessity of preserving the solidarity of that community as one of the factors, though at the same time it urged that no other factor excepting the population should be taken into account. It may further be added that while arguing the case for the Bahawalpur State which has also submitted a memorandum to the Commission and urging that the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab be so demarcated as to safeguard the rights of the State in the waters of Sutlej, Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan solely relied upon factors other than those of population....

Of the other points urged before us in this connection mention need be made of only one, namely, that if the partition of the Punjab results in any kind of injustice to the Sikhs they must put up with it, because the Punjab is being divided at their instance and not at the instance of the Muslims. If a clear view of all that has happened be taken the argument would be found wholly devoid of force. It is correct that Sikhs insisted upon the division of the Punjab, but they adopted this attitude only when the British Government conceded the demand of the Muslims that India be divided into two sovereign States. It is common knowledge that despite the fact that their numbers are very small the Sikhs all along supported the position taken up by the Congress that there should be no vivisection of India and the country should be kept intact with a Central Government in charge of vital departments such as Defence, Communications, etc. The Muslims did not agree to this and insisted that India should be divided and a separate sovereign State consisting of the Provinces in which they were in majority should be carved out. The Government, though at first opposed to the Muslim demand, ultimately gave in and conceded the principle underlying the creation of a Muslim State. It was then that the Sikhs realizing that if the whole Punjab formed part of the Pakistan they would be doomed, inasmuch as they would be wholly at the mercy and under the heels of a communal Government of the Muslims, of which they had sufficient experience, started agitating for the division of the Punjab. It is, therefore, wrong to lay the responsibility for the partition of the Punjab upon the shoulders of the Sikhs. Division of the Punjab is a corollary to the division of India and if there is any community responsible for this it is the Muslims. Furthermore, I cannot understand why the division of the Punjab should necessarily be carried out in such a manner that it must split the Sikh community in almost two equal parts when it can be avoided, and in view of our terms of reference that factors other than population basis must be taken into account we are competent and even expected to avoid it.
As regards the Sikh shrines the argument put forward on behalf of the Muslim League is that if the situation of shrines of communities be regarded as a factor for demarcation of boundaries the Muslims can lay claim to the whole of India because their religious places and shrines are spread throughout the length and breadth of the land. I am afraid the Muslim League has either not cared to understand the sacred character of the Sikh Gurdwaras or it has deliberately ignored it with a view to place them on the same footing as their religious places situated in different parts of India. In ordinary parlance, the term ‘Gurdwara’ means any place used by the Sikhs for worship. But the Gurdwaras, the situation of which is sought to be used as a factor for demarcation of boundaries, are those places of worship which were either founded by the ten Gurus or were established long ago to commemorate particular incidents that happened during their lives and with which they were connected. It may be pointed out that though the founder of Sikhism was the first Guru (Guru Nanak) and it was the tenth Guru who gave birth to the Khalsa, the Sikhs make no distinction between them and the other eight Gurus, and the cardinal principle of Sikhism is that the same spirit worked in all of them, that is to say, each of the subsequent nine Gurus was the incarnation of the first Guru, and accordingly they occupy the same position in the eyes of the Sikhs. Now, to the Sikhs the ten Gurus are what Christ is to Christians, Hazrat Mohammad is to Muslims, and the principal gods who are believed to be incarnations of Vishnu are to the Hindus. For this reason, the Gurdwaras that were founded by the Gurus themselves or which commemorate incidents connected with them are a class by themselves. It is a mistake to put them on the same footing as the religious places founded by or associated with saints or other religious men howsoever prominent or respected they might be. There are hundreds of Gurdwaras that were established by the Sikh saints or which were built in the memory of Sikh martyrs, but none of them enjoys the sacred character that is reserved for the Gurdwaras of the class mentioned above, and the only shrines of the Muslims that in respect of sacredness and importance can compare with the Gurdwaras of that class are the shrines that stand in Mecca and Madina. There is a not a single shrine of the Muslims in India that was founded by their prophet or which was built to commemorate any incident in his life, for the simple reason that he lived, worked for his whole life and died in Arabia. Then it should be remembered that it is not merely because of the situation of these shrines that the Sikhs claim the inclusion of certain districts in the Eastern Punjab, but they maintain that there are many other factors that support their case, the most important of them being that these districts are contiguous to the districts which are without doubt non-Muslim majority areas, and the total non-Muslim population of these districts taken along with that of the contiguous districts is more than that of the Muslims. This explains the reason why the Sikhs have laid no claim to the districts of Gujarat, Rawalpindi and Attock in spite of the fact that in the first two districts are situated Gurdwaras commemorating the visits of the sixth Guru and in the third district is situated the Panja Sahib, the well-known Gurdwara constructed at the place where Guru Nanak spent some time when he went there to visit a Muslim saint of the name of Wali Kandhari and at which is preserved a mark of a palm made by him on a slab of stone. None of these districts is contiguous to the non-Muslim majority areas and the Sikhs cannot very well lay any claim to it. The learned counsel for the Muslim League waxed eloquent over the situation of monumental buildings and places of art and historical importance built by various Muslim kings at different places in India. None of them can be regarded as a shrine in the sense in which Gurdwaras of the kind with which we are dealing now are, because in spite of the fact that some of them are mosques, a mosque even though built by a powerful and famous
The number of such Sikh Gurdwaras is fairly large but the most important of them are situated in the districts of Sheikhupura, Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore and Amritsar. The Janam Asthan Gurdwara at Nankana Sahib in the district of Sheikhupura commemorates the birth-place of Guru Nanak, the first Guru. Guru Nanak, as already stated, is the founder of Sikhism, and as regards sacred character this Gurdwara enjoys a unique place among the Sikhs. It is considered holy of holies. Roundabout that Gurdwara and within the area of Nankana Sahib there are many other Gurdwaras built to immortalize several incidents that happened during Guru Nanak’s early life. All these Gurdwaras have vast landed estates attached to them, the biggest estate being that of the Gurdwara Janam Asthan and around these estates have settled a large number of Sikhs....

In laying emphasis upon the solidarity of the Sikhs and the location of their sacred shrines I should not be taken to mean that if the boundaries of the two parts are to be demarcated on the population basis the non-Muslims have a weak case. This aspect of the matter has been exhaustively dealt with by Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan and I do not propose to cover the same ground, because I entirely agree with the conclusions that he has reached. I will, however, add a few words but before I do so I would like to emphasise two points: one is that the word ‘area’ used in the terms of reference should not be narrowly construed and, secondly, that it should not be lost sight of that the mere fact that an area happens to be a majority area of a particular community would justify its inclusion within the part of the Province in which that community is in majority, unless it is also shown to be contiguous. The relevant words of the terms of reference are ‘on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims’....

...I would draw the north-western boundary of the Eastern Punjab along the river Chenab from where it enters the Punjab, go right up to Khanki and from there turn to the right bank of the lower Chenab Canal upto Nanwana, then follow the bank of the Rakh branch upto the place where it enters the Lyallpur District, go along the present boundary between the Districts of Sheikhupura and Lyallpur right up to the point where Deg Nala joins the Ravi river, then follow the Ravi river and the present boundaries between Lyallpur and Montgomery Districts, turn to Channu, then following first the present Western boundary of Montgomery District and then up the banks of the river Sutlej and the present southern boundary of Montgomery District come to Sulemanki where meet the districts of Ferozepur and Montgomery and Bahawalpur State. This will leave a part of Gujranwala District and some part of Sheikhupura District in which the Muslims are in majority to the west and would at the same time bring Nankana Sahib along with the whole of the tract surrounding it, which is a part of the Shahidi Bar mentioned above, in the eastern Punjab. I have not calculated the figures but I believe that it would raise the number of the Sikhs in the Eastern Punjab to about 31 lacs out of the total population of above 37 lacs in the whole of the British Punjab....

Before concluding I wish to mention one other fact the leaders of the Muslim community who are in a position to speak on behalf of the future Government of Pakistan and the various Provinces that are to constitute that state have given assurance that the minorities will be given every protection and their religious rights, culture, customs, etc. will be safeguarded. I have no reason to think that these gentleman are not sincere and I hope that they will make every effort to translate their words into action and they would succeed in this. At the same
time I cannot very well ignore what has happened only recently and what is happening even now. The mentality of an average Muslim towards his non-Muslim compatriot has undergone a change and this with the background of the events narrated by me above has created a genuine feeling of insecurity among the non-Muslims in the parts of the country which are to form the Pakistan. The result is that a large number of non-Muslims, rich and poor, have deserted their homes and have migrated towards the East. One cannot describe the hardships to which the refugees—men, women and children—with practically nothing to live upon, have to suffer, but instinct for life is so strong that they have all borne it with resignation. This exodus continues unabated and will surely increase after the 15th August when the Punjab will have been permanently divided as a result of the boundaries to be demarcated by this Commission. It is our bounden duty to take notice of this fact and try our best to alleviate the consequences that must result there from. This aspect of the matter was discussed before us in the course of arguments. The only answer that the learned counsel for the Muslim League had to it was that there might be a similar exodus of the Muslim population from the Eastern Punjab to the West. I have no hesitation in saying that this apprehension is unfounded, first because not only past history but even what has happened since March last has demonstrated that the non-Muslims in the Punjab are either by nature reluctant to indulge in doings of the kind that were witnessed in the districts of Rawalpindi, etc. or they are incapable of doing so. We were referred to Bihar, but it is a far cry from Bihar to the Punjab and in no districts in the Punjab where the Sikhs and Hindus are in majority have the Muslims been molested. It is for this reason that the Muslims are living peacefully in their homes and they will continue to do so in spite of what might happen in the Muslim Province. Accordingly, while demarcating boundaries we must include sufficient parts of the country in the Eastern Punjab wherein the non-Muslims of the Western Punjab might come and settle down, but according to the notional division the area of the eastern Punjab is not even proportionate to its present population, the ratios being as follows:

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<th></th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Area</th>
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<td>41%</td>
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It may also be noted that apart from high density of population, with which the eastern Punjab is suffering, there is also scarcity of food and the conditions must grow worse to the detriment of the entire population if no provision is made for more space....

As regards the Christians, Anglo-Indians and depressed classes Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan has dealt with them and I have nothing to add to what he has said on the point except that they are all non-Muslims and according to our terms of reference the areas inhabited by them must be considered non-Muslim areas for purposes of allocation of boundaries.

SIMLA
Teja Singh
13. Report of Mr. Justice Din Muhammad to the Punjab Boundary Commission

Extracts, 5 August 1947

**B—REPORT OF MUSLIM MEMBERS**

(a) Report of Mr. Justice Din Muhammad

...For the Punjab the Boundary Commission is instructed to

demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors.

....The principal task of the Boundary Commission, therefore, is to ascertain the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims.

Turning now to the main problem, we find that so far as the Districts Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi, Shahpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Muzaffargarh and the bulk of Multan are concerned, the Indian National Congress has laid no claim to them: nor has the Muslim League challenged the right of non-Muslims to hold the Districts of Rohtak, Hissar, Karnal, Gurgaon, Simla and Kangra together with some parts of Ambala, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur. The dispute on behalf of non-Muslims, therefore, is confined to the Districts of Gurdaspur, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Sheikhupura, Lyallpur and Montgomery, and on behalf of Muslims to the Districts of Amritsar, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Jullundur, Ambala and Hoshiarpur.

Now even a cursory glance at the population figures reveals that the Districts of Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Sheikhupura, Lyallpur, Montgomery and Multan can in no circumstances either in whole or in part be taken out of the category of Muslim majority areas, and that the District of Gurdaspur too must remain in West Punjab, even if the non-Muslims have a majority in the Pathankot Tehsil....

It is true that under the terms of reference the Commission is instructed to take into account other factors but before such factors are defined and discussed it will be necessary first to determine in the light of the terms of reference their nature in general, their relative importance and the occasion when they are to be taken into account. As stated above, under the terms of reference the main function of the Commission is to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims and this can only be done on the basis of population and on no other basis. After, however, such areas have been ascertained on that basis and a line of demarcation is actually to be drawn, factors other than the principal factor of population are also to be taken into account. Such factors cannot, therefore, in the very nature of things convert a Muslim majority area into a non-Muslim majority area and *vice versa* but may induce the Commission to place an area in spite of the majority of one community in the zone of the other. The nature of those factors would, therefore, be only such as may somehow or other relate to the demarcation of the boundaries and not such as has no connection whatever with this process. Their importance too is not to be exaggerated. They are merely to be taken into account which evidently means that we are not necessarily to be carried away by them. If a factor is pleaded, we must consider it, discuss both its pros and cons in our minds and then determine whether in view of its emergence the boundary line which on the basis of population should have been drawn
in one direction was to be deviated there from and drawn somewhere else. No higher claim can be made on behalf of other factors, nor can they on any account be allowed to override the principal factor of population except to the extent indicated above.

Counsel for the Indian National Congress however argues that other factors do not occupy a subsidiary position but are no less important than the factor of population. In support of his assertion counsel urges first that the boundaries are to be demarcated not between two Provinces of one State but two Sovereign States and secondly that if the work had been so simple, to use his words a Commission of ‘weight and importance’ should not have been appointed. He also refers in this connection to the broadcast of His Excellency the Viceroy where he affirmed that the boundaries to be demarcated by the Commission ‘will almost certainly not be identical with those already laid down’ and that the exact degree in which the Sikhs will be split up will be determined by the Boundary Commission. These arguments are not in my view sound. So far as the remarks of His Excellency the Viceroy are concerned, they merely emphasize the fact that the notional division is not unalterable if a detailed investigation into the figures of population suggests a different course and it will be seen that its alteration on that basis has been claimed by both sides. As regards the rest of the arguments, suffice it to say at this stage, that had the intention of His Majesty’s Government been such as is stressed by counsel, the terms of reference would have been formulated differently. Matters extraneous to these terms, matters which cannot even remotely be covered by them are therefore obviously excluded from consideration.

I do not, however, mean that no factor other than that of population is to be considered at all by this Commission. In drawing notional boundaries questions of defence, administrative convenience, control of customs, etc., may arise and the Commission may have ‘to cut out corners’ or ‘flatten out pockets’ with a view to avoiding a rugged zigzag boundary line which may otherwise result on the basis of population alone. In doing this mutual adjustments will be necessary between the two Sovereign States, and some majority areas of one community may thus happen to be placed along with those of the other.

Faced with the obvious difficulty of meeting the Muslim case on the score of population, the Indian National Congress has chosen to throw serious doubts on the correctness of the census figures not only of 1941 but also those of 1911, 1921 and 1931. The Census Superintendents no doubt have in their reports dwelt on the tendency of the various communities inhabiting this Province to swell their numbers in view of the important constitutional changes anticipated by them, but in the first place proper steps were taken by the Superintendents themselves to foil these attempts and secondly in this respect too the Hindus and Sikhs being more educated more shrewd and more influential both on account of wealth and high official position scored over poor resourceless Muslims and this fact is amply established from the confidential records placed at our disposal....

Be that as it may, in order to calculate population with a view to ascertaining the majority of Muslims and non-Muslims we shall have to depend on some figures and there being no other means available to make an authentic estimate of our own, the figures officially collected in 1941 shall be the sole guide in this respect.

Having thus disposed of the question of population which inevitably entitles the Muslims to all the areas claimed on their behalf, I would now proceed to examine the other factors stressed by the Indian National Congress. The foremost among these is described by the Congress as ‘the solidarity of the Sikhs and the protection of their cultural and religious life.’
**Boundary Commissions**

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I need not, however, expatiate further on this matter as the Sikh case is being separately dealt with by my learned brother Munir J. Suffice it to say that the Sikh claim is most ridiculous, most unjustifiable and most unreasoned.

The second factor dealt with by the Indian National Congress is what is described in the memorandum as ‘considerations of strategy and defence’. I am prepared to concede at once that in demarcating boundaries between two Sovereign States such considerations cannot altogether be ignored. But here too I may emphasize that under the cloak of strategy and defence substantial areas of one community cannot be assigned to the zone of the other. These are the days of automatic rockets and atom bombs and who knows what weapons far more destructive than even these can be devised by human ingenuity and human labour. The Indian National Congress has stated that a suitable and natural boundary line would be one of the large rivers of the Punjab and suggested in this connection that ‘a boundary line drawn along the Chenab or at any rate for the greater part along that river will have the advantage of providing a suitable defensive line both to the Indian Union and the Pakistan Government.’ Sir Mohamad Zafrullah Khan has on the advice of a British expert placed a map before us explaining what from the point of view of strategy and defence should be the boundary line between the two Sovereign States and has taken pains to elucidate that taking all the pros and cons of the matter, the most protective and the most effective boundary line will be the one chalked out in the strategic map (Map No. 5) submitted by the Muslim League. Mr. Setalvad tried to meet the argument advanced by Sir Mohammad but in my view he signally failed to rebut the case made out against him. This boundary if adopted will remove all complications relating to Railway and the Canal system.

The third factor dealt with is what is called economic security. It is urged that a division solely on the basis of contiguous Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas will leave the eastern part of the Province absolutely insecure in the matter of food and clothing and in this connection reference has been made to the total production of wheat, rice and cotton in West Punjab as against the production of these commodities in East Punjab. It is true that the figures given there are not far wrong but that does not necessarily mean that East Punjab does on that account become so economically paralysed as not to be able to pull on at all. In the first place, East Punjab does not stand alone. It is a part of India which is undoubtedly far more extensive and far more productive than the whole dominion of Pakistan taken together. Secondly, as would appear from a recent resolution passed by the Partition Council of the Punjab, East Punjab also abounds in some commodities in which West Punjab is deficient and shall have to come to its rescue to that extent. It is impossible to imagine any country which may be self-sufficient in all those articles which are necessary to keep the soul and life of the communities together and it is clear that on such grounds West Punjab cannot be robbed of any of its fertile districts. The partition of the Punjab is not taking place with the object of leaving the Muslim poor as a mouse nor for making the non-Muslims as rich as Croesus and if once this fact is appreciated arguments advanced on the basis of these facts and figures carry no conviction at all....

The last matter dealt with by the Congress is headed ‘Movement of Population consequent on Partition.’ It is observed that ‘having regard to the circumstances which have brought about the partition of the Punjab a considerable section of the non-Muslim population, which will be left in the Western Punjab of the Province will in order to safeguard its personal property migrate from the western part of [sic] the eastern part.’ Under the notional division the total population of the Sikhs and Caste Hindus combined in West Punjab is 37 lacs and of the
Muslims in East Punjab is 38 lacs odd. Moreover, their population in the rest of India runs into several crores. They are feeling equally apprehensive of the Sikhs and Hindus and if the question of migration of population from one State to the other ever rises, West Punjab will have to accommodate far more people than East Punjab. Further under the plan put forward by Hindus and Sikhs as many as 96 lacs of Muslims will be placed in a hostile territory and the truncated West Punjab that will remain will be expected to accommodate at least 150 per cent of its total population. A greater absurdity than this can never be conceived.:

The miserable plight of the Muslims and the reasons behind their insistence on division could not be expressed in better, clearer and more forcible terms and it is apparent that even the whole memorandum of the Indian National Congress has been drafted with the mentality exposed by Mr. Casey. There is the same insistence on wealth, on mills, on workshops, on houses, on taxes and such like things. Their philosophy is akin to that of a robber who first deprives his unfortunate victim of the bulk of his property and then claims the rest on the strength of his possessing the bulk. And it is clear that such arguments cannot be allowed to prevail. The Province of the Punjab was once before partitioned by the British Government and five districts in which the Muslims were overwhelmingly in majority carved out into a new Province called the North-West Frontier and now the Muslims of the Punjab have again been deprived of a substantial part of the Province where even under the notional division as many as four millions of them reside and earn their livelihood. And if the case now presented by the Hindu-Sikhs is accepted to any extent, it would again tell heavily on the unfortunate Muslims.

The Hindus and Sikhs are born and brought up in an atmosphere of hatred towards the Muslims and this Muslim hatred on their part is at its peak today. A well-known and leading institution of the Sikhs at Amritsar known as Shiromani Akali Dal has very recently issued instructions to the Sikhs to carry out the following programme:—

1. No purchase should be made from Muslims.
2. No Muslim should be employed as a labourer.
3. No alms should be given out of pity to Muslim faqirs as they are the agents of the Pakistanees and convey news.
4. No house or shop should be rented to a Muslim.
5. No Muslim lawyer or doctor, etc., should be engaged.
6. In our shops, mills and factories and other commercial institutions, no Muslim should be given service.
7. The Muslim vegetable-sellers, milk-selling Gujjars and tonga drivers should be boycotted.
8. No Muslim tenant should be kept and where any such are employed they should be evicted gradually.
9. No Muslim washerman, tailor, barber, weaver, potter, dyer, qaarigar, Mirasi, Musalli, ironsmith, workman, midwife, etc., should be given any employment.

The leaders of the Sikhs and Hindus have as recently as February and March, 1947, given expression to the following public utterances:—

1. ‘The Sikhs had the ability to keep the Muslims out of Eastern Punjab. But why should we stop there? We would drive them out of the Punjab entirely.’ (MASTER TARA SINGH, February, 28).
2. ‘Khalsa: Rise and gird up your loins. The momentous hour has approached. May God be our guide and guide us.’ (Master Tara Singh, March 3).

3. ‘The time has come when the might of the sword alone shall reign. The Sikhs are ready. We have to bring the Muslims to their sense [sic].’ (Master Tara Singh, March 4.)

4. ‘O Hindus and Sikhs, your trial awaits you ... Our motherland is calling for blood and we shall satiate the thirst of our mother with blood. We crushed Mughlistan and we shall trample Pakistan ... I have sounded the bugle. Finish the Muslim League.’ (Master Tara Singh, March 4).

5. Our battle-axe shall decide if the Muslims shall rule. (GIANI KARTAR SINGH)

6. ‘Jats embraced the Sikh cult to put an end to Muslim rule and the same Jats will once again fight with their lives.” (CHAUDHURI LAHRI SINGH, an ex-Minister, March 4).

Is this the purpose with which the Hindus and Sikhs have now combined to drag at least 96 lakhs of Muslims within their Province and will any reasonable person blame the Muslims if they refuse to be entrapped in their snare. The Sikhs both here and in England have started on a programme of intimidation on all sides. They are everyday proclaiming from the housetops that they would not accept any award that does not fully comply with their demands. May God grant us fortitude enough to ignore such threats and may He so guide us in our present deliberations that we may be able to do justice to a righteous cause.

The 5th August, 1947

Din Muhammad.

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1. Tables not reproduced here.
2. Map not reproduced here.

14. Report of Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir to the Punjab Boundary Commission

Extracts, 6 August 1947


...If either the Congress or the Muslim League had demanded partition of the Province on the basis of contiguous Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas, the Sikhs could have opposed such partition on the ground that it would adversely affect them, and perhaps His Excellency the Viceroy himself who has a great admiration for this community, in order to preserve their solidarity would have refused to be a party to any such partition. But that is not the position. The Sikhs themselves asked for partition and that too on the principle of contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. If the Sikhs’ claim as pressed before us had been put in a Court of Law, they would have found themselves estopped from agitating the matter on the lines they have done before us. They themselves sought partition on the basis of the division of contiguous Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas, and siding with the Hindus in this demand deprived the Muslims of several districts in the Punjab in which the Muslims constituted a single majority community. In some districts where the disparity between the Muslim and the Hindu population was not much, they turned the scale in favour of the Hindus by being counted together and
Solidarity of the Sikhs Whether a Factor

The Sikh claim is founded on the assumption that just as the Muslims have been allowed a homeland by the June 3 Plan, the Sikhs are also entitled to demand a homeland for themselves before the Commission. It is contended [sic] that on grounds, historical, geographical, economic and religious, they are entitled to a separate land of their own, and that since they have decided to join the Eastern Punjab, those of them who reside in the Western Punjab must be separated from the Muslim zone and attached to the Eastern Punjab. Neither in the events that preceded the June 3 Plan nor in the terms of reference from which we derive our jurisdiction can any warrant be found for the assumption on which this claim is based. Every argument that has been addressed to us on this part of the case is an argument against partition and the Sikhs' position virtually comes to this that they must have all the advantages of unity without having any of the disadvantages of partition and that, even though they themselves demanded and agreed to a partition, they should be permitted to use every argument against partition with a view to claiming an area which on general principles was not partible, on the ground that their so-called solidarity and integrity must be preserved. Put somewhat differently, the argument is that all areas where Sikhs are to be found in any number or where their shrines are located must be exempted from partition irrespective of its effect on the Muslim community and that since they have chosen to remain in the Eastern Punjab all such areas must be attached to that part of the Province. In urging this claim they completely ignore the essential fact that the Province has to be partitioned and that their claim for the preservation of their solidarity and integrity should have been made and recognized before the announcement of the June 3 Plan. If any such demand had been made and recognized before the Plan of June 3 was announced, the terms of our reference would have been differently worded and given us a larger discretion....

It is obvious to any one who gives any importance to the Sikh shrines that demarcation of the boundary on this principle would lead to anomalous results. In the short span of history during which the Sikhs were a factor in the Punjab they produced no less than ten Gurus, and most of the shrines were built to commemorate the most insignificant incidents in their lives. If demarcation was to proceed on the location of the shrines, the Sikhs would be entitled to claim not only the whole of the Punjab but also the Province of Bihar and the dominions of the Nizam. The claim of the Sikhs, therefore, on the ground of the location of their shrines is wholly untenable, and we would be flagrantly departing from our terms of reference if we attached any importance to it. As already pointed out, if the Sikh shrines could be considered as a factor in favour of the non-Muslim case, the claim of the Muslims on this ground could not be ignored and would almost extend to every part of the country over which they ruled for several centuries and which contains the shrines of many renowned Muslim saints who spread Islam to this country where that faith still claims ten millions of followers. Mr. Henderson, as reported in the newspaper of the 31st July, had to admit the logicality of this position when questioned whether demarcation of the boundary on the shrine principle was confined to the Sikhs or extended to other communities as well.

I have already said that the Sikhs cannot, according to the terms of our reference and the events that preceded it, be considered among other factors so as to make it an important consideration for the Commission to consider the preservation of their solidarity and integrity by bringing them into one region as a conglomerate whole in contravention of the contiguous
majority principle. *A fortiori* we cannot make the location of the Sikh shrines a material factor in the distribution of territory. These shrines are scattered not only throughout the area that was once occupied by the Sikhs in the Punjab but also in other parts of the country outside the Province of the Punjab. The Sikh shrine at Patna in the Province of Bihar and that in the Nizam’s dominions in the Deccan rank in their sanctity and authority with the Akal Takhat—this is different from the Golden Temple—at Amritsar. According to the memorandum submitted on behalf of the Sikhs to the Sapru Conciliation Committee which was a one-sided affair as the Muslim League had nothing to do with it, by Sardar Harnam Singh, the learned counsel who has addressed us on behalf of the Sikhs, ‘there are over 700 shrines hallowed by the touch of the feet of the Sikh Gurus in the Punjab’ and besides these there are numerous other Gurdwaras. In the course of arguments before us when the learned counsel was questioned about the correctness of the number of these shrines, he admitted that the figure 700 given by him was not correct, and he mentioned to us several other shrines which were not included by him in his memorandum to the Sapru Committee. It is, therefore, clear that for the purposes of grabbing a portion of the Punjab, the Sikhs can increase and decrease not only the number but also the importance of their shrines....

The first Guru was born in 1463 and the last Guru died in 1708. Thus the history of the ten Sikh Gurus ranges over a period of 245 years but it must be borne in mind that during this period the Sikhs were never an established or recognized political power and owed allegiance to the Imperial throne at Delhi, the last Guru, namely, Guru Gobind Singh, being himself an officer in the army of Bahadur Shah, the Moghal King at Delhi. The first Sikh Maharaja of Lahore took possession of Lahore and claimed allegiance from the other petty Chiefs on the authority conferred on him by Shah Zaman, the grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Pathan King of Afghanistan, who in appreciation of the services rendered by Ranjit Singh in having some sunken cannon taken out of the Jhelum made him Governor of the Punjab. During the period of the Sikh Gurus, not only were the Sikh shrines protected by the Muslim Kings but they made large grants of land to some of them. The foundation stone of the Golden Temple at Amritsar was laid by a Muslim saint, Hazrat Mianmir Sahib, and the shrines at Nankana Sahib and Sri Hargobindpur received grants from Muslim Zamindars. If, therefore, the Sikh shrines were safe during the time of the Muslim Emperors of Delhi, there is no reason to suppose that these shrines will not receive due protection in Pakistan and their votaries not permitted to worship there.

Another fact that has to be considered in reference to the Sikh shrines is the comparative effect of their location in the Eastern Punjab and the consequent effect on the Muslim interests. The Sikh interests in this connection must be considered *vis-a-vis* the Muslim interests. The Sikhs cannot say that having decided to join the Eastern Punjab, the limits of the Eastern Punjab must be extended at the cost of the Muslims so as to include in it as many Sikhs and as many Sikh shrines as possible. The likely effect on the Muslims of adopting any such course cannot be ignored, and in making such comparison the Sikhs cannot add the other non-Muslims to their own number. If on this principle the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Sheikhupura—the Attock district is not claimed because of the location of the Panja Sahib in that district—are included in the Eastern Punjab, it would amount to coercing 4,199,658 Muslims to live under foreign domination with a view to giving to 1,442,006 Sikhs the satisfaction of having their shrines in the eastern Punjab. This in my opinion would not only be contrary to the terms on which partition was agreed but a clear violation of our terms of reference.
The Language Factor

The language factor is not peculiar to the Sikhs. The Punjabi is not a language but only a dialect. Though it is written in two scripts, the Persian and the Gurmukhi, the words and their punctuation are the same. Between the Sutlej and the Jhelum people speak the same dialect, i.e., Punjabi, and what has been described as Lehnda (trans Western Punjabi) is only a slight variation of the Punjabi. Throughout the Punjab the language spoken is territorial and not tribal and the Sikhs can advance no higher claim on this ground than any other community....

Trade, Commerce and Property (Lahore, Amritsar and other towns)

The Hindus and the Sikhs have called for certain information to show that in the districts claimed by them, both in the towns and the country, they are vis-à-vis the Muslims in a stronger economic position because in the towns they own more property, pay more taxes, have more joint stock companies and business houses and control trade and commerce while in some of the districts they pay more land revenue and own more land than the Muslims. It is surprising that this information, which was collected at considerable expense and inconvenience, should have been considered by anyone as a relevant factor in influencing our decision. It is perfectly clear from the principle upon which partition was agreed to by the parties, and from the history of the events that led to it, that the object in demarcating the boundary of the new two Provinces is to separate the contiguous Muslim majority areas from the contiguous non-Muslim majority areas....

Conclusion

A spirited but bitter and acrimonious argument has been addressed to us from both sides about the past and present relations of the Sikhs and the Muslims. The point is not really material as partition has been decided upon and we are not concerned with the reasons that led to it except in so far as they help to explain the terms of our reference. But since undue emphasis has been laid on this aspect of the case, a word on the subject becomes necessary.

Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, was born in 1469 in the reign of Babar. Though born in a Hindu family, he preached the unity of God and in his teachings emphasized the higher and spiritual aspect of Religion. His doctrines which were characterized by simplicity and directness were more akin to Islam than Hinduism which believes in idol worship, and easily appealed to the masses. His life was a model of piety and devotion to God and his denunciation of dogma and convention bears a close analogy to the poetry of the late Doctor Sir Mohammad Iqbal, the greatest modern Muslim poet and the founder of the idea of Pakistan, who has emphasized the practical aspect of the religion of Islam. Several contemporary Muslim Sufis (mystics) who came in closer touch with Guru Nanak believed, and many a Muslim still believes, that in every sense he was a Muslim. Evidence of Guru Nanak’s friendship with the Muslim saints is still preserved in Gurdwara Dera Baba Nanak in the form of a garment that was, according to modern Sikh writers, presented to him by a Muslim saint and which has several verses of the Holy Quran written on it. When Guru Nanak died, none was sure whether he had been a Hindu or a Muslim and adherents of both faiths claimed his body, one asserting the right to bury him as a Muslim, the other the right to cremate him according to Hindu rites.

None of the first four Gurus came in conflict with the Mughal Emperors of Delhi. Guru Arjan, the fifth Guru, was put to death by Chandu Lal, a Hindu Officer of Emperor Jehangir, because the Guru had espoused the cause of Prince Khusro when he fled to the Punjab and...
attempted to plan a rebellion against his own father. Some historians say that Chandu Lal had Jehangir’s orders to put Guru Arjan to death and that the reason for killing him was Jehangir’s religious intolerance. Assuming this to be the true reason for the Guru’s death it must be borne in mind that the incident relates to a time which in Europe was the time of the Huguenots and Jesuits and the massacre of St. Bartholomew and we cannot judge the parties involved in the light of the religious freedom of the 20th century.

It was the sixth Guru, Guru Hargobind, who for the first time demanded political allegiance from his followers when in 1607 at the Akal Takhat Bunga at Amritsar he declared that henceforth he would wear two swords, one of peace and the other of war. The activities of Guru Teg Bahadur, the 9th, and Guru Gobind Singh, the 10th Guru acquired an exclusively political complexion. Not only did they foment discontent and rebellion among their followers against the established political power, but they also engaged in open warfare with the Imperial forces. Aurangzeb remained engaged in his wars in the Deccan for fifteen years and during his absence from northern India the Sikhs found time and opportunity to consolidate their power. They further strengthened their position when the Mughal throne at Delhi received a shock by Ahmad Shah Abdali’s invasion from the north. Ranjit Singh himself entered Lahore and took possession of the Punjab in the name of Shah Zaman, the grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had appointed him Governor of the Punjab by a sanad granted to him in appreciation of the services rendered by him in taking out from the Jhelum 10 guns which on his way back to Kabul had sunk in the river. A painting is still preserved in Government archives portraying Ranjit Singh paying his homage to Shah Zaman.

Even during the time of Ranjit Singh the roving Sikhs were a menace to the peace of the Punjab and the accounts given by several European visitors of the time abound with tales of atrocities committed by the Akalis who had been taught to consider plunder, murder and disobedience to established authority as the necessary attributes of the Khalsa. The following by Guru Gobind Singh and other Sikh preceptors may be perused with interest:

1. ‘A Sikh is he who creates disorder. A Sikh is he who stakes his head (in doing so)’

2. ‘The Sikhs say ‘Why should we stop creating disorder’. This is our creed and the Guru created us for this.’
3. ‘Creating disorder is the caste and creed of the Sikhs. This is the very aim and object of the Sikhs. The Sikh cannot exist unless he creates disorder. A Sikh is he who encourages disorderliness.’

(Prachin Panth Parkash, Page 142.)

4. ‘Disorder is the caste and creed of the Sikhs. They asked their Guru to permit them to create disorder. They cannot digest food until they have created disorder. They feel uneasy until they have created disorder.’

(Panth Parkash by Giani Gian Singh.)

Guru Gobind Singh’s sayings:

‘The Guru (Guru Gobind Singh) then told his followers not to be ashamed of plundering and swallowing whatever they could get hold of.’ (Panth Parkash, Bhangu Ratan Singh, page 37.)

Bhai Gurdas, a companion of Guru Gobind Singh says:—

‘The Sikhs then got up shouting and the world trembled. They destroyed tombs, mosques and Mandirs and converted them into fields.’

‘They destroyed the Ved, the Quran and the Shastras.

The Muslims were killed while calling for prayers and while saying prayers.’

‘The followers of Mohammad were destroyed for ever and no Muslim for fear of the Sikhs could get themselves circumcised.’

‘None could say the Kalima (Muslim article of faith), nor the prayers, nor observe other tenets of religion, nor get his penis cut (contemptuous reference to circumcision).’

(Varan Bhai Gurdas Var 41.)

Comment on these attributes of the Khalsa is superfluous. There was actual demonstration of this creed when Banda, the disciple of the last Guru, put ten thousand Muslims to death in the town of Samana alone. The word ‘Sikhashahi’ (Sikh-like rule), an expression with which everyone is familiar in the Punjab, is still used every day to indicate a rule without law or liberty.

Some of the important shrines in the memory of the first Sikh Guru were founded by the Udasis who are not followers of Guru Gobind Singh. Both the shrines in the district of Sheikhupura, namely, Nankana Sahib and Sacha Sauda, were founded by the Udasis who were also in possession of several other shrines. In 1920 the Akalis formed a committee called the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, the object of which was to take forcible possession of the Gurdwaras from those who had been in peaceful possession of them for centuries. In prosecution of this object they seized the Janam Asthan at Nankana Sahib, the Sacha Sauda at Chuharkana, the Panja Sahib at Hassan Abdal, the Gurdwara at Chola and another Gurdwara at Tarn Taran (see the judgment reported in All-India Reporter, 1922, Lahore, page 1). This movement which was based on the doctrine of force proved successful and later on legislation by a Muslim minister who was anxious to retain for his party the support of the Sikhs was put through enabling the Sikhs to acquire control over other Gurdwaras which were still left with the Mahants. In the Punjab Legislature the Sikhs have been a balancing factor between the Muslims and the Hindus and this peculiar position has given them a definite advantage in bargaining with the Muslims on the one side and the Hindus on the other. Thus during the time the Muslim Unionist Ministry was in power, the Sikhs at every step struck a hard bargain with them. This has led them to go on adding more and more to their demands and the present claim of their leaders is that the Punjab should be handed over to the Khalsa and the
Muslims driven beyond the Jhelum. There is little reason in their politics and their first and last argument is force. If the Sikh leaders had given a moment’s thought to their peculiar position in the Punjab, they would have had little difficulty or doubt in arriving at the conclusion that if the Sikhs have any future in the Punjab, it must depend on their relations with the Muslims. In the past they had always had more than their share but when in March, 1947, they found for the first time that power in the Province might pass to the community that by reason of its majority and importance is entitled to it, they started a campaign of bluff and intimidation in the belief engendered perhaps by their past experience that their bellicose utterances and display of chauvinism would overawe the Muslims. They were, however, disappointed by the result and wherever they started aggression they found that the stuff they had to deal with was not the meek and helpless stuff of pre-Ranjit Singh times but a stuff determined to resist any unlawful aggression on the Muslims’ rights. Having got the worst of the trouble they themselves started, they at once thought of demanding a partition of the Province. But after partition was decided upon they realized the gravity of the blunder they themselves had committed and the prospect of their being cut in two and being finished for ever as a political factor in both the provinces stared them in the face. They have, therefore, again started in their usual way a systematic campaign of intimidation and have foreboded dire consequences if the Muslims are not driven beyond the Chenab. They are refusing to accept the inevitable which has been brought about by their own politics. The parties concerned including the Sikhs had agreed that partition was to be effected on the principle of separating contiguous majority areas of the Muslims from those of the non-Muslims. But because in the application of this principle the Sikhs can come in nowhere their last argument again is force. The complex Indian problem is almost at the point of solution and if in working out its last step the principle on which it has been decided to solve it is materially departed from and settled issues are re-opened, a grave position will arise and all that has been done so far will be undone.

The Sikhs need have no apprehension in Pakistan as Islam knows no peregrines and treats all citizens alike. Having something to do with the administration of justice in the new Province I may for my part assure the Sikhs that they will have perfect justice. What they get on the political side would depend upon the attitude they themselves adopt but if they take into their head the notion to which their leaders have often given expression that the world has always been ruled by minorities, they might find in the majority with which they may have to deal a minority that will not accept the truth of this maxim.

Simla,  
The 6th August, 1947

M. MUNIR

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1 Babur ruled at Delhi from 1526 to 1530.
2 For related documents also see Chapter 31 titled ‘Partition of Punjab’.
B. BENGAL

1. ‘Division of Bengal: Our Readers Discuss Question of Boundary’

A few letters to the editor in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 7 July 1947

...‘Partition and Satkhira’

Sir,—It is reported that the local Leaguers—one of whom happens to be an M.L.A.—have been trying to have Satkhira Sub-Division included in the East Pakistan area.

But how is that possible? Satkhira is a sub-division of the district of Khulna which is a Hindu majority district. All the H.E. and M.E. schools, with the solitary exception of one or two, have been established and maintained by Hindus. The newly-started Satkhira college is mainly maintained with the charities of the Hindus. This Sub-division is hallowed with the memory of Pratapaditya the Great, the last and independent Hindu King of Bengal.

We do not understand how the Leaguers may claim Satkhira for their Eastern Pakistan.—A Public Voice.

...Nadia and Murshidabad

Sir,—In support of the inclusion of the districts of Nadia and Murshidabad in the new West Bengal Province to be formed after H.M.G.’s latest plan as announced on 3rd June, 1947, by the Viceroy, the following may be considered as one of the most important points for just and equitable partition of this province.

The deterioration in the Nadia rivers i.e. Bhagirathi, Bhairab-Jalangi and Mathabhanga-Churni will vitally affect the navigability of the river Hooghly and, therefore, Calcutta cannot continue to be an important port in future.

Nadia rivers which have jutted out from the river Ganges and which flow through the Districts of Murshidabad and Nadia, are the main feeders of fresh water of the river Hooghly.

During rainy season when the level of the Ganges rises, the Hooghly is sufficiently flushed with the fresh water that come through the Nadia rivers in consequence of which the depth of the Hooghly is increased and the navigability of ships of considerable draft is maintained in natural course rather than by continuous dredging. Experts opine that this annual flushing is the life blood of the Hooghly from a navigational point of view as it removes the shoals that form during summer. This achievement of Nature is significant from every respect.

Accordingly in order to kept the Hooghly navigable for ocean-going vessels it is absolutely essential that her channels should be cleaned by fresh water discharge through the Nadia rivers otherwise silt brought up during summer season would ultimately raise the bed of the river to such an extent that the very existence of the port would be threatened notwithstanding expensive dredging.

It is also a matter of sound opinion that if by some scientific means adjustment of fresh water during monsoon and increase during dry season could be effected, the Hooghly will be enormously benefited from navigation as well as costly dredging point of view, thereby maintaining Calcutta as an important centre of trade with minimum expenditure.

Under the circumstances the control of the Nadia rivers should be in the hands of the Government under whom the port of Calcutta will come.—Shyama Charan Biswas, Calcutta
A True Solution

Sir,—The boundary must be definite, permanent and easily discernible physical reality—either a mountain range, water course or river. It should be continuous unbroken entity, if possible, without other considerations; if a mountain, it is better it should be the whole mountain range; if a river, the flowing course of it...out of interruption; part in mountain...other permanent land mark and...water of sea or river is always...advantageous kind of...boundary...should be avoided, if possible.

On those methods of approach,...reasonably certain that the lay out of the Gangetic delta rules out in limits all other kinds of boundaries except the flowing rapid rivers that checkers this plain. What river system then gives you a logical division of the plain in the proportion of area nearest to the proportion of the population statistics?

Let us take a priori method, and test the two alternative river systems that naturally suggest themselves.

(I) Atrai-Sib-Padma-Garai-Madhumati line that meets the sea at Haringhata.

(II) Atrai-Baral-Jamuna-Padma-Bhubaneswar-Arialkhan-Biskhali line that passes just by the east of Barisal town and meets the sea at Haringhata.

It gives the nearest approximate equal proportion of land and of population. While that is true, it could not have but been noticed that from the Atrai bend at Manda in Rajshahi district down to Padma near Rajshahi town, the thin Sib river only offers a chance of a river line and that even does not give a continuous river—a break of about 20 miles of land. Again river Sib depends not on the water of the hills but on the meagre flow from the ‘Bil’ near Manda, with the result that Sib is not a river of proportions suitable for an international boundary nor is it a flowing water course throughout the year. Good reason for its rejection. It will give but a small proportion of the deltaic Bengal south of Padma, which is essential for production of staple food of the Province—paddy.

Now compare with that the results of II

On the points of area and population this line certainly gives a little more to West Bengal than East Bengal, but the difference in that respect between I and II is slight. As to land it adds only the western portion of Rajshahi and Pabna districts to West Bengal on the north of Padma and on its south thin strips of western portion of Faridpur and Barisal districts. But if we remember that the Sylhet district of present Assam is very likely to be added to Eastern Bengal, this disproportion is cured and the two Bengalis become near equals. This river line gives to West Bengal a fair share of the delta so very necessary for food production. The river line is a continuous and definite flow of rapids that do not fail in any part of the year and have all the attributes of a water course that would suit any international boundary between two states.

In consideration of all these factors, we commend this river line as the boundary between the two States and we invite the attention of our scientists and expert countrymen to examine this line with their technical knowledge of river engineering, public health, economics and to help the boundary commission to find a logical and real boundary in preference to a hypothetical and ‘notional’ one.—Ananth Bandhu Chakravarty, Rai Bahadur, Calcutta.
2. ‘Physical Continuity by Land or River Must Be Ensured: Sir Jadunath Enunciates Principles for Redrawing Map of Bengal’

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 8 July 1947

‘The eastern boundary line of West Bengal should be drawn from Darjeeling through Dinajpur district to Patnitala (Nurpur) at the north end of the Rajshahi District, then run due south along the Atrai River, and from Vidyapur along the Siva-Nadi branch of the Atrai, through the Manda Swamp, southwards by the Kumari Beel to meet River Padma’, thus observes Sir Jadunath Sarker in the course of a statement on the basic principles of the formation of the West Bengal province.

Sir Jadunath says:—It should never be forgotten that the frontier question between the Indian Union and Pakistan, as far as Bengal is concerned, is in no respect akin to the International frontier problem, like that between Poland and Russia, or between Greece and Albania. Curzon’s Romance Lecture on Frontiers deals with a different world altogether. In Bengal, it is more like the legal partition of the landed estate between two brothers for ensuring more efficient and peaceful management. Here in the two halves of Bengal the population is absolutely one by race, language, and manner of life, they differ only in religion. But a Hindu in East Bengal will have the same relations with the Muslims there as his brethren in West Bengal have with the Muslims of that half. Hence the difference is simply a matter of geography and ought to be solved by administration.

Religion keeps the people of East Bengal internally divided, exactly the same way as in West Bengal by forbidding dinner, marriage and worship together. But both sects in both areas, speak the same language write the same alphabet (which is different from those of Western Pakistan and of Central Hindusthan), and have so long read and composed the same literature. The Hindus and Muslims of Bengali origin have lived together side by side in peace for so many centuries in their villages that it is now impossible to draw a clear-cut geographical line which would separate the Hindus from the Muslims, without leaving any large pocket of the one sect in the territory of the other.

Therefore, in every conceivable plan of partition, some pockets must have to be conceded, and our concern is to find out a line that causes the least amount of (religious) isolation while ensuring the greatest compactness and administrative convenience and economy. Without such compactness no State can come into existence and no State can do any good to its people.

Hence, three principles must be accepted before the map of Bengal can be redrawn to any useful purpose, or such a partition can last.

1. (a) Physical continuity by land or some big river, between the different parts of the same demi-province must be ensured, and
(b) the frontier between the two halves of Bengal should, where possible, be some river or hill. Otherwise it will be impossible to prevent smuggling, escape of criminals, hatching of gang conspiracies, except at a cost to the two administrations that is impossible (e.g. the smuggling of liquor and opium from French Chandernagore). To ensure this ‘Sine qua non’, some concession will have to be made on both sides, and some pockets of one sect allowed to remain in the territory of the other. The problem for statesmanship is how to reduce the number of such pockets to a minimum, while securing the maximum of administrative efficiency and future peace. This makes a continuous stretch of territory of West Bengal between Darjeeling and Calcutta necessary. Such a frontier will make this territory administratively workable and give its government a fair chance of progress.
2. Where there are Hindu parganas or thanas in a district classed as a Muslim-majority district according to its present boundaries, with many Hindu parganas or thanas in the next district, either adjacent to the former Hindu tracts or separated by only a Muslim pocket, these Hindu areas may fairly claim to be joined to the Hindu district, and the intervening Muslim pocket or two will be included in the Hindu district so expanded. Similarly Hindu pockets in the heart of predominantly Muslim districts must remain there. The same option should be given to Muslim pockets in Hindu districts if they lie on the frontier of any Muslim district.

III. Mere count of heads is not the chief consideration in deciding the future of any area. For the country’s progress and even future peace, we must see to it that where any compact Hindu (or Muslim) pargana or thana, within the existing limits of a Muslim (or Hindu) district has developed nearly all the institutions and business concerns with the Hindus, own factory and enterprise [sic] these people’s stake in that area should be safeguarded by its being tacked on to Hindustan (or Pakistan), if it can be done by the separation of a few Muslim (or Hindu) pockets from Pakistan (or Hindustan) as the case may be. For example, the Boalia thana is a Hindu sub area and all its institutions are due to Hindu generosity. If it be not ominous to refer to the partition of Sudeten area from Czeche-Slovakia, the principle of ‘stake in the land’ was admitted by both Chamberlain and Hitler.

In view of the above facts, it is suggested that the eastern boundary line of West Bengal be drawn from Darjeeling through the Dinajpur district (88.45 east longitude) to Patnitala (Nurpur) at the north end of the Rajshahi district, then run due south along the Atrai river, and from Vidyapur along the Siva-nadi branch of the Atrai, through the Manda Swamp, southwards by the Kumari Beel to met the river Padma.—(A.P.)

3. Demand for Inclusion of Khulna in Eastern Pakistan

Extracts from a letter from S.M.A. Majeed to M.A. Jinnah, 9 July 1947


DISTRICT MUSLIM LEAGUE,
KHULNA (BENGAL),
9 July 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending herewith a copy of memorandum dealing with the case of Khulna for inclusion in Eastern Pakistan, for your kind perusal. The census operation of 1941 and all the previous census were conducted on Union basis. A copy of Union-wari [sic for wise] census figure[s] of 1941 of Khulna District and a map showing Khulna’s position in the Gangetic delta are also enclosed herewith....

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

S.M.A. MAJEED
B.A.

Secretary, District ML,
and

Secretary, Facts Finding Committee
ENCLOSURE

24 June 1947

**EASTERN PAKISTAN AND KHULNA**

**INTRODUCTION**

**PHYSICAL FEATURES**

...Coming to consider the physiography of the land, we find that Khulna is a part of big Gangetic delta which contains 6 other districts namely Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, Faridpur, Bakarganj and 24-Parganas. Geologically all the seven districts have got a common origin. They are the result of the land building processes of the mighty rivers of the Ganges system. In the upper and naturally the older belt, the deltaic formation is complete, while in the lower, the process still continues. Very naturally the component parts of this vast deltaic region are interdependent and they cannot be separated, one from the other, without committing a crime against nature. All the districts of the deltaic block except Khulna and 24-Parganas have been included into Eastern Pakistan. The simple arithmetic of an imperfect and inaccurate census cannot and should not be allowed to break this geographical and geological unity. Should this geographical unit be broken, it will create, apart from the problems of strategy, defence and communications, a hundred other issues connected with the social, economic and cultural life even of the common man.

It is therefore urged that Khulna and 24-Parganas should not be snatched away forcibly from the Pakistan Zone where nature has allotted their seat [sic].

Another salient feature of the geography of the Districts of 24-Parganas, Khulna, Jessore and Faridpur is that a long chain of beels forming part of a depression, extends over a part of the 24-Parganas and Khulna on one side and south-east Jessore and Faridpur on the other. This chain of beels is almost continuous and is inseparable from the land system of the districts. It is, therefore, evident that none of the districts can be separated from the other without seriously disturbing the natural arrangement and physical disposition of the flora and fauna and their importance in the rural economy of the adjoining areas. Cultivators with their plough and fishermen with their nets from the contiguous Districts of Jessore, Faridpur, Khulna and 24-Parganas work together in some part or other of these beel areas, come in constant touch in their daily occupation and earn their daily bread. Now if they are told that for going to their fields and fishing tanks and pools, they would require a passport and have to cross the barrier of currency and exchange, they, without knowing the real issue, will simply curse their lots and slowly die out.

**AREA AND POPULATION**

The District of Khulna is bounded by Jessore on the north, Bay of Bengal on the south, Faridpur and Bakarganj on the east and the 24-Parganas on the west. Thus we see that out of the four adjoining districts, 3 belong to the Pakistan Zone. So there is no logic in Khulna being left out. The area of the district is 4,805 square miles of which 2,314 square miles are reserved forest. If we follow the map a bit closely, we find that Khulna has got a complete natural boundary only in the south. In the north, east, and west the district is interlocked in places with the neighbouring Districts of Jessore, Bakarganj and 24-Parganas by land masses. The position does not matter much when districts interlocked with each other remain within the same State. But at the time of fixing boundaries of States, such interlocking of lands should be avoided as
far as practicable. If we take Baleswar and Kacha Rivers beyond Morrelganj P.S. in the east and Ichamati River beyond Satkhira and Kalaroa P.S. in the west, we get natural boundaries for the east and west of the district but we do not get such a natural boundary for the entire northern limits.

Khulna has got three sub-divisions under it, namely (1) Bagerhat (2) Sadar and (3) Satkhira. All the sub-divisions run length-wise from north to south. Bagerhat lies in the east, Sadar in the centre and Satkhira in the west. The following table will show areas and distribution of population in the sub-divisions according to Castes as per Census of 1941:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Sub-Division</th>
<th>Areas</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Total population including Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scheduled Caste</td>
<td>Caste not recorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagerhat</td>
<td>790 sq. miles</td>
<td>3,29,310</td>
<td>1,62,735</td>
<td>48,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadar</td>
<td>812 sq. miles</td>
<td>2,60,869</td>
<td>1,67,383</td>
<td>60,019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satkhira</td>
<td>889 sq. miles</td>
<td>3,64,068</td>
<td>1,39,126</td>
<td>77,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundarbans</td>
<td>2,314 sq. miles</td>
<td>4,925</td>
<td>1,306</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even if we accept 1941 Census as correct it becomes clear from the above table that out of the three sub-divisions of the district, Muslims are in majority in two, viz. Bagerhat in the east and Satkhira in the west. Only Sadar sub-division has got a Hindu majority, but here also there is a substantial part of Hindu population namely Scheduled Castes who are in favour of remaining within Eastern Pakistan on various grounds, particularly on the ground that they will be in a position to continue their unity with their own kith and kin only in the Pakistan areas....

CENSUS FIGURE WRONG

It is common knowledge that during the Census operation of 1941 a vigorous propaganda was started by the Hindu press inviting the attention of the Hindus to the importance of the census and they were indirectly asked to augment the figures. The result was that the Hindus who are the most politically conscious and educated people of the province, left no stone unturned to show an inflated figure of population. Muslims, illiterate as they are in the rural areas, were fully ignorant of the implications of the census and as such did not record their figures in many cases. The Hindu District Magistrate and the Hindu District Census Officer of the time, overlooked the excesses committed by the Hindu officials and Hindu public during the census. It is not the time to raise objections regarding the census but it has got to be noted that objections though raised [at the] proper time were not heeded to [sic] in most cases. A glaring instance of such excesses is found in the census figures of Unions in Dacope P.S. Anybody having a knowledge of this area knows it to be a Scheduled Caste and Muslim area. But under the Census of 1941 there are 41,113 other Hindus (Caste Hindus) in this P.S. This is an absurd figure. A reference to the number of Caste Hindu voters in this P.S. will clarify the matter. According to the Assembly voters list of the last election there are 236 Caste Hindu voters in this P.S. and this bears no ratio with the inflated figure of Caste Hindus shown in the census figure of 1941. That the census figure is false can be proved by verification even now. When important decisions are going to be taken regarding the fixation of state boundaries, such false figures of the census cannot be allowed to decide the fate of the Muslims of this district....
ADMINISTRATIVE INTERDEPENDENCE

For administrative convenience Khulna is inter-linked with some of the neighbouring districts of the deltaic region. Khulna is jointly administered with Jessore by the Postal, Commercial Taxes, and Income Tax Departments with their headquarters at Khulna. The jurisdiction of the Agricultural Income Tax Department extends over Khulna, Jessore and Faridpur Districts consisting a unit. All the water transport and carrier companies having transport business in goods and passenger traffic in the Districts of Khulna, Jessore, Faridpur and Bakarganj, run their administration with headquarters at Barisal. All these facts go to prove how interdependent Khulna is in the matter of administration either [with] Government Departments or commercial companies. If Khulna is separated from these adjoining areas which belong to Pakistan, the administrative machinery will be rudely disturbed.

CONCLUSION

The 3 June Plan of His Majesty's Government has been accepted by all the main political parties of India. The Muslim League has however accepted it as a matter of compromise and hopes that the injustice done to the Muslim cause by partitioning Bengal and the Punjab will be substantially compensated by the Boundary Commission of the Provinces affected by partition. Our grievances are many and only some of them have been narrated above. We look up to the Boundary Commission with the fervent hope that our points of view will get due consideration at their hands. When it has been decided that India should be divided into Pakistan and Hindustan States, it is the responsibility of the Commission to fix such boundaries as should be short, strong, straight and natural. Other factors relating to distribution of economic resources, Governmental assets, lines of communication, coastlines, high seas and air [space] should also be taken into consideration. Khulna's position together with that of 24-Parganas in the lower belt of the great Gangetic delta is particularly important from the points of view of strategy and defence of Eastern Pakistan. The history, geography, distribution of population, natural resources, culture, communication, and administration of Khulna are so closely interlinked with those of the neighbouring districts of the Pakistan Zone that she cannot be separated from this natural region. The common man of the district simply wonders when he hears that Khulna has been declared as a Muslim minority district and he is not going to have her in Pakistan, his cherished goal. He asks within [sic] himself, 'Why is it so? I go to the fields, rivers and jungles, markets, courts, and offices and find that most of the people who go there are Muslim'. He does not understand that the mischief was done much earlier by his more enlightened brethren professing other faith during the Census of 1941. He does not find any solution and his spirit revolts. The sentiment of the common man, the tiller of the soil of Khulna, should be respected and considered by those on whom the great responsibilities of shaping the State boundaries have fallen. These and many other considerations as stated above imbue us with strong hope that no injustice will be done to the Muslims of Khulna who produce the major part of the wealth of this district. We approach the Boundary Commission with the hope that Khulna together with 24-Parganas will be placed in Eastern Pakistan where nature has ordained their seat [sic]. This will, to a certain extent, atone for the territorial loss of Eastern Pakistan and give her a short, straight and natural boundary along the Hoogly on her south-western border. This is reason [sic] and let us pray that it will prevail. *Pakistan Zindabad.*

1 Only extracts have been reproduced here.
4. Khulna to Be Included in ‘New Bengal’
Memorandum by Birendranath Dutta, Pleader, Khulna, 10 July 1947
S.P. Mookerjee Papers, Subject File No-138, Instalments II to IV, NMML

A MEMORANDUM
Morrelgunj P.S.—an inseparable part of Khulna and of New Bengal.

There is a widespread suspicion, restlessness and discontent among the public of Khulna District arising out of the strong rumour that Khulna is going to be sacrificed from Nationalist Bengal in exchange of a connecting link covering portions of Dinajpur, Maldah and Murshidabad between the two districts of North Bengal and the rest of New Bengal as envisaged in the interim plan of partition. There is a further rumour that the Bengal Congress is agreeable to it. If it be true, although we hope it is not, the entire nationalist elements of the districts as well as those of the country who have the least sense of justice and fairness in them cannot and will not surrender to this externally imposed arrangement, whatever may be the price. When I speak this, I speak this with the background of the firm and unanimous stand that the people of this district have taken of [sic] themselves though without much agitation.

Apart from the depth of feeling of the people of this district, it will not be a very fortunate and wise decision for the interests of the Province of New Bengal also. Khulna is not only better placed economically and a center of trade and commerce, than many other districts allotted to the new province but is potentially far wealthier for the bright prospects of afforestation and growth of jute. Leaving alone the matter of afforestation as well as the rich fertility of the general land of the district—Khulna soil being perhaps the richest in fertility of all the lands in New Bengal districts, I would like to dwell at some length on the importance of this part of the country as a potential source of jute cultivation. The district as it is now does not grow much jute because the yield in paddy per bigha here is far greater than in most districts of Bengal as a whole and certainly all of New Bengal. Here we have great many tracts of land that can not only grow jute, but grow jute which can stand competition with jute of any district of East Bengal in respect of quantity and quality both.

In view of the unique importance of jute both in peace and war, it will be a very poor compensation to the new province if this district is paid as price for getting the northern districts connected to the rest of New Bengal, and correspondingly, Pakistan Bengal which is already very rich in jute will monopolise this commodity and will be richer still in all respects if Khulna is cut off from New Bengal. It is a well known fact that Khulna being a hot bed of Congress-politics the Census was boycotted in toto at the biddings of the Congress in 1931 and Hindu public in general remained inactive during Census of 1941 and as a result thereof the number of Hindus was not rightly recorded and that of the Muslims was greatly swelled. Still the Census report shows a majority in the number of Hindus.

Khulna's Central position, its communications both by river and land by steamers and train and lorries, its capacity to supply betel-nuts, co-coanuts [sic] and paddy to rest of Bengal, make it unavoidable in the interests of New Bengal to keep her attached to the province.

Now to be more specific I come to the question if any part of the Muslim majority areas of this district may be separated from the mother district and attached to the Pakistan Bengal.

Khulna district is bounded on its East by the big rivers Haringhata and Baleswar. If these two rivers are taken as the Eastern Boundary between New Bengal and Pakistan Bengal, the
matter ends there. But the ever-increasing greed of the League wants to swallow the areas within the jurisdiction of Morrelgunj and Sarankhola in Bagerhat Sub-Division on the strength of Muslim majority in these areas. True that the incorrect Census report of 1941 shows a vast majority of Muslims in these Police stations but I would like to draw the attention of the Boundary Consultative Committee and all other allied Committees to the other factors which are certainly much more essential than the sheer question of majority in population.

Khulna is a surplus district due to its rich fertility of soil but if we go deep into the matter we may ascertain that the Morrelgunj P.S. alone supplies 70% of its produce. Cocoanuts, betelnuts and paddy are chiefly grown in Morrelgunj area and it is Morrelgunj that can produce jute which is in no way inferior in quality and quantity to that grown in East Bengal. In other words Khulna becomes certainly a poor district and deficit area if Morrelgunj P.S. is cut off from it.

Apart from the reasons iterated above which are strong enough to keep the district in its entirety inside New Bengal the question of boundary unavoidably comes in, as soon as the problem of the elimination of the above mentioned two police stations is placed before us. These two areas as a whole connected to the predominantly Hindu-inhabited parts of the Sub-Division without any other possible boundary standing between are separated from the Buckergunj district by the Baleswar in the East leading to the Bay of Bengal. The position of P.S. Morrelgunj is peculiar. It is divided into two parts by the Western branch of the two mouths of the Baleswar leading to the Bay of Bengal. The part of this P.S. on the Western side of the Western branch of the Baleswar is by far a predominantly Hindu area whereas that between the two branches, the Western and the Eastern of the Baleswar is predominantly Muslim in population. If these areas are to be made over to Pakistan on the principle of communal majority at any cost, then Western part of P.S. Morrelgunj contiguously attached to P.S. Kachua by lands except for the Bishkhali, once a river and now is at most as big as an extremely narrow canal or a drain so to say which can be jumped over without any strain and has been silted up at places and as such can not be a boundary between two dominions or independent countries, must be allowed to remain in the New Bengal Province. This part of Morrelgunj can not be given over to Pakistan without violating the right of self-determination of a fairly large population, sufficiently self-supporting in every respect to make and maintain a P.S. of their own. Besides, in respect of normal transactions of registration and many other things it is practically more a part of Kachua than of Morrelgunj P.S. In annexing the P.S. Morrelgunj with its Western part to Pakistan Bengal, Kachua P.S. too which is Hindu majority can not be kept inside New Bengal for want of a natural boundary which is simply absurd. The question of natural boundary here is all the more important and perhaps the most important factor because of its being the south-eastern frontier of the New Bengal province.

In respect of communal strength we challenge the validity of the 1941 Census as I have stated above in having acceded the numerical majority to the Muslims. The people of the western part of Morrelgunj being mostly inhabited by upper middle class having fair education and comparatively affluent circumstance, are in great numbers living outside for service, profession, business, and education and being under the influence of the Congress directions to boycott the Census and are not therefore included in the Census of the area. Actually the communal ratio between Hindus and Mahomedans of the entire P.S. must be 50:50, if the balance be not in favour of the Hindus.
If however, we consider the stake of the Hindus in this P.S. in terms of landownership and business or their contributions towards education, irrigation, health, or construction of tanks and roads and of other works of public utility, the question of its elimination from the district of Khulna becomes absolutely irrelevant.

I would, therefore, request all concerned to measure all the relative factors and then decide and would also warn against the catastrophe that would surely overtake this part of the land in case of proper justice being not meted out to the Hindus already beginning to seethe with discontent and it would be a rude shock to the sentiments of all the lovers of the country who may revolt under external calm.

Sd/-
Birendranath Dutta
Pleader, Khulna

For and on behalf of Hindu Public of Khulna District in general and Morrelgunj P.S. in particular.

Copies to:
1. K.N. Mitra
   Khulna D.C.C.
2. Atul Gupta

5. ‘The Congress Case as Presented before the Bengal Boundary Commission’
   Extracts, 15 July 1947
   AICC Papers, File No. CL-14 (D)/1947–8, NMML

MEMORANDUM
ON THE PARTITION OF BENGAL
PRESENTED ON BEHALF OF
THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Before the
BENGAL BOUNDARY COMMISSION
(Filed on 15th July, 1947)

...Guiding Rules

1. The two parts respectively to contain as large a proportion as practicable of the total Muslim and non-Muslim population of the Province of Bengal.
2. The boundary, being the boundary between two States, must be continuous; and necessarily the existence of many pockets and areas containing a majority of Muslim population in the Western part, and a majority of non-Muslim population in the Eastern part will have to be accepted.
3. If without substantially affecting Rules 1 and 2 there could be found any natural boundary, e.g., rivers over any portion of the boundary line that should be adopted.
4. Subject to the above rules and without affecting Rule 2, any special reasons for any area to be incorporated either in the western or in the eastern part should be considered.
The Census of 1941 has very often been attacked and is being attacked as inaccurate. But in the absence of any better or later census of population of Bengal or of any part of it, it has perforce to be adopted as the basis for the partition.

Following the principles and rules stated above a scheme of partition is submitted to the Boundary Commission for its consideration. This scheme is simple, convenient and carries out satisfactorily the purpose of the partition. One other possible plan of partition is produced for the purpose of showing the unsatisfactory nature of other possible schemes of partition, exclusively on the basis of contiguous majority areas varied as little as possible by other compelling factors. The scheme and the plan are each accompanied by a map showing the proposed boundary line and an explanatory index. To each is attached a short statement explaining the general scheme of the partition and notes on special points requiring elucidation.

It is to be noted that, in the scheme of partition and in the plan, the District of Chittagong Hill Tracts has been kept out of consideration. The area of this district is 5,007 sq. miles. Its total population is 2,47,053, of which only 7,270, i.e. 2.94 per cent are Muslims. The vast majority of non-Muslim population are hill and tribal people akin to the people in the adjoining Tripura State and to the people of the excluded and tribal areas of the Lushai Hills in Assam. This district of overwhelming non-Muslim majority population should naturally form a part of the Indian Union. But in the present scheme of partition this district has been kept out of the calculations.

The northern boundary of the District of Mymensingh is made up of 6 police stations, constituting a territory of 'partially excluded areas' under the Government of India Act, 1935. This territory is contiguous to the Garo Hills in Assam. The tribal people in this area have a close affinity with the people of the Garo Hills. A separate representation has been made, on behalf of the tribal people, for amalgamation of some portion of this area with the Garo Hills in Assam and forming a part of that Province.

A statistical summary of population and area, which may have to be referred to in the course of discussion and decision, is appended.

Table Showing the Muslim and Non-Muslim Population and Area by Districts and Divisions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Division</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Total Area in Sq. miles</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>p.c. Muslims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>Non-Muslim</td>
</tr>
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<td>55564</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Division</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Male Population</td>
<td>Female Population</td>
<td>Total Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
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<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nadia</td>
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<td>1078007</td>
<td>681839</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khulna</td>
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<td>959172</td>
<td>984046</td>
<td>1943218</td>
<td>49.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Div. Total</td>
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<td>5711354</td>
<td>7105733</td>
<td>12817087</td>
<td>44.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajshahi</td>
<td>Rajshahi</td>
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<td>1173285</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dinajpur</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>967246</td>
<td>959587</td>
<td>1926833</td>
<td>50.20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jalpaiguri</td>
<td>3050</td>
<td>631460</td>
<td>984046</td>
<td>1943218</td>
<td>23.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darjeeling</td>
<td>1192</td>
<td>9125</td>
<td>367244</td>
<td>376369</td>
<td>2.42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rangpur</td>
<td>3606</td>
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<td>822661</td>
<td>2877847</td>
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<td>Bogra</td>
<td>1475</td>
<td>10579025</td>
<td>202561</td>
<td>1260403</td>
<td>83.93</td>
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<td>Pabna</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>1313968</td>
<td>391104</td>
<td>1705072</td>
<td>56.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malda</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>699945</td>
<td>532673</td>
<td>1232618</td>
<td>56.79</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mymensingh</td>
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<td>Faridpur</td>
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<td>1017467</td>
<td>2888803</td>
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<td>Bakarganj</td>
<td>3783</td>
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<td>981983</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pabna</td>
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<td>1313968</td>
<td>391104</td>
<td>1705072</td>
<td>56.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malda</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>699945</td>
<td>532673</td>
<td>1232618</td>
<td>56.79</td>
</tr>
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<td>Div. Total</td>
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<td>62.52</td>
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<td>Chittagong</td>
<td>Tipperah</td>
<td>2531</td>
<td>2975901</td>
<td>884238</td>
<td>3860139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noakhali</td>
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<td>1803937</td>
<td>413465</td>
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<td>1605183</td>
<td>548113</td>
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<td>74.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Div. Total</td>
<td>5007</td>
<td>11944172</td>
<td>4739542</td>
<td>16683714</td>
<td>71.59</td>
</tr>
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</table>

GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE SCHEME

Generally speaking this scheme partitions Bengal having five Divisions, by giving two Divisions with slight modifications to each part, and dividing the remaining Division between the two parts.
This scheme is set forth below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West Bengal</th>
<th>East Bengal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. Burdwan Division (entire)</strong></td>
<td><strong>I. Chittagong Division (entire)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. Presidency Division (excluding the portion of Kushtia Sub-division in the District of Nadia, lying to the east of the river Gorai and excluding from the District of Jessore the portion lying east of the river Gorai, which consists of the whole of Police Station Alfadanga and a part of Police Station Muhammadpur and also excluding 2 Police Stations of Khulna District on the south-east, viz. Moreganj and Sarankhola; and incorporating in the Presidency Division Police Station Boalia of Rajshahi District, 4 Police Stations of Bakarganj District viz., Gournadi, Nazirpur, Swarupkati and Jhalakati; and also of Faridpur District the Sub-division of Gopalganj and Police Station Rajair).</strong></td>
<td><strong>II. Dacca Division (excluding the portions of the Districts of Bakarganj and Faridpur incorporated in the Presidency Division; and incorporating in the Dacca Division the 2 Police Stations of Khulna District excluded from the Presidency Division and the portion of the District of Jessore excluded from the Presidency Division, which lies to the east of the river Gorai and which consists of the whole Police Station Alfadanga and a part of Police Station Muhammadpur).</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III. Rajshahi Division</strong></td>
<td><strong>III. Rajshahi Division</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Darjeeling District (entire)</td>
<td>1. Bogra District (entire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Jalpaiguri District (entire)</td>
<td>2. Pabna District (entire, and also incorporating the portion of the Nadia Dist. Excluded from West Bengal. Viz., the portion of the Sub-division of Kushtia in the District of Nadia, lying to the east of the river Gorai).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rangpur District (only 2 Police Stations on the north, viz., Dimla and Hatibandha and one Police Station of Bhurangamari on the north-east corner, as the only Railway line joining Indian Union with Assam, running from Gitalda junction to Assam, lies through this Police Station).</td>
<td>3. Rangpur District (excluding only 3 Police Stations incorporated in West Bengal).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Malda District (excluding 5 Police Stations, viz., Bholahat, Shibganj, Nawabganj, Nachole, Gomastapur).</td>
<td>5. Malda District (the 5 Police Stations excluded from West Bengal).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Rajshahi District (Boalia Police Station lying to the south of the main channel of the Ganges).</td>
<td>6. Rajshahi District (excluding only the Boalia Police Station incorporated in the Presidency Division).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary Table Showing the Distribution of Muslims and non-Muslims and of area over West and East Bengal under the Scheme for Partition (excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>West Bengal</th>
<th>East Bengal</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>West Bengal As % of Total</th>
<th>East Bengal As % of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>8908195</td>
<td>24089969</td>
<td>32998164</td>
<td>27.00</td>
<td>73.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Muslim</td>
<td>19123851</td>
<td>7937457</td>
<td>27061308</td>
<td>70.67</td>
<td>29.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28032046</td>
<td>32027426</td>
<td>60059472</td>
<td>46.67</td>
<td>53.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslims as % of total</td>
<td>31.78</td>
<td>75.22</td>
<td>54.94</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Muslims as % of total</td>
<td>68.22</td>
<td>24.78</td>
<td>45.06</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area in square miles</td>
<td>40137</td>
<td>32298</td>
<td>72435</td>
<td>55.41</td>
<td>44.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Density of Population per square mile</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chittagong Hill Tracts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Muslims as % of total</th>
<th>Non-Muslims as % of total</th>
<th>Area in sq. miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>7270</td>
<td></td>
<td>5007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Muslim</td>
<td>239783</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>247053</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE ON SPECIAL POINTS OF THE SCHEME

(1) That this scheme is much the simpler of the two schemes is apparent. And it is possibly simpler and less complicated than any other scheme that could be devised.

(2) By placing 73.00 per cent of the entire Muslim population of Bengal in the Eastern part, and 70.67 per cent of the entire non-Muslim population of Bengal in the Western part it fulfils, as far as practicable, the main purpose of the partition better than any other scheme.

(3) The fact than in this scheme the percentage of the total Muslim population of Bengal in the eastern part and the percentage of the total non-Muslim population of Bengal in the Western part are very nearly equal shows that this scheme is the most equitable. It satisfies the main purpose of the partition of equable division of Muslim and non-Muslim areas and should be adopted.

(4) The chief feature of this scheme is that practically the entire Presidency Division has been placed in Western Bengal. This has been done not merely or primarily because the Presidency Division is an administrative unit, or because in the Division taken as a whole the non-Muslims form a majority, and that majority would somewhat go up by the exclusion of a portion of the Sub-division of Kushtia from Nadia District, of Police Station Alfadanga and a part of Police Station Muhammadpur from Jessore District and of 2 Police Stations from Khulna District (which are heavy Muslim majority areas) and the inclusion of some parts from Districts of Bakarganj and Faridpur (which are fairly big non-Muslim majority areas) as suggested. This has been done primarily because the territory within the Presidency Division forms a geographical unit and owing to that reason an economic unit of such a nature that its
division between two independent States will tell heavily against its present prosperity, and much more heavily against its future possibilities. This part of Bengal was formerly a most prosperous territory due to the fact that from the river Ganges a number of rivers besides the Bagirathi like Kumar, Bhairab, Chitra, Navaganga, Kopotakshi, Mathabhanga, and Jalangi flowed as distributaries and these spill channels fertilized the territory and kept back the encroachment of salt in the estuarian areas. With the dying condition of most of these rivers the territory has become impoverished, and is yearly growing more so. The territory has also become malarious and its population is dwindling. The only way to restore this territory to prosperity and health is to resuscitate these dying rivers. But it is impossible to do it piece-meal in a portion of the territory. The territory of the Presidency Division which has been kept in Western Bengal in this scheme of partition must be treated as a whole for achieving any result.

These considerations are at the root of placing practically the whole of the Presidency Division (excluding some portions only) in Western Bengal. The Police Station of Boalia in Rajshahi District included in West Bengal is a non-Muslim majority area contiguous to Murshidabad. [See, Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal (1930), By Sir William Willcocks: specially Arts 104 (p. 108–9), 114 (p. 122–3) and the map at the beginning of the book; Rivers of the Bengal Delta (1942), By S.C. Majumdar, Chief Engineer, Bengal, specially pages 75–86.]

It may be noted that in the portion of the Presidency Division placed in Western Bengal the number of Muslim and non-Muslim population and their percentages are shown below:

Muslims: 5503037, i.e., 43.94 per cent of the total population  
Non-Muslims 7022015, i.e., 56.06 per cent of the total population

(5) The areas which have been included in or excluded from the Divisions and the Districts are on the basis of majority of the respective populations except for the three Districts of Murshidabad, Nadia and Jessore in the Presidency Division which had to be differently treated for reasons just discussed in (4).*

---

* For further points covering the Rajshahi and Dacca Divisions reference may be made to the special points of the plan on page 6 relating to those Divisions.

III

THE PLAN: GENERAL OUTLINE

This plan is strictly on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims, varied only by taking into account some very important factors.

Where present Districts or Sub-divisions have been partitioned between the West and East, the Police Stations have been taken as units of partition because they are the smallest units for which there are published census figures on the basis of 1941 Census.

In this scheme the following have been placed in West Bengal, the rest being in East Bengal:

1. Burdwan Division (whole)
2. District of Darjeeling (whole)
3. District of Jalpaiguri (whole)
4. District of Rangpur—only two Police Stations—Dimla and Hatibandha on the north and one Police Station on the north-east, viz., Bhurangamari.


7. District of Murshidabad—The entire district, and Police Station Boalia in District Rajshahi lying to the south of the main channel of the Ganges.

8. District Nadia—that portion of the District which lies to the West of the river Mathabhanga and Churni, as well as the five Police Stations in the sub-division of Ranaghat, and Krishnaganj Police Station.

9. District of 24 Parganas (whole)

10. City of Calcutta (whole)

11. District of Khulna—the whole of Khulna District excluding the two Police Stations of Morelganj and Sanakhola forming a block in the south-east of the District adjoining the District of Bakarganj.

12. District Jessore—the four Police Stations of Abhoynagar, Kalia, Narail and Salikha.

13. District of Faridpur—the whole of Gopalganj sub-division and the Police Station of Rajair in the Madaripur sub-division.

14. District of Bakarganj—the four Police Stations of Gourmid, Nazirpur, Swarupkati and Jhalakati.

TABLES 1

Summary Table Showing the Distribution of Muslims and non-Muslims and of area over West and East Bengal under the Scheme for Partition (excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts)

(1) THE PLAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>West Bengal</th>
<th>East Bengal</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>7568908</td>
<td>24429256</td>
<td>32998164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Muslims</td>
<td>18429938</td>
<td>8631370</td>
<td>27061308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25998846</td>
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<td>60059472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims as % of total</td>
<td>29.11</td>
<td>74.66</td>
<td>54.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Muslims as % of total</td>
<td>70.80</td>
<td>25.34</td>
<td>45.06</td>
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As % of Total

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As % of total

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(II) THE SCHEME OF PARTITION

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<th>Density of Population per square mile</th>
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<td>32027426</td>
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(iii) Chittagong Hill Tracts

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<th>Non-Muslim as % of total</th>
<th>Area in sq. miles</th>
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APPENDIX 2: A NOTE ON THE POPULATION AND AREA OF THE SUNDARBANS

According to the records of the Forest Department (1944-45) the area of the Sundarbans is as follows:—

- District of Khulna: 2316 sq. miles
- District of 24-Parganas: 1630 sq. miles
- Total: 3946 sq. miles

But the Census Report of 1941 shows the areas as follows:—

- District of Khulna: 2314 sq. miles
- District of 24-Parganas: 4 sq. miles
- Total: 2318 sq. miles

In the data for the district of Khulna there is a discrepancy of 2 sq. miles only. This may be ignored. But the difference in the case of the 24-Parganas is 1626 sq. miles. Obviously this requires an explanation. In the Census Report the populations of the thanas in the above two districts have been shown separately from the populations of the Sundarbans. 1626 sq. miles of the Sundarbans in 24-Parganas have not been included under the Sundarbans as such because these lands are situated in settled areas. These have been treated in the Census Report in the same manner as the forest areas in Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Mymensingh, Chittagong Hill Tracts etc.; that is, these have been shown under the thanas. But it was found necessary to treat the 2514 sq. miles in Khulna as well as the 4 sq. miles in the 24-Parganas differently because these lands are not situated in settled areas. It is presumed that no one is permitted to live in these lands and therefore these must be regarded as uninhabited land. A handful of population is shown under the Sundarbans in the Census Report namely 3315 non-Muslims and 5418 Muslims, a total of 8755, of which only 93 are females. The very fact that the density of population is less than 4 persons per sq. mile and that there are hardly any women would indicate that the above assumption is correct. The Census Report merely took into account
the residents of the place who were physically present there temporarily at the time. They were probably fisherman, woodcutters and other persons of similar occupation whose trade occasionally takes them into the Sundarbans. It would, therefore, be totally wrong to assume that these are Muslim majority areas. The only reasonable way of dealing with this area is to treat it as uninhabited. Therefore, these areas should go with the immediately contiguous areas on the north which they separate from the sea on the south....

SHORT CRITICAL NOTES BY THE CONGRESS ON MEMORANDUM PRESENTED BY THE MUSLIM LEAGUE ON PARTITION OF BENGAL

(Filed as required by the Bengal Boundary Commission on 22.7.47.)

1. The Scheme of partition put forward by the Muslim League in its Memorandum does not merit serious consideration. Of the five Divisions of Bengal it claims for East Bengal three Divisions in their entirety (Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi Divisions) and practically the whole of another Division also, viz., Presidency Division including the City of Calcutta. Of this last Division, which even as a Division contains a majority of non-Muslim population (55.44%), it gives to West Bengal areas of only three and a half Police stations in Murshidabad with an area of 408 sq. miles and with a population of 37,804 out of the total area of the Division, 16402 sq. miles, with a population of 1,28,17667 of which 57,11,354 (44.56%) are Muslims and 71,057,33 (55.44%) are non-Muslims. The fifth Division only (Burdwan Division) in which the percentage of Muslim population is 13.90 in a total population of 1,02,87,369 it leaves for West Bengal, except that the areas of one Police station and nearly seven eighths (7/8th) of another Police station it gives to East Bengal.

The result of this Scheme of Partition on the distribution of Muslims and non-Muslims and of areas over West and East Bengal (excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts) is seen from the following table:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West Beng</td>
<td>East Beng</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>West Beng as % of total</td>
<td>East Beng as % of total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>1467334</td>
<td>31530830</td>
<td>32998164</td>
<td>4.45</td>
<td>95.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Muslims</td>
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<td>18102387</td>
<td>27061308</td>
<td>33.11</td>
<td>66.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10426255</td>
<td>49633217</td>
<td>60059472</td>
<td>17.36</td>
<td>82.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims as % of total</td>
<td>14.07</td>
<td>63.53</td>
<td>54.94</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Muslims as % of total</td>
<td>85.93</td>
<td>36.47</td>
<td>45.06</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area in sq. miles</td>
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<td>58152</td>
<td>72435</td>
<td>19.72</td>
<td>80.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Density per sq. mile.</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the above Table shows according to this Scheme of Partition, of the total area of Bengal 19.72% only goes to West Bengal and 80.28% to East Bengal. Of the total population of Bengal 17.36% only goes to West Bengal and 82.64% to East Bengal. Non-Muslims form 45.06% of the population of Bengal numbering 2,70,61,308, the Muslims forming 54.94% numbering 3,29,98,164, that is exceeding the non-Muslims by 59,36,956. (See Congress Memorandum p. 2).
The partition is for the purpose of dividing this population according to Muslim and non-Muslim areas on the fundamental supposition that it is possible so to divide them fairly, otherwise there would have been no partition and no Commission for effecting it just as there is none, e.g., in Bihar or Madras. That such a partition is possible is shown by the Congress Scheme of Partition (See Congress Memorandum p. 4).

But of this non-Muslim population of Bengal the Muslim League Scheme of Partition places only 33.11% in West Bengal and 66.89% in East Bengal.

Such a Scheme is absurd on the face of it. All arguments and reasons in the Muslim League Memorandum which lead to such a result stand self-condemned.

II

It is not necessary to criticize their arguments in details but their general nature may be shortly noted.

(I) **Union-wise Division of Bengal**

The Memorandum says that Union should be taken as units for partition.

(i) There are no Union-wise published maps of Bengal available to the public. There are no published census figures of Unions available to the public.

(ii) It appears that the Muslim League Government of Bengal were preparing such maps and collecting such figures for the purpose of their being used by the Muslim League before the Boundary Commission. When getting that information the Congress and some other organizations applied to the Board of Revenue for such maps, etc., they were told as late as 28th June, 1947, that such maps etc., are not available to the public.

Some correspondence relating to this matter has been filed by the Congress and some requisition also placed before the Commission. They make it patent that these maps and figures made and collected for the occasion, which no others, with the probable exception of the Muslim League (which is identified with the Government in Bengal), had any opportunity of seeing or testing or working upon before they field their Memoranda, should not be accepted or looked at by the Commission.

These maps and figures are not above the suspicion of being cooked for supporting the Muslim League case.

(iii) No Union-wise map of Bengal has been filed by the Muslim League with their Memorandum and it does not profess to show what would be the result if whole Bengal was partitioned Union-wise.

(iv) The only practical use the Memorandum makes of Unions is to assert on many occasions that non-Muslim majority areas are cut off by Muslim majority Unions and have no contiguity and therefore should go to Pakistan. It seems that not by any chance non-Muslim majority Unions ever cut off Muslim majority areas. There is no realization that if such were the case the Muslim majority Unions should be disregarded and the whole area of non-Muslim majority population should be given to West Bengal.
(II) Sub-divisions as units

(2) In the alternative the Memorandum says that Sub-division should be taken as Unit of partition.

(i) Why that should be so is not clear. The Sub-divisions are administrative units like Districts, Divisions or Provinces of British India. The Memorandum speaks of economic and cultural unity of Sub-divisions which is pure fiction. They cannot be taken as indivisible units for purposes of partition having regard to the object of partition. British India or Bengal administrative units, but they are being partitioned.

(ii) The smallest units for which there are published Census figures can only be taken as units of partition. They are the thanas or Police station jurisdiction areas. Police station-wise maps of Bengal are published maps and the Census Report of 1941 gives the population figures of these thanas and their classification on the basis of religions of the people.

(3) If the result of Union-wise or Sub-division-wise partition of Bengal be what the Muslim League Scheme of Partition shows, that is proof positive that they are not proper basis for the partition, and partition on these footings is wholly unacceptable....

(II) ANALYSIS PREPARED BY THE CONGRESS BOUNDARY COMMITTEE

Re: The Scheme

(a) The Muslim League Scheme of Partition of Bengal

Burdwan Division less P.S. Murarai and 7/8 P.S. Nalhati of District Birbhum plus P.S. Bharatpur, Burwan, Khargram and ½ P.S. Kandi from District Murshidabad of Presidency Division to constitute West Bengal: the rest of present Bengal (including Chittagong Hill Tracts) to constitute East Bengal.

1. Distribution of Muslim and Non-Muslims and of area over West and East Bengal (including Chittagong Hill Tracts)

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>West</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>West Bengal as % of total</th>
<th>East Bengal as % of total</th>
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2. Distribution of Muslims and Non-Muslims and of area over West and East Bengal (excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts)

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(b) Notional Division

Distribution of Muslims and non-Muslims and of area over West and East Bengal (excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts)

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<th>Non-Muslims</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
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(c) The Hindu Mahasabha Scheme of Partition of Bengal

Distribution of Muslims and non-Muslims and of area over West and East Bengal (excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts)

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<th>Non-Muslims</th>
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<td>70.97</td>
<td>27.75</td>
<td>51.49</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Non-Muslims</th>
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<td>15046774</td>
<td>19341746</td>
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<tr>
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<td>55.60</td>
<td>37.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>86.68</td>
<td>44.40</td>
<td>62.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 Extensive Tables of both the Plan and the Scheme and a subsequent appendix are not reproduced here.
6. ‘League Memorandum to Commission—Fantastic Claim to Calcutta’

Hindustan Standard, 18 July 1947

The Muslim League has claimed Calcutta in its memorandum to the Bengal Boundary Commission on various grounds enumerated in the memorandum, some of which are that ‘it has been built mainly by the resources of Eastern Bengal, and nearly half of its population are engaged in industries maintained by East Bengal. It is the only usable and sizeable port for trade and commerce of the entire province. Chittagong cannot serve the same purpose of East Bengal because of the difficulty of communication with it. The City is situated within that part of the country which Nature has made one where the Muslims are in majority.’

‘The Muslim League has suggested that the river Hooghly and Bhagirathi up to Katwa and the river Brahmani thereafter should form the boundary line between the two territories of Muslim majority areas and non-Muslim majority areas.

The following is a summary of the Muslim League memorandum:

‘Contiguity and majority are the determining factors. The Boundary Commission will demarcate the line between the two territories the nature of which has been described in the Statement of June 3. They are to ascertain which are these two territories. Each part as described is contiguous Muslim majority areas and non-Muslim majority areas. The Muslim League, therefore, accepts contiguity and majority as the determining factors. Other factors mentioned in the Statement according to the terms of reference will be taken into consideration for minor adjustment and simplification.

The biggest non-Muslim majority contiguous area is the South-West Bengal and opposite to it is the Muslim contiguous majority areas. The Boundary line demarcating the boundary of these two areas must be drawn up between these two areas after demarcating the contiguous non-Muslim areas and contiguous Muslim areas facing each other and separating them thereafter. Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling as also Chittagong Hill Tracts which are depicted as non-Muslim majority areas in the map, become mere pockets in the Muslim contiguous majority areas having no contiguity to majority non-Muslim areas. The League has urged that the smallest territory unit should be adopted for ascertaining the respective areas and determining the boundary.

‘Khulna District which has a slight non-Muslim majority falls on the border of Muslim majority areas. The major part of this district is covered by Sundarban forest and this is a single administrative unit and is shown as the Muslim majority area. The rest of the district also become contiguous Muslim majority areas and Hindu areas become mere pockets. Similarly the northern part of 24-Parganas becomes Muslim majority contiguous area attached to the rest of the Muslim block.

The memorandum says that the Province of Bengal has five natural divisions based on its river system which has made the province physically and economically what it is. They are as follows:

‘(1) The area known as the Gangetic delta served by the river Ganges and its tributaries and is consisting of the districts of 24-Parganas, Khulna, Faridpur, Bakarganj, Jessore, Nadia and Murshidabad.

(2) The area served by water of the Teesta and the river system flowing through the districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. It consists of the districts of Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Malda, Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna and Rangpur.'
(3) The area served by the rivers having their origin in the Choto-Nagpur hills. It consists of the districts of Midnapore, Howrah, Hooghly, Bankura and Birbhum.

(4) The area served by the river Brahmaputra on its east and those rising from the forest hills of the Garo and neighbouring hill territories. They are the districts of Mymensingh and Dacca.

(5) The territory served by the rivers rising from the hills of Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts. They are the districts of Chittagong Division.

'The next important points are that the Eastern Bengal have no source of power except the development of hydro-electricity for the development of industries and for finding employment for the vast population of East Bengal. The source of hydro-electricity is the river Teesta in the districts of Jalpaiguri and the Karnafuli in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

'The hills of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling are the only source of ballast supply for the maintenance of the rail road of East Bengal. In Jalpaiguri we find the only forest on which East Bengal will have to depend for its timber supply.'—A.P.I.

7. Memorandum of the Calcutta District Muslim League to the Bengal Boundary Commission

Extracts from a letter from Raghib Ahsan to M.A. Jinnah, and from the enclosed memorandum, 20 July 1947


30 Queensway, New Delhi

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour to forward to you the enclosed Memorandum of the Calcutta District Muslim League which was submitted to the Bengal Boundary Commission, Calcutta, on the 14th of July 1947. Similar Memoranda have been submitted by the 24-Parganas District League and the Scheduled Castes Federation. I understand that the Calcutta Anglo-Indians have pressed similar views.

I was directed to forward its copies to

i. Quaid-i-Azam,

ii. H.E. the Viceroy, and

iii. Sir Cyril Radcliffe, K.C.
INTRODUCTION

The problem of Calcutta is the knottiest and most complex before the Boundary Commission. Calcutta is not only the political capital and industrial centre of the entire Presidency of Bengal; in fact, the metropolis is the outcome and product of the total economic power of Bengal. It epitomizes the sum total of the life, talents, resources and progress of Bengal from 1757, the birth of the British Raj in India. Division of Bengal has done good neither to West nor East Bengal. It is detrimental to all communities: Muslims, Hindus, Depressed Classes, Tribals, Anglo-Indians, Europeans and Christians. But it is calculated to do greatest harm to East Bengal and the Muslims of Bengal. The new State of East Bengal and Sylhet shall be the most thickly populated State in the world and the provincial division of Bengal is designed to strangulate from its very start the rapidly growing population of East Bengal by denying it all legitimate avenues of expansion and natural scope of development and growth. It is essentially an unnatural anti-social division. But of all the evils of division, the proposed lopping of Calcutta from East Bengal is like chopping off the head and crown from the body of Bengal. It is the unkindest cut which Muslim Bengal will never tolerate. It is a wrong which will never be righted. The communal forces are so distributed in Calcutta that if no fair solution is forthcoming for the problem of Calcutta and the Boundary Commission fails to do justice to it, its bound to torpedo the entire work of the Indian settlement and land the whole country in the bloodiest of civil wars.

Like the Treaty Ports of Tangier, Shanghai and Trieste, the Port of Calcutta is of international importance and should be viewed and tackled in the same perspective. The claim of the major division of Bengal, viz. East Bengal, on its capital is based, among others, on the following grounds;
Calcutta is the capital of Bengal; and East Bengal represents the major part of Bengal covering 4 crore 7 lakh out of 6 crore 3 lakh of the total population of Bengal and it is but fair that the capital should go to the major part of the Province.

Bengal is a one-city province and the city should go to the main division of the Province as the loss of the only city by the major Bengal will mean the loss of modern amenities of civilization to the largest number of the people of the Province.

Calcutta represents all the commerce, all the industry, all the economic prosperity, all the scientific and cultural progress, all the technical developments, all the engineering advancements, all the social and urban amenities of the life of Bengal which have been built up largely by the natural resources and raw materials and labour of East Bengal. It will be the height of social injustice and a great cultural wrong if the major part of the Province representing more than two-third of the total population of the Province is absolutely cut off from all these amenities of life and is practically rusticated and condemned to a primitive backward State to start life afresh. It is West Bengal which has demanded partition of the province. It is not fair that the seceding part should rob the main and major part of the Province of the capital itself.

Calcutta has been made the city of palaces and mills by East Bengal. Mountains of money has been made in Calcutta, all born of East Bengal. The business of Calcutta with West Bengal is nothing in comparison with its business with East Bengal. Thousands of buildings, mills, factories, port-establishments, capital plants and equipments worth crores and crores of money, derived all from the rich commerce and raw materials of East Bengal, are inextricably sunk and invested in Calcutta. Is it fair that the land of its origin which gave it birth should be totally deprived from it? It will be sheer economic injustice and pure financial brigandage if the whole of Calcutta, with all its scientific and industrial plants, financial institutions and capital equipments which have risen and thrived out of the primary productions of East Bengal, is given to West Bengal, which on principles of origin, primary production and social justice, least deserves it.

The first and foremost factor in the making and the make up of Calcutta is jute. Calcutta is pre-eminently the 'City of Jute'. Calcutta is undoubtedly the 'Port of Jute'. Calcutta has been made the city of palaces by the jute of East Bengal. Historically, Calcutta is the by-product of the marriage of the Hooagly River with the jute of East Bengal, united in holy wedlock by the British matchmakers. And jute is 90% the product of the Muslim peasants of East Bengal. The jute growers of East Bengal are the primary builders of the City and the real progenitors of the prosperity of Calcutta and as such they have the largest claim on Calcutta after the British quit Bengal. The jute growers and the seamen of Bengal and not the non-Bengali exploiters and floating population are the legitimate inheritors of Calcutta.

The second factor in the making and the make up of Calcutta are the seamen of East Bengal, who have made Calcutta famous all over the globe as the home port and the home city of the Lascars [Sailors]—the best first class seamen of the East. Over 55,000 seamen are engaged in and through Calcutta port. And 100% Lascars and seamen of Bengal are Muslims from East Bengal and Sylhet. It is inconceivable that the Lascars and seamen of Bengal, the real builders and up-keepers of the port and the sea front of Calcutta, should be made aliens and slaves in their own home port.

The third important factor in the making and the make up of Calcutta is the inland shipping and inland river navigation, which connects all parts of riverine Bengal and Assam with the port of Calcutta and maintains its national and international commerce and prosperity. The inland and coastal shipping companies of Calcutta are mostly British but they are manned and
officered wholly and solely by Muslims from Captains to Sarangs [Headmen of launches]. They control and conduct the entire river front and the entire traffic in the trade and commerce of Bengal and Assam specially of jute and tea. The 36,000 inland navigators must have a say in the determination of the future status of Calcutta.

The fourth factor in the making and the make up of Calcutta are the port workers and dockers of Calcutta who operate the port.

The Port of Calcutta employs 22,000 workers and out of this 17,000 are Muslims and 5,000 are non-Muslims....

From the view point of historical associations Calcutta is associated with, among others, the memories of:

1. Siraj-ud-daulah Shaheed [1727-57], the last independent sovereign of Bengal
2. Tipu Sultan Shaheed [1750-99], his family and descendants
3. Wajid Ali Shah [1827-87], and his Court
4. Bahadur Shah Zafar [1775-1862], the last Mughal Emperor of Delhi
5. Syed Ahmad Shaheed Brelvi [1786-1831], and Ismail Shaheed Dehlavi [1779-1831], the founder of the Wahabi Movement.

In 1757 Siraj-ud-daulah Shaheed, the beloved ruler and hero of Bengal, conquered and liberated Calcutta. He renamed Calcutta as Alinagar and appointed Raja Manik Chand as his first Governor of Calcutta. Muslims have not forgotten that the last independent ruler of Bengal—the beloved Siraj-ud-daulah, christened Calcutta as Alinagar as a Muslim city.

In 1799 Tipu Sultan, the hero of Islamic independence and glory in India fell fighting as a martyr and all his family including his sons with all the remains of his magnificent court were brought to Calcutta. His great library was removed from Sringapatam to Calcutta. Many of his sacred remains are still preserved in Calcutta. His sons lived and died in Calcutta, and are buried in cemeteries of the Tipu Sultan royal family. They wrote and published many books on Tipu Sultan from Calcutta. They built special type of mosques in gardens in Calcutta which still adorn the City and are popularly called Tipu Sultan Shahi Mosques. One of these command the Esplanade Maidan. One [sic for once] they held very extensive properties in Calcutta. They are still called the Tollyganj Shahi Family.

In 1857 [sic for 1856] Wajid Ali Shah, the popular last king of Oudh refused to sign a treaty of submission to the British and was brought by the British from Lucknow to Matiaburuj (Calcutta). The Court of Lucknow with all the splendour of Lucknow culture was transplanted in Calcutta. Many hakims, 'alims, fazils, poets and men of art and craft from Oudh came and settled in Matiaburuj. The Shah and his nobles purchased extensive properties on the eastern bank of the Hoogly. They built mosques, imambaras, Sibtainabad and also laid out beautiful gardens.

Prince Afsarul Muluk, the son of the Shah, died in Calcutta only a few years ago. The proud prince died a bachelor. He refused to marry and said that he was born a free Prince but he did not want to procreate sons who would be slaves to a foreign power. Descendants of Shah and his monuments are still in Matiaburuj. Prince Yusuf Mirza and Mr. Unsud Dawla, Bar-at-Law, ex-Chairman Matiaburuj Municipality are the leaders of the Calcutta Branch of the Oudh Family.

In 1858 Bahadur Shah the saintly Mughal Emperor of Delhi, after the mutiny of 1857, was arrested by the British and brought over to Calcutta and kept as a prisoner at Dum Dum.
Muslims have not forgotten this and regard Calcutta as hallowed by the footsteps of the saintly Bahadur Shah—the last relic of Muslim sovereignty in India.

In 1820 Hazrat Syed Ahmad Brelvi and Shah Ismail Dehlavi the founders of the Wahabi Jehad Movement launched their Bay’it, Jehad, and Haj from Calcutta. They with the kfela stayed in Calcutta for three months, met sons and grandsons of Tippu Sultan Shaheed and converted them to his Silsila [Sufi order] by taking formal Bay’it (pledge of allegiance) from them. The Syed and the Shah by their preachings in Calcutta converted thousands of Hindus and Muslims to his Order. A Hindu merchant prince of Sylhet came to Calcutta to see the Syed and embraced Islam. Titu Mir of Jessore also came to Calcutta and became a disciple of the Syed and pledged himself for Jehad. The Syed and the Shah were sent off to Haj most enthusiastically by thousands of people [who] thronged the roads and the Maidan of Calcutta.

In 1831 Syed Ahmad Brelvi and Shah Ismail fell fighting against the Sikhs at Balakot in the North West Frontier and his Bengalee Khalifa, Titu Mir, at the same time led a powerful attack on Calcutta, reached the outskirts of Barrackpore defeating waves after waves of British forces sent to check his march on Calcutta. Calcutta was saved for the British with greatest difficulty by a total mobilization of British forces.

After the martyrdom of Syed Brelvi and Titu Mir in 1831, Bengal became the centre of the Wahabi Movement in whole of India. The seeds of this mighty renaissance of Islam[ic] Movement were sown in Calcutta by the Syed and Shah in 1820.

Historically the original settlers of Calcutta were Muslims. Nikaripara (village of Nikaris—the fishermen) at Baghbazar in North Calcutta, on the bank of the Hoogly River, is the oldest settlement in Calcutta. In fact Nikaripara is older than Calcutta itself. It dates back from the days when Calcutta was nothing but a collection of fishing villages on the eastern bank of the Hoogly River.

It may be noted that a Hindu landlord, Radha Nath Das, instituted many cases for the ejectment of the Nikaris but the Calcutta High Court rejected his case on the ground that the Nikaris were oldest inhabitants of Calcutta. The Nikaris are Muslim fishermen. The landlord conspired to destroy the Nikaripara during the Great Calcutta Killing of August, 1946. Hundreds were killed and the bustee was wiped out. The process in the making of Calcutta has been as under: First come the Muslim fishermen, boatmen, manjhees, seamen, rajmistris, artisans and traders, etc. They fill up ponds and tanks and reclaim land for rehabilitation from marshes, swamps and malaria infested lakes. Bustees or collection of hutments spring up. Mohallas are built up. Bazars and roads are constructed. Second come the Permanent Settlement Zamindars (1793), with pattas of ownership of reclaimed land who charge exorbitant rents on original settlers and reduce them to thika-proja or tenants at will. Third comes the Corporation of Calcutta and the Calcutta Improvement Trust. The zamindars combine, capture and convert the Corporation and the [Improvement] Trust into weapons of the landlords, alien marwaris and mahajans (money-lenders) monopolize all business, industry, lands and buildings in Calcutta and conspire to oust and drive the Muslim bustees and mohallas from the heart of Calcutta....

8. ‘Partition of Punjab and Bengal Is an All-India Problem’
Amrita Bazar Patrika, 22 July 1947

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in a statement to-day said that the partition of the Punjab and Bengal was not a local problem to be left to the people of these two provinces, but
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

an all-India problem ‘for it involves the fixation of the boundaries of Pakistan and India and must be determined primarily by considerations of facility of defence and administration.’

Dr. Ambedkar said ‘from the reports of controversies going on in the newspapers regarding the fixation of the boundary line between the West Punjab and the East Punjab and between West Bengal and East Bengal and of the gists of the memoranda submitted to the Boundary Commission by the Muslims and non-Muslims, it becomes clear that the results of the Boundary Commission may be disastrous to the country.

In this view of the matter, the partition of the Punjab and Bengal is not a local problem but an All-India Problem, for it involves the fixation of the frontiers of Pakistan and India and must be determined primarily by considerations of facility of defence and administration.

**TASK OF DEFENCE DEPT.**

In the light of these considerations, the Government of Pakistan and that of India would not only be the proper parties before the Boundary Commission but they will be the necessary parties. The boundaries between Pakistan and India being the frontiers of India, it was for the Defence Department of the Government of India to have insisted that the Boundary Commissions should have military officers as assessors, which is always done in the settlement of frontiers between two States.

If my fears come true and the boundary drawn by the Commission is not a natural one, it needs no prophet to say that its maintenance will cost the Government of India very dearly and it will put the safety and security of the people of India in great jeopardy. I hope, therefore, that late as it is, the Defence Department will bestir itself and do its ... before it is too late.’


9. ‘Transport and Communications Problem of Bengal’

Excerpts from a report in *Hindustan Standard*, 22 July 1947

Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal has submitted the following memorandum on behalf of joint committee of Indian commercial organisations to the Bengal Boundary Commission.

The present memorandum is prepared with a view to invite particular attention to certain problems of transport and communications that should receive due consideration in the determination of the ‘boundaries’, or more appropriately ‘frontiers’, demarcating Eastern Bengal Pakistan State from the West Bengal province of India.

Many considerations go to determine frontiers—race, religion, population, language, tradition, cultural affinity, commercial inter-dependence, geographical cohesion, access to sea and security—internal and external. And above all, transport and communications have played and can play an important part as much in the scientific delimitation of frontiers as in the proper maintenance of good international relations.

**TRANSPORT & FRONTIERS**

The creation of new frontiers or any substantial changes in existing ones are rarely brought about except as a result of war and in fixing frontiers various principles have been given the seal of international recognition though conventions and treaties such as the Berne Conventions,
Barcelona Conference, Paris Peace Treaties and League of Nations Transit Organisation. Although, on ultimate analysis, States can maintain their frontiers either because they are strong enough or because they are powerful States sufficiently interested in the maintenance of particular lines of demarcation, attempts are always made to determine frontiers in such a way as to ensure [sic] unimpeded movement of traffic nationally and easy flow of goods and passengers internationally. Moreover it is important that new frontiers should be so selected as to make for greatest possible future stability and peace.

In many cases, the transport aspects of frontier-fixing are derived from some of the other important considerations, but purely from the transport point of view the line of demarcation should be at the place which, to use a technical term, forms the ‘traffic watershed’ between two areas, that is to say, where, due either to natural geographical considerations or to commercial and economic reasons the density of cross-over traffic is the lowest....

DIVISION OF ASSETS

Provisions relating to cession of ports, waterways and railways situated in territories that go over to one country from another take into account the requirements of respective areas for dealing with the nature and amount of traffic in each part and, unless penal imposition on a vanquished country is desired, the division of assets is determined by mutual agreements, International Tribunals or Commission of Experts. Treaties and conventions of long-term or temporary duration are also often entered into for working agreements permitting direct passage of trains and vessels of one country through the territory of another, joint user of junctions, ports and frontier stations, maintenance of through services and avoidance of customs formalities or other restrictions.

EXISTING COMMUNICATIONS

Before submitting specific suggestions as to the manner in which particular lines of communication should be dealt with and the claims for the inclusion or otherwise of specified areas within one or the other new State of East and West Bengal, in consideration of the general principles enunciated above, it is advisable to give a brief outline of Bengal’s existing means of communication and to indicate how these are divided up on the basis of the ‘notional’ division of Bengal as per the announcement of June 3, 1947.

The ‘navigable waterways’ of the province may be grouped under three classes, viz., (a) those navigable throughout the year for all types of vessels, including steamers and flats; (b) those navigable throughout for country-boats of all sizes but can be negotiated by steamers only when in flood or high-tide; and (c) those navigable only for smaller type country boats during the greater part of the year and can be negotiated by bigger country boats or steamers only for a few weeks during the rains. In addition to these there are a number of khals, beels, rivulets and streams that provide facilities for moving rafts and small crafts within limited ranges and afford, in some parts of the country, the main, if not the only means of local transportation.

The routes over which steamer services ply have a total length of about 2,750 miles... Padma, Brahmaputra, Jamuna, Meghna and Rupnarain, the river estuaries in the districts of Midnapur, 24-Parganas, Khulna Bakarganj, and Chittagong.

From a broad review of the existing means of communication it is readily noticed that while the riverine districts of deltaic Bengal depend mostly on waterways, West Bengal and parts of Central and North Bengal are largely dependent on roads and railways. In the determination
of the boundaries, therefore, larger proportionate allocation of railways and roadways to the West Bengal State may reasonably be claimed....

Many wars have been fought only to secure rational frontiers and to preserve lifelines of transport. It is earnestly hoped that the Bengal Boundary Commission will very carefully weigh the claims of sections, will not be unduly swayed by the artificial and perhaps short-lived demand for dividing Bengal principally on the ground of Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas, and will earn the gratitude of posterity by determining the most logical and scientific line of frontier between East and West Bengal that will make for peace, security and progress of all children of Bengal.

10. Report of the Muslim Members to the Bengal Boundary Commission

Extracts, 28 July 1947


**REPORT OF MUSLIM MEMBERS.**

Mr. Justice A.S.M. Akram.

and

Mr. Justice S.A. Rahman.

The terms of reference are as follows:—

‘The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors.’

This clearly means that the basic factors in effecting the division of Bengal would be: (1) the continuity of areas, and (2) the majority of population in such areas. No guidance is available from the terms of reference as to the scope of the ‘other factors’ that have to be taken into account while demarcating the boundaries. It seems to us, however, that these ‘other factors’ must be of a compelling character if they are to override the basic factors of contiguity and majority of population.

There is some difference of opinion among the members of the Commission as to the exact scope of the term ‘contiguity’. In our view this term can only refer to areas within the Province of Bengal, and not to areas outside the Province. To take a concrete instance, in our view the Chittagong Hill Tracts would not be contiguous to any non-Muslim majority area contemplated by the proposed division merely because on one side it adjoins a part of the Assam Province (a non-Muslim majority area) which may be included within the Dominion of India. In this respect the terms of reference in our judgement preclude us from viewing the matter in the larger context of India as a whole. Since the division is to be confined to the Province of Bengal we have to limit ourselves to areas within the Province for the purpose of determining contiguity.

The idea underlying the terms of reference seems to be that Bengal should be divided into two compact blocks—one being the Muslim majority area and the other the non-Muslim majority area. In order to arrive at such blocks it is necessary to start with two undisputed nuclei, each comprising a majority of the population of one community or the other. The position that has emerged after hearing the arguments of the parties is that the districts of
Midnapore, Bankura, Hooghly, Howrah and Burdwan should admittedly form part of West Bengal, and similarly, the districts of Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera, Mymensingh (subject to the exclusion of partially excluded areas in the north of the district), Bogra, Pabna and Dacca should admittedly form part of East Bengal. The former districts are non-Muslim majority areas contiguous to one another and form a compact block. Similarly, the latter districts are Muslim majority areas forming a compact block. The parties are at issue over the distribution of areas comprised within the remaining 15 districts of the Province, including Calcutta.

The next point to be considered is, what unit of area should be adopted for determining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims or non-Muslims to be attached to their compact blocks mentioned above. The existing ‘notional’ division of the Province was on the district basis. As is apparent from His Majesty’s Government’s statement of the 3rd June, and His Excellency the Viceroy’s broadcast speech made on the occasion of its announcement, that division was merely for the purpose of ascertaining the opinion of the representatives of the Province whether there should be a partition of the Province at all. For the purpose of having a more detailed investigation of the boundary it would be imperative to go to a unit of area lower than the district. In this Province a district consists of one or more sub-divisions, each sub-division comprising several police-stations or thanas, and each thana including within its area several unions. A union is a conglomeration of villages.

The population figures for any unit of division can only be taken from the census report of 1941. All the parties have cast doubt on the accuracy of the census figures, but there is no alternative to the acceptance of those figures as a working basis in the present case. The population figures for villages in the Province do not specify the proportions of the communities included in the villages. The choice of a unit therefore lies between a sub-division, a thana, and a union.

It would have simplified matters a good deal if we could have come to an agreement on the selection of a proper unit. Unfortunately this has not been found to be possible. The two non-Muslim parties, namely, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha purport to base their claims on the thana basis, but in actual fact they have departed radically in their schemes from the boundary which would result from the thana basis. The principal Muslim party, namely, the Muslim League, has put forward its claims on the basis of the union, though they have also indicated what the position would be on the sub-division basis....

As for choice between a union and a thana, it is clear to us that the union would be a more satisfactory basis than the thana inasmuch as it is an administrative unit, and the population comprised within a union is knit together as one entity by social, economic and administrative ties. (Annexure II)

On the other grounds, however, we are inclined to take the view that neither the thana nor the union would yield a satisfactory boundary between the two parts of Bengal. This boundary, it has to be remembered, will also be the boundary between two independent Sovereign Dominions of Pakistan and India. It is consequently imperative that the boundary should be continuous, clear and as short as possible so as to avoid the chances of future friction between the two States. The thanas as well as the union yield boundaries which are long, zig-zag and serpentine. Such a boundary would lead to great administrative difficulties even from the points of view of police administration and customs. We are therefore inclined to say that these two units should be discarded in favour of the sub-division, which is a self-contained administrative unit. The headquarters of a sub-division have a Sub-divisional Magistrate, a Police Officer, and a Munsif to look after the criminal and civil administration of the area. All departments
of Government are represented in the sub-division, and its headquarters can be regarded as a cultural and commercial centre of the area binding together the residents of the sub-division by close ties of economic inter-dependence and joint interests. The most important consideration in this regard is the fact that if the sub-division is adopted as the unit, the resulting boundary yields two compact Muslim and non-Muslim blocks, and the intervening boundary is free from the difficulties noticed in the case of the other two units. A glance at the maps prepared in accordance with the three units would at once make the position absolutely clear. Of course, the boundary arrived at on the basis of the sub-division would be subject to such adjustments as may be found necessary on the ground of 'other factors'....

After making the adjustments mentioned above, the boundary that emerges would almost approximate to the river boundary contended for by the League, except in the lower reaches of the Hooghly where a major portion of the district of 24-Parganas stands out from East Bengal.

It is thus clear that by following the river Bhagirathi as the boundary from the point where it enters Bengal, the League will be deprived of some Muslim majority areas in the Murshidabad district, and will be compensated accordingly in the districts of Nadia and 24-Parganas up to Calcutta. Out of the remaining area of the 24-Parganas shaded yellow in Map No. II² of the League, the thanas Swarupnagar, Baduria and Basirhat, are also Muslim majority areas. The 24-Parganas are really part of the integral unit of the Presidency Division served by an interlinked system of rivers, we feel that the economical and geographical integrity of this region should not be broken, and therefore the boundary line even below Calcutta should follow the Hooghly river up to the sea. The result is that from all points of view the Bhagirathi and the Hooghly provide us with what may be described as the most satisfactory line between the two parts of Bengal. We are consequently of the opinion that this river should be adopted as the boundary line between the two States from its outlet into the sea up to the point where it emerges from the Ganges, and thenceforth the Ganges in its north-westernly direction to the point where it enters Bengal.

A.S.M. Akram.
S.A. Rahman.

¹ Annexures not reproduced here.
² Not reproduced here.

11. Report of the Non-Muslim Members to the Bengal Boundary Commission

Extracts, 29 July 1947


Report of Non-Muslim Members.

Mr. Justice B.K. Mukherjea

and

Mr. Justice C.C. Biswas.

...5. We examined the written memoranda filed by different parties and heard arguments advanced by the lawyers appearing for some of them. The principal parties we heard were,
on the side of the non-Muslims, (1) the Indian National Congress and (2) the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha jointly with the New Bengal Association, and on the side of the Muslims, the Muslim League. No witness was examined; in fact, we could examine none as we were not given the powers of a Court. No document was formally proved or exhibited before us, but there was a large mass of statements filed by different parties and organizations. We wish we had more time at our disposal, so that we could sift the materials with greater care and thoroughness.

6. After the sittings were concluded, there was a discussion amongst the four members of the Commission. We regret that no unanimous decision could be arrived at. We could agree so far that the districts of Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera, Dacca, Mymensingh, Pabna and Bogra should be assigned to East Bengal, and the districts of Midnapore, Bankura, Howrah, Hooghly and Burdwan should go to West Bengal. We could not agree as to the other areas and as to how or where the boundary line or lines should be drawn to separate the two parts of Bengal.

7. In these circumstances, it has become necessary for us to embody our views in a separate report.

8. At the outset we should like to indicate the general principles we have endeavoured to keep in view. As the terms of reference quoted above will show, our task is, first, to ascertain the areas in which either community, Muslim or non-Muslim, is in a majority, and then, after these majority areas have been so determined, to consider the question of linking up the majority areas of either community into large compact blocks. In doing so, the element of physical contiguity will doubtless be an important consideration, but ‘other factors’ will also have to be taken into account.

9. It is needless to point out that the terms of reference merely indicate the procedure to be followed in effecting the division and relate only to what may be called the ‘mechanics’ of partition. They do not purport to set out the objective of the partition. The main objective, as we conceive it in the context of the events that led up to the proposal for the partition of Bengal, is to divide the Province into Muslim and non-Muslim zones. This does not mean that any of the zones should contain a population belonging exclusively to one community; it merely implies that one zone should be predominantly Muslim and the other predominantly non-Muslim in character. We think, therefore, that there is considerable force in the Congress contention that one of the cardinal principles to be followed in making the division should be that either of the zones into which the Province is divided should contain as large a proportion as practicable of the total population of Bengal belonging to the particular community which is predominant there. In other words, the partition must be so effected that there may be as many non-Muslims as possible in West Bengal, and as many Muslims as possible in East Bengal....

10. We venture to think that every conceivable scheme of partition that may be formulated must be ultimately judged by reference to these tests, and a scheme that fails to satisfy any of them should be rejected straightaway.

11. Coming back to the terms of reference, the first point we desire to emphasise is that these must be interpreted with reference to the objective of partition as outlined above. There is little difficulty in understanding the meaning of the expression ‘majority areas of Muslims or non-Muslims’, which obviously refers to areas the majority of the population wherein are Muslims or non-Muslims, as the case may be. The important question that arises is as to the unit of area with reference to which the majority factor is to be decided. In our opinion, this unit must be one which is the most convenient and practicable index for the purpose of judging the distribution of the Muslim and non-Muslim population within the area in question. In
selecting such a unit, there are three fundamental postulates which can at once be laid down and which admit of no controversy:

(i) that none of the present administrative units in which the Province is divided is to be considered either sacrosanct or indivisible;
(ii) that whatever unit is selected, it must be one for which authentic official data in the shape of census figures and survey maps are available; and
(iii) that the unit should be as small as possible.

15. There is no denying that the union is a smaller unit than the police-station, and if by adopting the union as our unit, we could get a clear-cut picture of the distribution of population in Bengal, there could perhaps be no objection to selecting this unit in preference to the ‘police-station’. But a mere look at the maps prepared by the Muslim League on union basis would convince anybody that the union cannot possibly be our unit for studying the distribution of population, which after all, is our main purpose. It brings in a chaotic mass of details which serve only to confuse the picture. On the other hand, if we look at a map in which the next larger unit is selected, i.e., the police-station, we get a clear-cut picture showing large and compact blocks in which the Muslims or the non-Muslims are in a majority.

19. We may state that there is some amount of suspicion regarding the reliability of the union figures that have been placed before us. There is a letter, dated the 18th July, 1947, addressed by the Collector of 24-Parganas, to the Secretary of the Board of Revenue, in which the following statement occurs:

‘There are a number of cases and containers in this District Record Room which are supposed to contain the census enumeration slips of 1941, but since the census operations there has been no occasion to open or examine any of them except that a few days ago an officer was brought along by the Secretary of the Board of Revenue who had some boxes opened out.

20. It is alleged on the non-Muslim side that these figures might have been tampered with. If we are to accept these figures as correct, it would be necessary, according to the ordinary law of evidence, to examine the officers from whose custody they were brought, or who opened the boxes and allowed them to be cross-examined by the parties who impeach the genuineness of the figures. Quite apart from any rule of evidence, we think that it would be a gross travesty of justice to allow them to be used against parties who have been given no opportunity to prove that these figures and maps were not correct and have been got up for the purpose of inflating the claim of the Muslim League before the Boundary Commission. In these circumstances, we think that it would not be proper to rely on the union maps at all for the purpose of demarcating the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal.

24. Having now disposed of the question as to how majority areas are to be determined, we have next to consider the principles according to which such majority areas are to be amalgamated community-wise. As we have already pointed out, the terms of reference indicate that this is to be done on the basis of contiguity, which means physical contiguity, as well as ‘other factors’. The mention of ‘other factors’ makes it clear that contiguity is not to be the only determining principle: it may well happen that ‘other factors’ will override the claims of contiguity. What these ‘other factors’ are has not been specified in the terms of reference, nor do we think are they capable of specific enumeration. Undoubtedly, they would include matters relating to strategy and defence, to historical and cultural associations, and to economic requirements considered from the standpoint of modern industry and commerce, as well as
to other considerations which, to borrow the words used by His Excellency the Viceroy in another context, may aptly be summed up as ‘Geographical compulsion’. The river system in Bengal as well as the means of communication between different parts of the Province would certainly be pertinent factors for consideration.

25. In this connection there is one important fact which we must not lose sight of, namely, that the division that is to be made is not an administrative or internal division between two Provinces, or between two units of a Federation. The boundary will be an international boundary, separating two independent sovereign States. Such boundary marks the limits of the region within which a State can exercise its sovereign authority, and with its location, various matters relating to immigration and restriction on visitors, imposition of custom duties and prevention of smuggling and contraband trade, are bound up. The boundary should undoubtedly be drawn up in such a manner as would obviate chances of friction and clashes in peace time. In addition to these peace-time functions, the requirements of military defence will also have to be considered. Natural boundaries are certainly to be preferred, but when they are not available recourse cannot but be had to artificial boundaries.

26. As regards the relative weight to be attached to ‘other factors’ we cannot lay down any hard and fast rules. The task of weighing and appraising the merits of different factors is by no means easy, and the difficulty is obviously greater when conflicting considerations arise. In such cases, all that can be said is that the rule of justice, equity and fairness should prevail. Thus, for example, in our opinion, no factor should be allowed to operate in such a way as to militate against the fundamental rule of equity which we have emphasised before, that the proportion of Muslims in East Bengal to the total Muslim population of the Province should not be unduly lower or higher than the proportion of non-Muslims in West Bengal to the entire non-Muslim population of the Province....

100. Our conclusion, therefore, is that leaving aside the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the following areas should be included in and constitute West Bengal:

The entire Burdwan Division; Calcutta; the whole of 24-Parganas, the district of Khulna minus the police-stations of Morelgunj and Sarankhola; the sub-division of Gopalgunj and thana Rajair in the district of Faridpur; the seven police-stations of Bakarganj including the town of Barisal; 12 thanas of Jessore as indicated in our report; the sub-divisions of Ranaghat and Krishnagar off the district of Nadia and all the police-stations of that district which lie on the west of the river Matabhanga or through which the river passes, and the whole of the district of Murshidabad. As regards North Bengal, it will include the whole of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts, two police-stations of Rangpur and the portions of Dinajpur and Malda as have been indicated already. To these, is to be added the police-station of Rampur Boalia in the district of Rajshahi.

The rest of the Province would go to East Bengal....

105. Before we conclude, we deem it necessary to say a few words about river boundaries upon which considerable stress seems to have been laid by the Muslim League. We cannot help feeling that the supposed anxiety for natural boundaries which has led the Muslim League to fix upon the Bhagirathi and the Brahmani as most suitable boundaries between the two parts of Bengal, is only a pretext for depriving West Bengal of more than four-fifths of the territory of the Province. The Brahmani is a thin rivulet which more or less serves the purpose of a natural drain for the rain-water which collects in the rice fields. The Bhagirathi is undoubtedly a well-known river, but everybody knows that in its upper reaches it is neither wide nor deep, and remains dry for nearly 8 months in the year. The absurd result that will be produced by accepting these rivers as natural boundaries, we have indicated already. Nearly 67 per cent
of the non-Muslim population would have to settle in Muslim Bengal, and only about 33 per cent of them would have a chance of living in West Bengal.

106. It is a fact that there are no natural boundaries in Bengal except rivers. But if we have got to make rivers the natural boundaries for purposes of delimitation as well as for defence, the rivers Padma, Brahmaputra and Meghna would undoubtedly be an ideal selection. The adoption of these boundaries would, however, result in almost as grossly unfair a division of the population as the selection of the Bhagirathi, for this would compel a considerable body of Muslim population to live under non-Muslim rule. To ensure as fair and equitable a division as is possible in the circumstances, we have, therefore, not thought it right to give undue preference to natural boundaries. According to the scheme that we have adopted, there would be river boundaries in certain parts only, namely, where we have taken the Padma, the Mathabhanga and the Barisal rivers as the limits of particular areas. If, however, natural boundaries are deemed to be essential, then we would and do recommend that the rivers Atrai, Boral, Padma, Madhumati, Kumar Arialkhan, Barisal, Baleswar and Bhola should be taken to be the boundaries of West and East Bengal, and they will form nearly one continuous dividing line.

B.K. Mukherjea
C.C. Biswas

12. ‘Whole of Surma Valley Claimed for East Bengal’

_The Statesman, 5 August 1947_

Inclusion of the whole of the Surma Valley, comprising the districts of Sylhet and Cachar, in East Bengal was claimed on behalf of the Muslim League before the Bengal Boundary Commission yesterday.

A similar demand was also made on behalf of the East Bengal Government.

Besides this, they wanted the Commission to consider the question of incorporating some other parts of Assam adjoining East Bengal. In this connexion, a point was raised regarding the terms of reference of the Boundary Commission under which ‘the Commission is to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and the contiguous Muslim majority areas of the adjoining districts of Assam.’

The members of the Commission were divided in their interpretation of the words ‘adjoining districts’ and referred the point to the Chairman, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, for direction.

While Mr. Mohammed Wasim (for the Muslim League) was arguing the point, a telegram was received from the Chairman stating that the ‘adjoining districts are adjoining districts of Assam which adjoin Sylhet and not any district of Assam that adjoins East Bengal.’

When the Commission met, replying to Mr. Justice C.C. Biswas, Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury (for the East Bengal Government) said that they claimed the whole of Goalpara district, three thanas of Kamrup district, the whole of Garo and Lushai Hills, Sylhet district, three sub-divisions of Cachar and fringes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

Mr. Justice Mukherjea said that this raised a question about the interpretation of the terms of reference. Members of the Commission held different views on the matter.

Mr. Wasim referred to the June 3 plan and the terms of reference of the Boundary Commission and argued that the words ‘adjoining districts’ meant the ‘Muslim majority districts of Assam which are contiguous to Sylhet and East Bengal.'
Mr. Justice Mukherjea observed that if there were known Muslim majority areas, what was
the necessity of appointing a boundary commission for Sylhet.

Mr. Wasim reiterated that the word ‘districts’ meant the contiguous Muslim majority areas
of Assam adjoining East Bengal.

Mr. Justice Biswas said if what counsel was submitting was correct it would have been
expressly mentioned in words.

Mr. Wasim said that it was left out for reasons which he did not know.

At this stage Mr. Justice Mukherjea intimated that the Commission had just received a
directive from the Chairman (to the effect stated above).

Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury regretted that the Chairman had given a direction without
giving them a hearing.

Mr. Justice Biswas said that the question was raised by the four members of the Commission
before the Chairman.

Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq (representing Goalpara) said that the Chairman should have heard
their arguments.

Mr. Justice Mukherjea said that they might put in their arguments in writing which would
be forwarded to the Chairman.

Mr. Wasim then presented the Muslim League case for the inclusion of the Surma Valley,
containing Sylhet and Cachar districts in East Bengal. He said that Assam stood on an entirely
different footing from Bengal which had one language, one culture, one civilization but two
religions. The only difference was in regard to carving out portions between East and West
Bengal. But in Assam there were three physical portions absolutely different from one another.
There was the Surma Valley, Khasi and Jaintia Hills on the north, the Naga Hills on the east
and Tipperah and Mymensingh on the west. The Surma Valley was absolutely different in
culture and language from the Assam Valley. The Surma Valley differed from other portions
of Assam province and should be dealt with as one unit.

Referring to the 1931 census report he maintained that linguistically and socially the Surma
Valley was connected with Bengal and there were few points of contact between the dwellers
of the Surma Valley and the Assam Valley. The former had nothing in common with the rest
of Assam.

The population in the plains was Bengali speaking consisting of Muslims and Hindus. Tea
garden coolies who came from Bihar, the C.P., Madras and Orissa had nothing in common
with the people of the plains. They had no vote and were not allowed to take part in the
Sylhet referendum. They came there under a contract system and were treated distinct from
the general population. Even if they calculated the population of the Surma Valley including
the tea garden coolies, Muslims would still be in a majority. Logically, the Surma Valley was
a part of Bengal and should be restored to her.

Enunciating the principle that a State should be self sufficient and should have strategic
positions of defence, Mr. Wasim said that they were claiming the North Cachar Hills to be
included in East Bengal. It was of strategic importance. They were not contemplating any war
between East Bengal and Assam. But armies or bandits from other territories might try to attack
East Bengal. Therefore, Assam should be responsible for the defence of the territory up to the
Naga Hills. Then there was the Manipur State and the Muslim League would be responsible
for the territory under it.
Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdury maintained that after the declaration of the result of the Sylhet referendum, the Boundary Commission had to decide which were the other contiguous Muslim majority areas to be included in Pakistan and for that purpose they should take Sylhet district as a unit. Cachar and Sylhet formed one natural unit and were a part of Bengal. There was intense rivalry between the Surma Valley and the Assam Valley. There were also other factors why the Surma Valley should be a part of East Bengal. There were on its north a whole range of hills about 400 miles in length and 100 miles in width. Similar was the case on the south also. It had got the only exit on the Bengal side and none on the east.

Mr. Huq had not concluded when the Commission rose for the day.

Mr. Atul Gupta with Mr. C.K. Sen, Mr. S.K. Ghose and Mr Rohini Kumar Chowdhury MLA Central, instructed by Mr. P.D. Himatsinghka appeared for the Assam Government; Mr. N.C. Chatterji, instructed by Mr. A.K. Dutt, for the Sylhet Congress Committee; Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu with Mr. S.R. Dutt for the Cachar District Congress Committee, the Cachar District Jamiat-ul-Ulema and other organizations.

13. Assam Requests Road to Cachar and Lushai Be Allotted to It

Telegram from S.A. Hydari to Louis Mountbatten, 10 August 1947

Most Immediate
Confidential

No. 175-MSG. Sylhet Boundary Commission. If I am in order please consider the following representation from my Government. Begins: The road to Chachar and Lushai Hills from Khasi Hills skirts northern fringe of Sylhet District. Unless we build an alternative route through difficult hilly country which will be expensive this road is Assam’s only present means of communication to these two districts. Assam should therefore under term ‘other factors’ mentioned in terms of reference be allotted this road with a narrow strip on either side sufficient to enable road being kept in operation. This narrow strip of territory inhabited predominantly by non-Muslims. Ends. My personal view is that this road is so vital to Assam’s communications that if Government’s request granted by Chairman of Boundary Commission. I would be able to persuade my Ministers to abate (gr: cor:) their claims to some other parts of Sylhet District. Such concession would also I think assist growth of good feeling between Assam and East Bengal which it is in economic interests of both Provinces to foster.

14. Chittagong Hill Tribes Apprehensive of Their Position in East Bengal

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Louis Mountbatten, 13 August 1947

MOST IMMEDIATE
AND PERSONAL

A deputation of the Chittagong Hill Tribes saw me this morning and expressed to me their grave apprehension that their area was going to be included in East Bengal under the Boundary
Commission award. I am unaware of the source of their information, but they seemed to be well-convinced that this was going to happen. I have told them that the proposition was so monstrous that if it should happen they would be justified in resisting to the utmost of their power and count on our maximum support in such resistance.

2. Personally, I feel it is inconceivable that such a blatant and patent breach of terms of reference should be perpetrated by the Chairman of the Boundary Commission. We have all along felt that the future of this area was not at all in doubt. No fair reading of the terms of reference or appreciation of the factual position could make a ninety-seven per cent non-Muslim area a part of the award relating to the boundary of East Bengal. Such a decision would also jeopardize the position of the adjoining Tripura State which is a Hindu State with predominantly Hindu population, and which has acceded to the Indian Dominion and has joined the Union Constituent Assembly.

3. I, therefore, feel bound to draw your attention to the serious consequences which would follow such a manifestly unjust award. There is no doubt from the report of the Tribal Areas Committee who collected unimpeachable evidence on the spot and whose views I represented to the Chairman of the Commission in a letter (copy enclosed) which I sent to him as Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly, that the entire population of this area is in favour of remaining in the Indian Union.

4. Any award against the weight of local opinion and of the terms of reference, or without any referendum to ascertain the will of the people concerned must, therefore, be construed a collusive or partisan award and will have, therefore, to be repudiated by us. I make this statement with a full sense of responsibility as one who was party to the setting up of the Commission. But you cannot clearly expect us to submit to a proceeding which would be in violation of the basic conception underlying the Commission's terms of reference.

5. I must also point out that public reaction would wholly and overwhelmingly support us in such repudiation. Already there is considerable doubt whether they would get an impartial award under the novel and strange procedure adopted by the Chairman of not even hearing the arguments. Many persons have come and complained to me that he has rendered himself liable, by this means, to being influenced by circles in your Secretariat whose antipathies to India and sympathies with the League are well known. The selection, as Secretary of the Commission, of one of the European officers of the Punjab, who are generally associated in public mind with pro-League sympathies, had not mended matters. I have generally adopted an indifferent attitude to these complaints, but if the award confirms the worst fears entertained by the public, it is impossible for me to predict the volume of bitterness and rancour which would be let loose and I am certain that this will create a situation which both you and I may have to regret.

Yours sincerely,
VALLABHBHAI PATEL

Enclosure

Copy of letter No. CA-38-COM-47, dated the 25th July, 1947, from the Chairman, Advisory Committee on Minorities, Fundamental Rights, Tribal and Excluded Areas, Constituent Assembly of India, Council House, New Delhi, to The Chairman, The Bengal Boundary Commission, Calcutta.
Subject:—Chittagong Hill Tracts

I have the honour to address you on behalf of the Advisory Committee set up in pursuance of paragraph 20 of the Statement of the 16th May 1946 by the Constituent Assembly of India. A Sub-Committee was set up by the Advisory Committee to report on a scheme of administration for the Excluded Areas. This Sub-Committee visited the Chittagong Hill Tracts, which is an Excluded Area, in April 1947 and took the evidence of local officials, non-officials and associations who were interested in the future administration of the area. The Sub-Committee have recently considered the future administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and although they are not in a position to send their complete report yet, they have pointed out that the people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts were unanimously against the Tracts forming a part of Bengal (as it then was) and that in view of the predominantly non-Muslim character of its population the area should in no circumstances be included in East Bengal. They have also pointed out that the Tracts adjoin and form part of the Lushai Hills of Assam and that communication exists between them.

2. I have the honour to bring the views of the Sub-Committee on behalf of the Advisory Committee to your notice and to say that I am fully in agreement with them. A copy of the evidence recorded by the Sub-Committee is enclosed herewith.

15. Memorandum Presented by the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha

Extracts, undated
S.P. Mookerjee Papers, 1st Instalment, File No. 17, NMML

MEMORANDUM
FOR THE
BENGAL BOUNDARY COMMISSION

Submitted By
The Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha
And
The New Bengal Association

The fixation for the boundary between two States is not the work of a surveyor or statistician but it demands the insight of a statesman [sic]. The division of Bengal into two States will not merely affect the lives of 60 millions of people living in Bengal but it will influence the destiny of the whole of India. It is really an All-India problem. We should remember that this partition is not like the partition of Bengal into two Provinces as was done during the regime of Lord Curzon in 1905. Two Provinces were then constituted but both were under one strong Central Government and under one Sovereign power. Now the East Bengal State will not be a subordinate Province under one Central Government but it will be a sovereign independent State detached from the Indian Union owing no allegiance to the Government of India. The boundary of West Bengal shall also be the boundary of the Indian Union. In the demarcation of that boundary line will lie the safety and security, the peace and prosperity as well as the economic and social interests of 40 crores of human beings.
Under the notional partition of Bengal which has been declared to be of a purely temporary nature, West Bengal has only got a population of 1,95,88,799 and an area of 31,919 sq. miles including the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The total population of Bengal is 6,03,06,525 and that of non-Muslims in Bengal is 2,73,01,091 according to the census of 1941. We do not accept the census figures as correct. There is a widespread suspicion that they were manipulated at the instance of a party which was then in power. Even on the basis of these census figures we have got a truncated Province which can not accommodate the entire non-Muslim population of the whole of Bengal. From the calculation of the figures and the necessary data it will be clear that West Bengal has not been given either the population or the territory which is justly due to it. The total number of Muslims in this area is about 43 lakhs out of a total of about 330 lakhs of Muslims in Bengal, i.e. about 13%. On the other hand the number of non-Muslims left in East Bengal is 120 lakhs out of a total of 273 lakhs, i.e. about 44%. The present division must be radically altered.

In the British Government’s Declaration of the 3rd June the Boundary Commission has been called upon to take into account ‘other factors’ which should over-ride contiguity and communal majority. Geographical features, river systems, historical and cultural associations and economic considerations as well as social customs and manners should be taken into account. ....The actual utility of any given territory depends on many factors besides the characteristics of the territory itself—its resources, population and defensibility. Mere communal strength and territorial contiguity must yield place to other vital considerations. In choosing the area and population for West Bengal an endeavour should be made to bring within the compass of that Province all the non-Muslim majority areas keeping in mind compactness, homogeneity, similarity of manners and customs, natural boundaries and cultural and historic association.

However fantastic or untenable the two-Nations theory propounded by the Muslim League may appear, the demand for Pakistan was based on the acceptance of that theory. From the tragic happenings in the past it is advisable that the number of non-Muslims forced to live under Pakistan rule should not exceed the number of Muslims living in West Bengal. One of the leaders of the Muslim League has declared that the constitution of the Pakistan State would be based on the principles of Islam. The future of the Hindus and other non-Muslims in the Pakistan State will be extremely uncertain and difficult and they may suffer from various disabilities. As a matter of fact there has been large scale migration of population from some of the Eastern Districts within the past ten months and the possibility of mass migration is almost imminent. The new State of West Bengal should be in a position to provide for the inclusion and accommodation of immigrants from Pakistan.

....Taking Divisions as units, the whole of the Burdwan Division is predominantly non-Muslim and the districts comprising the said Division belong to the same cultural area. The non-Muslim population in the Division is 86.10%. The whole of the Presidency Division has all along been taken as one administrative unit and it has been a non-Muslim majority area though some parts of it have majority of Muslims. Past precedent is in favour of the inclusion of the whole Division as was done by Lord Curzon when he partitioned Bengal. Tradition and culture throughout this Division are similar. Manners and customs also bear remarkable similarity. People use the same language and same dialect. People of West Bengal Districts of Burdwan, Howrah, Hoogly and 24 Parganas are generally tied by social relationship with the people of Nadia, Jessore, Murshidabad and Khulna.
Calcutta is a predominantly Hindu city and must be the capital of West Bengal. The life and prosperity of West Bengal State will depend on Calcutta. The non-Muslim population of the city of Calcutta is 76.4%. 91.55% of the premises of Calcutta are held by non-Muslims. Out of the city's rates and taxes, 93.8% are paid by non-Muslims. The intellectual and cultural life of the city is predominantly Hindu. The contiguous territory of the district of 24 Parganas is also non-Muslim majority area. The Muslims there are in a minority of 32.47% of the population.

The peculiar position of the Scheduled Castes in Bengal is another important feature which ought to be taken into consideration by the Boundary Commission. It is the supreme task of the State to work for all round upliftment of the Scheduled Caste Hindus. After all they are an organic part of the great Hindu Society. It will not be proper to allow the Scheduled Caste Hindus who are clustered in certain well defined regions to be cut adrift from the predominantly Hindu population of West Bengal. All their traditions and sentiments are bound up with West Bengal. All the Scheduled Caste Members from West Bengal voted for the partition of Bengal and the inclusion of West Bengal into the Indian Union. It is the universal desire of all sections of Scheduled Castes to remain as citizens of that Union. The recognised leaders of the Scheduled Castes have in unequivocal terms demanded their inclusion in the West Bengal Province and declared their unwillingness to join the Pakistan State. It is for that reason that we demand the inclusion of the Sub-Division of Gopalganj which is a predominantly Scheduled Caste area as well as the adjoining territory in the districts of Faridpur and Bakarganj as parts of West Bengal, all such territory being contiguous non-Muslim majority area.

The territory which we claim for West Bengal will have predominantly Hindu centres of culture which have played a prominent part in the history of Bengal. That is why Nadia, the birth place of Sri Chaitanya and the seat of Sanskrit learning and Vaishnavite culture as well as Barisal, one of the strongholds of nationalism should remain within West Bengal. The cultural landscape of this area reveals that the folk culture has been predominantly built up by the Hindus. From this point of view one needs consider history, tradition and cultural institutions. The number of schools, colleges, educational and cultural institutions which are supported in this region primarily by the Hindus play a dominant part in shaping the cultural character of the region. The Muslims, although they form a bare majority in some parts, have a very small share in the cultural make-up of the area.

The question as to how the Chittagong Hill Tracts should be treated in the matter of partition requires serious consideration. The said area is 5007 sq. miles and out of its total population of 2,47,053 only 7,270 are Muslims. The non-Muslims therefore are in the majority of 97.04%. The area should form a part of the Indian Union according to the desire of the population of this area.
DIFFERENT AREAS IN WEST & EAST BENGAL CONSEQUENT ON PARTITION OF BENGAL ACCORDING TO THE PRESENT SCHEME

WEST BENGAL—Total Population: 2,91,34,090; Non-Muslims: 1,95,53,093; Muslims: 95,80,997

Rajshahi Division: Darjeeling district (whole); Jalpaiguri district (whole); Ranagpur district (Dinajpur, Haroa, & Baramangla thanas); Dinajpur district (excluding eight thanas); Malda district (whole); Rajshahi district (Godagari thana, parts thanas including Rajshahi town, and part of Paba thana through which Prestice Division; Murshidabad district (whole); Nadia district (excluding a small area east of the Ganges River); Jessore district (whole); Khulna district (excluding Moregaon and Sarankhola thanas); Calcutta city; 24-Parganas district (whole).

Burdwan Division: (Entire division).

Dacca Division: Faridpur district (Gopalganj subdivision and Rajair thana, portions of Madaripur and Khulna thanas upon the Arial Khan river including Madaripur town); Bakarganj district (Gosai, Upward, Baradari, Banarh, Saregha, Najipur, Rangpur, Sinthia, and parts of Barisal town including Barisal town, Madhupur, Kowkhol, and Rajpur thanas, bounded on the east by the Arial Khan and other rivers, on the west by the Baluwar, and on the south by the Balisar and other rivers).
Chapter 30. Governor-General(s) for the Dominions

1. Jinnah Wishes to Be Governor-General of Pakistan
   Telegram from Louis Mountbatten to Clement Attlee, 3 July 1947
   IOR, R/3/1/162, Acc. No. 3639, NAI

   NEW DELHI
   MOST IMMEDIATE
   TOP SECRET
   No. 1725-S. Following personal and private for Prime Minister from Viceroy.
   1. Mr. Jinnah came to see me last night and told me that he wanted to be Governor-General of Pakistan from the date of the transfer of power.
   2. I have spent four hours since then trying to make him realise the advantages that Pakistan would gain from having the same Governor-General as India for the initial period, until partition is complete. He is so adamant that he openly says that he would prefer to lose the crores’ worth of assets which he would get in a fair partition, under my supervision, than share a Governor-General.
   3. I now am faced with the appalling problem of whether to accept Nehru’s offer to stay as Governor-General of India or whether to pull out on August 15th.
   4. I will telegraph Jinnah’s full points of view and arguments and my recommendations later. This is intended to give you a preliminary indication of this unexpected course of events, as I realise that it may result in amendments to the Bill. But I would suggest that you take no action until I inform you further.

2. Muslim League Accepts Jinnah as the Governor-General of Pakistan
   Letter from Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten, 4 July 1947
   IOR, R/3/1/162, Acc. No. 3639, NAI

   GUL-I-RAANA, HARDINGE AVENUE
   NEW DELHI
   SECRET

   Dear Lord Mountbatten,

   Mr. Jinnah has received your letter of the 4th late in the evening at 6.30 and I am authorised to inform you that the All India Muslim League, the successor authority, tender advice to His Majesty the King to accept the name of Mr. M.A. Jinnah as the Governor-General of Pakistan.
We understand that the Congress desire that you should be the Governor-General of India Dominion, and if you decide to accept it, we shall be glad and feel that the two Governors-General will work in harmony and co-operation to effect equitably final and complete partition.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

3. Viceroy Surprised by Jinnah’s Decision

Extract from the minutes of Viceroy’s fifty-second staff meeting, 4 July 1947
IOR, R/3/1/162, Acc. No. 3639, NAI

ITEM 2. GOVERNOR-GENERAL
(V.C.P. 107).

The Meeting considered a paper prepared by the Conference Secretary, putting forward the reasons, as brought out in an unrecorded discussion the previous day, why His Excellency should accept the appointment of the Governor-General of the new Dominion of India alone. This question has arisen because of Mr. Jinnah’s intention, first declared two days previously, to put forward his own name for the post of Governor-General of Pakistan.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY said that his conscience was clear that he had taken every possible step of which he knew, in order to put clearly before Mr. Jinnah the advantages of Pakistan having the same Governor-General as India during at least the initial period after the transfer of power. The final step which he had taken had been to send for the Nawab of Bhopal and ask him again to point out the advantages to Mr. Jinnah. This step had been unsuccessful. His Excellency said that to him the most painful part of all this was that he had, though unintentionally, deceived Congress. They had made their offer that he should remain as Governor-General of the Dominion of India on the understanding that he would be Governor-General of Pakistan also. HIS EXCELLENCY emphasised that Mr. Jinnah’s decision had come as a complete surprise to him. For example, Mr. Jinnah had not told the Nawab of Bhopal, when he had seen him four days previously, that was in his mind.

THE VICEROY stated that the Nawab of Bhopal had given his opinion that the only hope for Pakistan now was for him (His Excellency) to stay on as Governor-General of India. The Nawab of Bhopal had said that he considered that this was the only hope for the States too. He had added that from the personal viewpoint he thought that the decision was much more difficult and had suggested that three days would be required in order to make it.

RAO BAHADUR MENON stated that Mr. Mohd. Ali had told him that informed Muslim League opinion shared the Nawab of Bhopal’s view that it would be in the interests of Pakistan for His Excellency to remain as Governor-General of India.

A separate part of the paper before the Meeting dealt with the question as to whether, in the light of Mr. Jinnah’s decision, it would be desirable to amend the proviso to the Indian Independence Bill which allowed the same person to be Governor-General of both Dominions. HIS EXCELLENCY decided that it would be best to leave this proviso as it stood.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY:

(i) took note of V.C.P. 107;
(ii) approved a draft telegram to the Prime Minister, handed round at the Meeting, informing him of the latest situation;
(iii) directed Prin. Sec. to draft a telegram to His Majesty the King to inform him of the course of events;

(iv) decided to ask Mr. Jinnah, when next he saw him, whether he would accept a G.C.M.G. or similar decoration.

4. Mountbatten’s Position as Governor-General of India

Viceroy’s Conference Paper 116, 5 July 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 212A, NMML

THE VICEROY’S HOUSE, NEW DELHI

TOP SECRET

REASONS FOR AND AGAINST LORD MOUNTBATTEN STAYING ON AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE DOMINION OF INDIA

1. Attached are

(a) A paper setting out the reasons against Lord Mountbatten’s staying on as Governor-General of the Dominion of India. This was prepared by the Personal Secretary.

(b) A paper setting out the reasons in favour of Lord Mountbatten staying on as Governor-General of the Dominion of India. This was prepared by the Conference Secretary.

2. These papers were taken as a brief by Lord Ismay on his visit to London.

V.F. ERSKINE CRUM
Conference Secretary

Enclosure 1

REASONS AGAINST LORD MOUNTBATTEN STAYING ON AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE DOMINION OF INDIA

1. If H.E. accepts the appointment of Governor-General of the new Dominion of India alone it will have a mixed reception in the Indian Union. It must be remembered that the invitation has been extended by the Nehru/Patel clique; in other words the conservative element of the Party who are now old enough and wise enough to know that they need some help during the coming months.

2. But there is a large body of opinion in the Indian Union, including the Socialists and the Communists, who want all the British to leave on the transfer of power and Gandhi in particular has often said that the British should quit and leave India to work out their own salvation. It will thus undoubtedly be said in many circles in the Indian Union that the British are attempting to retain a hold on the country.

3. The effect of H.E. staying on with the Indian Union alone is bound to have a depressing effect in Pakistan in spite of the unassailable position which Jinnah holds in the minds of the Muslims. Certain organs of the Congress press will undoubtedly write up H.E.’s decision in big headlines and the impression on the Muslims will inevitably be that H.E. has deserted them and joined the stronger side.

4. As regards world opinion, there will be considerable criticism by thinking men of H.E.’s acceptance of the post. There is a big volume of opinion all over the world that ways and
means should have been found to keep India united and grave doubts have been expressed about the necessity for partition. As far as the world is concerned partition will have been effected on the 15th August 1947 and two new Dominions set up. The question is bound to be asked why H.E. should stay on at all, and in particular why he should stay on with the bigger and stronger side. There will also undoubtedly be criticism that the smaller Muslim Dominion is being abandoned.

5. At the time when the possibility of H.E. staying on as Governor-General of both Dominions was being considered a very strong point was made of how advantageous this would be from the point of view of completing partition in the months after 15th August, 1947, and it has been suggested that he could equally well carry out this function as Governor-General of the Indian Union also. But as Governor-General of one Dominion only it is illogical to suggest that he can be expected to act impartially when partition matters are being discussed. Nor would it be reasonable to ask the Indian Union to allow him to be impartial at any meeting he might attend on Partition matters. In fact it would be impossible for him to take any part in partition were he to remain as Governor-General of the Indian Union alone, apart from the advice which he might give to Ministers in the ordinary way as Constitutional Governor-General.

6. It is, therefore, quite illogical to suggest he could be of any real help to partition by staying on as Governor-General of one side only.

7. It will be recollected that when Jenkins and Burrows decided not to stay on in any capacity with either part of their partition provinces, their decision was applauded as correct and honourable and there is nothing different in the present case which is being considered. H.E. has accomplished all that he was sent out here to do in that he has effected a settlement of the Indian problem and has retained the new Dominions within the Commonwealth after the transfer of power. It would be undignified and morally wrong for him to stay on with one side only after the 15th August 1947 and he should accordingly quit India on that date.

Enclosure 2

REASONS IN FAVOUR OF LORD MOUNTBATTEN STAYING ON AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE DOMINION OF INDIA

1. Mr. Jinnah has now confirmed his wish to have his name submitted to His Majesty for the post of Governor-General of Pakistan. There are many reasons why the present Viceroy should accept the appointment of Governor-General of the new Dominion of India alone. It is emphasised that it would, primarily, be H.E.'s personality rather than his appointment—his personal relationship with the leaders rather than his position—which would act as a general stabilising influence.

2. Field Marshal Auchinleck has clearly stated that, if Lord Mountbatten left, he himself would resign. The Commanders-in-Chief of the other Services and Army Commanders have expressed similar intentions. The vast majority of British officers as a whole would, in such circumstances, indubitably fail to volunteer to remain. This would lead to the nationalisation of the Indian Armed Forces taking place at the same time as partition. Opinion is unanimous among all, including the Indian political leaders, who have any knowledge of the problem, that this would lead to disastrous results. The one stable element in India, namely the Indian Army, might well disintegrate; and riot and bloodshed on an appalling scale would result.

If, on the other hand, H.E. remained, British officers and officials as a whole, in both new Dominions, would be more likely to volunteer to remain themselves. They would feel, after
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

their experience in S.E.A.C. and latterly in India, that there was someone to look after their interests. The result would be that partition of the Armed Forces would go through smoothly; and chaos would be avoided.

3. If H.E. were to stay as Governor-General of India, the Partition Council and Arbitral Tribunal decisions would stand a far better chance of being implemented, whether or not H.E. personally remained as Chairman of the Partition Council or whatever body takes its place.

4. Smooth partition and H.E.’s general personal influence on other matters, would mean that the relations between India and Pakistan would stand a good chance of being friendly. The first object of India’s foreign policy must of necessity be the maintenance of good relations with Pakistan—and vice versa.

If H.E. were to go, one of the main reasons which would lead to deterioration of relations between the two Dominions would be that the Congress Leaders would feel that it was because of Mr. Jinnah’s attitude that H.E. had not stayed on, and that he had again sabotaged their plans. The patience of the Congress Leaders with Mr. Jinnah’s interference in their plans is well-nigh exhausted.

5. In the Dominion of India itself there would be a greater chance of stability if H.E. remained. Although there is still some communal tension, the situation has been improved out of all measure over the last three months because of H.E.’s presence. The advantages to the new Dominion herself are surely most apparent in the fact that Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, who are the best judges, have themselves asked H.E. to remain.

6. The situation in India after the transfer of power and the state of relationship between the two Dominions is going to have the greatest effect on the situation in S.E. Asia and indeed on the world as a whole.

7. There will be very real need, after 15th August, for some independent agency capable of resolving the difficulties which are bound to arise between India and the States. H.E.’s advice to the Indian Government on how to deal with the States, and to the rulers themselves on how to deal with the Indian Government, would be invaluable. The Nawab of Bhopal has said that the continued presence of H.E. is ‘the only hope’ for the States.

8. Although the reactions of the ‘Westminster Front’ are unpredictable from this distance, it is felt that the Opposition would be unlikely to oppose the passage of the Indian Independence Bill if they knew that H.E. was going to stay on. It must always be borne in mind that the Opposition, if they turned sour at the prospect of two Indian Governors-General in the new Dominions, could still so delay the passage of the Legislation that it would not be possible to transfer power on 15th August.

9. Mr. Jinnah has stated that he would welcome H.E.’s appointment as Governor-General of India. This has been confirmed in writing by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. All informed Muslim League opinion, which it has been possible to obtain, agrees. The Nawab of Bhopal has given his opinion that Pakistan itself would benefit enormously.

10. It is self-evident that all the advantages quoted above would be to the benefit of the Indian people themselves. It is also apparent that there would be considerable advantages from the purely British point of view, although these also, in the long run, will doubtless favourably affect the welfare of India.

11. From the British point of view, it would be of the greatest prestige value that Congress, after so long a fight for independence, should ask that their first Governor-General and two of their Governors should be British. It is doubtful whether these two Governors, Sir John Colville

and Sir Archibald Nye, would stay on if H.E. did not. If H.E. remained, India would be much more likely to remain within the Commonwealth for a long period or even permanently. The change of heart (so evident during the last three months) of Indians towards the British would not be reversed. And the prestige of the Commonwealth, and all that it stands for, would be increased.

If H.E. were to go, and if the Indian Government were thus turned down in their application for a British Governor-General, they would be as a lover scorned. The relations between India and Britain, which had improved so miraculously in the last three months, would again deteriorate at an unforeseeable rate.

12. Finally, surely world opinion will be in no mood to criticise H.E.’s acceptance of the post. Indeed, if he went, it is likely that there would be a considerable volume of criticism, both immediate and long term, that he was leaving the job half done and making a ‘quick get-away’.

5. Relations with India and Pakistan

Draft note by Campbell-Johnson, undated
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 62, NMML

With regard to the Conference Secretary’s note, the following are my views on the publicity implications of the three courses proposed.

1. I consider that while Course C is the most desirable from every point of view, Course A would be favourably received in the British and World Press, while Course B would not avoid serious criticism.

2. Left Wing expectation has always been that Pakistan would be the last outpost of British imperialism and that the anti-British bias of Congress would quickly prevail. Congress invitation to H.E., Colville and Nye knocks that criticism on the head. From the view point of British prestige it is a tremendous thing that Congress at the moment of victory in its 70 years’ struggle with the British should go out of its way to invite Englishmen to stay on in this way.

3. Such an invitation can hardly be criticised by the Right Wing either, for it gets our relations with the new India off to a start good beyond all expectations. At the same time the suggestion that H.E. has sold out to the Congress is met by obvious evidence that Pakistan and Jinnah have got exactly what they asked for. In fact H.E.’s presence at the head of the new Indian State would naturally be interpreted as the best guarantee that its relations with Pakistan would be carried on in a friendly and constructive manner and as a buffer against excessive Congress claims.

4. The argument that with Jinnah in his present mood and enjoying full powers and with H.E. simply as a constitutional Governor-General, H.E. would not be able to exercise any substantial influence on Pakistan-Indian relations is a major issue but not directly a publicity problem. While no doubt it would be a limiting factor to H.E.’s usefulness, I think it would be widely realised that no-one else would be able to do more, and in view of H.E.’s close association with Jinnah at this critical time no other Governor-General would be likely to be in a position to do as much.

5. If the choice is between Jinnah as Governor-General or President, Governor-General is surely preferable. He gives his prestige inside Pakistan to a title which is peculiarly associated with Commonwealth status and in the last analysis—however dictatorial or Fascist inclined
he may be—with constitutional government. At least it gives his successors good grounds for becoming constitutional.

6. The argument that a climb down is involved from Viceroy of all India to Governor-General of India less Pakistan cannot I submit be sustained nor would it be strongly stressed. Climb down from what? The whole emphasis of H.E.'s mission here has been the future—on the beginning of a new chapter in our relations with Indians and not on 'the last Viceroy'.

7. When one considers Course B, it is obvious that H.E. would be leaving on the crest of the wave but once it is known that H.E. had been invited by Congress and had turned down their invitation I believe there would be a considerable volume of criticism, both immediate and long term, that he was leaving the job half done and making 'a quick getaway'. Congress publicity would certainly interpret it as capitulation to Jinnah.

8. I therefore submit that Course C offers the best solution but there are positive advantages in Course A which outweigh those of Course B while on the negative side criticisms arising from Course B are likely to be more serious and widespread.

6. 'A Dangerous Impasse'

Letter from Louis Mountbatten to Clement Attlee, 5 July 1947


THE VICEROY’S HOUSE, NEW DELHI

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Prime Minister,

I hope you will not mind my sending Pug Ismay home. But I have reached a dangerous impasse. As you know, it was Jinnah who always begged me to stay as Viceroy or overall Governor-General, or in some capacity over the two Dominions until the partition was complete; and it was Congress who were unwilling that I should have anything to do with the League. It took me quite a bit of persuasion, when Nehru asked me to become the first Governor-General of the Dominion of India, to get him and Patel to agree that I should also be allowed to act in the same capacity for Pakistan in order to retain my impartiality.

Ever since my return no efforts on the part of Ismay, Mieville and myself, have ever elicited from Jinnah the smallest hint of what was in his mind; even his closest advisers like the Nawab of Bhopal and Liaquat Ali Khan appeared to be seriously under the impression that he would accept me as common Governor-General. Indeed at a meeting of the Partition Council this week he referred to there being only one Governor-General for the two Dominions. You can imagine therefore what a bombshell it was when he suddenly announced his intention of being the Governor-General of Pakistan himself.

I have always held, and frequently stated my view, that it would be morally indefensible for me to stay with one side alone after having dealt impartially and justly with both sides for so long. I still adhere to that view.

There is, however, another moral consideration, which is that, through Jinnah having misled us, we have quite unintentionally misled Congress. There is no doubt that from mid-May up to this moment it has never entered their minds that I would not stay with them. Further, if I now refuse, they will say that Jinnah has secured his last triumph over Congress and through me.

I do not want to conceal from you that I consider the whole of this situation to be my fault. I should have foreseen it, and have cleared the position with both Jinnah and the Congress
one way or the other three or four weeks ago. As it is I am painfully aware of having put the
British in an *impasse*, for whichever way the decision goes it can rightly be held that I shall
have let down one side or the other.

I feel that I must seek a decision from the King based, of course, on your advice. I hope also
that you may feel it right to consult the Opposition. If it is your wish that I should be Governor-
General of the Dominion of India, at all events till partition is over in April, then I trust that
you will be able to make that clear in the debate. If on the other hand it is your wish that I
should refuse, I am of course prepared to take full responsibility on my own shoulders, since
it would embarrass H.M. Government with the Government of the future Dominion of India
if they were to refuse to allow an Englishman to accept the position of first Governor-General.

I have put some of this background in my Personal Report, so that the Cabinet Committee
may know the situation, but only Pug Ismay can give you the full background since fortunately
he was present when Jinnah begged me to stay with the Dominion of India in the interests of
Pakistan!

I can only say how sorry I am to have produced this situation.

Yours very sincerely,

DICKIE MOUNTBATTEN

7. Edwina Mountbatten Comments on the Viceroy’s Position
Letter from Edwina Mountbatten to Louis Mountbatten, 5 July 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 113, NMML
SECRET

1. The first essential will be to discuss freely and openly with Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and
the Congress Leaders the new situation which has arisen and this must be done before Lord
Ismay’s departure for London. In this discussion presumably it will be necessary to tell them
frankly of Mr. Jinnah’s attitude and decision and to ascertain whether their offer to you to
become Governor-General of the Union of India be once again confirmed in the light of more
recent developments.

2. It is also essential I feel that Congress should be in complete agreement with the time
limit which is being proposed for your appointment, i.e. approximately mid-April 1948. This
factor seems important as it may well be that the situation in India and in Pakistan may still be
very serious at that period, and Congress may well feel that they could not accept a Governor-
General who would be pulling out at a time when the position in India was still a very grave
one and when it would be extremely difficult to appoint a high powered successor to deal
with Mr. Jinnah. Partition may not even have been effected by mid-April and I think that if
any question of accepting the Congress offer is considered one will have to face up to the fact
that, even if now they agree to the provisional date, they may come and ask for an extension
and it may be equally difficult to pull out then as it would be now.

3. There is another factor which worries me and that is that if Mr. Jinnah adopts the complete
Hitler attitude, even if that attitude were to be for the destruction of Pakistan and remove the
chance of getting the assets he so badly needs, you will find yourself placed in a very difficult
position and might, as a constitutional Governor-General to Congress, possibly prove a liability
more than an asset. I think this is most unlikely but it should be borne in mind.
4. Finally there is the factor that if the Congress offer is accepted one will have both mentally and practically to be prepared to serve their interests completely, excepting in those cases where approval will have been received for your services to be used for the best interests of both communities in connection with taking the Chair at Meetings, etc. If Congress felt that you were accepting the offer with the intention of seeing that Pakistan got a square deal from Congress, I sincerely think they would decide they would sooner be served by someone else.

Two personal views I would add are these:

A. I have read carefully the papers prepared by and discussed with your staff on all the various schemes formulated, and particularly the advantages and disadvantages existing if, as now, you are placed in the position where the offer of the Governor-Generalship comes only from Congress. I am afraid that I find the arguments they put forward in most cases contradictory in themselves such as the point in one paper that if you accept office you and the British would certainly be open to the criticism of partiality, while at a later stage the views expressed indicate that the feeling is there would be no criticism of this kind.

I feel however that they are right in trying to make the course as fair and as easy as possible in what is an almost impossible situation, and in the decision on which we must all sympathise with you, stand by you, and advise in the best practical manner.

B. One thing that weighs heavily with me on this whole question and makes me consider that you have a real duty to Congress is the fact that you are in some ways I think in honour bound to them by having let them understand that you would remain here to give your support after the 15th August, and although this was only a verbal assurance and had important qualifications they would, I am certain, feel you had broken faith with them. This however will be cleared up presumably by your talk with them.

E.M. of B.

8. Modalities of Jinnah Assuming Office of Governor-General

Record of interview between Louis Mountbatten and M.A. Jinnah, 5 July 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 194, NMML

Mr. Jinnah came to see me at 6.30 p.m.

I told him that I had a letter from Dr. Ingram asking whether he (Mr. Jinnah) would be prepared to denounce the Poona Pact as far as Pakistan was concerned.

2. Mr. Jinnah said that he intended to see that the Scheduled Castes in Pakistan received really fair treatment and that the Poona Pact as such would certainly not operate in Pakistan. However, he could not give me any details as to what the future position of the Scheduled Castes would exactly be until the Constituent Assembly had discussed the matter.

3. I asked him whether he would like me to submit his name to the King to receive the customary GCMG bestowed on Governors-General on appointment in the Dominions. I also pointed out to him the desirability of reopening to citizens of Pakistan eligibility for decorations. I added that the Orders of the Star of India and of the Indian Empire would, in their very names, be unsuitable; but that the Order of St Michael and St George, which was the customary Order for the Dominions, appeared to me to be eminently suitable. I promised to convey his views on this subject to H.M. Government. He thanked me and said he would like to consider the matter carefully before letting me have an answer.
4. I asked him whether he still wished me to be the Chairman of the Joint Defence Committee if I remained as Governor-General of the Dominion of India; and he confirmed that this was what he wanted. I asked him to let me have a letter to this effect. He promised to send me such a letter.

5. I next asked him whether he had made up his mind about the Dominions flag and whether he liked the design I had sent him. I pointed out that the Union Jack in the upper canton was only one-ninth of the whole area instead of one quarter as in the case of other Dominions. I also told him that I thought the Congress were likely to agree to a similar flag though it was not yet settled. He promised to let me know in good time to have a flag made before the 15th August.

6. I asked him whether he would like me to come down on the 14th August for a farewell ceremony at Karachi, since the Pakistan areas would pass out of my control on the 15th. He said this would give him great pleasure. I promised to go into the details and discuss them with him later.

7. I asked him when and where he was going to call the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, and he said probably in Karachi at the end of July or beginning of August. We agreed that it was my responsibility to call the Constituent Assembly and he said he would let me know when he wished me to do so.

8. I discussed with him the names of suitable candidates to be Heads of the Defence Services in Pakistan. He said he wanted all three to be British and would like me to provide him with some more particulars of the alternative candidates and possibly to give him an opportunity of seeing the candidates. I promised to do this.

9. He handed me a telegram addressed to the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition, protesting against the exclusion of the Andamans from the Bill. I promised to transmit this. He said he would have a further protest to make on there having been no provision of machinery to ensure that the assets were fairly divided and that their transfer was correctly implemented.

10. I told him that I had been informed that he had recently sent a letter to the Maharaja of Kashmir urging him to joint the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and promising him every sort of favourable treatment if he would do so including the continuation of autocratic government within the State. He absolutely denied having written and said that what was more he had no intention of writing, though he would have liked an opportunity to discuss matters with the Prime Minister, Mr. Kak, next time he came to Delhi. I told him I would ask the Political Department to put him in touch with him when he arrived about the 25th July.

11. We discussed the reconstitution of the Interim Government. I reminded him that the only way I could get Congress to accept partition was to undertake to reconstitute the Government along the lines that Mr. Jinnah had himself accepted for Bengal, at the earliest possible moment. I pointed out that the earliest possible moment had been June 4, but that I had persuaded Congress to wait one month. Now on the 4th July I had again succeeded in making them wait until the passage of the Bill; but I warned him that after July 20 I should be compelled to carry out the reconstitution, and that so far as I could see—as there would be less than four weeks left before partition was complete and power transferred—this could be explained in a communiqué in such a manner that it would in no sense be derogatory to Pakistan. He still expressed his regret but did not seem to be completely against it.
9. Cabinet Discusses Viceroy’s Situation

Extract from minutes of a meeting of Cabinet India and Burma Committee, 7 July 1947

...Confidential Annex

The Governors-General of the two Indian Dominions

THE PRIME MINISTER invited Lord Ismay to make a general statement.

LORD ISMAY said that the Viceroy, before his recent visit to London, had taken the initiative in suggesting to both the Congress and the Muslim League leaders that, in the event of power being transferred in India on the basis of the creation of the two Dominions, there would be obvious advantages in the appointment of a common Governor-General. This idea had been acceptable to Pandit Nehru, but not to Mr. Jinnah, who had put forward the alternative suggestion that there should be two Governors-General and a Supreme Arbitrator to adjudicate on such matters as the division of assets. Nevertheless, Mr. Jinnah had not definitely rejected the idea of one Governor-General, and the Viceroy had certainly been under the impression until quite recently that this arrangement would ultimately be accepted by the Muslim League. In spite of repeated pressure, the Muslim League had avoided making any definite statement of their views on the subject, until the recommendation that Mr. Jinnah should be appointed was made formally on behalf of the Muslim League in the previous week. The present position was, therefore, that the Muslim League had definitely nominated Mr. Jinnah to be Governor-General of Pakistan. Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel had been informed by the Viceroy of this development; they had been greatly surprised but had renewed their invitation to Lord Mountbatten to serve as Governor-General of India. Furthermore, the Muslim League had definitely stated in their letter recommending Mr. Jinnah as Governor-General that they would welcome Lord Mountbatten’s acceptance of the Governor-Generalship of India....

THE PRIME MINISTER said that it was no easy matter for His Majesty’s Government to decide what advice to give Lord Mountbatten in this matter. In his view, however, there were decisive arguments in favour of pressing him to accept the invitation of the Congress leaders to become Governor-General of India. It was clear that both parties had in fact complete confidence in Lord Mountbatten; Mr. Jinnah’s nomination of himself was no more than an indication of his own egotism. If Lord Mountbatten left India on 15th August, the alternative candidate would presumably be a Hindu; in that event there was serious risk that grave differences would arise between himself and Mr. Jinnah. Moreover, Congress might say that, in advising Lord Mountbatten to leave India, we were yielding to Mr. Jinnah at their expense; in view of the attitude which they had adopted on this question, we should take their interests fully into account.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE said that Mr. Jinnah’s action had created a most unfortunate and difficult situation. While it was admittedly important that the Muslim League should have said that they would welcome Lord Mountbatten’s appointment as Governor-General of India, there was a serious risk, as time passed, that this position and reputation would suffer by the continuance of his service in India as Governor-General of Union of India alone. He had achieved a great reputation and remarkable results by an impartiality which had gained him the confidence of all parties. If he became the Governor-General of one Dominion, he would have to take vigorous action, on advice, in the interests of that Dominion, in such delicate matters as the division of assets.
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS said that the paramount consideration must be to secure the successful transfer of power in India on the lines decided upon. There was no one whose qualifications for achieving success in this matter were comparable with those of Lord Mountbatten; for this reason, he felt that His Majesty's Government should try to induce Lord Mountbatten to accept the Congress invitation to become Governor-General of India.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA also thought that Lord Mountbatten should be pressed to accept the Congress invitation. No other persons could have an equal influence on Congress policy. This factor would be important for three reasons. First, it was still uncertain whether India would ultimately decide to remain in the Commonwealth. Secondly, complex and important negotiations would be necessary between His Majesty's Government and the new Dominion of India regarding future defence arrangements. Thirdly, the partition of assets between the two Dominions would in any event work out unfavourably for Pakistan; Lord Mountbatten would be in a better position than anyone else to exercise a moderating influence on Congress policy in this matter.

There was general agreement among the Ministers that the balance of arguments lay in favour of an attempt to persuade Lord Mountbatten to remain in India for a period as Governor-General of India. While it was recognised that there was some risk that this course might perhaps react unfavourably on Lord Mountbatten's personal position, it was generally thought that, in the interests of the new Dominions of India, he ought to complete the work he had started with such distinction: if his services were lost at this stage, the whole policy embodied in the Indian Independence Bill might be endangered.

The Committee were informed that the Princes were also hopeful that Lord Mountbatten would stay in India; if he went, there was the further probability that many of the British officers of the Indian Army would no longer wish to continue to serve under the new Dominion Governments.

The discussion then turned on the Viceroy's request that an early announcement should be made of the recommendations made by the two Indian Parties for the post of Governor-General in the new Indian Dominions.

LORD ISMAY said that the Viceroy's hope had been that the Prime Minister would be able to explain the history of the matter fully in the House of Commons on the Second Reading of the Indian Independence Bill. Lord Mountbatten had thought that such a statement might be made in connection with Clause 5, which clearly contemplated the possibility there might be only one Governor-General for both Dominions. He was extremely anxious that the full story should be told in order that there should be no suggestion that his sympathies as Viceroy had been with the Congress Party and that he was now openly committed to their side. If the advice of His Majesty's Government could be telegraphed to the Viceroy on 8th July, he would be able to convey his decision on the following day in time for the House of Commons debate. If this procedure was not possible, Lord Mountbatten would wish to tell Pandit Nehru the position in confidence.

In discussion on this proposal, it was pointed out that it would be necessary to avoid making any statement in terms which assumed that Parliament would enact the Bill under discussion; doubt was also felt about the propriety of mentioning at that stage, before the Bill had been enacted, the names of the persons recommended by the Indian parties for the two Governor-Generalships. In particular, the Secretary for State for Commonwealth Relations felt that the
mention of names in the House of Commons might not be acceptable to the House of Lords. Against this, it was pointed out that an announcement that there would be two Governor-General which did not mention the names of the persons concerned might result in grave embarrassment; there would undoubtedly be much speculation in India which might result in strong pressure on the Congress leaders to recommend an Indian as Governor-General. Moreover, there was a serious risk of leakage in India during the period while the legislation was under consideration in Parliament.

THE PRIME MINISTER suggested that a statement should be made on the Second Reading of the Indian Independence Bill roughly on the following lines:

‘The House will observe that the Bill leaves it open whether there shall be one or two Governors-General for the two Indian Dominions. It had been intimated to us that it would be most convenient to all concerned to have one Governor-General at least in the initial stages, and for some time we proceeded on this assumption. It has recently become clear, however, that the Muslim League wished a separate Governor-General to be appointed for Pakistan. It is obviously very desirable for this matter to be settled at the earliest opportunity in order that the position may be understood in India, and the new Governors-General prepare themselves to take over at the appropriate time. Both Congress and the Muslim League, who have been recognised as the successor authorities have made recommendations, which have been conveyed by His Majesty’s Government to His Majesty. While formal announcement must wait the enactment of the Bill, His Majesty has intimated that he will be prepared to accept these recommendations as soon as the Bill is passed. The recommendations are (here the names would be given). I wish to add that the recommendation of Lord Mountbatten is also welcomed by the Muslim League. I am quite sure that the House will agree with me that this recommendation shows that Lord Mountbatten has carried out his duties in India with complete impartiality and has won the confidence of all the people of India.

Ministers were in agreement that a statement on the lines suggested by the Prime Minister might be made in the House of Commons on the Second Reading of the Indian Independence Bill.

LORD ISMAY said that he had asked the Viceroy to confirm whether the Muslim League wished him to be Chairman of the Defence Council. It was agreed that, if this was confirmed, it would be a very valuable addition to the statement. In that case it might be advisable to omit the reference to the Muslim League’s welcome to the Congress recommendation on behalf of Lord Mountbatten, in view of the possibility that this might be unwelcome to Congress.

THE PRIME MINISTER said that before any communication was made to the Viceroy it would be necessary to consult the Opposition leaders on the following day; he would then put the matter to the King at his forthcoming Audience with His Majesty.

The Committee

(1) Expressed the hope that Lord Mountbatten would be prepared to accept the Congress invitation for nomination as Governor-General of India.

(2) Agreed that a statement on the lines proposed by the Prime Minister might be made on the Second Reading of the Indian Independence Bill.

(3) Invited the Prime Minister to consult with the Opposition leaders on 8th July.
10. Mountbatten Accepts Governor-Generalship of India

Extract from the minutes of the Viceroy’s fifty-fifth staff meeting, 9 July 1947
T.O.P., Vol. XII, pp. 35–6

Item 1

GOVERNORS-GENERAL

The meeting considered two telegrams which had been received that morning from the Prime
Minister. The following was an extract from the first:

‘I would ask you most earnestly to accept the Governor-Generalship of India during this
period of transition.’

The second contained the draft of a statement on the nominations of Governors-General for
India and Pakistan, which the Prime Minister intended to make the following day in the House
of Commons.

A draft reply to the Prime Minister, which had been prepared at a meeting of members of
the staff earlier that day, was handed round.

HIS EXCELLENCY stated that he had finally decided to accept the Governor-Generalship
of the Dominion of India alone during the period of transition. He wished it now to be put on
record, though for the last time, that he was still most uneasy and unhappy about this decision.
He considered, however, that, in view of the overpowering advice which he had received from
London, he was choosing the lesser of two evils. He felt that it had been essential to send Lord
Ismay home, because His Majesty’s Government had, in a way, been misled.

HIS EXCELLENCY stated that he had that morning shown Pandit Nehru and Sardar
Patel the draft statement which the Prime Minister intended to make. They could not have
been more charming, and had made no criticism—in fact they had thought it admirable. He
had told them that he considered that he was under an obligation to them to stay on and had
only asked them to facilitate making clear the fact of his impartiality. They had replied that
no-one would imagine that he was being partial. They had further agreed to reference, in the
Prime Minister’s speech, to the Muslim League’s approval of his appointment.

HIS EXCELLENCY stated that the Congress leaders had said that they wanted him to
stay on as long as he would, but he had insisted on retention of the formula ‘at all events for
the transition period’ because this meant that it would be possible to select, nearer the time,
the date on which it would be possible to depart with honour. They had accepted this formula.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY

(i) approved, subject to amendments which he indicated, the draft reply to the Prime
Minister; and directed Pers. Sec. to dispatch it;

(ii) directed Con. Sec. to draft, for his approval, a telegram to Lord Ismay asking him
to obtain the Prime Minister’s overall authority for him (Lord Ismay) and Sir Eric
Mieville to stay on, and continue to be paid by H.M.G., after the transfer of power....
11. **Do Not Expect Rewards for Your Service to India**

Extract from M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 12 July 1947

*CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 321-4*

**BROTHERS AND SISTERS,**

Today I have received a letter from a friend which says: ‘What is happening in the country today is very bad. People who went to jail during the satyagraha movement think they have done something very big which should entitle them to be Prime Minister or Minister or Parliamentary Secretary or Governor of some province. They think they should have a motorcar. I have also been to prison twice and once I was with you in Yeravda. But I have remained a beggar and no one has ever bothered about me!*

If someone has been to jail, has he done a favour to India? If this sort of mentality persists, I fear the Congress will perish. Those who are in the Congress should not even dream of such things. Arguing thus a Congressman may say that, since he has been to jail, his son should be married to the best girl in India or that his daughter should be married to the best young man in India. Jawaharlal has not become the Vice-President or the Prime Minister because he has been to jail. If he does not get his salary, he will not starve. Rajendra Babu might have become the Chief Justice of Patna High Court but he voluntarily gave up practice and chose to live the life of a fakir. Rajaji also has not become a minister by virtue of his jail-going. It is not my contention that they are all angels. They are men like us and all men make mistakes. And how many of us can be absorbed in Government offices? It is an unworthy thought and should be given up. We must never think that we should get some reward for having gone to jail. The reward of doing one’s duty lies in the duty done.

I have been asked: ‘Whereas in Pakistan Mr. Jinnah has been made Governor-General, here in India it is the Viceroy who has been made Governor-General. Why should this be so? The battle for India’s freedom was fought by the Congress. The Muslim League has had no part in it. Whenever the Congress resorted to civil disobedience or satyagraha the League refused to co-operate. Even so the Congress cannot get an Indian as Governor-General. This is not just. This will mean that we shall be safe only if we kowtow to the British or we shall die.’ I shall say that under the scheme that will come into effect on August 15, it does not matter whether the Governor-General is an Englishman, a Frenchman or a Dutchman, whether he is a brown skinned Indian or a White or a Negro. If I had my way a Harijan girl would be the Governor-General. So if Lord Mountbatten becomes the Governor-General he will still be a servant of India. You will say this is the kind of talk to pacify children. Mountbatten, who is a scion of a Royal family, will not be anybody’s servant. But I am not deceiving you. I do not expect any reward from Lord Mountbatten. So long I have been fighting against him. Maybe you will say that the Congress leaders have been deceived by him. Do you mean to say that Jawaharlal, Sardar and Rajaji are so softbrained as to be taken in? True, as I have been saying what I had wanted has not come to pass. But Mountbatten will be Governor-General because we want him. If we did not want him he would not hold that office. But Mr. Jinnah may have chosen to be Governor-General in order to show off. We should not be jealous and we should not be angry. He wants to show to the world what Islam is. Let us see whether he makes of himself a master or a servant. If even a single Sindhi flees, then the responsibility for it will rest on the Governor-General of Pakistan. He will have to be just to all, like Abubaker or Omar, or Ali. I do not say they were all non-violent. But I have in mind their bravery and their chivalry. I
understand from the newspapers that originally the idea had been for India and Pakistan to have one Governor-General in common. But Mr. Jinnah later went back on his word. Who was then to prevent him from becoming the Governor-General of Pakistan? In my view he did not do the right thing. When he had once agreed he should have accepted Lord Mountbatten as Governor-General and later if something had gone wrong he could have removed him. Now Islam is to be tested through Mr. Jinnah. He is assuming the Governor-Generalship of Pakistan with the whole world as witness. The world will now wait to see what special virtues Pakistan displays under him. The Congress has always been fighting against the British. Jawaharlal is a simple-hearted man. But the Sardar is a fighter. He used to quarrel with me because I trusted the British. When he himself has been caught up in their wiles, what can you or I hope to do? When he agrees that the Viceroy should be the first Governor-General of India, why should we object? We shall see whether he will serve India as Governor-General or betray her. It will be a new experience. There is wisdom in this and we have nothing to lose. After all we accepted Dominion Status on the advice of the Viceroy. He is an Admiral and a great warrior. Let us have him and if he does not come up to our expectations we can always fight with him.

...I do not consider him a bad man. If Jawaharlal or Sardar Patel had become Governor-General in his place it would have been a dangerous thing. Besides, the Governor-General wields no effective power. He will have to act on the advice of Jawaharlal and his cabinet. He will only be a figurehead.

But we have got into the way of thinking that Lord Mountbatten has great status and the English are capable only of devilry. Lord Mountbatten therefore will have to prove his honesty and love of justice and I am sure that he has come to India to do only justice. Many Muslims come to see me these days. They too are nervous about Pakistan. One can understand Christians, Parsis and other non-Muslims feeling uneasy, but why Muslims? They say they are treated as Quislings, that they will receive even worse treatment than the Hindus in Pakistan and after full power has been transferred to Pakistan their association with the Congress will be considered a crime according to the tenets of *Shariyat*. I do not agree that this is the meaning of Islam. What crime was committed by the Congress having Muslims within its fold? Do Muslims by associating with the Congress become criminals? Do they not say *Kalma* or perform the *namaaz*? Has Islam changed so much since the time of the Ali Brothers? How can nationalist Muslims be called Quislings? I do hope that Mr. Jinnah, while he protects the non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan, will also at the same time accord protection to these Muslims.

12. A Common Governor-General Was a Generous Gesture to Pakistan

Telegram from Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel, 13 July 1947

*T.O.P.*, Vol. XII, p. 142

MOST IMMEDIATE

SECRET

NEW DELHI

No. 1938-S. Your telegram No. 8975 of July 11th.

Position is that parties have agreed to nominate one Judge each for Arbitral Tribunal, in consultation with Chairman. Chief Justice of India has been invited to be Chairman. He has not yet had time to reply. Terms of reference have not yet been considered and general position is explained in my reply to your telegram 8974.

2. I agree to the draft reply proposed in paragraph 3 of your telegram.
3. In reply to any supplementary questions I feel it would not be unfair to point out that as most of the assets are in the Dominion of India their agreement to a common Governor-General was a generous gesture to Pakistan who have voluntarily deprived themselves of the advantage this system would have conferred on the Dominion with the least assets in situ.

4. Congress are feeling very sore at being led up the garden path by Jinnah over a matter in which they were sincerely trying to help him.

13. Mountbatten to Be Governor-General because He Can Work with Speed

Extract from M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 22 July 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 398-400

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I have received a letter today. It says: ‘You have given Lord Mountbatten too much of a build-up. You seem to imply that Lord Mountbatten can do no wrong. But if you will remember at the Second Round Table Conference you had said that when freedom was achieved the Viceroy’s house would be turned into a home for Harijan children or a hospital. Your present attitude is not in conformity with this.’

I do not give anyone any kind of build-up. I want nothing from Lord Mountbatten. And he wants nothing from me. I do not want even titles and he has nothing else to give. It is said that I am always rebuking my own people and never can find anything good to say of them. So far as Lord Mountbatten is concerned he must for the moment continue to live in the Viceroy’s house. If I could drag him out of it I would keep him with me. But he has to meet the Princes there and rectify the mistakes of the past. He has to undo the harm those mistakes have done. And he has been made Governor-General precisely because he can work with speed. Giving him this office does not imply any flattery of him. And do you think Jawaharlal and Sardar Patel are the kind of people to flatter anyone? But if the Viceroy has deceit in his heart only he will be the loser. My sixty years’ experience tells me that he who seeks to deceive others deceives only himself. But I do not really know whether Lord Mountbatten will remain permanently in the Viceroy’s house or whether it will be made into a hospital. Only Jawaharlal and Sardar will know about it.

Another correspondent wants to know if the proposal to retain British officers in the army and the partition of the army has my approval. The correspondent should rather ask me if I approve of the retention of the army itself. Keeping an army, whatever its nature or size, can have no support from me. But times have changed. I had fondly assumed that we were all or almost all non-violent. But my eyes have now been opened. What I had taken to be non-violence, I now see, was only passive resistance. Passive resistance is resorted to by a person who does not have arms. We were simply obliged to be non-violent while we had violence in our hearts. And now with the British withdrawing from India we are spending that violence in fighting against each other. I am certain that I never had any violence in my heart. But what am I to do about others? They argue that the fact they were non-violent in the fight against the British does not necessarily mean that they should be non-violent now. The fault is mine. My teaching during the last thirty-two years was imperfect. If I am asked I will still say that I am not for maintaining an army. Is India going to be a military State? From Bengal, the Punjab and Bihar there are demands for the army to be sent. If at one place it is Hindus who want
the army to protect them, at another it is Muslims. I therefore have no knowledge about how the army is going to be divided and I do not care to waste my time over things which do not interest me....

14. Oaths of Allegiance and Office for Governor-General

Telegram from Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel, 10 August 1947

*T.O.P.*, Vol. XII, p. 647

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 3311-S. My 3285-S dated August 9th. Oaths of office etc. Following is form of combined oaths of Allegiance and Office for Governor-General suggested by Jinnah which he hopes will be acceptable.

*Begins:* I, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, do solemnly affirm true faith and allegiance to Constitution of Pakistan as by law established, and that I will be faithful to His Majesty King George 6, his heirs and successors, in office of Governor General of Pakistan. *Ends.*

2. Only alterations suggested by Jinnah for Governors and Ministers in oaths of Allegiance and Office and Secrecy, substitution of ‘solemnly affirm’ for ‘swear’ and omission of words ‘so help me God’.

3. Please telegraph immediately whether this is accepted and alter forms of Commission for Pakistan accordingly. I propose to keep to forms already agreed for India.
Chapter 31. Partition of Punjab

1. ‘The Chenab—Natural Demarcation Line’

Extract from an editorial in *The Tribune*, 3 June 1947

League Fascism insists that religion should be taken as synonymous with nationality and India should be split up into two or more sovereign States. However fantastic and absurd this Jinnahian proposition may be, when the British Government is willing and indeed bent upon enforcing it, it cannot be pooh-poohed. It has got to be taken seriously and not only it, but also its obvious corollary that the Punjab must be partitioned has got to be given due regard. History, geography, politics, economics, all emphasize that in dividing the Punjab special attention will have to be paid to the rights and interests of the martial Sikh nation, which has no homeland in the whole world except in the Land of Five Rivers. On the maintenance of its solidarity is contingent its continued existence as a living nation. In our yesterday’s leader we indicated the regions in which the Panth’s roots had gone deep. Any partition plan that cuts through them will deprive the Khalsa considerably of the sap of life and will, therefore, be wholly unacceptable to the Sikhs. To every impartial observer the Chenab will appeal as the most natural demarcation line, which will not only keep the Panth practically intact, but also largely prevent the infliction of injustice on the non-Muslims and democratic-minded Muslims. If the non-Muslim majority area runs only up to the Lahore District, there will be 26 lacs of Sikhs in the Eastern Punjab (70 per cent) and 11½ lacs in the Western Punjab, (30 per cent). This will be tantamount to the disruption and ruin of the Panth and such a prospect it cannot contemplate with equanimity. Nor can it put up with the division along the Ravi. For according to it, there will be 28¼ lacs of Sikhs in the Eastern Punjab (75 per cent) and 9¼ lacs of them in the Western Punjab (25 per cent). This also amounts to the maiming and mangling of the Panth, which the Khalsa can on no account tolerate. The Panth will live and thrive only if the demarcation line coincides with the Chenab. In that case the Sikhs in the Eastern Punjab will number 35.1 lacs (93.5 per cent) and those in the Western Punjab will number 2.4 lacs (6.5 per cent). A population of 2.4 lacs can be easily removed from one tract of land to another and even if it stays where it is, the situation remains practically unaltered. As regards the Multan District east of the Chenab the Sikhs need not cast longing glances at it except at the Khanewal Tehsil, where they have some vital interests and if they get this Tehsil, they may not bother about the rest of the land in it....
2. ‘H.M.G.’s Plan Unsatisfactory and Disappointing—M. Tara Singh’

Extract from a report in The Tribune, 5 June 1947

New Delhi, June 4.—Master Tara Singh, Akali Sikh leader, in a statement tonight said that although H.M.G.’s plan conceded the principle of partition of the Punjab, it is unsatisfactory and disappointing in several respects for the Sikhs.

‘There is no positive division at all for giving the Sikhs their homeland and their deserved status or political power. Nor have they been armed with means to safeguard their rights in constitution-making. In fact, notional division breaks up the solidarity of the Sikhs by dividing their population and their heritage into two halves. Even H.E. the Viceroy while expressing his concern for the welfare of the Sikhs admits this ruinous effect. We cannot accept anything like notional division. It is not a matter of mere political power for us: our very existence is at stake’....

3. ‘Think It Over’

Extract from an editorial in Dawn, 7 June 1947

It is quite evident from the utterances of Sikh leaders like Master Tara Singh that they are utterly bewildered and disconsolate at the turn which events have taken for them. When a Sikh questioner asked Lord Mountbatten at his Press Conference why the Sikhs had been split into two by the partition of the Punjab, it was the Viceroy’s turn to be bewildered. Very understandably he asked whether it was not true that the Sikhs themselves had begged for partition and got the Congress to pass a resolution to the effect that predominantly Muslim areas should be partitioned from the predominantly non-Muslim areas of the Punjab. His Excellency did not say in so many words but what he clearly wanted to convey was that in spite of his great love for the Sikh community he had been unable to help them against themselves. The position today is, to put it quite bluntly, that the Sikhs have made the bed and must now perforce lie on it. If they find it a bed of thorns, the thorns are of all their own implanting....

As we see it, there are three courses open to the Sikhs now. First; they can accept the Plan as it is and be content with the proposed partition of the Punjab. If they do so, they will inevitably find that the Boundary Commission has still further reduced the area of the Eastern Punjab, because if one or two contiguous Tehsils or similar areas are taken away from Western Punjab and added to Eastern Punjab, the Eastern Punjab will have to yield to Western Punjab a far greater proportion of its own territory on the same principle. The Sikhs will remain a minority of a little over 20 per cent in their so-called new ‘homeland.’ They will decidedly not have the predominant position in administration and other spheres, which they vainly seek. And in the Western Punjab, where half their population will still remain, they will be entitled to no special considerations or concessions. Second; they can continue to ‘fight’ and carry on what Gyani Kartar Singh has described as guerrilla warfare. If they decide to do so, the only result will be more bloodshed on both sides. Whatever support the Sikhs may receive from either Hindustan or from some of the Sikh Princes, they will never be able to ‘conquer the Punjab,’ as some of them seem still vainly to hope.... Third; they can restore the unity of the Punjab and their own unity, by revising their policy, facing realities and seeking for themselves all possible concessions within the limits of justice and reason. This is only possible if they turn from the Congress to the Muslim League which alone can deliver to them the goods.
We urge Sikh leaders to turn all this over in their minds and take their final decision without their judgment being clouded by the bitterness which the past few months conflict and bloodshed have naturally created. They may not admit it publicly but they know in their own hearts that the bloodshed which has taken place in the Punjab and in which their community has undoubtedly suffered grievous losses in life and property, was provoked not by the Muslims but by themselves. There is nothing but sadness in Muslim hearts at these tragic happenings but let these be matters of the past. These memories can be forgotten and these wounds healed; friendship can emerge out of this welter of enmity; Muslim and Sikh may together add to the glory of Pakistan. But only if the Sikhs will release themselves from the leading strings of others and begin to think and act for themselves....The Sikhs can secure by friendly and unqualified overtures to the Muslim League a far better position for themselves in a united Punjab than they will have in any part of a divided Punjab if they pursue their present policy. The door of Western Pakistan is wide open for the Sikhs to enter, only if they can muster enough commonsense and goodwill to pass through it into contentment, security and partnership with the Muslim nation.

1 This Press Conference was held in New Delhi after the announcement of H.M.G.’s 3 June Plan.

4. ‘Partition of Punjab and the Sikhs’

Extract from a letter to the editor in *Dawn, 7 June 1947*

Sir,—The Akali leadership is following in the footsteps of Hindu capitalists and they conveniently seem to have forgotten the machinations of the Congress Party during the last general elections. Due to unwise handling of Sikhs’ affairs the hitherto unimpaired solidarity of the Panth is at stake. Our leaders are deliberately keeping mum about the nefarious activities of Hindu dominated Praja Mandals with respect to Patiala, Faridkot, Nabha, Kapurthala and Jind States.

The Hindu capitalists and their so-called Nationalist Press have whole-heartedly supported the partition of the Punjab to meet their own selfish ends. By keeping the Sikhs on their side they have been able to get major portions of Ambala and Jullundur Divisions even by agreeing to carve out predominant Muslim areas from both these divisions. As Ambala division has generally been a liability to the Punjab Exchequer there is a move to annex the partitioned areas of Eastern Punjab with Meerut Division, and certain other districts of U.P. In this way they will bring the Sikh population in the newly constituted unit of Hindustan to 5 or 6 per cent....

I am voicing the feelings of thousands nay lakhs of Sikhs and in the name of our great Gurus and Panth I request our great and respected Master Tara Singh and the Hon’ble S. Baldev Singh to reconsider their position for the good of the Sikhs at large or to convene an All-Parties Sikh Conference. It will be in the fitness of things if we could arrive at an honourable settlement with the great Muslim nation who are so friendly to us in their independent countries. It is high time that we should be friendly to all and hostile to none which is the characteristic of a Khalsa.—Yours, etc.

Simla

S. Trilok Singh
Bahawalpur,

Dear Master Sujan Singh,

I am very troubled by the prospect which is looming ahead of us in the Punjab but I believe it is now possible for the Sikh Leaders to take steps which will avert wide-spread and perhaps chronic disorder and turmoil; and I believe also that the interests in the Sikh Community lie in their taking these steps. This explains why I am writing to you again after so many months.

Broadly speaking, I would like to suggest that the time has now at last come for the Sikh Community definitely to throw in their lot with their brethren in the Punjab and take their place in the new Dominion or State of Pakistan. The present proposals for the partition of the Punjab imply that the Eastern portion will go to Hindustan and the Western portion to Pakistan. A partition of the Punjab leading to these groupings of its two halves will, I am certain, be fatal not only to the peace and good order of the Punjab itself but also to the Sikh Community. A boundary line could hardly be further west than the Beas. Assuming that it is along the Beas with Amritsar District also included in the Eastern Punjab nearly half the Sikh Community will be left on the wrong side of the line. It is quite certain that if the Sikhs insist on Eastern Punjab joining Hindustan the Muslims will treat the Sikh Minority in the Western Punjab little better than sweepers. Owing to the close inter-mingling of the populations this will tend to set up strife in the two halves of the Punjab which will probably spread and spread till gradually the whole of Northern India is involved in turmoil and there may well be 50 to 100 years of anarchy such as we have been seeing in China during our life time.

Personally, I believe that the very attempt to draw a boundary line between Hindustan and Pakistan somewhere right in the middle of Lahore or Jullundur Divisions will itself produce such strife that the conditions prevailing for the last two months in the Punjab will be aggravated and indefinitely prolonged.

What would come out of all this strife cannot be predicted; but no rational and humane leader should precipitate such conditions gambling on the possibility that out of the blind clash of disorganized forces his community may be the gainer. Communities do not rise or flourish as a result of gambling leadership such as this.

I would like, therefore, to recommend most earnestly to you and to other Sikh friends that you should now come to terms with the Muslims on the understanding that the Sikh Community as a whole will throw in their lot with Pakistan. In return for this the Muslims will, I believe, be prepared to make to the Sikh Community considerable concessions so that they will be able to feel that their place in the Pakistan State is quite secure. Now is your time to reach a ‘Samjhota’ with the Muslims for they know the disadvantages of a ‘truncated’ Pakistan. There is no reason why you should not secure from them:

(1) A separate Sikh unit of Eastern Pakistan with rights in respect of the Pakistan Central Government equal to any other Unit e.g. Sind or Western Punjab.
(2) Special privileges for the Sikh Minority in the Western Punjab.
(3) Special privileges for the Sikhs in the Pakistan as a whole.

If the Sikhs take this course they will become far and away the most important minority in the Pakistan and it will be to the Muslims own interest to make them happy, secure and contended.
Furthermore, it is probable that for some years Pakistan will remain a Dominion of the British Commonwealth. This would give the Sikhs a certain amount of added security.

It is also probable that in the course of time the initial cold relations between Hindustan and Pakistan will become closer and warmer. Geography, past history and economic factors will tend to draw the two parts of India together, and when this happens the Sikhs’ position will be still further safeguarded.

I know what I have written runs counter to the policy which the Sikhs have been following for the last few months, but it is absurd to blind yourselves to the fact that the real interests of the Sikh community lie with North-West India rather than with Hindustan. The latest proposals of HMG have put you in a strong bargaining position which should enable you to take your rightful place in the future set up of India with the maximum security. Don’t let the opportunity slip. This is the moment to come to terms with the League.

I feel so strongly on this subject that I would very much like to have an opportunity of discussing it with you, Master Tara Singh and others.

I tried to contact Giani Kartar Singh recently, but could not do so. I would gladly run up to Lahore if you could arrange a meeting either there or in Amritsar. June 12th, 13th or the 23rd would be the most convenient dates for me, but I would somehow or other arrange to come on any day that would suit you and others.

Please excuse this long letter, but these are important matters. I do beg you to consider them.

With kind regards, I hope all goes well at Sirhali in spite of all the trouble in Amritsar.

Yours sincerely,

Master Sujan Singh Sirhali
Distt. Amritsar

6. Hindus Fear Slavery in Pakistan

Letter from Nand Lal Ahuja to M.K. Gandhi, 10 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-34/1947, NMML

Mandi Jagat Rai,
Mianwali,

My most beloved Mahatmaji,

Since the matter of boundary has been settled by the British without any regard for our cherished goal of united India for which you have given your life long devotion, it is now time to think of saving us from the perpetual slavery in the Pakistan. Unless our beloved Hindustan helps us we are here always doomed. It very essential we may be migrated into Hindustan zone as quickly as possible. Property, home, hearth has no value before liberty and freedom. We helpless Hindus look to you to save us from horrible distruction. [sic]

Jai Hind.

Your most obedient servant,
(Nand Lal Ahuja)

If Lord Mountbatten is sympathetic towards ‘Innocent Victims’, he must arrange for cheap transport.
7. ‘Indian Christians and Division of Punjab’
Extract from an editorial in *The Tribune, 10 June 1947*

It appears that the machinery for the division of India is being set up in a quick and elaborate manner and it is now no use our talking of the necessity and glory of unity. Division seems to be a settled fact and we must face it as brave realists....The Hindus, including the Scheduled Castes, and the Sikhs may be the two most important communities whose rights and interests have to be taken into consideration....But the Indian Christians are not such an inconspicuous and inconsiderable community that they be ignored. They number thirty-two and a half lacs in the whole country....They are an enlightened and cultured lot and they have plenty of talent and ability.... Politically they are highly progressive and extremely liberal. They do not believe in separate electorates; they believe in undiluted democracy. ‘Religion should be kept divorced from politics’—that has been their motto....

Intellectually, temperamentally, traditionally the Indian Christians have remained in close alliance with the Congress. And they will feel far at home in Hindustan than in Pakistan.

Theocratic Pakistan will be the homeland of the Muslims. Democratic Hindustan will be the homeland of all communities....The large majority of the Indian Christians in the Punjab would like the province to be so divided that they might find themselves in Hindustan....only 21,291 Indian Christians will be interested in Western Pakistan outside the Punjab. In comparison with their total population of thirty-two and a half lacs how small this number looks! Their interests in the Sindhi, Baluchi and Pathan (if the Frontier votes for the League) parts of Pakistan will be practically nothing....they would like the Land of Five Rivers to be so partitioned that as many of them in it might be connected with the main Christian body in Hindustan as possible. The large majority of Indian Christians—more than twenty lacs—live in Madras. In Bombay their population is about four lacs. Both these provinces will form integral parts of Hindustan. The overwhelming majority of Punjabi Christians would love to be in intimate contact with the long stream of Christian life flowing in Hindustan. How can the fulfilment of this legitimate desire of theirs be secured? In this province Indian Christians are found generally concentrated in districts situated east of the Chenab, where they number 486,000. If the Chenab is decided to be the boundary line between Hindustan and Pakistan only 58,000, that is, only 1.8 per cent of the whole Christian population will be left in the Western Punjab. The heaviest stakes of the Punjabi Christians lie in the districts of Sialkot, Gujranwala, Sheikhpura, Lyallpur, Gurdaspur and Lahore and if these districts are included in the Hindustan part of the Punjab, the satisfaction of the Christian community will be ensured....

8. ‘H.M.G.’s Plan Rejected by Punjab Mahasabha’
Extract from a report in *The Tribune, 12 June 1947*

Lahore, June 11.—H.M.G.’s Plan of June 3 has been rejected by the Executive Committee of the Punjab Provincial Hindu Mahasabha.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the provincial Mahasabha was held on Monday last, Bhai Parmanand presiding, and adopted a lengthy resolution denouncing the H.M.G.’s latest statement.

The Committee reiterated Mahasabha’s firm faith in the integrity of India and once more declared unequivocally that no constitution based on vivisection of India would be acceptable to the Hindus.
The Committee further declared: ‘The present plan is no solution of the communal problem but will, on the other hand, perpetuate communal strife both in the Hindu majority and Hindu minority areas.’

The Committee deplored ‘the weak-kneed’ policy of the Congress in accepting the League’s demand in ‘toto’ and in the Sabha’s opinion the present plan was a clear triumph of the League’s creed of violence over the Congress’s creed of non-violence.

‘The Executive Committee was afraid that after the Pakistan had been established in Western Punjab, the 5,000 or so people arrested on charges of alleged murder, arson, abduction and loot might be granted general amnesty. The Committee, therefore, called upon the Government to make arrangements that these cases might be tried by impartial tribunals so that no miscarriage of justice takes place.

Jhelum: Boundary Line

The Committee on behalf of the provincial Hindu Mahasabha strongly disapproved of the inclusion of only the Ambala and Jullundur divisions and the district of Amritsar in the proposed Eastern Punjab zone and placed on record its demand that the boundary of Eastern Punjab should be along the river Jhelum for the following reasons:

(i) The Punjab, the land of five rivers, is a holy land for the Hindus because the Vedas were first revealed here and no portion of this province lying within these five rivers should be tacked to the proposed Pakistan.

(ii) The Punjab was held originally by the British Government as a sacred trust on behalf of Maharaja Dalip Singh and if at all it was to be detached from Hindustan it should not be placed under the domination of Mohammedans but restored to the Sikhs.

(iii) The Hindus and Sikhs hold enormous stakes both in religious sanctity, property, commerce and industry in the districts of Lahore division and the districts of Montgomery and Lyallpur.

(iv) That the total territorial areas included in the Pakistan State should under no circumstances exceed 22 per cent of the area of British India since this is the ratio of Muslim population in India....

The Executive Committee also resolved that the Hindu majority districts in Sind be partitioned off and constituted in a separate province.

9. ‘Unity of Panth Stressed: Critical Hour—Sikh Leaders’ Speeches at Delhi’

Extract from a report in The Tribune, 14 June 1947

New Delhi, June 12.—The absolute necessity of Panthic unity at this critical hour in the history of the Panth was emphasised by His Highness the Raja of Faridkot in his opening address at a conference of leading Sikhs of all shades of opinion held at Faridkot House.

His Highness considered the British Government’s latest plan ‘unholy inasmuch as it divides the Sikhs into two equal halves’ and warned them of the dangers that were ahead. He exhorted them to unite as true followers of Guru Gobind Singh and face the situation with a strong mind and stout heart. He assured them of the support of the Maharaja of Patiala as well as himself and other Sikh princes in all matters wherein the betterment of the Panth lay.
Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Member, Interim Government, also stressed the need for unity of the Panth and welcomed the participation of Sikh Rulers in all matters pertaining to the Panth. He, however, felt that the Sikh Princes should have come forward earlier to lead the Panth when Muslim Princes had been openly supporting the Muslim League for a long time and had not shirked their responsibilities.

Sardar Amar Singh, Acting President, Shromani Akali Dal, Sardar Harnam Singh, and Sardar Ujjal Singh, also addressed the conference and stressed the need for unity of the Panth.—United Press

10. No Enthusiasm for Partition

Extract from a letter from Evan Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten, 15 June 1947


Secret Government House, Lahore

No. 683

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

The main event of the fortnight was the announcement of 3rd June. It is now possible to give fairly accurate appreciation of the reactions to it.

2. There is a complete absence of enthusiasm for the partition plan—nobody seems pleased, and nobody seems to want to get on with the job. The plan has had no discernible effect on communal relations, which remain as they were. Nor is there any sign of special anxiety for, or hostility to, Dominion Status.

On the other hand, the political parties here acquiesce in the plan, but (as is usual in matters of this kind in India) for widely differing reasons. Muslim Leaguers think it a master-stroke by Jinnah, who has secured the recognition of Pakistan and will in the end get them all they want. Congressmen think it a master-stroke by Patel, who, having pushed the Muslims into a corner (or into two corners) will be able to destroy them before very long. Patel’s private conversation is reported to be menacing—Barq who was a Minister in the Coalition Government told me he had heard him say that Hindustan could quickly make an end of its Muslim inhabitants if Pakistan did not behave. This may be quite untrue, but the story represents the attitude the Hindus hope and the Muslims fear Patel will take up. The Sikhs pin their faith on the Boundary Commission; they are now said to be fairly well organised in the districts they think critical, and it is quite likely that they will refuse to go very far with partition until they know where the boundary will run. Their latest announcement demands exchanges of property and transfers of population.

Intelligent people not deeply committed to the political parties are far from happy. They do not believe that partition will settle anything, and the disturbance it will cause will make them at best uncomfortable and at worst insecure. Land values are said to be falling in the colony districts, and there are many stories about the ‘flight of capital’ from Lahore.

Generally, the atmosphere of fatalism continues. It was ordained from the first that the communities should massacre and loot one another; nothing can alter this; unity means ruin of one kind, and partition ruin of another; if there is to be ruin anyway partition seems the simpler and perhaps the less bloody form of it....

3. ...Indian members of the all-India Services are worried. The Muslims are, I understand, already parceling out the more lucrative Pakistan appointments among themselves. The
non-Muslims do not think they will be safe in the Western Punjab, and hope to be accommodated in Hindustan.

The Provincial Services (composed almost entirely of Punjabis with a sprinkling of Anglo-Indians) are in much the same case. It is assumed that there will be a communal split—Muslims to the West, others to the East—and I have no doubt that the scramble for appointments will soon begin.

The great mass of the Subordinate Services—including anything from an Inspector of Police recruited provincially to a Constable or office messenger recruited on a district basis—can in my opinion be dealt with only by gradual adjustments, but they will not escape the general ferment.

So far as the services are concerned, we are going through a very difficult time, with some men yearning to leave India, others trying to please new masters, and others again upset and apprehensive. The old administrative machine is rapidly falling to pieces.

4. I have kept your Excellency informed of what I have done to get the Partition Proceedings started....

Elsewhere, largely I think because of the presence of troops in all districts likely to give trouble, the fortnight has been fairly quiet, Gujranwala had some communal stabbings; and bomb explosions, suspicious fires, and minor incidents are so common that one hardly notices them in the District reports.

Our liaison with Northern Command is excellent. Messervy established a Tactical Headquarters at Government House, Lahore for about a week from 4th June – a very useful experiment which can be repeated if necessary....

Yours sincerely,
E. M. Jenkins

11. Punjab Congress MLAs Reject Balkanized India
Telegram from Mulraj Mehta to J.B. Kripalani, 15 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-34/1947, NMML

Multan
To Acharya Kriplani, ND
Punjab Congress MLAs carry voters mandate only for united Punjab in united India (stop) morally and constitutionally they can use their voters en bloc against division or resign en bloc to seek fresh mandate otherwise gross betrayal of (stop) Congress ideals of truth and democracy demand resignation of President Congress office holders and MLAs in at least seventeen Western Punjab Districts and fresh elections on current issues of vital importance to honour life, property and political and social rights of people on this side. Still better if the AICC under your leadership acts in accordance with high ideals and integrity of national Congress and rejects balkanised India (stop) remember members of Interim Govt. and AICC were raised to their positions on slogans of United India and complete independence therefore their voting otherwise will mean cheating people for personal or party vested interests and inviting youths to revolt against the Congress that they built with their blood and bones.

Mulraj Mehta.
12. Representation on Boundary Commission for the Scheduled Castes

Letter from Abbott to G.E.B. Abell enclosing a paper by Chaudhri Sunder Singh, MLA, 18 June 1947


Government House, Lahore,

My dear Abell,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a paper left with His Excellency by Chaudhri Sunder Singh, MLA., a representative of the Scheduled Castes, at the end of an interview yesterday. Chaudhri Sunder Singh was particularly insistent that this should be forwarded to you.

Yours sincerely,

S. E. Abbott.

*Enclosure*

**Paper by Sunder Singh**

Undated

(1) ‘Scheduled Caste people should be given representation on the Boundary Commission. It is difficult to appreciate the point that 37½ lacs of the Punjab Sikhs can be given representation on the Boundary Commission while 16 lacs of the Scheduled Caste people should go unrepresented.

(2) Crown and waste land, especially of the colonies of the Punjab should be given to Scheduled Caste people for their own colonisation as they mainly depend on agriculture. These Colonists should then be allowed to join any Assembly—Eastern Punjab or that of the Western Punjab. If the line demarcation is fixed along the River Chenab, we the Scheduled Caste people may give up the above prayer.’

Sunder Singh M.L.A.

13. Report from Punjab

Extract from the fortnightly report on Punjab for the first half of June 1947, 21 June 1947

Home Poll (I), File No. 18/6/47, NAI

1. POLITICAL.—The reception of the announcement of 3rd June was unexpectedly quiet. The posting of troops to districts likely to give trouble, and the broadcasts of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Party leaders did much to reassure the public. Moreover, the Press had largely anticipated the terms of the announcement, and so reduced the surprise and shock it might otherwise have occasioned.

Since the 3rd of June, public, political and communal thought has been devoted almost entirely to a study of the award, which is what the Plan is commonly accepted to be. Despite the absence of determined manifestations of rejection, it cannot be accepted that the solution which has been adopted has met with ready acceptance, except by that section of the public which is anxious for peace on almost any terms. Among political and communal organisations, there is disapproval and there is also dismay which varies in degree with the communities and organisations concerned, and with the places of residence of the members and adherents of both. This is not the medium for the presentation of an analysis in detail of all the feelings and
views which are involved, but generally it can be said that dissatisfaction is less pronounced in the case of Hindus than of Muslims, and that of the three communities the Sikhs are the most upset and worried. Hindus in the Punjab still favour a united India under a strong centre. Their opposition to the award, however, is not great because Congress has accepted it, and in doing so has conceded what is felt to be a minimum to the Muslims. Hindus hope that the Boundary Commission will give them Lahore and feel that their interest in territory north of the river Ravi now is not so great as it was. They also find solace in the thought that Hindu India will have a large number of Muslims which should ensure Pakistan’s good treatment of Hindus in Muslim territory. At any rate they think that Dominion Status will be a guarantee of good behaviour, and that if it does not materialise Muslims will be driven back to unity by economic and other difficulties. These thoughts are not without malice, but they seem to ensure loyalty to the Congress from the majority and a lack of support to the Hindu Maha Sabha should it attempt to embark on a line of overt action to emphasise the strong condemnation of His Majesty’s Government’s Plan which it has proclaimed. Muslims on the whole are allured by the knowledge that a homeland of their own is in the process of being granted to them, and many of those to whom the advantage does not at present apply, are not devoid of hope that when territory is finally adjusted they will not be excluded. Sikhs are between the devil and the deep sea. The partition the Plan envisages divides their strength and leaves them in a minority in both areas. Their predicament is increased by their fear of offending Congress. They have, therefore, been driven back on reiterating their demands and perfecting the organisation of their forces. Their endeavour in both directions is positive in character. The Sikhs are pinning their hopes upon the Boundary Commission and the Congress, but their latest circular issued by the Shiromani Akali Dal shows that confidence in the strength of the Panth has neither been undermined nor surrendered. The circular states that Pakistan means total death to the Sikh Panth and that the Sikhs are determined on a free sovereign State with the Chenab and the Jamna as its borders; and it calls on all Sikhs to fight for this ideal under the flag of the Dal. In earlier reports the loyalty of most Sikhs to the Panth has been mentioned as something which has to be accepted. The allegiance of Sikh States to the Panth, or at any rate a working understanding between the two, is something which has become more obvious during the last fortnight.

Congressmen have not yet abandoned hope of a United Punjab. The two halves of the Punjab Legislative Assembly have been summoned to meet on the 23rd of June and, when the meetings take place it is intended to move resolutions that the Punjab shall remain undivided and allied to the rest of India. Should this fail, resolutions will be moved in the Eastern and Western sections of the Assembly declaring adherence to the Constituent Assembly which already exists. In this matter it is understood that orders from the Centre are being followed, and that Congress interest in the N.W.F.P. is involved in the line of action which is being adopted. Congress feel that the establishment of a free Muslim State in the Western Punjab will influence the referendum in the Frontier in a way which is against Congress interests, and are anxious that this should be avoided. It is said that the Sikhs are not entirely enamoured of this proposal but that Congress are depending on them and on the dissatisfaction of those Muslims who are in danger of being left out of Pakistan to furnish some of the support required. They are also counting on the influences of certain prominent Muslims who have always expressed the strongest opposition to the partition of their Province. It is doubtful if any success will attend these endeavours except in the case of the Eastern Punjab whose adherence to the existing Constituent Assembly has for long been almost a foregone conclusion.
It is not improbable that the holding of the session of the Legislative Assembly will increase tension in Lahore and possibly in other places nearby. At the same time it can be accepted that the Boundary Commission when it starts work will create a situation of a more explosive kind. All the three communities are looking to the Commission to give to each what none of the others is prepared to part with. In these circumstances grave dissatisfaction is unavoidable. It is nevertheless desirable that the Commission should complete its work without delay, for the sooner doubts are removed the better.

On the assumption that there will be partition, machinery for the examination of the problems involved is being set up in consultation with the Party leaders....

14. ‘The Division of the Punjab’
Extracts from a pamphlet, undated
AICC Papers, File No. G-34/1947, NMML

The Division of the Punjab
Second Revised Edition

‘Moreover the position of the Punjab is complicated by the existence of the compact, well organized and distinct Sikh community, whose ancestors at one time controlled the Punjab’......
‘the fact is that today the Sikhs have declared their strong resolve not to be incorporated in Pakistan. The events of the last few months are, if anything, likely to strengthen their resolve’.

(Extracted from the leader of ‘The Times of India, Bombay, dated 2nd May, 1947)

The Division of the Punjab
The Punjab, ‘Land of Five Rivers,’ is the country enclosed and watered by the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej, but the province as now constituted includes also the table-land between the Sutlej, and the Jumna rivers to the south, the Sindh Sagar Doab between the rivers Indus and Jhelum, and the Dera Ghazi Khan district and Isakhel tehsil of Mianwali situated beyond the river Indus. The Province with its states has a total area of 138,105 square miles (about 1/10th larger than the British Isles) and is distributed as below:—

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Survey Area.</th>
<th>Revenue Record Area.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) British Punjab</td>
<td>99,089 sq. miles.</td>
<td>91,571 sq. miles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) States</td>
<td>39,016 sq. miles.</td>
<td>39,052 sq. miles.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Survey areas include even the uninhabited and unowned areas such as the river beds, lakes and the perpetual snow areas in the mountains. For purposes of the calculations of the division of the Punjab, the revenue record areas of the Punjab Government as printed on page 52 of the Census of India, Vol. VI Punjab 1941 should be taken. The total areas of the British Punjab is [sic] 191,571 sq. miles. The revenue record areas include all areas culturable, Ghair mumkin and Shamlats etc. owned by somebody but exclude all areas which are not owned by anybody and are not inhabitable.

The Punjab is divided into 29 districts constituting five divisions. The districts are generally too large to be suitable for efficient civil administration on a democratic basis. Their administration in the past was possible because the only cause to be served was that of Imperialism but it is
now no longer possible, as due to the development of irrigation projects and the colonization of barren lands, the areas under irrigation and the population have enormously increased and now when India is going to be free much attention has to be paid to the uplift of the masses both educationally and economically as well as to industrialization. The engineering development in P.W.D. with ten Chief Engineers and an eleventh in the making (Hydro-electric, two; Buildings and Roads, three; and Irrigation, six) has made the administration unwieldy with no co-ordinating efficiency. The districts, therefore, need to be changed according to the irrigation boundaries of the canals. The canal[s] are the primary wealth of the Punjab as an agricultural province and it is high time that the district boundaries should be changed according to canal boundaries for the convenience and efficiency of administration. In the New Punjab there should be nearly 40 districts with an area of 2,500 square miles each. Such a vast province, with an annual income of about Rs. 24 crores is far too big to be democratically administered as one province. Apart from communal considerations, the division of the Punjab into two parts is otherwise very necessary.

2. Community-wise Statistics of the Punjab

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>British Punjab</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Including States</td>
<td>Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901 1941</td>
<td>1921 1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Muslims</td>
<td>52.61 46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>47.39 53.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...vi. Communitywise statistics of the Punjab would be utterly incomplete without recognizing and ensuring the special position of Sikhs in the Punjab. The Cabinet Mission recognized them as the third major community in India. They have thus their inherent right to safeguard their national and religious interest in the Punjab. The Punjab was a Sikh State before the advent of British rule and the British kept Maharaja Dalip Singh (a minor in their tutelage) with certain treaty rights. Now when the sovereignty returns to the various other states after June 1948, why should the Punjab be treated differently. Any division of the Punjab which does not place Nankana Sahib (birthplace of Guru Nanak—the Mecca of Sikh religion) in the East Punjab and also does not ensure other Sikh religious places in the West Punjab as per Schedule I of the Punjab Sikh Gurdwara Act of 1925 as separate pockets governed by the Sikhs, shall ever remain a dead-letter. Similarly the special control by the East Punjab of Hindu places of sacred pilgrimage such as Amar Nath, Katash Raj and Gorakh Tilla, shall be ensured.

3. Mode of Division of the Punjab

The Punjab belongs to Punjabees, and extraneous forces and all-India considerations cannot coerce and overawe non-Muslims into forgoing their claims in the province. All-India organizations such as the Congress and the Muslim League have no right to dictate a surrender of rights by non-Muslims (Hindus and Sikhs) in the Punjab. Non-Muslims of Punjab are not a minority community in the sense as they are in the N.W.F.P. or as the Muslims are in other provinces in Group ‘A’ with no distinct predominant areas sufficient to form a province. Here they are nearly 70% in the Eastern Punjab which is a considerable area with a probable annual income of more than Rs. 10 crores, which is sufficient to form a separate province.
The Punjab is not a Muslim province at all, but the Punjab Muslim League has started posing, as if it belonged to Muslims exclusively. The land revenue share of Muslims in the province is 44 per cent and their contribution to other taxes, including income-tax, is hardly 20 per cent. On the whole the economic share of Muslims is hardly 30 per cent. The Qaid-e-Azam, as reported in the ‘Civil and Military Gazette’ (Lahore) dated 18th April, 1947 has said that the Ambala division could be detached and Sikhs could then have a separate Khalistan if possible in the remaining Punjab. Sheikh Karamat Ali, member of the Punjab Muslim League, has, as reported in the ‘Civil and Military Gazette’ dated 20th April, 1947, asked the Sikhs to approach the Punjab Muslim League if they want to safeguard their special interests in the three districts of Ludhiana, Ferozepur and Jullundur. Scraps are being thrown to the non-Muslims as if non-Muslims were beggars in the Punjab. By underhand and open oppression and by unjust laws passed by the Unionist Government, Muslims in the Punjab since 1920 have been able to increase their interests in the province from barely 25 per cent to 30 per cent. Master Tara Singh, to whom Sheikh Karamat Ali addressed his appeal to approach the Muslim League, is not merely interested in the 14 per cent of population comprising members of his community but is the accredited leader of all non-Muslims (carrying the solid vote of all non-Muslim M.L.As in his pocket) and is thus interested in the 70% economic share of the Punjab belonging to all non-Muslims. It is, therefore, for the Punjab Muslim League to approach the leader of non-Muslims with the request:

‘The Muslim majority of the West Punjab want to exercise their right of self-determination by cutting themselves off the parent India, thus forcing the division of Punjab. The corresponding non-Muslim majority in East Punjab could exercise a similar right of self-determination by remaining with parent India, but, as the economic share of the Muslims in the Punjab is hardly 30 per cent—very small as compared to their numbers—the leader of non-Muslims should allow them a relatively greater share of the Punjab.’

The division of the Punjab could thus be on the following bases: (1) Economic. (2) Socialist. (3) Landed property. (4) Population....

7. Division of the Punjab according to Population No. (A)
The correct population share of Muslims is difficult to determine as the Census figures were inflated and faked by the Muslims as already established. The correct method to find this out would be voters share with adult franchise and with joint electorate as check on correct voters’ lists. Muslims knowing that Census figures are inflated, always avoid this short of correct enumeration. The present voters’ strength of Muslims for the present Legislative Assembly is 44 per cent. Which is the correct democratic population share of the Muslims. A population incorrectly recorded is meaningless unless it is reflected in the voters’ list. However, let us suppose that the leader of the non-Muslims agrees as special concession to allow 25% extra share in addition to 44 per cent out of generosity. Thus the share of Muslims be raised to 55 per cent which was the reported Census percentage of Muslims in 1921....

8. Division of the Punjab on Population Basis No. (B)
(i) The population share of Muslims is 55 per cent (1921 Census) and therefore 55 per cent of land, canals and hydroelectric should go to West Punjab.

However the Hindu and the Sikh leaders might be forced into the position by the British Government to allow full quota of 57.0 per cent of 1941 Census in even the land to Muslims.
The district percentages are meaning less because they have been materially changed by the Muslims themselves by turning out non-Muslims from the Frontier Province and from West Punjab in March and April 1947. The basis should be the total population share of Muslims in Punjab and not by districts. The division (B) is, therefore, worked out to allow approximately 57 per cent land, 63 per cent canal and 50 per cent hydro-electric power in the West Punjab. This should be extreme limit up to which the Hindu and Sikh leaders could go especially when the economic share of the Muslims in the Punjab is below 30 per cent and the landed property is 44 per cent. The excess over 55 per cent now given to Muslims should be surrendered if 57 per cent population of Muslims is not eventually proved....

9. Conclusions
The division of the Punjab is very necessary even if the Muslim League drops the demand for Pakistan because:—

(a) Even in the B Group, a separate East Punjab is essential as a safeguard against its conversion into Pakistan at a future date.
(b) The ordinary citizen is concerned with Law and Order, Education and Health. He is little affected in his daily life by ‘Group’ or central subjects. We have seen enough in recent months to prove that non-Muslims cannot continue to be subject to Muslim notions of Law and Order. Law and Order must, therefore, be taken over for as much area as possible.
(c) The non-Muslim taxpayer is being bled and fleeced in the Punjab for the economic development of the West Punjab.
(d) Sikh States are encircled in Group ‘B’, and even in the present Punjab they cannot be of any help to the rest of the Punjab unless their encirclement is removed by dividing the Punjab.
(e) The real man-power of India is between Gujranwala and Delhi. In Indian history the people living in this area always fought invaders somewhere near Panipat and if they won, India won, and if they lost, the whole of India was lost. This man-power must be saved at all cost from being effeminated and weakened with 75 per cent Muslim teachers in the present Punjab. The non-Muslims in this area are being reduced to cowardice by inferiority complex even though they are in a majority. Why should they be disheartened by being called a minority?
(f) It is a wrong argument that the non-Muslim minority west of Gujranwala will be further weakened by this division of the Punjab. Non-Muslims of the West Punjab could be accommodated in the East Punjab on reciprocal basis. This can best be done by the Governments of the separated Punjab.
(g) The division of the Punjab is also necessary, apart from communal considerations, as it is far too big for democratic rule by the people for the people. District boundaries need to be changed according to the irrigation boundaries of the canals, which form the real wealth of the Punjab. The province should be divided into 40 districts of 2,500 sq. miles each for efficient democratic administration. The present unco-ordinated and unwieldy administration of all P.W.D. Chief Engineers badly needs reorganization and distribution among at least two provinces.
If Pakistan is dropped and if also grouping is dropped but still the civil liberties (Law and Order, health and education) must be divided up to L.C.C. boundary line in Rachna Doab and up to Montgomery in Bari Doab with two assemblies and a combined House for the remaining subjects Finance, Irrigation, P.W.D. and Development (Defence Central subject). Non-Muslim Taxpayer would no doubt continue to be fleeced for the development of West Punjab but would be saved the pin pricks of Muslim way of law and order in his normal life.

The Hariana Prant Ambala Division may remain in the East Punjab, but, if that is not desired by that population, areas irrigated by the Western Jumna Canal could be joined to Delhi Province, as very large areas of the Hissar and Karnal districts have yet to benefit from the Bhakhra Dam canals from the Sutlej River. The East Punjab should definitely include all areas to be eventually irrigated by the Bhakra Project. This is a domestic affair of the East Punjab non-Muslims and could be amicably settled at a later date.

By demanding the division of the Punjab, the Sikhs and Hindus of the province will only be asking what is their undisputed right. *The Times of India* in its leader of 2nd May, 1947 says ‘….. the call to partition of the Punjab and Bengal is the logical sequel to the Muslim League demand for the division of India.’ The Cabinet Mission has also recognized this principle when it declared that every argument in favour of Pakistan could be used with equal force for
the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Is it not reasonable to expect that when 24 per cent of the Muslims of India can claim a division of India, then surely 44 per cent of the Hindus and Sikhs of this province can claim the same?\(^1\)

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1. Appendices 1 & 2 not reproduced here.

### 15. Punjab Assembly Votes amid Burnt-out Ruins

*Extract from a report from Reuter Indian Service, 23 June 1947*

**LAHORE**

With large sections of Lahore and scores of villages throughout the Province fire-blacked ruins, the 168 members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly laughed and joked as they shook hands in the lobbies of the Assembly building on their way to record their votes to decide whether the Punjab should be partitioned.

Meeting in joint session in the Assembly Chamber, 91 members voted to join a new, separate Constituent Assembly if the Province remained united.

Twenty minutes later, 72 members from East Punjab, meeting in separate session, rejected by 50 votes to 22, a motion by the Moslem League leader Khan of Mamdot that the Province should remain united.

Under the British plan, this decided the partition issue, although West Punjab members rejected a partition motion by 69 votes to 27.\(^1\)

Later East Punjab members decided to join the existing Constituent Assembly....

Approaches to the Assembly building were blocked by barred wire barriers and the vicinity was under heavy police guard.

The public was not admitted, but foreign and local pressmen filled the press gallery.

The 91 members who voted in favour of joining the new Constituent Assembly consisted of 88 Moslems, two Indian Christians and one Anglo-Indian.

Hindus, Sikhs and representatives of the Scheduled castes, numbering in all 77, voted for the present Constituent Assembly.

The 88 Moslems included eight Moslem unionists (who have in the past been opposed to the partition of the Punjab) led by Sir Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana, former Premier of the Punjab.

For the first time in the history of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the speaker, Dewan Bahadur S. P. Singha (Indian Christian) went to the lobby and recorded his vote for the new Constituent Assembly....

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\(^1\) The correct figure here should apparently be 27. Report in *Times of India*, 24 June 1947, p. 5, col. 1.

### 16. ‘Punjab to Be Partitioned’—Elected Representatives’ Decision

*Extract from a report in *The Tribune*, 24 June 1947*

Lahore, June 23.—Punjab’s elected representatives have decided today that the province must be partitioned. This decision was arrived at by the Eastern Section of the Punjab Assembly which sat separately after a joint session of the Punjab Assembly had been held.
The two Sections of the Punjab Assembly, the Eastern Section and the Western Section met separately, at 9 A.M. and both decided in favour of holding a joint session of the Assembly.

Then a joint session of both Sections was in session where ninety-one members voted for joining the new Constituent Assembly whereas 77 voted in favour of joining the existing Constituent Assembly.

The members divided themselves again into the Eastern Section of the Punjab and the Western Section under the notional division contained in the British Plan of June 3.

The Eastern Punjab decided in favour of partition by 50 votes against 22. The Western Punjab decided in favour of keeping a united Punjab by 69 votes against 27.

Dewan Bahadur S. P. Singha presided over the joint session and the separate session of the West Punjab, whereas Sardar Kapur Singh was in the chair in the Eastern Section meeting.…

Dewan Bahadur S. P. Singha, referring to H.M.G.’s statement of June 3, put it to the members that they had to decide as to which Constituent Assembly, the existing one or the new one, they would like to join. Before this, however, he asked the members that they had to decide upon the procedure which they would like to adopt. The party leaders, said the chairman, had agreed upon a procedure by which it was decided that there shall be no speeches nor shall there be any motion from any members and he would, therefore, ask if the House was willing to approve the agreement arrived at by the leaders. The House gave its approval.

**Existing or New**

The chairman then put it to the House that they should vote on the question whether they would like to join the existing Constituent Assembly or would like to join the new Constituent Assembly.

The motion having been put, the members rose to go to the lobbies to record their votes. The Whips became busy on both sides to ‘whip in’ every member to vote.

The chairman announced the result of voting and said that 91 members had voted in favour of joining the new Constituent Assembly and 77 had voted for joining the existing Constituent Assembly.

**Voting Analysis**

Of the 91 members who voted for the new Constituent Assembly, 88 were Muslims, including Sir Khizar Hayat Tiwana and his group. Two Indian Christians, including the chairman, and one Anglo-Indian voted with them. The man behind the Khizar throne—that was Nawab Sir Allahbaksh Tiwana who remained a pucca Unionist all through, was absent. Of the Hindu and Sikh as also the Scheduled Caste members, 2 were absent. Jathedar Man Singh of the Panthic Party and Ch. Harbhaj Ram who was a Unionist. The hand of death had removed Munshi Hari Lal, the veteran Congressman and two Muslim League members, Mian Allahyar Khan Daulatana, Chief Whip of the League Party and Sh. Mohd. Amin, Bar-at-Law. The only European member, Mr. P. M. Guest, was not present, because under the new Plan he was not entitled to vote at these meetings.

**Good Bye to the Chamber**

The House was then adjourned and the members bade good bye to the Assembly Chamber, once for all—perhaps they may meet once again here to elect members for the existing and new Constituent Assembly....
Partition Voted For

The members then again re-assembled in their sectional meetings. In the Eastern Section, the chairman, Sardar Kapur Singh, put it to the House, again under the British plan, whether they would like to have a United Punjab or whether they would like to divide the province. On votes being recorded, the Chairman announced that fifty M.L.A.s had voted in favour of the partition, whereas 22 had voted against partition. The 22 were the Muslim M.L.A.s, including the Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, and the 50 were represented by members of the minority communities.

According to the instructions contained in the letter to the Chairman, Sardar Kapur Singh, immediately after the result of voting was known, sent a written letter to the Chairman of the Western Section, intimating to him that the Eastern Section had decided by a majority that the Punjab must be partitioned. This letter was duly delivered to the Chairman of the Western Section. The Eastern Section then voted on the question whether they would like the constitution of the Eastern Punjab to be drawn up by the existing Constituent Assembly or the new Constituent Assembly. On this question also the voting was 50 for the constitution being drawn up by the existing Constituent Assembly and 22 for the constitution being got ready by the new Constituent Assembly. This meeting was then adjourned.

Against Partition

Down stairs in the tea room the Western Section voted in favour of keeping a united Punjab, 69 voted against partition (having pressed for dividing India all these years) whereas 27 voted in favour of partition. Here also all the representatives of the minorities, excepting the three representatives of the Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians, voted for partition. That section also voted by majority for getting their constitution drafted by the new Constituent Assembly, the voting result was the same as the first, being 27 for drawing the constitution by the existing Constituent Assembly and 69 for getting it done by the new Constituent Assembly which will now be constituted.

It must be made clear that when the League Assembly Party voted in favour of having a united Punjab their object was to have a united Punjab which would join the new Constituent Assembly as was clear from the voting result at the joint session and thus have the whole Punjab as a part of the Pakistan.

The minorities voted for partition of the Punjab because they did not want to join the new Constituent Assembly and wanted their constitution to be drawn by the existing Constituent Assembly. It is known that an offer was made by the Congress and the Panthic Parties that they would be willing to have a united Punjab if it would join the Indian Dominion and have its constitution drawn up by the existing Constituent Assembly. The League Party vote was not so much for maintaining the solidarity of the Punjab as for bringing the whole province in Pakistan.

Thus was decided the fate of the future Punjab after all these formalities which had been laid down had been gone through in about an hour’s time. The province was decided upon to be divided because the Muslim League insisted upon the division of India for the solidarity of which country and the province men had worked for centuries and for whose unity and independence innumerable sacrifices had been made by Indian men and women among whom some of the Punjabis occupied a position of unique distinction. The Punjab which was divided to-day was the land from where the slogan, ‘Inqilab Zindabad’ was first raised and
for bringing about which ‘inqilab’ young men and women made themselves immortal by the sufferings and the sacrifices which they made in this province and in India for whose glory and independence they loved to suffer.

Sardar Bahadur Abnasha Singh, Secretary, K.B. Hakim Ahmed Shuja, Deputy Secretary and the Assembly Staff had a busy time in making all arrangements for the meetings at a short notice.

17. ‘Unionist Party Liquidated’

Extract from a report in *The Tribune*, 24 June 1947

LAHORE, June, 23.—With the decision by the Punjab M.L.A.s to divide the Punjab the end was announced of the Unionist Party as well to-day.

The last of the Unionists, Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, sided with his erstwhile political opponents and so did his Muslim colleagues who had contributed to Unionism.

The Unionist Party had swayed the politics of the province for over 25 years when the Unionists lost to the Muslim League in 1946. Sir Khizar Hayat, however, decided to cling fast to the creed of his leader the late Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, and his friend and colleague, Sir Chhotu Ram, and the handful of Hindu and Muslim Unionists pledged their loyalty to him and decided to stand by him.

The party had a crash on the night of March 2, 1947, on the morrow of which opened a new chapter in the history of the Punjab. The resignation from the Premiership of the Unionist Chief was followed by happenings in the province which in fact have resulted in the division of the Punjab for the minorities said they had no other course left open but to part company as friends with the majority of the province.

Today, however, the party was declared to be dead for ever. The Unionist leader, even though he voted for a United Punjab but voted with those who, while asking for the division of India were anxious to have a United Punjab for different reasons. Therefore what was left of the Unionist party were three lieutenants of the late Sir Chottu Ram who were determined to follow the footsteps of their ‘political guru.’ In view, however, of the developments to-day, Rao Bahadur Ch. Suraj Mal, Rao Sahib Mohar Singh and Ch. Prem Singh Unionist M.L.A.s declared their decision to join the Congress Party. This gave a decent burial to the good old Unionist Party....

18. ‘Leaders’ Reactions’

Extract from a report in *The Tribune*, 24 June 1947

LAHORE, June 23.—...Sardar Swaran Singh, leader of the Panthic Assembly Party in the course of his talk with the ‘Tribune’ representative immediately after the voting on the division of the Punjab... said: ‘We had always stood for the Punjab going into the existing Constituent Assembly and even today we took that stand in both parts that a joint session of the parts might be held. We had hoped that the joint session would vote for joining the existing Constituent Assembly and thus pave the way for a united India. But the Muslim League members had decided to divide India and by their majority in a joint House wanted to drag the whole of the Punjab into Pakistan. There was no option for the Eastern part but to ask for partition. We are not at all happy as India is being divided but if division of India is inevitable the only right
course was to ask for partition of the Punjab. Hindus, Sikhs and Scheduled Caste members in the Eastern part as also in the Western part have solidly voted in one group.

‘Let me point out that the existing notional division is only for the purposes of deciding partition question and cannot be used for any other purpose. The Boundary Commission will demarcate the line of division and it is hoped that justice will be done to the Sikhs by maintaining their solidarity and I would strongly urge upon the two parts of India to appreciate the view point of the Sikhs and help them in carving out a respectable future for this small but brave community.’

Mr. Sachar’s Statement

Lala Bhim Sen Sachar issued the following statement to the Press:—

‘So the expected has come to pass. The province has now been divided into two parts. As a Punjabee, I might be distressed at it: but under the choice that was before us now—Indian union or Pakistan—nothing else could be expected. Anyhow this is no time to assess blame. One has now to reckon with a “fait accompli.”

‘This is the most crucial of the periods we are passing through. Our attitude and outlook this time will determine the fate of millions and even of two States that might be set up. For at this time we need one thing above all, and that is mutual accommodation and understanding. In this way many thorny problems could be settled with the least amount of scratching, many misunderstandings could be adjusted amicably which might otherwise prove explosive. But all this requires a breadth of vision and a largeness of heart, which unfortunately have been generally lacking in the past. But other people, situated in similar circumstances have been able to show the necessary adaptability. I can see no reason why we cannot rise above our past, with all its compelling force notwithstanding.

‘This faith, I am sure, will help us to overcome our problems, leaving no trace of bitterness behind. And it is only in this way that we could hope to see a United India again, drawn together by natural ties of geography and the indestructible unity of the fundamental interests of the masses of India, which transcend all artificial barriers of religion and creed.’...

‘No Punjabi Can Be Happy’—Khizar Hyat

Interviewed when coming out of the Assembly Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, the former and the last Premier of an undivided Punjab, said:—

‘The land of the Five Rivers, as we have known it, is today no more a political entity. No Punjabi can be happy over it. Associations centuries old, common martial traditions in adversity and victory, comradeship in arms on various parts of the globe are to be torn asunder. This is not to the benefit of any community nor area. The economic structure of the Punjab is so interdependent that it will be gravely dislocated. Such a course of action could have only been adopted under extraordinary circumstances of estrangement and tension. The past history of the Punjab and its success and glory in every sphere of life were built on the sure foundation of mutual good relations. Differences were solved by give and take and sound compromises. The Punjab was in the vanguard of India’s economic and constitutional progress, but to-day circumstances have so shaped things that in the final and last leap to freedom it has become the main casualty. I count on the renowned commonsense of the Punjabis of all sections that it should not be impossible to still save the Punjab before further and unretraceable steps are taken.’...
19. Deplorable Situation of Hindus in West Punjab

Letter from S.L. Chawla to P.D. Tandon, 25 June 1947
P.D. Tandon Papers, File No. 231, Serial No. 276, Microfilm Acc. No. 390, NAI

S. L. Chawla
Advocate

My most respected Leader,

After thinking over the matter for days and days, I now take courage and write you a few lines. The Hindus of these areas have been sacrificed at the altar of freedom. The lot of the non-Muslims particularly the Hindus seems very bad. Their life, property and honour is at stake. The woeful tales of Amritsar and Lahore must have reached your ears. ...No non muslim could dare enter those areas particularly during the curfew hours.

The propaganda is set afloat here that no muslim should buy the property of the Hindus and thus the value has depreciated in value to a great extent. The treatment is growing worse everyday and we people are hated and ignored. I can’t write you more as you must be aware...

In case some body of influence is known to you, you will be good enough to send me a letter of introduction.... We don't want lands free either. Leases of lands very kindly be granted to us and ... permission to practice as lawyer be also given.

Hoping you would be gracious enough to encourage me by replying to this humble letter of mine.

I am forsaken hindu brother

Sd/- Sant Lal Chawla

20. Proposal for a Sikh-Muslim Pact

Letter from Penderel Moon to H.L. Ismay, 27 June 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 140, NMML

PRIVATE AND PERSONAL

Dear Lord Ismay,

I write with reference to our conversation a few weeks ago regarding the Sikhs.

Feroz Khan Noon made, I understand, a direct approach to them, indicating that the Muslims would grant them special concessions if they would throw in their lot with Pakistan, but he met with a rebuff.

This was to be expected. The Sikhs are still smarting from the injuries inflicted on them by the Muslims in the Rawalpindi division. Temporarily they've been thrown off their balance. But an influential section of them (including Master Tara Singh and Gyani Kartar Singh) know, in their heart of hearts, that they must come to a settlement with the Muslims if the Punjab is to be spared disaster. Hence, though one must not look for any immediate results, there is yet hope that with patience and perseverance the Sikhs will be brought to the view that Eastern Punjab—which must in any case be formed—should join Pakistan. If this is achieved, then the civil war, not to mention administrative complications, which must inevitably follow an attempt to draw a frontier between two National States somewhere in the middle of the Lahore Division, will be averted.

Meanwhile what steps are to be taken?
Certain Sikhs, in touch with both Baldev and Tara Singh, are going to formulate, informally and entirely privily, the Sikh conditions for joining Pakistan. If these offer, as I believe they will, a possible basis for negotiation, certain Muslim League leaders will be informally approached. The Sikhs are anxious that it should not leak out that any such negotiations are afoot or contemplated.

It will considerably facilitate matters if it can be so arranged that the new Eastern Punjab has the strongest possible Sikh complexion and does not, therefore, include Gurgaon, Hissar, Rohtak and Karnal. The Sikhs have already put this demand to Congress who hesitate to accept it. I would suggest that this Sikh demand should be encouraged and conceded. You can doubtless be of assistance in this regard. If the Sikhs are taken out of Hindu clutches—as they want to be—and put in a more or less independent position on their own, they are much more likely to gravitate in the end towards their natural alignment with the rest of the Punjab and Pakistan.

The next step would be to indicate that it is optional for this Sikh Eastern Punjab to join either Hindustan or Pakistan and that there is no presumption that it must join one rather than the other. The Sikhs will probably make this clear themselves, but if they ask for some pronouncement to this effect from HMG, it will probably be advisable to accede to their request.

Please forgive this unasked for effusion. My excuse is that without a Sikh-Muslim pact there will be chaos in northern India.

Yours sincerely,

PENDEREL MOON

21. Demand for a Separate Punjabi-Speaking Province

Record of interview between Louis Mountbatten and Kartar Singh and Baldev Singh, 30 June 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 194, NMML

H.E. spoke about four points which the Giani had made in his letter, dated the 13th June. He pointed out that after the 15th August he would have no special powers at all, and even if he was Governor-General would be purely constitutional. He thought there was some consolation for the minorities in Maulana Azad’s appeal. He promised that in regard to weightage and safeguards he would bear the Sikh point of view in mind and use his influence with the major parties.

2. Sardar Baldev Singh said that neither of the major parties would give any safeguards or weightage.

3. Giani Kartar Singh said that the time for action was now, while the Governor-General still had his powers.

4. H.E. said that he had already talked to both sides about the minorities and both had given assurances. He thought that the presence of so many representatives of the world Press in India would provide the minorities with an important safeguard if they used it properly.

5. After some discussion Giani Kartar Singh said that the main points which the Sikhs wished to press were two. First that they should have weightage in the Legislature of the East Punjab, or, alternatively, the Hindi-speaking parts of the East Punjab should be separated off and there should be a Province comprising the Punjabi-speaking areas. The Home Member had said that he preferred the second alternative, to the first.
6. Next Giani Kartar Singh said that the Sikhs wanted more representation in the existing Constituent Assembly, because they were at a great disadvantage in committee as a result of having only two representatives.

7. Giani Kartar Singh then put forward some further points. He said that the Sikhs were very anxious:
   (a) That the boundary should be drawn more favourably to them.
   (b) That transfer of population should be arranged, and
   (c) That H.E.’s broadcast should be given to the Boundary Commission as part of the Plan of the 3rd June.

H.E. explained that he had not agreed to putting his broadcast to the Boundary Commission in this way because the result would have been that the Muslim League would have put in a large number of documents to the opposite effect. He had authorised Sardar Baldev Singh to put in a copy of the broadcast. He thought that the Sikhs would have greater bargaining power than they imagined owing to their military importance in the new Union of India.

8. H.E. undertook to write to the leaders and say that as a result of discussion with the Sikh leaders he wished to put their point of view. They asked for assurances about weightage in the Legislature of the East Punjab and for extra representation in the existing Constituent Assembly. They hoped the question of the transfer of population would be taken up, and H.E. thought that this might be examined.

G. E. B. Abell.

22. Disputed Territory Should Remain under Joint Administration till Final Settlement
Letter from Baldev Singh to Jawaharlal Nehru, 2 July 1947

SECRET

My dear Pandit N.,

Yesterday, I glanced through the India Independence Bill which is to go before the Parliament shortly. You will have studied the clause dealing with the Indian State [sic]. I wish however to draw your attention to the provisions relating to the Western Punjab. Some of the districts included that side, according to the annexure attached to the bill, as you know are disputed territory and it is our case that control over them should remain joint till final settlement is made.

The other day when we discussed the question of Armed Forces Reconstitution in the Partition Council Meeting, I pointed out the difficulties inherent in allowing one Government’s control over these very disputed districts. The Viceroy appreciated my point and instructed the C-in-C to prepare a scheme for joint administration of Armed Forces stationed in this area.

The districts concerned are—Lahore, Gurdaspur, and Sheikhupura in the Division of Lahore. I would like you to please see that suitable amendments are made in the Bill or the Annexure or both to ensure that these districts do not automatically go over to Pakistan when the Bill becomes law. The Boundary Commission will take some time investigating the rival claims. We believe that it will be prejudicial to us if the administration of these districts is allowed to pass into the hands of Pakistan Government until such time as the Boundary Commission
has announced its findings. I hope you will take necessary steps to exclude these areas from Pakistan territory at this stage.

Yours sincerely,
Baldev Singh

23. Christian and Anglo-Indian Minorities Should Not Be Classified under ‘General’ Category
Letter from C.E. Gibbon to M.A. Jinnah, 4 July 1947
Jinnah Papers, Vol. III, pp. 84–5

13 JAIL ROAD, LAHORE

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have not written for sometime as I have been busy organising the Association. I am happy to say that we are growing in strength daily in spite of pro-Congress efforts to cause a split in the community in Pakistan.

On June 23 the two Christian members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and I voted with the League against partition and for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

Today we met to elect members to the three General seats from West Punjab, in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, and were swamped out by Congress. Our candidate, Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha, was cried down by the Hindu Group as being pro-League, and in spite of our best efforts to get him elected, were [sic] defeated.

This, however, has not left us downhearted. We have established the fact it is no longer possible for the Christian and Anglo-Indian minorities to be classified under ‘General’, and we sincerely hope you will remember us when your Constituent Assembly begins its work.

Dewan Bahadur Singha is, I understand, writing to you separately.

With my best wishes,

Yours loyally,
C. E. GIBBON, M.L.A.,
Founder President,
Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan.

24. Sikhs Anxious over Partition of Punjab
Letter from Louis Mountbatten to M.A. Jinnah, 4 July 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 140, NMML

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As a result of discussions I have had from time to time with the Sikh Leaders I should like to put to you their point of view.

2. They are naturally worried about the position in the Punjab where, unless major alterations are made by the Boundary Commission, the Sikh community will be divided into two almost equal parts.

3. They have asked for certain special considerations in the Union of India and in the Eastern Punjab but they also urge that the transfer of population should be seriously considered in the Punjab and I hope that at the proper time this will be considered by you, whether as the
result of the Boundary Commission or otherwise. They also hope they will have weightage in the Central Houses of Pakistan and a seat in the Pakistan Government.

4. I sympathise with the Sikhs, as I am sure you do, and I hope everything possible will be done to allay their fears.

Yours sincerely
M. of B.

25. Sikh Leaders Ask for Weightage and Special Representation
Letter from Louis Mountbatten to Jawaharlal Nehru, 4 July 1947
Kirpal Singh (Ed.), *Partition of Punjab*, pp. 139–40

Dear Mr. Nehru,

As a result of discussions I have had from time to time with the Sikh leaders I should like to put to you their point of view.

2. They are naturally worried about the position in the PUNJAB where unless major alterations are made by the Boundary Commission, the Sikh community will be so divided that almost half will remain in the Muslim province of WESTERN PUNJAB.

3. They hope that the Boundary commission will make such major alterations, but that is not a point which immediately concerns the political parties. Apart from this, they ask for assurance that they will receive weightage in the Legislature of EASTERN PUNJAB. They hope also that they will have weightage in the Central Houses of the Union of India and a seat in the Union Government.

4. They have suggested that they should have special representation in the existing Constituent Assembly. Clearly I cannot help them on this point or, indeed on any of the others except by approaching you, but you may wish to consider the matter.

5. Finally, they have suggested that the transfer of population should be seriously considered in the PUNJAB.

6. I expect all these points have been put to you but I should like to tell you how much I sympathise with the Sikhs and how much I hope you will be able to help them.

Sd/-
M.B.

26. ‘Resolve to Stick to Your Soil’—Mr. Sethi’s Appeal’
*The Tribune*, 5 July 1947

Lahore, July, 3.—Lala Dev Raj Sethi, M.L.A., has issued the following statement:

‘During our three days’ stay in Delhi an effort was made to discuss with members of the Congress High Command the problems of the minorities in the Western Punjab relating to transfer of population, citizenship rights, flow of capital, future of business, and industry, partition of services and other allied subjects. It is distressing to learn that there is a general move on behalf of upper strata among different sections of minorities to shift to the East. Out of half a crore Hindus, Sikhs and others an overwhelming majority has to remain in the West willy nilly. When the masses learn with dismay that the front rank businessmen, industrialists, land-lords and even Congressmen and proprietors of daily papers are out in search of homes and offices in East Punjab, or in other parts of India, their nervousness deepens. There is
complete unanimity that this exodus is harmful and should cease forthwith. This may mean some sense of insecurity for the better placed, but they are the natural leaders of the people. They should continue to play their role of guide, philosopher and friend of the masses and to share their weal and woe.

It is a great relief to learn that Master Tara Singh the veteran Sikh leader has categorically contradicted the statement in which he was alleged to have exhorted the Sikhs to quit the West. Let us resolve to stick to our soil in which we are rooted. Let us further pool our resources and devise effective measures for ensuring an honourable and an all-round progressive life in the land of our birth. Responsive co-operation should be our watch-word. The architects of India have assured the minorities that we shall never be treated as aliens in their land. The Congress President Acharya Kripalani in his concluding remarks in the A.I.C.C. meeting held at Delhi on June 15 clearly enunciated the Congress position about it. Let the minorities rest assured, we can always rely on their legitimate support.’—U.P.I.

27. Ministry Question Remains Unresolved in Punjab
Telegram from Evan Jenkins to G.E.B. Abell, 6 July 1947

IMMEDIATE

No. 163-G. Your telephone conversation of 5th July with Abbott about possibility of establishing Ministry in Punjab. I understand Bengal model would be followed with one team of Ministers (presumably Muslim League) in charge of whole Province and second team (presumably Hindu and Sikh) holding watching brief for Eastern Punjab.

2. Conditions here are not the same as in Bengal because whereas in Bengal stable Ministry existed before new arrangement was made, here we are still in section 93. Appointment of shadow team in Bengal can be made to appear concession to non-Muslims, but appointment of regular League Ministry plus shadow team in Punjab would be regarded as surrender to League. When after 3rd June Statement I suggested Coalition no party was keen and Sachar and Swaran Singh said there could be no cooperation on law and order on which League and other parties held irreconcilable views. I would welcome transfer of responsibility for law and order to Ministers, but I do not see how transfer could be effective with Muslim Ministers advising in one sense and Hindu or Sikh applying veto.

3. Apart from general difficulty mentioned above following points are relevant:
(a) With 40 days to go to transfer of power, partition work is practically untouched. Partition Committee is still bogged down in trivialities.
(b) First act of new Ministry on termination of section 93 is normally to meet Assembly and pass budget. Formation of Ministry would divert attention from Partition, and routine processes of preparing budget, meeting Assembly and getting settled in would occupy more than the time available.
(c) Situation here is generally explosive. Hatred and suspicion are universal and undisguised. It seems to me that this is inevitable under plan which in Punjab converts our principal cities into Frontier Towns and drives boundary through area homogeneous in everything except religion. Explosion may be touched off at any time and I except trouble when Boundary Commission reports. Attempt to form Ministry giving League jurisdiction throughout Punjab would be a very powerful irritant.
4. I think you should visit Lahore and discuss in some detail before Viceroy takes final decision.

28. ‘Firm Faith in Integrity of India—No Vivisection—Punjab Hindu Sabha Passes Resolutions’

*The Tribune*, 6 July 1947

Lahore, July 4.—To observe a ‘protest day’ against the latest award of the British Government partitioning the country into two independent dominions, an emergent [sic] meeting of the Punjab Provincial Hindu Sabha was held yesterday in the Hindu Sabha Bhawan, outside Shahalmi Gate under the presidency of Bhai Parma Nand. A resolution adopted reiterated Sabha’s firm faith in the integrity of India, declaring that no constitution based on the vivisection of the country would be acceptable to the Hindus.

It was resolved that in the opinion of the Hindu Sabha all attempts to introduce and encourage Hindustani should be dropped and Hindi should be made the medium of instruction in all educational institutions. Steps should also be taken to make it the ‘lingua franca’ of the country.

It was further resolved that now that the Muslims had been conceded Pakistan, national flag of the country should be a purely Hindu flag of saffron colour.

By another resolution the Sabha strongly disapproved of the efforts being made by certain politicians to make the country drop its ancient name ‘Hindustan’ on the ground that it did not contain only Hindus but Mussalmans as well.—United Press.

29. Separate Electorates a Fundamental Problem

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 7 July 1947


NEW DELHI

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of the 4th July regarding your discussions with the Sikh leaders.

2. We appreciate thoroughly the anxiety of the Sikhs. They have been hard hit by this division. They might be helped somewhat by the decisions of the Boundary Commission. As for assurances in regard to weightage etc., I fear this raises complicated issues. All our troubles, or nearly all, have been due to separate electorates and the system of weightage, originally introduced for the Muslims. It became clear that this did little good to the minority concerned and only created separatist tendencies. The addition of a seat or two makes no essential difference. But it means the acceptance of a fundamentally wrong principle. Once admitted, this principle leads to far-reaching consequences and illwill. It is possible, of course, that without weightage and separate electorates some kind of reservation might be given with freedom to contest the general seats also. We should like to help any minorities getting additional seats from general constituencies.

3. The question of transfer of population does not arise immediately. If the people concerned desire it, it must be seriously considered.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru
30. Separate Sikh State for Safeguarding Sikh Rights
Letter from Secretary, Sikh Sangat, Gujrat, to J.B. Kripalani, 7 July 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-34/1947, NMML

Sikh Sangat,
Kawankh, Gujrat

My dear Mr. Kriplani [sic],
Through the proclamation of 3rd June, the Sikh community has been ignored entirely. To safeguard the rights of the Sikhs it is requested that a separate Sikh State as indicated in the telegraphic telegram¹ must be formed.

The Sikhs have been and are sincere and well disciplined soldiers of Congress and as such have got the better rights to claim better dues. The Sikhs still believe that the Congress High Command will re-consider this question of Sikhs.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Secretary
Sikh Sangat

¹ Not reproduced here.

31. Sikhs Wear Black Armbands in Protest against Partition
Extract from a report from Reuter Indian Service, 8 July 1947
_T.O.P._, Vol. XII, pp. 17–18

NEW DELHI—India’s 5,700,000 Sikhs, most of whom live in the Punjab, wore black armbands as they prayed in their Gurdwaras (temples) today in protest against the threat to split their community under the British Plan for India.

In growing alarm at the possibility of their people being split by partition of the Punjab, Sikh leaders West of the provisional partition line are urgently endeavouring to impress about 1,500,000 Sikhs in rural areas with what they consider a danger to the existence of the community.

The protest day of prayer passed quietly in the Punjab, according to reports so far received. Gurdwara congregations approved a resolution declaring that ‘any partition that did not secure the integrity and solidarity of the Sikhs would be unacceptable and create a difficult situation’.

Leaders of the Shiromani Akali Dal, leading Sikh religious and political organisation which sponsored the protest day, said that though they did not wish to disturb the Punjab’s precarious situation they felt something must be done to arouse the Sikhs to effective protest before the Boundary Commission declares its findings.

Black-bearded, blue-turbaned, carrying three-foot curved swords like walking canes, the Organisation’s Acting President, Amar Singh Dosanjh, and General Secretary Amar Singh Ambalvi, said there could be no peace in the Punjab if the Sikhs were dissatisfied by the partition.

They declared a boundary on the River Chenab was their minimum demand adding that when the Sikhs asked for partition of the Punjab they had in mind the separation of preponderently Moslem areas from the rest of the Punjab.

Hindu and Sikh shops in Old and New Delhi remained closed today as a mark of protest....
32. **Complete Hartal by Sikhs in Protest against Partition**

Letter from Sikhs of Kohala Village, Distt. Ferozepore, to J.B. Kripalani, 8 July 1947

AICC Papers, File No. G-34/1947, NMML

To

Acharya Kriplany [sic],
President, Indian National Congress,
New Delhi.

'The sikh [sic] of (Kohala Village) District Ferozepore observed complete hartal on 8th July as protest against the June 3rd plan and subsequent developments thereafter.

The sikhs [sic] of this place, therefore declare in unequivocal terms that partition of the Punjab should be effected in a manner whereby their integretity [sic] and socidarity [sic] is maintained and they get an adequate share in the canals and canal colonies and their sacred shrines are included in the Eastern Punjab.

Any partition which does not secure this for the Sikhs will be unacceptable to them and will create bitterness and a difficult situation.'

33. **Movement for a Separate Punjabi-Speaking Province Opposed**

Letter from Lahiri Singh to J.B. Kripalani, 9 July 1947

AICC Papers, File No. G-34/1947, NMML

Lahore

My dear Acharyajee,

As you are no doubt aware, now-a-days in the Punjab the Sikh movement (sponsored by Master Tara Singh) for the creation of a Punjabee-speaking Province comprising the whole of Jullundur Division, Amritsar, and parts of Ambala Division is gaining ground. This will result in isolating the Hariana Prant, viz. districts of Rohtak, Karnal, Gurgaon and some parts of Hissar. To propose further division of the truncated Punjab is definitely actuated by the sole desire of establishing Sikh hegemony in the Central Punjab. This move on the part of Sikh leaders cannot be justified in any way. Apart from these two divisions being predominantly non-Muslim, there is so much common between them that any talk or move of further fragmentation is preposterous. To take one instance alone, the proposed Bhakra Dam and Nangal Project will be to the common benefit of these two divisions, and if one is separated from the other, there will be practical difficulties in bringing these Projects to fruition. There will be a host of other complexities which may be to the detriment, if not the utter ruination, of Hindus and Sikhs of the Eastern Punjab. I am making haste to pen these few lines at this inopportune moment, when the Boundary Commission has already commenced their deliberations so that there may not be any commitment on the part of Congress from which it may be difficult to dis-entangle later on.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly permit a few of us in the Hariana Prant to wait upon you in the near future to explain our case verbally.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/

(Lahiri Singh)
34. Avoid Postponing the Relief of British Troops
Letter from Evan Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten, 9 July 1947
IOR, R/3/1/176, Acc. No. 3477, NAI

Secret
No. 693.

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I discussed with the Army Commander on 7th July, and have again discussed with the Lahore Area Commander this evening, the question of the relief of British troops. I understand that they are likely to be moved during the first half of August, and that decisions may be taken by G.H.Q. about 17th July.

2. It is not easy to say how things will go, but my opinion is that the most dangerous period will be 15th July to about 15th October. There is great soreness in the Punjab about partition, especially among the Sikhs, and if they intend to make trouble, they may do so (a) when the Boundary Commission reports, if it reports before 15th August, or (b) immediately after the 15th August, if the Boundary Commission has not reported by then. The Sikh member of my Partition Committee actually proposed this morning that we should stay effective proceedings until orders had been passed on the report of the Boundary Commission; he also indicated that the Sikhs would not wish the Government of the Eastern Punjab to leave Lahore until the fate of Lahore had been decided. These matters will probably be referred to the Central Partition Council with a view to arbitration, but Swaran Singh's attitude illustrates the Sikh view.

3. On the whole, I think it will be wise to avoid postponing the relief of British troops for too long. It would be awkward if trouble on a large scale started while the relief was in progress. My own advice would therefore be to make the change before the end of July, if it can be made so soon. I have thought it right to give this opinion to Your Excellency as the Commander-in-Chief will no doubt discuss the matter with you.

Yours sincerely

E. M. JENKINS

35. Armed Forces to Put Down Sikh Resistance
Extract from the minutes of the meeting of Partition Council, 10 July 1947
T.O.P., Vol. XII, pp. 65-6

Mr. Jinnah pointed out that although he was doing every thing in his power to retain a hold over the Muslim sections of the population concerned to honour the undertaking given that the findings of the Boundary Commissions, whatever they were, would be accepted, he had noticed that the Sikh leaders were still reported to be inciting their followers to offer active resistance to decisions which they might regard as unfavourable. It was reported that active preparations for resistance were being made and that oaths to resist were being taken. The impression on the Muslim mind was that the Sikhs were carrying on this agitation in order to influence the decisions of the Boundary Commission. In consequence any suggestion that a Sikh deputation was being received to raise the question of boundaries would have a most undesirable effect.

His Excellency reiterated that he had made it abundantly clear to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, S. Baldev Singh, Master Tara Singh and all other Sikh leaders, with whom
he had interviews, the consequences of any attempt to offer active resistance. No responsible government would tolerate for a moment such action, which would be met by the regular armed forces of India. In view of the superiority in aeroplanes, tanks, artillery etc. that the armed forces enjoy, such action would inevitably result in very severe losses being inflicted on those who would only be armed with rifles and out-of-date weapons. He reaffirmed his hope, therefore, that the Sikh leaders would be able to restrain their followers. His Excellency said he had been assured by Sir Cyril Radcliffe that he will be able to submit his reports by the 14th August. In conclusion His Excellency said that he would communicate with H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala, and make it clear that if he received the deputation no questions regarding boundaries could be brought up; and if the deputation were received this fact would be made very clear in a press note.

36. Report from Punjab

Extract from the report on the situation in the Punjab for the second half of June 1947, 10 July 1947

Home Poll (I), File No. 18/6/47, NAI

Confidential

1. Political—As was confidently expected, the meeting of the Punjab Legislative Assembly on June the 23rd to decide the future of the Punjab resulted in a decision for partition. The slender hope of the Congress that Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana and his Muslim supporters would vote for the unity of the Punjab and participation in the Hindustan Constituent Assembly was unfulfilled, and the attention of the political parties is now being given to the working and personnel of the Expert Committees and preparation for laying their respective claims before the Boundary Commission. The voting of Muslim Unionist M.L.A.s with the League in favour of partition has resulted in the death of the Unionist Party and most of the Hindu Jat members of the Party of the Eastern Punjab have now aligned themselves with Congress and more are expected to follow the example before them.

In keeping with its previous endeavours to form a coalition ministry, the Punjab Muslim League has recently made an attempt to persuade the Congress to agree to the formation of Zonal Ministries. The Congress, however, which is at the moment determined to do all it can to retain the sympathy of the Sikhs and non-Congress Hindus, has found itself unable to agree to the proposal. The Punjab Muslim League was not perhaps very serious in advocating the establishment of Zonal Ministries, and the Leaders now seem more concerned with partition and with the restoration of confidence in the Western Punjab.

The tardy realisation of the Sikh leaders that by their own insistence on partition they have gravely damaged the solidarity of the Panth has resulted in an intensification in the demand for a Sikh Sovereign State to exclude the Ambala Division but including a large area of the canal colonies. The rejection of H.M.G.’s Plan of June the 3rd by the Working Committee of the S.A. Dal followed out-spoken criticism on the grounds of the Akali leaders’ political incompetence by practically all members of Sikh society and political organisations. It is clear, however, that the rejection does not mean that the Sikhs intend to abstain from putting their case to the Boundary Commission. It is equally clear that a serious situation may arise if the Commission does not concede to the Sikhs what they conceive to be their rights. However, when this might happen is still obscure. Meanwhile the Sikh volte face has necessitated a change in Congress
policy. Congress which hitherto had been averse to suggesting a link-up with the Ambala Division with Meerut Division and other contiguous areas, because it feared to alienate Sikh favour, is now considering the amalgamation of the Ambala, Rohilkhand, Meerut and Saharanpur divisions, after which it is expected approval will be forthcoming to the Sikh demand for a sovereign state within the Indian Union, which would act as a useful buffer between Pakistan and Hindustan. The Muslim League has tried to counter this move with a suggestion to the Sikhs that they should have the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions as their homeland, incorporated in the Pakistan territory. The future attitude of the Sikhs to these two proposals is yet unknown but it seems unlikely that they will relinquish their claims to the colony areas, which recently have been subjected to most intense Akali propaganda. The decision of the Working Committee to hold a 'protest day' on July the 8th throughout the Punjab which aims to include a complete non-violent hartal by all classes, is thought by the Sikhs to be a preliminary exercise to demonstrate and estimate their strength and the results achieved by weeks of preparation. The failure of Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh and Udham Singh Nagoke to include their names in the joint peace appeal, which was issued in the names of the Khan of Mamdot, Lala Bhim Sain Sachar and Sardar Sowarn Singh, is accepted by many as an indication of the Sikh temper and suggestive that the Panth does not intend in any way to cool the feelings of belligerency which have been inspired in the Sikh community by repeated suggestions that the Panth is in danger until a final solution satisfactory to the Sikhs, is arrived at concerning the disputed territories.

37. ‘Sikhs Warn Against Unfair Division: Hartal All Over Punjab’
*The Hindustan Times*, 10 July 1947

A warning that any partition which did not secure the integrity and solidarity of the Sikhs would be unacceptable to them and create bitterness and a difficult situation was given by a resolution adopted at a huge Sikh meeting on Tuesday in Lahore.

Sardar Amar Singh Dosanj, Acting President of the Shiromani Akali Dal, Sardar Ajit Singh, former Minister of the Frontier Province, and Sardar Amar Singh Ambalvi, General Secretary of the Shiromani Akali Dal, were among those present.

Similar meetings were held in Lyallpur, Jullundur, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Rawalpindi, Ambala and in the interior of the districts.

The day passed off peacefully in Lahore, no incident was reported from any quarter. Hindu and Sikh shops remained closed in the city. Hindu and Sikh Government employees attended their offices wearing black badges.

**AMRITSAR**

All markets were closed. Hindu and Sikh drivers also observed *hartal*. Sikhs wore black badges with the inscription *Kani Wand Manzur Nan* (partial partition unacceptable). A largely attended *devan* was held in Guruka Bagh Manji Sahib (Golden Temple), where prominent Hindu and Sikh leaders including Master Tara Singh, Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke, M.L.A., Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail, M.L.A., and Principal Ganga Singh criticized H.M.G.’s Plan. They anticipated a serious struggle if the solidarity of Sikhs was not assured.
RAWALPINDI
An appeal to the Hindus and Sikhs of the Western Punjab not to migrate but face reality with patience and courage, was made by Mr. Avtar Narain, a Congress member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in a statement to the Press.

Sikhs and Hindus in Rawalpindi observed complete hartal on Tuesday in pursuance of the decision of the Shiromani Akali Dal. Meetings were held in various Gurdwaras in the town.

A resolution protesting against the partition of the Punjab based on ‘bogus’ census figures was adopted at a largely attended Sikh dewan held in Kartarpura gurdwara. The resolution further stated that owing to the policy of appeasement of Muslims pursued by the British Government, Sikhs had lost their solidarity and had been thrown into the wilderness. The resolution urged the Boundary Commission to take into consideration ‘all other factors’ while making decisions.

Another resolution demanded of the Government of India to compensate the loss in property in this area as rehabilitation of the victims of communal frenzy was quite impossible in their original homes. In case the Government of India were not competent at the present moment to do the needful, the resolution demanded that they should negotiate with the future Pakistan Government regarding this point when treaties were signed.

Another resolution thanked the Maharaja of Patiala for the sympathy shown to refugees from Rawalpindi district.

SOLAN
The Sikhs and Hindus of Solan, Simla Hills, observed complete hartal on Tuesday as a protest against the June 3 statement of H.M.G. and the ‘unfair’ partition of the Punjab. The Sikhs at a meeting demanded that partition of the Punjab should be effected in a manner whereby their integrity and solidarity were maintained and they got an adequate share in the canal colonies and their sacred shrines came in the eastern zone.

AMBALA
Non-Muslims in Ambala city and cantonment observed complete hartal on Tuesday as a protest against ‘unfair’ partition of the Punjab. Black badges were worn by non-Muslims. At a Khalsa dewan held at the local gurdwara, a resolution was passed protesting against the partition of the Punjab and urging the Boundary Commission to take Sikh interests into consideration in demarcating boundaries.

FEROZEPORE
Complete hartal both in Ferozepore city and cantonment was observed on Tuesday by Hindus and Sikhs as a protest against H.M.G.’s Plan of June 3. Students absented themselves from schools. Men, women, and children, including Government employees, were seen wearing black badges. Big black flags were hoisted on the gurdwara buildings.

Resolutions protesting against the partition of India were passed at largely attended Sikh and Hindu dewans and also by the Ferozepore branch of the All-India Sikh Students’ Federation.

PATIALA
Hartal was observed on Tuesday in Patiala by the Sikhs and Hindus under the auspices of the City Akali Jatha as a protest against the partition of India. Hotels and milk shops were also closed.
SRINAGAR
A large number of Hindu and Sikh shops were closed in Srinagar on Tuesday in observance of ‘Anti-Partition Day’. Hindu and Sikh students absented themselves from local educational institutions.

CAWNPORE
‘Anti-Partition Day’ was observed by the Sikhs in Cawnpore on Tuesday. All Sikh shops and business houses remained closed.

A resolution opposing the vivisection of India in general, and the Punjab in particular, was adopted at a meeting of Sikhs held in a local gurdwara, Sardar Inder Singh M.L.A. (Punjab), presided.

By another resolution the meeting demanded the release of all Sikhs who were arrested in connection with the recent rioting in Cawnpore.

Giani Man Singh, a Punjab Sikh leader, who addressed the gathering, explained the significance of the partition of the Punjab.

38. Singha’s Election to the Constituent Assembly

Extract from a letter from S.P. Singha to M.A. Jinnah, 10 July 1947


20 MASSON ROAD,
LAHORE

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I wrote to you on the 21st of June. I hope my letter reached you.

You are aware of the result of the election to the Constituent Assembly. Mine was more a protest than a contest. But even then I was very near winning the election, had it not been for the all-out effort on the part of the Congress to keep me out as a punishment for having accepted your leadership and voting for Pakistan on the 23rd of June. At the last minute they withdrew the Congress candidate in favour of Rai Bahadur Ganga Saran, who had pledged his vote to me, and even the Scheduled Caste Unionist, who had pledged loyalty to the League, voted on the sly with the Congress, having been won over through promises made by Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargawa and the underhand work of Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khan Qizalbash, a bosom friend of Rai Bahadur Ganga Saran. Khan of Mamdot knows the dismal details of the transaction.

It seems a sin to bother you with small matters during these crucial days when your time and energy are taxed to the utmost. I am writing to you not to trouble you with a paltry thing like the above but to seek your advice on a matter which in my humble opinion is important enough to deserve your consideration.

I have had a letter from Mr. Walter Biscoe from England in which the following occurs:

My latest news of you is that you have carried with you the Indian Christian vote into Pakistan and with them, have moved the Anglo-Indians. Well Perkie I feel you have done the right thing and the God-guided thing by your community... I am still as sure as ever I have been that God’s plan for Pakistan can be discovered more surely in Caux than anywhere else. I am praying that He will open the way for you to join us there... I expect by now you have received your invitation to Caux from the Committee of the House of Commons... The French Government want to send 130 Party Members to it. In Norway a special Cabinet meeting was held to decide who
I have received the invitation to attend the Conference at Caux in Switzerland from Mr. Stan Awbery, M P....

I have no desire to make a short trip to London and the Continent and incur considerable expense unless I can be of some service to Pakistan. If the visit has your approval, I shall accept the invitation. And if you will be kind enough to give me some time when I can come to see you, I would like to take a message from you and obtain your instructions in regard to the line I should take in my speeches and interviews. If you can trust me as a good Pakistani, I think the international gathering at Caux will furnish a good venue to boost the new country.

Yours sincerely,

[DEWAN BAHADUR] S.P. SINGHA

39. Aftermath of the Decision to Partition

Governor’s Appreciation, 11 July 1947
IOR, R/3/1/91, Acc. No. 3416, NAI

(1) The communal feeling is now unbelievably bad. In the Ambala Division, outside Gurgaon, the Muslims seem resigned to their fate, and the same is probably true of the non-Muslims in the Rawalpindi Division and in Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan and Jhang. In the Lyallpur and Montgomery districts and the Lahore and Jullundur Divisions tension is extremely high.

(2) The Sikhs are the most uneasy of the three communities. They believe that they will be expropriated and possibly massacred in the Western Punjab and smothered by the Congress and the Hindus generally in the Eastern Punjab. They threaten a violent rising immediately after the transfer of power unless by then there has been a satisfactory award by the Boundary Commission.

(3) The Higher Services have virtually disintegrated. They were given the final blow by the partition policy, which turned professional civil servants into subordinate politicians. In the I.C.S. not one non-Muslim Indian is prepared to serve in West Punjab, and only one Muslim is prepared to serve in East Punjab. Hatred and suspicion are entirely undisguised.

(4) Partition goes very slowly indeed. Meetings of the Partition Committee resemble a Peace Conference with a new war in sight. In the time available it will be quite impossible to make a clean job of partition, and even if we can check disorder up to 15th August, and the new Governments can maintain themselves thereafter, there will be appalling confusion. In civil administration certain things cannot be done properly in a matter of days or weeks, and ‘standstill’ orders (most of which will be accepted very grudgingly by the Parties) do not really solve the administrative problem.

(5) From mid-July onwards many new officers will be posted to key appointments, and the new Governments will face the critical time in August with Secretariat and District teams even weaker than those which we have had during the past year or two. There will be much wrangling about postings since the non-Muslims are unwilling to commit themselves until the Boundary Commission reports.

(6) The Chairman of the Boundary Commission does not arrive until 14th July. His colleagues have given the Punjab Government an enormous questionnaire, the replies to
which cannot at the earliest be ready before about 20th July. Thereafter, if all the information collected is to be studied and transferred to special maps and if the parties are to be heard at any length (they have engaged very eminent counsel) it is difficult to see how the Commission can report by 15th Augst. [sic]

(7) If the Commission does report by 15th August there will in all probability be a row because the Muslims or the Sikhs are not satisfied with the report. If the Commission does not report by 15th August, there will be a row because the Sikhs do not like the ‘notional’ boundary.

(8) The prospect is in short far from encouraging, but we can only go ahead and see what happens.

Sd/ Jenkins

40. Sikhs Will Sacrifice All

Letter from Kirpal Singh to Secretary, AICC, New Delhi, 11 July 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-34/1947, NMML

To
Secretary
All India Congress Committee
New Delhi

As decided by the Sikh Panth, complete Hartal was observed by the Sikh & Hindu inhabitants of 21 villages in Sarhal Qazian (Thana Baga) Illaqa. A big Dewan was held in the afternoon, stirring speeches were made by the prominent veteran leaders of Doaba exhorting the people to organise themselves for the supreme sacrifice to preserve the unity and integrity of the panth, in case the decision of the boundary commission divides them into two nearly equal parts. The following resolutions were unanimously passed.

1. Resolved that the national [sic] division of the Punjab envisaged in Lord Mountbatten plan does a grave injustice to the Sikhs. The Sikhs have been shown lip-sympathy [sic] while the other two major communities have been given Hindustan & Pakistan. The Sikhs too, strongly demand to live and develop their religious & cultural traditions in a single group placed on the eastern side of river Chanab. The Sikh community will not submit to any decision imposed on them by ignoring their special contribution to the present setup of the Punjab.

2. Resolved that the Sikhs of this illaqa are prepared to make all the sacrifices demanded from them for the prosecution of Panthic plans to preserve the solidarity of the Panth.

3. Resolved that the copies of the above be sent to Lord Mountbatten and the President Boundary Commission, Master Tara Singh, Governor Punjab, Congress President.

Yours faithfully
Kirpal Singh
Stage Sec.
Sarhal Qazian P.O.
Jullundhar Distt.
Most respected Qaid-i-Azam,

We realised how fully occupied you are and what a terrible pressure of work you have to sustain during these critical and decisive days. But we are convinced that the two or three matters on which we seek your advice and direction are so urgent and so directly affect not only the future, but the very establishment of our Pakistan, that we must bring them to your notice even at the risk of distracting your mind from more important problems. We had intended that all of us should go to Delhi and discuss these grave problems but since Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, as President, cannot be absent from Lahore even for a day during these disturbed conditions and Mumtaz Daultana has to attend daily meetings of the Partition Committee, we have requested Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan to represent all of us and to place the view-point of the Punjab Muslims before you.

1. According to the new Bill before Parliament, the ‘appointed day’ has been fixed at August the 15th. We, in the Western Punjab, will be expected to take over and sustain power as from that date. However, it is well known that the Sikhs, with the fullest cooperation of the Hindus, are determined to embark on a large scale civil war from the very day on which Pakistan is established and perhaps even a few days before that. The present Government is very well aware of this and every C.I.D. report that they get (we have seen very many of them with our own eyes) gravely confirms this intelligence. It appears, however, that the present Governor is a privy to these plans and his present hostile attitude to the Muslims enters as a necessary element into them. Under these circumstances, if power is suddenly transferred to us without adequate and elaborate precautions and arrangements having been taken before-hand, we might face a crisis or a disaster, which may well jeopardise the entire future of Pakistan. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that at least ten days before the ‘appointed day’ an adequate Military force manned by Muslims and equipped with the most modern weapons should be at our disposal, so that we may deploy it at the strategic points well in advance. It is our impression that if such a force was present on our borders and if the fact of its presence was well known, the Sikhs may not even dare to put their plans into action. We believe that our High Command is already taking action along these lines, but we must urge with all the emphasis at our disposal that steps must be taken from now, because even if the final decision about the despatch of Muslim troops to Western Punjab are taken today, it will take well over a fortnight to transport and billet them in their new quarters in our province. It is possible that we are unduly and alarmingly emphasising a point which is already having your fullest consideration, but our duty to the Mussalmans of the Punjab compels us to make it clear that unless the steps indicated above are taken at once, all the heroism, self-sacrifice and undaunted determination of the Muslim people will not avail against the catastrophe planned for them. At the same time we would like to assure you that if these steps are taken, we are convinced that we can man our fortress and win the day.
2. The hostility of the present Governor towards the Muslims of the Punjab is well known. We have hammered at this point so often that we do so again at the risk of irritating you. But it has recently come to our knowledge on the basis of unimpeachable evidence that the present Governor has approached Lord Mountbatten with a very strong representation that at least one colony district of the Punjab (either Montgomery or Lyallpur) should go to the Sikhs under the award of the Boundary Commission. Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan will give you full details on this point. The facts are well known to you, and therefore we need not emphasise how fantastic such a claim would be if advanced on behalf of the Sikhs. But perhaps it may be necessary to point out that if either Montgomery or Lyallpur, and we believe that the Governor has suggested Montgomery, go out of Pakistan, Western Panjab cannot survive as an economic or a strategic unit even for a single day. Quite apart from this the demoralisation among the Muslims would inevitably provoke a revolt, which none of us in the Punjab at least could control. In view of the machination of the Punjab Governor, therefore, we feel that there should be intensification of our propaganda with reference to the Boundary Commission. We must lay emphatic claims to Amritsar, Ludhiana and Hissar so that we may check the impression that is being given that the Muslims are more or less satisfied under the present set-up. We believe that if the latter impression is given, the Britishers would succumb to their traditional habit of appeasing those who make the largest noise. In this direction, we suggest that the Dawn should take up this matter and that it should be made clear to Sir Cyril Radcliffe that any suggestions, or so-called expert opinion, given by Jenkins amounts to a partial and paid statement of the Sikh case. The recent statement made by Baldev Singh, which practically amounts to his renunciation of his former acceptance of the British decision, must have come to your notice. In view of this, we would suggest that a statement from our top-most leaders clearly indicating that a partial and unjustified Boundary award of the British Government would be unacceptable to the Muslims and would provoke them to the final resistance, would not be out of place.

3. We have been urging in the Punjab Partition Committee that in view of the transfer of power on the 15th of August, officers chosen by the Western Punjab successor government should be posted at least fifteen days in advance in all the critical districts as well as at Headquarters, so that they may get acquainted with the ways of the administration and get a hold on the machinery, which they will have to employ from the 15th onwards. On this point, the Sikhs have adopted a temporising attitude and have suggested that until the decision of the Boundary Commission, no such postings should be made. They have also suggested that both Governments should share Lahore for the establishment of Government offices and the Secretariat till the Boundary Commission has awarded Lahore either to one or the other party. This is an intolerable position, which would leave us unarmed and unprepared on the ‘appointed day’. We hope to refer this matter to the Central Partition Committee within the next day or two and I hope that clear and precise directions will be issued to us soon enough to enable us to finalise our plans.

Once again we hope that you will forgive us for having intruded upon you with our own problems.

All the Muslims of the Punjab stand by you firm as a rock and true unto death.

With deepest respects to Miss Jinnah and yourself.

Yours obediently

Sd/- Iftikhar Hussain Khan

Sd/- Mumtaz
42. ‘Leaders’ Peace Appeal at Gujranwala’

The Hindustan Times, 12 July 1947

LAHORE, July 11.—Mr Gopichand Bhargava, Lala Bhimsen Sachar, the Khan of Mamdot and Mian Iftikharuddin arrived in Gujranwala today on a peace mission.

Addressing a crowded meeting at the Town Hall, they called upon the people to help the authorities in restoring law and order.

The Khan of Mamdot asked members of his community to protect the life and property of the minorities. He said: ‘You are the guardians of the minorities. You must do all you can to assure them that their future would be secure in Pakistan.’

Mian Iftikharuddin said that they had to prove to the minorities that all would be well with them in Pakistan. ‘Failure or success of Pakistan would be judged from the treatment meted out to the minorities. We must prove that we are worthy to command their confidence. To fail the minorities is to fail Pakistan.’

Sachar’s Call to Muslims

Lala Bhimsen Sachar, speaking next, impressed on the gathering that fratricidal warfare would lead the people nowhere. Increasing bitterness would leave an unhealthy legacy behind. It would take years before amity and concord could once more prevail. ‘In the name of humanity I appeal to you to shed this madness. Such killings are a blot on the good name of our province.’

Muslims should not make the task of their leaders difficult by indulging in arson and rioting. He said: ‘A heavy responsibility lies on the shoulders of your leaders. You must help them to discharge it with justice to all people who would be living under them.’

Dr. Gopichand Bhargava reminded the people that the responsibility for law and order now lay with them as the British were about to quit. He added: ‘We should so conduct our administration that we can prove that we are worthy of freedom which we are about to attain.’

Earlier, the leaders conferred with local officials and discussed the situation in detail with them. Several deputations of citizens waited on the leaders.

43. ‘Democracy Alone Will Lead to Reunification of Punjab’

Extracts from a report in People’s Age, 13 July 1947

The following resolution has been issued to the Press by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India:—

...Voluntary Union

The Communist Party which has firmly stood for the unity of the Punjab inside an Indian Union of free and equal national units declares the present British plan to be harmful for the interest of the entire people of the Punjab.

It reiterates its belief that only a voluntary union of national units forming a united India can solve the problems facing our country and carry forward the struggle for complete destruction of British imperialism, abolition of Princely autocracy and full democracy and well-being of the people.

Nevertheless the Communist Party realises the Mountbatten Plan has been made possible because of division in the upper-class leadership of the Congress and the League which divided the common people, the separatist campaign carried on by the League and the failure
of the Congress to make a bid for Congress–League unity on the basis of democracy and self-determination.

Today the overwhelming majority of Muslims have solidly lined up behind the demand for a Pakistan State in the establishment of which alone they see guarantee against Hindu domination. The Pakistan State is therefore not to be looked upon as merely the product of machinations of British imperialism and its agents. It will also be a State which would be looked upon by the Muslim masses as the embodiment of their freedom aspirations and the instrument to better their life.

The path towards the voluntary reunification of the people of the Punjab and the people of India, therefore, lies through the establishment of the most cordial and friendly relations between the two States and between the communities inside each State.

The people of the Punjab who occupy a key position in the present set up and whose life and economy are threatened with disruption as the result of the British plan, can play a great role in bringing about this unification: by refusing to fall prey to imperialist machination and the disruptive policies of the vested interests; by building democracy in their respective zones; by according fair and generous treatment to the minorities; by solving problems like transport, communication and irrigation in a spirit of mutual cooperation.

For this, it is essential that the immediate question of boundaries on which disputes have arisen is solved on the basis of commonly accepted just principles.

**No Unjust Demands**

- The demand to extend the boundary line of the Hindu-Sikh zone upto the Chenab, the demand to include the city of Lahore in this zone, on the plea of predominance of Hindu-Sikh property in this city, the demand for the canal colonies of Lyallpore—all these demands which cannot be justified by any democratic principles, will, if pressed, cause further bitterness and conflict.

- Similarly, the demand to include Amritsar in the Muslim zone on the plea that the exclusion of this city will hamper the economic development of Pakistan and the backing up of that demand by a campaign of arson and loot, cannot lead to any equitable settlement.

The Communist Party appeals to progressive forces all over the Province, to the Congress, the Muslim League and Akali Party, not to make fantastic and unjust demands and to solve the question of boundaries strictly on the basis of population and by mutual agreement....

**Eliminate Feudalism**

...The Communist Party shall support all progressive forces both inside the League and outside, who by eliminating feudal influences, by initiating progressive measures, strive to make Western Punjab an advanced democratic unit of the Pakistan State.

It is the Western Punjab zone that because of its large population, its economic resources and its political importance will be the most important unit of the Pakistan State. Therefore, it will be the responsibility of the progressive League members in this area to ensure that British influence is eliminated from the whole of Pakistan, police-raj is ended, complete civil liberty established and Pakistan establishes the closest friendly relation with the Indian Union.

For this they will have to work in closest cooperation with the progressives outside the League and help in the growth of united working class and peasant movements.
While Western Punjab has been the main base of imperialism in this Province and the progressive forces will have to fight the hardest battle in that area, it must not be forgotten that reactionary forces are powerfully entrenched in Eastern Punjab, also, especially in the Ambala Division, a stronghold of Hindu Unionists.

In this part of Punjab will also be the States of Patiala, Nabha, etc., whose Princes have developed close ties with the worst reactionaries in the Sikh camp. Raising the bogey of Muslim invasion, putting forward slogans calculated to divert peoples' attention from the task of establishment of democracy, these elements will strive to strengthen their own economic and political hold on the people.

In both parts of the Punjab, therefore, the forces of progress will have to wage a determined battle against powerful enemies. The Punjab has won unenviable notoriety as the worst police-ridden Province in the country. Civil liberties have never existed here; police officials, many of them closely related to the big landlords and jagirdars, have wielded almost unlimited power. That power has to be broken if freedom is to mean anything for the common people.

To End Police-Raj
The Communist Party will wholeheartedly co-operate with the popular ministries in both the zones of the Punjab in the task of ending police-raj and in making the police what they really ought to be—servants and not masters of the people.

In the Eastern zone of the Punjab, the Punjabi speaking areas have been tacked to the Hindi-speaking areas of Ambala Division. The Communist Party, which has always stood for the formation of Provinces on linguistic and cultural basis feels it necessary that the Punjabi-speaking areas of Eastern Punjab are constituted into a single Province, by the abolition of the States and thus breaking down the artificial barriers that divide the States people from their brothers outside....

Appeal to Sikhs
The Communist Party sympathises with the Sikhs. But it reminds them that it is the opportunist policy of their reactionary leaders who stepped up chauvinistic passions and based their whole policies on the theory that the interests of the Sikhs can be best served by playing the Congress against the League that contributed to this development.

Even today these leaders are striving to play their old game, intriguing with Princes and counting on further Congress–League conflict and even on conflict between the Indian Union and the Pakistan State.

The Communist Party is confident that the great Sikh community that has played such a glorious role in putting Punjab on the political map of India will see through this game, will line up with the progressive forces in both zones of Punjab and help in establishing cordial relations between the communities in each zone and between the two zones. That will win them the respect of all and will be the best guarantee for the protection of their cultural and religious rights.

Fighting Riots
The Communist Party will strive for the recognition of both Urdu and Punjabi as the State language in both parts of the Punjab. It will fight for equal rights of all in all spheres of life, for equal opportunities in services, for rights to secure fallow land.
In the midst of the communal conflict that has ravaged large parts of the Punjab during the last three months, the united working-class and peasant movement led by the Communist Party has waged a valiant struggle, maintaining the unity of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs wherever possible, fighting the poisonous propaganda carried on by communalist reactionaries....

**Coalition Ministries**

The Communist Party stresses the necessity to solve all problems that arise in a spirit of mutual confidence and cooperation. It feels that in order that this is done, it is essential that Coalition Ministries are formed in both parts of the Punjab, consisting of the most progressive elements in all parties and these Ministries take immediate steps to curb the activities of riot-mongers and establish civil liberties....

44. Protest against Inclusion of Lahore in Pakistan

Letter from President, Arya Samaj, Poona, to J.B. Kripalani, 13 July 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-34/1947, NMML

Arya Samaj, Poona.
248 NANA PETH,
POONA CITY

Syt. Acharya J.B. Kriplani,
President,
Indian National Congress,
Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi.

We give below the Resolution adopted by the Members of Arya Samaj (248 Nana Peth) Poona in their General Meeting held on 13-7-47 for your intervention and necessary action in the matter.

'This Meeting of the members of Poona (248 Nana Peth) Arya Samaj held on Sunday the 13th July, 1947 enters its strong protest against the move for inclusion of Lahore in Pakistan area and urges on the Govt. of India and the Boundary Commission to fully sift the matter and to so carry out the partition as to provide a natural Boundary Line between India and Pakistan, retaining in India Lahore with which is associated the oldest history, culture and tradition of Bharat Varsh beginning with the hoary ages of Shree Ramchandra ji hero of Ramayan and which has been immediately before advent of the British, the Capital of the Sikh State and has been the Centre of social, religious and educational activities of the Arya Samaj for seventy years and more.'

Sd/-
President.

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1 Similar resolutions were also passed by Arya Samaj in Bhavnagar and Bijnor on 13 July 1947.
Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am informed that all British troops are being moved out of Lahore by August the 1st. Are they doing the same in places in Hindustan also? I have been hearing a lot ‘wait till August the 15th’. Please see that Pakistan troops move into Lahore in strong number[s] by August 1st.

We had a large meeting at Mamdot’s house yesterday and started work in real earnest. We have sent 2 lawyers to Calcutta to watch and report proceedings to us and to send us certain books. We have selected Khalifa Shujauddin, Karamat and Tasadduque Hussain to help Zafrullah who arrives tonight at 10 p.m.

Radcliffe decided today that 18th is the last day for submitting memoranda by associations and not in individuals [sic]*. Zafrullah won’t have much time. On the 21st the 4 Indian members will start hearing Council [sic for counsel]* for 10 days and on August 3rd Radcliffe will come back and sit here till the 6th when he will return to Delhi and give his award on the 11th. He says everything is relevant. Let people have their full say so that there is no grievance in anyone’s mind. People here wonder if he has already made up his mind.

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

* as in original.

46. ‘Sikhs Decide to Stay out of Pakistan C.A.’

*The Hindustan Times* 18 July 1947

LAHORE, July 17, 1947.—The Sikh members of the Punjab Assembly, who met in Lahore to give final shape to the memorandum to be presented by them to the Boundary Commission, decided to recommend to the ‘Panth’ to call upon the Sikh representatives not to participate in the deliberations of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in view of the massacre of the Sikhs and the Hindus in Rawalpindi and Multan divisions in March last.

The resolution released this evening declared that ‘no demarcation of the boundary would satisfy the Sikhs unless it was so drawn that historical gurdwaras and the landed interests of the Sikhs in proprietary as well as in colony lands were amassed within Eastern Punjab.’

The meeting also demanded a provision for the transfer of population and property to be made so as to give relief to the small pockets of Sikhs that might be left in the Western Punjab.

The following is the full text of the resolution: ‘The Panthic Assembly Party has given anxious consideration to the question of the Sikhs’ participation in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and in view of the massacre of the Sikhs and the Hindus in Rawalpindi and Multan divisions in March 1947, recommends to the Panth to call upon the Sikh representatives in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly not to participate in the deliberations of the Assembly.
'The Panthic Assembly Party takes note of the references to the Sikh position made by Mr. Arthur Henderson, Under-Secretary of State for India, Mr. R.A. Butler, leading member of the Opposition, and Sir Stafford Cripps in the debate on the Indian Independence Bill in the House of Commons and trusts that the Punjab Boundary Commission will in the demarcation of the boundary line take into account the factors mentioned in the parliamentary debate.

'The Party declares that no demarcation of the boundary will satisfy the Sikhs unless it is so drawn that historical gurdwaras and the landed interests of the Sikhs in proprietary as well as in colony lands are amassed within the Eastern Punjab. A further provision for the transfer of population and property must be made so as to give relief to the small pockets of Sikh population that may be left in the Western Punjab.—A.P.I.

47. ‘Uncontestable Claims of Sikhs’

Extract from an editorial in The Tribune, 20 July 1947

The debate on India in the House of Commons has shown a clear grasp of the essential elements in the Punjab situation on the part of some leading British statesmen. This province is inhabited not by two but by three nations—the Muslim nation, the Hindu nation and the Sikh nation. The last named nation’s position in the Punjab is peculiar in many ways and therefore it requires special consideration. It is undoubtedly the function of the Boundary Commission to demarcate boundaries between two parts of the Punjab on the basis of the ascertained contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. But as Mr. Henderson has pointed out ‘in certain cases there may be special factors which will justify departure from this principle.’ In fact provision for such a departure has been made in the Commission’s terms of reference by the inclusion in them of the words ‘other factors’. Mr. Arthur Henderson merely underlines the prescribed course, which the Boundary Commission cannot but follow, when he says: ‘These special factors are being allowed to take account of the circumstances of the Sikh community in the Punjab so that the location of their religious shrines can be taken into account’. The location of Sikh religious shrines is not the only ‘other factor’ that clamours for consideration. There are many ‘other factors’ which are almost equally numerous and they cannot be ignored. Mr. Butler rightly lays stress on them when he says that ‘in the (notional) partition of the Punjab we have left the Sikh community almost exactly divided between one side of the Frontier and the other. It is to be hoped that the Boundary Commission will be able to arrange the boundary so that the shrines and properties and other things held so dear by the Sikhs may be amassed as far as possible within one frontier.’ It is surprising that logical and reasonable utterances like these have created an uproar in bustering and sabre-rattling. We shall ignore that part of the noise which makes no sense and take notice of only that part which makes some sense.

It is urged that there should not be the slightest deviation from ‘the basis of the ascertained contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims.’ Well, then, what is the meaning and value of the words ‘other factors’ used in the formula framed in connection with the evolution of the partition process? Again the argument is trotted out that if any weight and importance is to be attached to ‘the shrines and properties’ of the Sikhs in the Punjab, weight and importance should also be attached to ‘the shrines and properties’ of Muslims in Hindustan, and the whole of India should be given to Mussalmans. This argument is on the face of it absurd. The question of division of India is a settled and closed question. That cannot be unsettled and
reopened. Besides, if the whole of India is to go to the League, where will be the question of dividing it? To-day only the question of the partition of the Punjab and Bengal is before us. And in solving this question the Boundary Commission is both duty-bound and honour-bound to take ‘other factors’ into consideration. The League ... have put forward a thoroughly wrong and inadmissible analogy. The Sikh nation occupies a special position in the Punjab and no analogy can be produced which may be entirely applicable to its case. As we have pointed out in these columns ‘the Indian Muslims like the Hindus have so many provinces which they can call their own and in which they can work and play and pray as they like. Besides, the Pakistanists amongst them, with extra-territorial sentiments surging in their hearts, can look upon any Muslim country as their homeland and the Mecca and Medina outside India as the salvation-guaranteeing places of pilgrimage. But all the religious stirrings and social strivings and political ambitions and economic endeavours of the Panth the boundaries of the Punjab bound. The Sikhs’ entire stake lies in the Land of Five Rivers. If this land is so divided that the Panth’s unity is not impaired and its political and economic life is not sundered and its religious places are not isolated, it will live and prosper and progress; but if it is so divided that the Panth’s head lies in one region and the trunk in another and the legs in yet another, it is bound to wilt and wither and perish. It is obvious that the Sikhs cannot accept any such partition plan as may spell their extermination.’ ...

48. Action against Sikh Leaders Can Worsen the Situation

Note by G.E.B. Abell, 21 July 1947

_T.O.P.,_ Vol. XII, p. 278

H.E. the Governor asked H.E. in Lahore whether he agreed with the general policy of letting the Sikhs blow off steam and not attempting to put their leaders in jail owing to their inflammatory utterances. The Governor felt it would only make matters worse if action was taken against the Sikhs and H.

E. agreed. Place on file.

G. E. B. ABELL.

49. Notional Division of Punjab Will Cause Dissensions among Sikhs

Letter from Tara Singh to Clement Attlee, 25 July 1947

_T.O.P.,_ Vol. XII, pp. 340–1

Shiromani Akali Dal
Head Office, Amritsar

No. E/101

Dear Sir,

The Shiromani Akali Dal, the only Sikh political organisation is sending a Sikh Deputation with Principal Ganga Singh as its leader to London to place before you the urgent case of our community. We fear that the notional division of the Punjab will cut our community into two and thus threaten our existence and may lead to very grave consequences. We want to avoid it if possible; with this idea this deputation is coming to your country. I sincerely
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

hope that you will give them some time to explain our case to you and help them in every possible way.

Thanking you in anticipation.
I beg to remain,
Yours sincerely,
TARA SINGH

50. Sikhs Might Resist Exclusion of Nankana Sahib

Viceroy’s Conference Paper No. 140, 27 July 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 212B, NMML

SECRET
THE VICEROY’S HOUSE, NEW DELHI

THE POSSIBILITY OF DISTURBANCES IN THE PUNJAB.

Attached is a note containing a paraphrased version of a report rendered by the Director of Intelligence. Copies of this note (less this cover sheet) will be handed round at the Partition Council Meeting on Tuesday 29th July, if approved at the Viceroy’s Meeting at 10 a.m. on Monday 28th July, 1947.

V. F. ERSKINE CRUM
Conference Secretary

THE POSSIBILITY OF DISTURBANCES IN THE PUNJAB
NOTE BY THE VICEROY’S STAFF

1. Information has been received from a reliable source to the effect that, if Nankana Sahib (which is about 12 miles north of Lahore) is not included, by the award of the Boundary Commission, in East Punjab, the Sikhs intend to start trouble on a big scale.

2. It is reported that the Sikhs intend to act on or about 7th August; and that during the ten days before this date large meetings will be held to work up agitation. As is already known, the Sikhs have collected large quantities of arms.

3. It is also reported that the Muslims are fully aware of the preparations which the Sikhs are making; and are, in fact, making counter-preparations themselves.

4. Both sides are attempting to subvert troops in the areas concerned. These attempts are said not to have been wholly unsuccessful; promises of assistance from some troops have been received.

51. Assembly Parties Responsible for Choosing Leaders

Statement by M.A. Jinnah, 29 July 1947
Report from Eastern Times as cited in Amajit Singh (Ed.), Jinnah and Punjab, Shamsul Hasan Collection and Other Documents, pp. 332–3


‘There is a great deal of misapprehension that I am directly or indirectly trying to force leaders on the Muslim League Assembly Parties of the Punjab [and] Bengal respectively, and some
interested parties are using my name as what my wishes are, regarding who should be the leader [sic].

I, therefore, wish to make it clear that I have expressed no preference or desire to support anyone as the leader of the Muslim League Parties, either in the Punjab or in the Bengal. It is entirely the responsibility of the Assembly Parties and they should freely and fairly choose their leaders, whom they consider best.

I understand that the dates for the Party meetings have already been fixed and I hope that they will elect the right men who will guide them and serve them selflessly and wholeheartedly. Whoever may be elected as Leader as the final result of a contest, if any, the defeated candidate and his supporters must, in the interest of the Musalmans and discipline and in order to work as a team, remain loyal to the leader that may be chosen finally by the Party, as long as he remains the leader of the Party. They must give him the fullest co-operation and support in the discharge of his responsibilities and it is only thus that we will make the building of Pakistan as one of the greatest States in the world, successfully’ [sic].

52. Report from Punjab

Extract from the fortnightly report on Punjab for the first half of July 1947

Home Poll (I), File No. 18/7/47, NAI

Confidential

1. Political:—The three main political parties, the Muslim League, the Congress and the Akalis, have been mainly occupied with the selection of members to the Security Council and the Partition Committee, the splitting up of the services, the valuation of assets and connected matters, and the preparation of the data to be produced before the Boundary Commission. The Muslim League, in addition, has devoted some attention to Frontier politics and has sent representatives, political and religious, with volunteer guards and students to the N.W.F.P. to assist in the work in connection with the referendum. The Akalis, not content with constitutional methods, have furthered their preparations for a struggle against the Muslims, which the leaders, to judge by their speeches on the occasion of ‘Protest Day’ in Amritsar on July the 8th, consider inevitable in the future whatever the Boundary Commission’s immediate findings may be.

The ‘Protest Day’, which coincided with the absence of a number of Muslim League leaders and workers from the Province, was viewed with considerable suspicion by the Muslim community who considered its observance as provocative and believed it was designed to estrange relationships to breaking point. The fear that the ‘Day’ would not pass without incidents of a serious nature was fortunately not realised and it may be considered, as previously suggested, as a preliminary move by the Akalis to ascertain the fruits of the very active propaganda which has been spread from village to village during the past few weeks, particularly in the areas most under dispute. The ‘Day’ was widely observed and the Hindu community, which had already staged a ‘Protest Day’ of its own on the 3rd of July on a smaller scale, generally co-operated in making it successful.

The Congress has not been idle, but an attempt it has made to set up a strong Minorities Protection Board in the Western Punjab, largely sponsored by Provincial Congressmen, has temporarily failed. The minority representatives of the seventeen districts who met in Rawalpindi on July the 6th on the occasion of the minorities convention, although agreeing
on the necessity for safeguards and rights of minorities in the future Pakistan, failed to decide on the personnel to be co-opted into the Protection Board; in reality their ideologies are so divergent that this was only to be expected. There is no doubt that the Congress had hoped for some tangible results and the failure to evolve a compact opposition, with Congress as the guiding force, has caused some disappointment to this organisation.

The approach of the day when self-government will be vested in the hands of the political leaders of the Eastern and Western Punjab is causing party factionalism to increase again. Malik Feroze Khan Noon seems bent upon making a bid for power before the Khan of Mamdot can be elected to a vacant Western constituency, and is thought to be supported by a number of Muslim M.L.A.s and local leaders of the Western Punjab, and to rely on a pact with the followers of Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana. It is believed, however, that Sir Khizar Hayat Khan has not yet responded and accepted that, in any event, Mr. Jinnah will be the final arbitrator. The news of this divergence in the League has spread throughout the Province and has been welcomed by both the Congress organisation and the Hindu community. The Congress is believed to view any political move with satisfaction which will split the present Muslim League oligarchy and to be anxious to see a party with socialist leanings in power in the future Pakistan. The Punjab Congress itself, however, is now showing signs of revival of party faction as well and will have its own troubles, particularly in the Eastern Punjab where the Haryana Jat community and the orthodox Hindu community are evincing a decided disinclination to be ruled in the future by anyone but themselves. There are indications, too, of a revival of the old Giani Nagoke group differences amongst the Akalis, which may be largely due to the approaching necessity to select Ministers for the Eastern Punjab. They are not likely, however, to interfere with Tara Singh’s determination to forge a united Sikh front to oppose the Muslim community. The Ahrars, content for the moment to remain inert, hope that in the future they will come into their own, when the Muslim community realises that the Government of Pakistan is not going to be conducted on Islamic principles. Their optimism took birth in the non-inclusion of religious authorities in the panel of nominated members to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. However, the same factor has not attracted much comment from the Muslim community which imagines the future Pakistan State will be governed on modern Islamic lines or on principles similar to those of the Turkish constitution. The Communists and Socialists are finding some solace in the thought that a change in leadership is bound to come soon, when the Muslim lower classes realise that their present leaders are selfish and egoistic capitalists. It is not known yet what organisations will be set up by the Communists and the Socialists when Pakistan comes into being, but both parties have expressed their determination to continue their work amongst the labouring classes in Pakistan.

Reactions to the proclamation by Allama Mashriqi of the dissolution of the Khaksar organisation have been varied. Many important Khaksars are reported to be considering the continuation of the movement, possibly under another name and with modified objects; others consider alignment with the Muslim League is now essential. It is likely that definite decisions will be taken when the Khaksars who attended the Delhi rally return to the Punjab but it is improbable that the Khaksar organisation has a future.

The appointment of Mr. Jinnah as the future Governor-General of Pakistan is popular with the Muslim community, the intelligentsia holding that the lie has been thrown back at those who contended that Pakistan would be a base for continued British exploitation. It has also been accepted that the nomination will help the League in its endeavours to capture the Frontier
Province. The nomination made in the case of India caused some surprise, but Congressmen and many Hindus consider the selection a wise one and one which will enhance Congress in the eyes of the world and prove of advantage in the coming months when urgent decisions of importance will have to be taken....

53. ‘Lunatics Too Demand Partition’

_Tribune_, 30 July 1947

LAHORE, July 28.—While the Partition Committee is engaged in the serious task of dividing Punjab’s assets and officers, it continues to receive numerous representations, some of them rather interesting.

The latest communication in a registered cover is from the inmates of the Mental Hospital that, while partitioning the Punjab they should also be kept in mind!

It is learnt that about 180 of them belong to the majority community and the rest—80 in number—to the other community.

54. Sikhs Urged Not to Participate in 15th August Celebrations

Resolution adopted by Working Committee of Shiromani Akali Dal in its meeting, 1 August 1947

AICC Papers, File No. G-34/1947, NMML

The Shiromani Akali Dal has always stood for United India and strong position of the Sikhs in the Punjab. It has, however, declared more than once that in case of division of India, Sikhs are entitled to Sikh Home in Hindustan by partitioning the Punjab in a manner whereby the solidarity of the Sikhs should not also be impaired. The decisions so far taken completely ignore the wishes of the Sikhs by planning the partition of the Punjab whereby the solidarity of the Sikhs may be seriously impaired and they may be relegated to a subsidiary position. Besides the Sikhs have not as yet been definitely assured that the solidarity of their population would be maintained to an appreciable extent in the Eastern Punjab and their shrines would be included therein, nor they have been given any satisfactory position there, nor any provision has been made for the transfer of their population with properties from Pakistan to this area, therefore the Shiromani Akali Dal is of the considered view that Sikhs have no cause for pleasure on the fifteenth of August, hence it calls upon the Sikhs not to participate in such celebrations except those on official duty called upon to do so.

The Shiromani Akali Dal has, however, no intention of coming in the way of other communities in their celebrations on that date.

No. 71/1734 Dated, Amritsar, 6th August, 1947

Copy forwarded to Sjt. J. B. Kriplani, President, All India National Congress, New Delhi for favour of kind perusal.
55. Assurances to Sikhs about the Safety of Their Shrines

M.K. Gandhi’s speech at Gurdwara Punja Saheb, near Rawalpindi, 5 August 1947

_CWMG_, Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 4–5

Replying to the address Gandhiji [said he] did not consider it possible that Eastern Punjab should be handed over entirely to the Sikhs to govern. He felt that the Sikhs should never entertain such an unworthy ambition. The Sikhs were reputed, and rightly, to be a warlike race. With them of all the persons in the world, merit and merit alone should be the sole test for holding any office. He hoped that throughout the two dominions merit would be the sole test. The speaker invited the Sikhs to lead in this desirable competition.

Coming to the protection of Punja Saheb, Nankana Saheb and the other Gurudwaras that may be found in Pakistan or elsewhere, he said:

One Sikh is equal to one and a quarter lakh men. Why should he beg for anyone’s help? If they have the mettle no one can cast an evil eye on Punja Saheb. But these days the Sikh brethren have taken to luxury and enjoyment. I do not intend to say that Sikhs alone have fallen into that habit. Among others women also have taken to fashionable ways though to a lesser degree. But do not think that I am defending them. Some take liquor in large quantities while others take less but that does not mean that it is a virtue to drink less. Similarly it is not a virtue to be less fashionable. As long as true Sikhs are alive no one can cause you any harm.

Do not look to any other power outside yourselves for the protection of these shrines. I would like every Sikh to be a defender of his faith and, therefore, of all the Gurudwaras and not merely of Punja Saheb which is one of the greatest. At the same time I want you to shed all fear about the future. I would ask you to rely upon the plighted word of the Muslim leaders. They have got their Pakistan. They have no quarrel now with anyone in India—at least they should have none. If your fears materialize and any attempt at desecration of the Gurudwaras is made by the Muslims, it will be contrary to the tradition of Islam as I know it. And those Muslims who take part in such desecration would be partakers in the destruction of Islam. Every faith is on its trial in India. God is the infallible Judge and the world which is His creation will judge the Muslim leaders not according to their pledge and promises but according to the deeds of these leaders and their followers. What I have said of the Muslim leaders is also true of the leaders and followers of other faiths.

56. On Present Disturbances

Note by Major General D.C. Hawthorn, 11 August 1947

_T.O.P._, Vol. XII, pp. 667–8

TOP SECRET

1. The Civil arrangements for splitting the Punjab are proceeding rapidly and a few days ago a new Hindu Supdt of Police arrived in Amritsar to take over. His first act was to disarm the Muslim members of the Police Force. This has created considerable alarm and despondency. The Police Force in Amritsar has decreased by 30%. The Muslim Police are most anxious for their own safety and for that of their families. The Governor has taken prompt action and this Hindu Supdt of Police has been transferred to the Kangra Valley. The Muslim Police are being evacuated under Civil arrangements to Western Punjab. The harm has however been done and with this reduction in the efficiency of the Police Force more and more calls are being made on the troops of the Punjab Boundary Force.
2. The refugee problem mainly from Eastern Punjab to Western Punjab is becoming increasingly difficult and more and more of the population is on the move; naturally the Civil are demanding escorts from the Punjab Boundary Force to protect these defenceless refugees as they move and the Commander, Punjab Boundary Force is doing what he can.

3. The disturbances are producing an average daily killing of about 100 people with occasional large raids in which 70 to 80 people are killed at one fell swoop. There have been two of these in the last few days, one in which the victims were Muslims and the other in which the victims were Sikhs and Hindus. A Lieut in 3 Mahar who went on a few days leave to his home was liquidated with his entire family. The GOC did not know his name.

4. The bigger raids are usually carried out by well armed and well led Gangs. Information is generally being received too late. This is due to the ‘sources’ of information drying up and the general pull-out of Europeans.

5. There is no doubt that but for the presence of troops an uncontrolled massacre would now be taking place.

6. The Government of Eastern Punjab which is setting up is of course a very creaky machine at present.

7. The troops are unaffected by the communal tension and are carrying out all that is asked of them magnificently.

8. The GOC pressed for the arrival of the Fighter Recce Sqn which was promised him. So far it has not arrived and he is being forced to use his AOP Flight for inter-communication and recce purposes. He stresses the importance of the Air from the morale aspect and says the appearance of aircraft quietens down the neighbourhood at once. Railway authorities are pressing for aircraft to be allowed to fly up and down the railway lines as they consider this will prevent, to a large extent, damage to the track by keeping saboteurs well away from the lines.

9. The derailment of the train two nights ago, he attributes to Sikhs and the Jeep containing the saboteurs which was chased disappeared into the State territory of Faridkot.

I am taking action re FRecce Sqn.

D.C. HAWTHORN
Maj Gen
DCGS (A)

57. East Punjab Ministry Sworn In amid Communal Rioting

Letter from Francis Mudie to M.A. Jinnah, 15 August 1947
Kirpal Singh (Ed.), *Partition of Punjab*, pp. 488–9

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to inform you that I was sworn in this morning at 11 a.m., and later swore in the four Ministers—Mamdot, Shaukat, Daultana and Karamat Ali. I did not, as I suggested in a previous letter, ask your advice as Mamdot had just come from Karachi, when I saw him yesterday morning for the first time.

2. The situation here is still very disquieting. Yesterday there seemed to be a danger of serious differences arising between the police, practically all of whom are Muslims, and certain Hindu troops, and even of their fighting one another. We therefore decided that there should be joint police and army patrol accompanied, wherever possible, by a Magistrate. This seemed to get over the difficulty, at least for the time being, and we have decided to continue this practice.
3. The League leaders’ efforts yesterday to get their followers to abstain from attacks on the other side were to some extent frustrated by stories, about the truth of which I can give no opinion, that Hindu troops were firing indiscriminately at people in the streets. This was another reason why we decided on mixed police and military patrols.

4. This morning I am told the position has somewhat improved, though during the night there was a very serious incident in which a Gurdwara was destroyed and a number of Sikhs, put at between 13-22, were killed. This is said to have happened in fairly close proximity to a Muslim picket composed partly of police and partly of military. Inquiries are being made.

5. There is little news from outside Lahore. A serious incident is reported from the Gurdaspur, Sialkot border, where Muslims attacked a train and are said to have killed about 100 Hindus and Sikhs.

6. The situation is still very dangerous. The League leaders are trying again today to persuade the Muslims of Lahore to keep the peace, whatever the provocation may be.

7. But the destruction last night of the Gurdwara may lead to retaliation in Amritsar. The Sikh leaders, Tara Singh and Swaran Singh, are reported to be doing their best to pacify the Sikhs. I hope that they will succeed. If the peace can be maintained in Lahore and Amritsar, it will probably be possible to keep the other places in control.

8. I have arranged to go to Ambala on Sunday, 17th August, accompanied by Mamdot, Daultana and one or two officials to discuss the law and order problem with Trivedi and his Ministers. We will go by air and return the same evening. In this matter the Governments of East and West Punjab must certainly co-operate very closely.

9. The Governor of the Punjab used to send daily telegraphic reports on the situation to the Viceroy. In the changed constitutional situation it would seem to me to be more appropriate if in future these reports were sent by the Chief Secretary West Punjab to the Home Department of the Pakistan Government. I hope that you will agree. I propose, however, unless you wish it otherwise, to continue to write to you a fortnightly letter giving my views on the official reports. I think that this was useful as a method by which Governors can keep touch with the Governor-General and vice-versa.

10. In conclusion, may I thank Your Excellency for what you said about British rule in India in proposing the King’s health at your banquet in Karachi? It was, if I may say so, very generously done and will be greatly appreciated by all those who like myself have spent their lives in service in this country. It will also be a great encouragement to those British officers now serving in Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- R. F. Mudie.

His Excellency Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah,
Governor-General of Pakistan,
Karachi (Sind).
Chapter 32. Partition of Bengal

1. Report from Bengal
   Extract from the fortnightly report on Bengal for the second half of May 1947, 4 June 1947
   Home Poll (I), File No. 18/5/47, NAI

1. Political

1. The period has been one of intense political speculation, centering round the announcement scheduled to be made by His Excellency the Viceroy on June the 2nd. Forecasts, frequently in considerable detail, of the plan of procedure for the transfer of power have been discussed and rediscussed from every possible point of view according to the political proclivities of the various parties concerned. Unfortunately the general result of this feverish speculation has not been to the political or communal benefit of the Province and as Bengal approaches what may be called the dead-line, the feeling is tense, in particular in Calcutta but present also to a lesser degree, owing to the fact that political consciousness is less developed, in other parts of the Province.

2. As was indicated in the last report would be the case; the period has been fully utilised by all parties to marshal arguments in favour of their particular scheme for the future well-being of the Province. It is doubtful, however, whether the numerous meetings and discussions which have been held have modified the general opinion very considerably regarding the future of the Province and, as the date approaches for the announcement of the plan of procedure, the general feeling both in Calcutta as well as in the districts appears to be that the partition of the Province following some form of self-determination is inevitable and that, as a result of such partition, Calcutta, the Burdwan Division and certain parts of the Presidency Division at least will be separated from the rest of the Province. As only to be expected from the original protagonists of the idea of partition, the Mahasabha has been prominent during the period and their activities have inevitably tended to heighten communal feeling and to intensify the distrust that at present exists in the capital of the Province. The leaders of this party have been prominent at a number of meetings held in Calcutta during the period, notably at Ballyganj on the 16th when 4,000 persons were addressed and on the 23rd at a meeting at Chetla when 10,000 persons assembled and resolutions were passed urging the creation of a separate Hindu Province, condemning the alleged unauthorised and uncalled for pact of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose with the Leaguers and demanding the dissolution of the present Ministry and its replacement by two regional Ministries. As part of its general campaign the party have been stressing the need for the establishment of a parallel Government in Bengal. This last step is considered inevitable whatever the future may hold, for if the decision is against partition it would be
necessary for the Hindus to resist the British plan to hand over Bengal to the League and the establishment of a parallel Government would automatically come to the front; if, on the other hand, the British decision is in favour of the partition of Bengal the Hindus would have to be prepared for violence from the Muslim Leaguers. Definite steps to combat Muslim attacks are proposed by the party which organisation has proposed to turn every Hindu mahalla into a fort under the protection of a volunteer corps. The endorsement of the Mahasabha plan by the B.P.C.C. is being sought and the party’s final plan of action would be given shape at the forthcoming All-India Council meeting at Delhi on the 7th and 8th of June. Meanwhile district and subdivisional Mahasabhas have been instructed to speed up their preparation for the emergency and to organise public meeting and conferences to marshal public opinion in favour of the demand for the partition of the Province and the dissolution of the present League Ministry.

3. The official Muslim League party have continued to indicate their entire opposition to the proposal to partition Bengal. Information available indicates, in fact, that the agitation for the partition of the Province is very much resented by all the Muslims of Calcutta and the possibility of bloodshed should such a partition be effected cannot be discounted. Their activities—like those of the Mahasabha—have been characterised by apprehension and a determination to resist possible Hindu aggression: from information available it appears that sections of the Muslims at least are already busy collecting food and preparing plans for defence and offence, whichever is necessary, in the Muslim areas.

On the other hand, a sovereign State on the lines reported to be favoured by Mr. Bose and the Chief Minister is disliked as it is thought that it would amount to a complete surrender to the Hindus. Developments during the period have confirmed the view that this movement is finding little support at present.

4. The necessity for maintaining the unity and integrity of the Indian National Army is the principal reason ascribed for Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose’s opposition to the evergrowing Bengal partition movement. The inability to split the I.N.A. by identifying himself with the communal cry of the partition of Bengal has determined Mr. Bose’s course even though his leadership among the Hindus of Bengal may be at stake. It would appear, however, that the I.N.A. are not united on this issue, for during the period the visit of ‘General’ Mohan Singh of the first I.N.A. to Calcutta took place when he unequivocally supported the proposal to partition the Province.

5. The seamen, too, have been considering their position in the light of recent developments and sections of them, notably the Seamen’s Union, the Indian Sailors and Quartermasters’ Union and the Bengal Saloon Workers’ Union being perturbed by the proposal of the annexation of Calcutta to the Hindu zone, have moved the Secretary of State and the Viceroy to ensure that Calcutta should continue as integral part of both Bengal.

6. Activities in the districts have followed lines similar to those in Calcutta. In West Bengal, as was to be expected, the partition movement has continued to gather momentum. A very large number of meetings continued to be held in support of the idea, notably one in Birbhum presided over by Mrs. Nellie Sen Gupta and attended by some 6,000 persons. In the view of local officers the entire Hindu community of West Bengal has accepted the inevitability of partition. Further meetings in support of the movement for partition are reported also from the Presidency Division but in the Dacca Division, where the Forward Bloc has some strength, some opposition to the general idea was noticeable. In Chittagong, where the scheme for a sovereign Province of Bengal has met with little support from any quarter, most people continue to consider the partition of the Province as a certainty.
7. The attempt of the Hon’ble Mr. J.N. Mandal, Law Minister, Government of India, to rouse an anti-partition feeling is reported to have been uniformly unsuccessful in West Bengal and such meetings as were arranged were on a very small scale. In a meeting attended by him in the 24-Parganas district early in the month an audience of only about 50 could be secured. The campaign was no more successful in Calcutta and led, in fact, to a counterblast on the 27th when the Bengal Provincial Depressed Classes League held a conference at which some 2,500 were present (including a thousand members of the Depressed Classes) presided over by Dr. Rajendra Prasad and having Mr. Jagjivan Ram as the Chief Guest....

2. Irony in Congress Support for Partition of Bengal

Extracts of a letter from Rajendra Prasad to Satish Chandra Mukherji, 5 June 1947

R.P. Papers, File No. 6-I/45-6-7, S. No. 52, NAI

1, Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi

My dear Sir,

... You must be following the political developments that have taken place from day to day. Events are moving very fast and we hope that by August next, we shall get what is called ‘Dominion Status,’ which is said to be more or less equivalent to independence. As the Viceroy said yesterday at the Press Conference, H.M.G. will not appoint any Governor-General thereafter and we could keep or send away Englishmen who are at present in the service of the Government of India. But the country is to be divided and not only the country as a whole but also the two Provinces of Punjab and Bengal. It is an irony of time that the very people who fought against the partition of Bengal and got it reversed should now demand that it should be divided and that that demand should be conceded just as the demand for the reversal of partition had to be conceded; but there was a more or less unanimous demand from Bengal Hindus and so far as I know Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose was practically isolated. So now we are going to enter on a momentous period of our history, in order to run it according to our own notions and ideas. There are of course, limitations and inhibitions arising out of past history. Let us pray that God will give us wisdom and strength to do the work honestly and diligently.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

Sjt. Satish Chandra Mukherji
C/o Sjt. Prabhat Chandra Dan
D 147/80, Ramapura
Benares City
3. Muslim National Guards Threaten Congress Leaders
Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Louis Mountbatten, 5 June 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 19, NMML

NEW DELHI

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

You will be interested in the enclosed circular purporting to have been sent by the General Officer Commanding, Muslim National Guard, Pakistan Killa, presumably somewhere in Bengal, to Mr. Harendra Nath Mazumder, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. Apparently this is a specimen of the non-violent activities of the League. I understand that this circular has had quite a wide circulation.

2. I should be glad of the return of this letter, as I propose to institute further enquiries.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Vallabhbhai Patel

Confidential.

MUSLIM NATIONAL GUARD
Pakistan Zindabad.
Pakistan Killa
Circular No. 34 Dated 10.5.47

Dear Sir,

Salamwalequm:

You are out for partitioning Bengal, when wise Leaders like Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Mrs. Lila Roy, Hon. J.N. Mondal, Com. Somnath Lahiri, Com. N.N. Roy and others are opposing it. Just to think of it.

Do not do so, for the sake of your life. If you loose [sic] your life you loose [sic] all.

So be prudent come out, stand for United Bengal. You then will have your due share, but if you fail....

G.O.C.
Sd. S. Salam
G.O.C. M.N.G.

4. Inclusion of Bengal in Pakistan Must Be Prevented
Letter from Bimal Chandra Sinha to Vallabhbhai Patel, 5 June 1947
SPC, Vol. IV, pp. 52–4

59 Barrackpore Trunk Road
P.O. Cossipore
Calcutta

Respected Sardarji,

You will perhaps remember the interview I had with you along with Sjt. Niharendu Dutt Majumdar a few days ago. Your encouragement and kind sympathy embolden me to encroach upon your valuable time and write this letter to you to bring to your notice certain facts which demand your immediate consideration.
1. It has not been made clear in the Viceroys's declaration what would happen to certain all-Bengal constituencies. For instance, the Railway Trade Union constituency (held by a Communist), the Water Transport Trade Union (held by a Muslim), the 5 Commerce seats (of which 4 seats are held by Congressmen and 1 by a Muslim), the Presidency and Rajshahi Division Landholders seats (both held by Congressmen) which are now being split up, Presidency Division and North Bengal Municipal constituencies (both held by Congressmen), which are also being split up—the fate of these constituencies does not appear to be very clear. Inclusion of some of these seats would strengthen our cause. A suggestion has also been made that in these cases an option may also be given to the member concerned, where his constituency is being split up, to choose which Constituent Assembly he would like to join.

2. The declaration yet leaves open the chance that, if at the time of voting, the Muslim League chooses, as a strategical move to ensure its domination in the administration of Bengal, to vote for remaining with the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, we would, in that eventuality, be included in the Indian Union, no doubt, but it would not be possible for us, in [those] circumstances, to build up a base for nationalism in Bengal, which cannot be secured unless we have the administration in our hands. Though the probability of the Bengal Muslim League revolting against Mr. Jinnah is very remote, still we must guard against every eventuality and make up our minds from beforehand. We feel that, if that happens, it would be more or less the continuation of the present state of affairs and the idea we have of securing in Bengal a base for nationalism will be completely frustrated. In our opinion, there should be a partition, which does not prevent East Bengal province to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly if it so chooses, but at this critical hour we cannot allow the whole of Bengal to pass under the domination of the Muslim League in any shape or form. In order to secure an administration of nationalist character we feel partition to be essential and we are anxious to know what your reactions in the matter are.

3. In Bengal, we feel it has become necessary to concentrate now on two or three things in particular, namely, (1) To rouse public enthusiasm to white heat, particularly in West Bengal, so that there may be no wavering and no chance of defection in spite of the best efforts of the Muslim League and perhaps also of some of our 'leaders'. The public pressure is already tremendous, but we are determined to take no chances. (2) To prepare for the Boundary Commission, so that we may get those areas, which have at present been left but which should in all fairness, come to us. (3) From the trend of talks with some of our leaders we have reasons to anticipate that an effort may now be made to create a bitter feeling between East Bengal and West Bengal, but we are also determined to see that there is no such mis-representation of the Congress stand, which can only benefit the Muslim League. But for us to carry out this programme, it is necessary to have a strong organisation of one mind and one urge, conscious of the difficult times ahead and fired by the idealism of securing the territory that is now lost to us temporarily. Changes in our party and organisational structure, consequential to the declaration, would perhaps now take place, and as a humble Congressman I can only urge upon you the necessity of the all-India Congress leadership closely supervising and guiding these changes so that the changes may take place smoothly and no group or similar considerations may affect the great and vital issues at stake.

The feeling in Bengal, so far as I have been able to gather, is one of universal satisfaction amongst the nationalists, but the Muslim League is depressed. Though the Nazimuddin group of newspapers has hailed the declaration as one containing Pakistan, yet Ittehad, the mouthpiece
of the Suhrawardy group, has written today editorially that Mr. Jinnah has back-stabbed Eastern Pakistan by agreeing to Bengal partition. Moreover, Mr. Muazzemuddin Hossain, our Education Minister, has today issued a Press statement saying that they wanted meat but they have been given stone instead. He has also asked that why is it that in spite of Mr. Jinnah’s assurance that nothing but Pakistan will be accepted, this ‘moth-eaten’ ‘truncated’ Pakistan is being offered to the Muslims in Bengal. The tone is one of despair and not of fight.

We would be anxiously awaiting your guidance in our difficult days that are coming, specially during the period of flux and change that is immediately before us and your instructions on the various points that I am writing to you would be eagerly awaited.

With deepest regards,

I remain
Yours sincerely,

Bimal Chandra Sinha
Bengal Congress Assembly Party & Member,
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee

5. Partition Means Progress for East Pakistan

Note on Eastern Pakistan by Hamidul Huq Chowdhry, MLC, Calcutta, to M.A. Jinnah, 6 June 1947
jinnah Papers, Vol. II, pp. 73–93

The first reaction to the decision for partition of Bengal on the lines announced by H.M.G. is one of mixed feelings. It was never thought that Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling, where Hindus are in a minority of the total population, would be declared a Hindu area even for a temporary purpose; that Khulna, where there is a nominal majority of Caste Hindus-cum-Scheduled Castes over the Muslims, should have similarly been grouped with the Hindu districts without consulting the local opinion is also a serious injustice to the majority of the population. In this district, the Muslims and Scheduled Castes, together forming three-fourths of the population, would have, if given a chance, cast [in] their lot with the Muslim districts of Bengal. The other objectionable feature is that relating to Calcutta. Much of these serious drawbacks, we hope, will be rectified at the time of fixing the boundary by the Boundary Commission. When contiguous areas are reassigned according to population and full consideration is given to the necessity of creation of an economic unit with simpler international boundaries, the whole of Khulna, 1/3rd of the 24-Parganas and part of Calcutta and the whole of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling are bound to be included in the new Muslim State. The essential feature of the scheme, namely the constitution of an independent Muslim State, even with the temporary drawbacks mentioned above [but] with the neighbouring Muslim part of Assam in it, is one of the greatest achievements and one for which Muslim India cannot be too grateful to [sic] the efforts of their great leader, the Quaid-i-Azam.

It will not require a very close examination for dismissing such criticism as that the new State thus created even without Calcutta will be economically weak. The area of the new State, along with the District of Sylhet and a major part of Cachar and Goalpara (where Muslims are in majority), would be at least 60,000 sq. miles as against 27,000 sq. miles of the new Hindu Bengal, on the basis that whole of the 24-Parganas, Calcutta, Khulna, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling are included within the Hindu area. The population of the Muslim Bengal would be at least
470 lakhs as against 190 lakh for the Hindu Bengal. The new Muslim State will, therefore, be as big in size as Bihar and bigger than the present Assam, and in population as big as Madras and more than twice as that of [big as] Bombay. In short, it will be of the size and population of France. When boundaries are drawn up finally on an equitable basis the Muslim area is bound to benefit by another 9 to 10 thousand sq. miles.

Regarding the economic position, the following considerations will show that it will be economically as strong as many other independent States. It is true that it has not got any minerals except certain oil-bearing areas in the Muslim part of Cachar. Its real strength lies in the fact that it produces 85 per cent. of the total jute produce of the world. The value of jute export to other countries, both raw and manufactured, in 1942-43 was above 90 crores of rupees. The jute exports form more than 25 per cent. in value of India’s total exports. In short, without jute India will have very little foreign exchange, specially dollars, to pay for the machinery which India needs for her post-war reconstruction. This alone will be sufficient for the new Muslim State to be able to pay for all her requirements from foreign countries and for her development and reconstruction, and she will be in a very much stronger position in this respect than the rest of India.

It has often been stated that the Muslim Bengal is a deficit area in respect of food compared with the Hindu Bengal. The reverse is the case. The annual average of the last quinquennial for the Hindu districts of Bengal is 669 lakh maunds of rice and for the Muslim districts 1,732 lakh maunds (on the basis of the present division of Hindu and Muslim districts by H.M.G.). This work out at the rate of 3.3 maunds per head for the Hindu Bengal as against 4.2 maunds per head for the Muslim Bengal. In fact, Calcutta depended mostly on the rice of Eastern and Northern districts (Muslim area and often these latter districts were starved even to death to feed Calcutta). Similarly, the bulk of the agricultural products come from the Muslim parts of Bengal; as an example, the annual production of tobacco in the Muslim area is 120 lakh tons as against 10 lakh tons in the Hindu Bengal. Ninety-two per cent of the Bengal mustard seeds are produced in the Muslim Bengal. Practically the whole of sugarcane also comes from the same area. All the sugar mills are situated in this area. The same is the story in respect of other cereals and pulses and hides, silk, shellac and betel-nut that are produced in Bengal. 200,000 acres of Bengal tea cultivation are mostly situated in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. This will no doubt, we are confident, only temporarily pass into the Hindu Bengal. As against this, the areas under tea in Sylhet and Cachar, together with those in the Tippera State, will be almost equal in extent to the area of tea in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling.

The Hindu Bengal is very deficient in food and her resources will have to be consumed for providing food to her people and she will have to depend upon supplies from the Muslim Bengal, for whatever surplus is there in this part (Hindu Bengal) will not be enough to feed the present population of Calcutta.

The only commercial commodity of Western Bengal is coal. The average production from Bengal mines works out at 50-lakh tons. Its value cannot be more than 5 to 6 crores of rupees per annum.

It is true that Calcutta is one of the two greatest industrial cities in India. This in itself may be an object of pride for the people of Bengal. But speaking from the point of view of the real people of the province and especially those of the East and North Bengal, the city has or had no economic value except as a negative factor. The hundred jute mills and hundreds of jute presses that are there are owned by Europeans and by Marwaris. This constitutes Calcutta’s biggest industry.
The Muslims of Bengal have not even the advantage of employment in those industries. Similar is the story of most of the cotton mills (23 mills are in West Bengal against 6 in the Eastern Zone). The powerful foreign industrial interests have utilised the governmental machinery for their benefit. The East and North Bengal for generations have not received any consideration from the provincial government, be it in the field of employment, industrialisation, education, health, irrigation or improvement in the system of cultivation. Whatever little has been done for improving the lot of the cultivators has been entirely confined to the cultivators of the Burdwan Division. The vicious circle which has made this possible is so strong that all efforts by representatives from East Bengal to improve the lot of the people of those parts have never met with any success till today.

The best natural port [Chittagong] in Bengal has been neglected in preference to Calcutta, an inland river port lying more than 125 miles from the river mouth and maintained at enormous cost, thus neglecting the development of the best natural port of the Province of Bengal. There is an erroneous view held in certain quarters that unless a considerable sum of money is expended on improvements and River Karnafuli made permanently navigable for the largest class of ocean-going steamers, the port of Chittagong, though it serves a large and prosperous area, has no future before it. In 1917 Sir George Buchanan was deputed by the Railway Board to advise them as regards the engineering works and improvements necessary to make the port suitable for accommodating the largest ships and the amount of the expenditure that these works would involve. His proposals, excluding the cost of dredgers, amounted to 250,000 and there was in his opinion no engineering difficulty in keeping the Karnafuli River permanently open for navigation by the largest ocean-going steamer.

The partition of Bengal in 1906 [sic for 1905] gave a short fillip to these areas and aroused considerable hope in the minds of the people but that too was destined to be only short-lived, as in 1911 the centre of gravity was again shifted to Calcutta by annulling the partition, and since then Western Bengal marched on the road to prosperity and the East slowly languished.

In the field of politics also Calcutta’s domination over Bengal has been complete and will continue for years to come if Bengal remains undivided. The only escape lies in accepting the formula of H.M.G.

The Eastern and Northern Bengal represent the Muslim Bengal. Anything done for the improvement of these areas had always been looked upon with suspicion by the entire Hindu Bengal; even the Hindus coming from these areas always opposed economic measures designed for the improvement of the people of these areas, simply because the bulk of the benefit will go to the Muslims. The opposition to the amendment of the Tenancy Act of 1928 and 1939 and the Debt Settlement Board Act, the Money-lenders Act and the Rural Primary Education Act are illustrations of the working of the Hindu mind. The Secondary Education Bill, meant for the improvement of the schools in the province (which by all opinion—Hindu and Muslim—need immediate improvement), is meeting with the combined opposition of the entire Hindu community on the sole ground that a very great portion of the benefit will be shared by the Muslims. Without multiplying the instances it can safely be said that at a time when the combined Hindu strength in the legislature is below 100 as against the 150 which the League Government commands, [any] legislation essential for the improvement of the lot of the people has been made impossible because of the opposition of the Hindu representatives. This is so even when the entire body of Muslim representatives has united under the Muslim League banner. With the disappearance of the political controversy the Muslims are bound to be split into groups in the legislature and then the vested interest represented by the Hindus of
West Bengal will be able to make the Muslim representatives completely ineffective, the more so when the representation between the respective communities would be in the proportion of 45 and 55.

Under the new arrangement the representation of the Muslims is bound to increase to 68 per cent and the influence of the vested interests will be reduced to the minimum by the removal of the powerful interests of Calcutta.

Rapid industrialisation of the Muslim Bengal will not only be possible but [is also] imperative and the people [would be] rapidly taken towards prosperity, once we have a government controlled by us and suitably manned by the ablest amongst us. To continue under the present arrangement [will mean that] our lot will be what it has been during the last 100 years—poverty, illiteracy and disease.

Therefore, it should be patriotic of every Muslim to make possible the regeneration of the largest Muslim bloc of India. For this purpose, the removal of the influence of the Burdwan Division and of Calcutta would be a blessing in disguise thereby increasing the proportion of Muslim representation in the legislatures and making it more effective and the atmosphere in which the Government will be acting [would be] made rural and Islamic in its outlook.

6. Unity Purchased by Corrupt Practices Would Be Worse than a Frank Partition

Letter from M.K. Gandhi to Sarat Bose, 8 June 1947
*CWMG*, Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 103

I had gone through your draft. I have now discussed the scheme roughly with Pandit Nehru and the Sardar. Both of them are dead against the proposal and they are of opinion that it is merely a trick for dividing Hindus and the Scheduled Caste leaders. With them it is not merely a suspicion but almost a conviction. They feel also that money is being lavishly expended in order to secure the Scheduled Caste votes. If such is the case, you should give up the struggle at least at present. For the unity purchased by corrupt practices would be worse than a frank partition, it being a recognition of the established division of hearts and the unfortunate experiences of the Hindus. I see also that there is no prospect of transfer of power outside the two parts of India. Therefore, whatever arrangement is come to, has to be arrived at by a previous agreement between the Congress and the League. This, as far as I can see, you can’t obtain. Nevertheless, I would not shake your faith, unless it is founded on shifting sand consisting of corrupt practices and trickery alluded to above. If you are absolutely sure that there is no warrant whatever for the suspicion and unless you get the written assurance of the local Muslim League supported by the centre, you should give up the struggle for unity of Bengal and cease to disturb the atmosphere that has been created for the partition of Bengal.

7. Gandhi Against Partition of India

Extract from M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 8 June 1947
*CWMG*, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 108-10

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

...I am accused of spoiling the situation in Bengal. It is my claim that nothing is spoilt at my hands. Whether it is in Bengal, Bihar or Noakhali, nothing has ever been spoilt at my hands.
I can only improve things and I have done so. Now, like the Punjab, Bengal too is going to be divided. In one part of Bengal the Muslims are in a majority and in the other the Hindus. A large number of Hindus desire partition, for, how long can one put up with turbulence? They say once there is partition they can at least live in peace in their homeland. The Muslim League in Bengal has rejected this proposal. But who takes the Bengal Muslim League seriously? Division of Bengal is certain under the new proposal.

Now I am being blamed for not letting Bengal be divided. It is true that I do not want the division. But then I also totally disapprove of the whole country being divided into Hindustan and Pakistan. Even if I was the only Hindu remaining, I would still have the courage to go and live in the midst of the Muslim majority. What is the worst they could do? Kill me; could they do anything worse? But they would not kill me. They would protect one solitary individual. God would protect me. God always protects one who has no one to protect him. That is why the poet says, ‘God is the strength of the weak.’ I do not at all like the division of Bengal. But I will say that the Hindus should let themselves be subdued and give up their desire in order to save their life and property. If they feel that they will be able to live in peace in their part of the province, let no one imagine that I shall come in the way.

Sarat Babu came to me the other day. He does not want Bengal to be partitioned. He says that the whole Province has one culture, and the same food habits. Why then should it be divided in the name of religion? Sarat Babu has his view, I have mine. The people however have the right to act as they desire. My individual opinion cannot thwart the opinion of many.

I always co-operate in good things. If a bad man recites Ramanama, shall I not join him? I shall certainly join him in reciting Ramanama. And if a man considered good indulges in wicked acts, shall I join hands with him? If I do so, I shall not be Gandhi for Gandhi can never worship Satan. Whoever acts out of good intention, out of love, will have my support.

I have come to know that money is being squandered to stall the partition of Bengal. Nothing enduring can be achieved with the help of money. Votes purchased with money have no force. I can never be party to such an act. I can never support an act of goondaism, even if committed by my own kith and kin.

Hence, I would like to tell Sarat Babu that even though he and I would like to stop the partition of Bengal we should forget about it for the time being. It cannot be achieved by impure means. God cannot be realised by impure means and no means for obtaining anything dishonourable can ever be pure.

8. Ensure Voting in Atmosphere Free of Coercion
   Letter from P.B. Mukherji to Rajendra Prasad, 9 June 1947
   R.P. Papers, File No. 6-I/ 45-6-7, S. No. 53, NAI

   Calcutta

   Strictly Confidential

My dear Sir,

Let me hope you have not forgotten me. I was in charge of the X-Ray Deptt. of the Patna Medical College Hospital before and shifted to Calcutta and am now in charge of the same Deptt. in the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan, Calcutta. I trust you are keeping fit.
I am writing to you on a very important matter and would beg of you to discuss the same with Mahatmaji, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and others whom you consider necessary and take proper steps in advance to avoid a catastrophe.

I had been to see a patient in a Muhammadan family this afternoon and overheard the following, coming from an adjacent room, while examining the patient:—

‘Twenty lakhs per members means five crores; we are prepared to offer this amount and see whether we can buy them over or not.’

It at once flashed across my mind that the Muslims in Calcutta are hatching a conspiracy to bribe the non-Muslim members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly those who represent the Hindu majority districts and make them vote against partition of Bengal. Twenty lakhs per member would be too big a temptation to resist unless we adopt measures in advance to foil this nefarious game. The Congress High Command must not sleep over the matter and simply depend on the loyalty of its members in Bengal Assembly to give a good account of oursevles.....at the critical moment. Human nature being what it is, we must heed the warning, so fortuitously received. What adequate steps should be taken to see that these Hindu M.L.A.’s, representing the Hindu-majority districts of Bengal yield to the temptations placed in their path or threats hurled against them, is a matter which you are in a better position to decide; but may I suggest the following for your consideration?:—

1. The meetings of the M.L.As of Bengal and Punjab in two sections (one section for members from Hindu-majority districts and the other sections for members of the other districts) for the purpose of deciding whether these two provinces should be partitioned or not, should be held in Delhi under the presidency of H.E. the Viceroy. If these members could be taken away from Bengal and Punjab to Delhi for the purpose of this meeting, they would be out of reach of the mischief-makers in their own provinces.

2. The Congress High Command should convene a meeting of the M.L.As at Delhi at the same time, as the A.I.C.C meets there and obtain from them in writing that they would honor the Congress decision in respect of partition of these two provinces (in case India is divided) and vote accordingly when they meet in the separate sections of their respective provincial legislatures.

3. In case suggestion no (1) is not feasible or practicable, steps should be taken in advance of the dates fixed for the meetings of the two Provincial legislatures for the purpose of obtaining the decision on partition, to collect all the non-Muslim M.L.As, representing the Hindu-majority districts of Bengal and Punjab in Calcutta and Lahore respectively, at least four or five days before the date of the meetings, and accommodate them inside the Legislative Assembly premises, under armed guards provided by the Central Govtt. so that they may not be accessible to mischief-makers. All arrangements for their meals, sleeping facilities, sanitary requirements etc. should be made by the Provincial Congress Committee of Bengal and Punjab or the Central Government itself. What the public (non-Muslim public) of these two provinces demand is that their representatives in the Assembly should not be interfered with and be allowed to register their votes on the question of partition in an atmosphere free from coercion (physical as well as mental).

In conclusion, I would beg of you to take up the matter very seriously, and take all steps that are humanly possible to guard against any disaster. We should remember that ordinary people
do not possess the honesty, integrity or the unbreakable determination of a Gandhi, a Rajendra Prasad or a Jawaharlal; twenty lacs may be a bait which might buy off in our camp.

With regards and respect.

Sd/- P.B. Mukherjee

9. Request for Voting against Partition in Bengal Legislature
Letter from Sarat Chandra Bose to M.A. Jinnah, 9 June 1947
Jinnah Papers, Vol. II, pp. 121–2

Calcutta

My dear Jinnah,

I have to thank you most sincerely for your courtesy and cordiality towards me and for the consideration you gave to my suggestions. Bengal is passing through the greatest crisis in her history, but she can yet be saved. She can be saved if you will kindly give the following instructions to Muslim Members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly:

i. At the meeting to be held of all members of the Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the province as a whole would join if it were subsequently decided by the two parts to remain united, to vote neither for the Hindustan Constituent Assembly nor for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, and to make it clear by a statement in the Assembly or in the press or otherwise, that they are solidly in favour of Bengal having a Constituent Assembly of her own.

ii. At the meetings of the Members of the two parts of the Legislative Assembly sitting separately and empowered to vote whether or not the province should be partitioned, to vote solidly against partition.

The request I am making to you is in accordance with the views you expressed to me when we met. But it seems to me that if you merely express your views to your Members and not give them specific instructions as to how to vote, the situation cannot be saved. I hope you will do all in your power to enable Bengal to remain united and to make her a free and independent State.

If Muslim Members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly vote solidly as suggested in paragraph (i) and (ii) above, I think Lord Mountbatten will be compelled to convene another meeting of all Members of the Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision can be taken on the issue as to whether the province as a whole desires to have a Constituent Assembly of her own.

I shall be coming to Delhi again on the 13th or the 14th and shall call on you on the 14th or the 15th.

Thanking you and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

SARAT CHANDRA BOSE
10. United and Determined Leadership Is the Answer to Bengal Situation

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Bimal Chandra Sinha, 10 June 1947

SPC, Vol. IV, p. 55

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 5 June 1947.

2. The question of all-Bengal constituencies is under consideration and they will have to be divided between East and West Bengal on a consideration of all relevant factors. We shall know the actual division in a few days.

3. I do not think there is any chance of the Muslim League making any attempts for the united Bengal to come into the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. If such attempts have been made or are made, we should know how to deal with them.

4. I quite realise the needs of Bengal at the present moment. What you need above everything else is united and determined leadership and I only hope that public opinion will force the leaders of Bengal to realise the urgent call of the situation and to take up a united stand against nefarious designs. No outside intervention can take the place of action which is required of Bengalis themselves, and I am sure if there were a general awakening in this sense, the leaders dare not defy the popular voice. Even at this late hour I hope popular opinion will make itself felt.

Your sincerely,

Vallabhbhai Patel

11. Problems regarding Voting on Partition in Bengal Legislature

Letter from K.C. Neogy to Vallabhbhai Patel, 11 June 1947

SPC, Vol. IV, pp. 57–8

Cecil Hotel
Simla, S. W.

My dear Sardarji,

Permit me to draw your attention to the enclosed statement which indicates the probable line of voting on the issue of the partition of Bengal. It will be seen that the margin is about ten or eleven, and if there [is] a defection of six from our side, the scale would be turned in favour of the League.

Disquieting rumours about fabulous sums that are going to be spent by the Leaguers for the purchase of Hindu votes have reached Simla, and I feel perturbed on that account. It is a pity that I have to be away from Calcutta at this time, being detained on account of the sitting of the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee at Simla. I hope, however, to reach Calcutta on the morning of the 22nd; but perhaps our fate will have been decided by then. The attitude of Sarat Bose and Kiran Shankar has been extremely deplorable, and if things go wrong, they will be mainly held responsible.

I feel sure you are closely following the situation. I wonder if it will be possible for you to pay a short visit to Calcutta at this juncture; it would certainly put heart into those who are working indefatigably in the cause of partition. Likewise, a visit paid by Rajen Babu and Sjt Jagjivan Ram would be very helpful for the purpose of counteracting Sarat Babu’s sinister
influence and the attempts that are reported to be made by Jogendra [Nath] Mandal at bribing particularly the Scheduled Caste members of the Assembly.

The Governor himself is in favour of Pakistan and is for all practical purposes Suhrawardy's lap dog. The Governor and the Ministry are likely to do all that is possible to influence a decision in favour of Pakistan. Hence, to my mind, is the necessity for the presence of a few members of the Central Government, particularly yourself, in Calcutta at this time.

Trust this find you in the best of health.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

K.C. Neogy

12. Stoop to Conquer Hindus
Letter from M.K. Gandhi to H.S. Suhrawardy, 12 June 1947
*CWMG*, Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 137

I have your long, angry letter. Instead of being angry you should be thankful to me that I have dispelled all suspicion, if there was no ground for any... Do you not realise that the unity of Bengal is as dear to me as it is to you? The partition agreed to by the Congress and the Muslim League, however reluctantly it may be, can still be undone by you if you have the Muslim opinion behind you and if you would, as I suggested to you when we met, stoop to conquer the Hindus.

13. Demand to Make Population Ratio Chief Basis of Partition
Telegram from Indian Association to Vallabhbhai Patel, 12 June 1947
*SPC*, Vol. IV, p. 59

Calcutta

Sardar Patel
New Delhi

INDIAN ASSOCIATION URGES POPULATION RATIO OF MUSLIM AND NONMUSLIM COMMUNITIES AS CHIEF BASIS OF PARTITION TO BE ADOPTED IN TERMS OF REFERENCE TO BOUNDARY COMMISSION. WEST BENGAL PROVINCE AREA SHOULD BE FORTYSIX PERCENT OF TOTAL.

BANERJEA PRESIDENT

14. Patel Reassures Neogy
Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to K.C. Neogy, 13 June 1947
*SPC*, Vol. IV, p. 58

New Delhi

My dear Neogy,

Thank you for your letter of 11 June 1947. I also received your earlier letter in which you wrote to me about your own future having regard to the contemplated substitution of the Central Legislature by the Constituent Assembly.
2. You need not be anxious about yourself. I am bearing the matter in my mind and will do what I can.

3. As regards voting on the question of partition, we are taking necessary precautions. I feel confident that it will be all right.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Vallabhbhai Patel

15. Report from Bengal

Extract from the fortnightly report on Bengal for the first half of June 1947, 17 June 1947
Home Poll (I), File No. 18/6/47, NAI

...2. The announcement itself, followed quickly as it was by broadcasts by the main leaders accepting, for all practical purposes, the decision had a reassuring effect on public opinion and, since then, speculation and discussion have been rife regarding the implications of the changes decided upon. One minor—immediate—reaction was surprise that a final decision had been reached in such a short space of time, without the usual endless wranglings and debates: certain sections had confidently expected that, as had happened so often in the past, the announcement would only be the commencement of a long course of deliberations and negotiations with a view to evolving a final scheme for the smooth transfer of power. To find a ... scheme for the smooth transfer of power accepted straightforwardly was a ... welcome development.

3. Final opinions have not yet crystallised but preliminary reactions of the inhabitants of Calcutta have already begun to take shape. With certain very definite exceptions the announcement and the settlement that has now been reached has been received, if not with a good grace, at least with a healthy resignation and sense of relief and an appreciation that, as it is not possible to obtain everything, what has been granted is the best possible under the circumstances.

4. The preliminary reaction of the Hindus has unquestionably been one of satisfaction and congratulation. Within the course of a few months they have staged a demonstration in favour of partition and have achieved their end. At the same time they fully realise what the division of the Province will mean and some of them, at least, recognise that in the councils of Hindusthan they, the Hindus of a truncated Bengal, will carry little weight. At the moment they are buoying themselves up with the feeling that they have, at last, got rid of the League Ministry and will be able to develop their culture unhampered. In addition, they refuse to regard partition as a permanent solution of the problem of Bengal and are confident that the Muslims of Eastern Pakistan will be compelled in a short time to apply for inclusion in Hindusthan.

Hindus coming from East Bengal are relieved that the whole of Bengal has not been included in Pakistan but are naturally apprehensive as to their future under the dominant Muslims. The question of the transfer of population from East Bengal to West Bengal is already being ventilated. Both sections are apprehensive of the continuance in power of the present League Ministry in the period before the change-over.

Opportunity has moreover been taken by Hindu leaders to emphasise that the partition has been forced upon the country by the British and the Muslim Leaguers, and the Hindu Mahasabha have been quick to pass a resolution calling for a peaceful hartal on the 3rd July 'to protest against the vivisection of the country'.
With the announcement there has followed considerable activity to ensure that West Bengal casts in its lot with Hindusthan and the proposed visit of the President of the A.I.C.C. to Bengal at this juncture is no doubt connected with this aspect of the problem.

5. The Muslims are undoubtedly enthusiastic that at last they have a country which they can call their own but undoubtedly disappointed that the partition of the Province was found to be inevitable. The upcountry Muslims in Calcutta are particularly dissatisfied with the turn of events and the loss of large portions of Bengal, particularly Calcutta. They feel that they have been sacrificed and have expressed extreme resentment.

The youths and students are also dissatisfied with the provision for partition and are reported to be reluctant to concede Calcutta to the Hindus without a fight. Hindus also apprehend such a development and are reported to be organising defence measures in different parts of Calcutta.

6. All reactions, however, have been disciplined up to date and emphasise the degree of control that the political parties have been able to attain over their followers.

7. Reports from the Divisions tend to confirm the preliminary reactions of Calcutta. In West Bengal where there were in the early part of the period a large number of meetings in support of the proposed partition of the Province, the most important being the one at Suri presided over by Mr. N.C. Chatterjee and attended by nearly 8,000 people, the reaction of the Hindus has been one of relief. The Muslims are finding it more difficult to make up their mind about the attitude they should take up towards the plan; they have a feeling of having been let down but are sustained by the thought that Pakistan is at last a reality. The present reactions indicate that if there is trouble as a result of the decision it will come from Howrah where the announcement is reported to have done little to clear the atmosphere of suspicion and hostility between the two communities, the Hindus fearing that the Muslim minority will not accept without a fight the loss of Calcutta and Howrah.

In North Bengal the parties who are waiting for a lead from their respective High Commands have received the decision quietly.

In the Dacca Division, where the East Bengal Hindus have persuaded themselves that partition is in their own interests and where the local Muslims are not worrying about the loss of Calcutta, the announcement has caused general relief.

In Chittagong, too, the announcement was received calmly and no trouble or excitement has been reported from any quarter. The arrival of additional troops had a steadying effect, particularly as it was generally believed that many more troops had, in fact, arrived than was actually the case.

8. Seeds of future local trouble are likely to be found, apart from Calcutta, in those areas where the minority are in a local majority. Such a situation arises in the Gopalganj area of Faridpur where (thanks to the Scheduled Castes) the Hindus are in a slight majority. The possibility of trouble in this area has already been forecasted. Political parties have already been quick to note such areas and to make it clear that in the due course ‘opportunity must be taken to rectify (naturally in their own favour) glaring instances of injustice’....
16. Jinnah Rejects the Idea of Coalition Ministry in Bengal
Extract from a letter from Eric Mieville to Louis Mountbatten, 18 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/159, Acc. No. 3472, NAI

THE VICE ROY’S HOUSE, NEW DELHI

H.E.

Pug and I saw Gandhi, Jinnah and Badshah Khan in your room at 4.30 p.m. today....

After the meeting broke up, Pug saw Jinnah privately for a moment and asked him whether
he would be prepared to authorise Suhrawardy to form a regional Ministry in Bengal as desired
by the Governor. I am afraid that Jinnah’s reply was an absolute negative, and I do not think
that the subject is worth pursuing.

E.M.

17. ‘Parts of Jessore, Faridpur and Bakerganj Should Go to Hindu
Bengal’

Hindustan Standard, 19 June 1947

Mr. P.R. Thakur M.A. Bar-at-Law (Bengal) Scheduled Caste Member of the Constituent
Assembly of India representing Bengal has issued the following memorandum for inclusion
in the new Hindu Province of Bengal non-Muslim majority areas (where the Scheduled castes
predominate) of parts of the districts of Jessore, Faridpur and Bakerganj contiguous to the
non-Muslim majority district of Khulna.

Under H.M.G.’s final statement an announced by H.E. the Viceroy Lord Mountbatten on
3rd June 1947 it has been decided to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the
basis of ‘contiguous majority areas’ of Muslims and non-Muslims. The Boundary Commission
to be subsequently appointed will also be instructed to take into account ‘other factors’ for
ascertaining the exact boundary line.

In pursuance of the above principles enunciated in H.M.G.’s statement an attempt has been
made in the following paragraphs to carve out a compact contiguous non-Muslim majority
area in the three districts of (i) Jessore, (ii) Faridpur, and (iii) Bakerganj.

It may be noted at the very outset that this compact area comprises 2043 sq. miles with a
total population of 23,48,339 persons of whom non-Muslims, including tribes etc., would be
12,35,720 and Muslims 11,11,619, of the non-Muslim, Scheduled Castes would number 7,28,421
and Caste Hindus 4,94,046. It would thus appear that the non-Muslim majority in the said
area will amount to over 55 p.c. of the total population, which is a sufficient justification for its
inclusion in the contiguous non-Muslim district of Khulna.

The details of the different area and their respective population are given below:

**DISTRICT OF JESSORE**

The police station of Kalia, Abhoynagore, Narail, Salikha and the Southern portion of Lohagarah
P.S. (river Nabaganga being the boundary)
DISTRICT OF FARIDPUR

The Police Stations of Gopalganj, Kaslani, Kotwalipara, Muksudpur (in Gopalganj sub-Division) Rajair, Western part of Madanpur P.S., Western part of Kalkini P.S. (the river Arial Khan being the eastern boundary line.

DISTRICT OF BAKHERGANJ

The police stations of Goumadi, Wajirpur, part of Babuganj P.S. part of Barisal Kotwai P.S. including Barisal town, a portion of Bakerganj Police Station Part of Nalchity P.S. including Nalchity town, portion of Pirojpur P.S. including Pirojpur Town part of Cowkhali P.S., Swarup kathi P.S. Banariparia and Najiirpur P.S. (a number of rivers viz. Arial Khan Barisal, Pandav, Bishkhali Kacha and Baleswar being the natural boundary line on the east of these areas as would be found in any large scale map of Bengal).

The above areas are compact non-Muslim areas contiguous to the North Eastern side of the district of Khulna as would appear from the attached map, the said area being specially marked red. The exact boundary line of the said area would be modified to some extent by the river line passing through it.

Details of areas with particulars of population in the said districts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Area Sq. miles</th>
<th>Schedule Caste</th>
<th>Caste Hindu</th>
<th>Muslims (including tribes etc.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bakerganj area</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>3,00,000</td>
<td>[illegible]</td>
<td>5,60,579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faridpur area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Gopalganj Sub-Div</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>2,68,443</td>
<td>78,286</td>
<td>2,68,233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Rajair</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>31,977</td>
<td>28,071</td>
<td>57,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessore</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>1,25,001</td>
<td>1,10,126</td>
<td>2,25,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,045</td>
<td>7,25,421</td>
<td>4,94,046</td>
<td>11,11,619</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In delimiting the boundaries of the new province special provision must be made for the following:

(a) Arrangement should be made at State expense for exchange and migration of the population specially of the Scheduled Castes, where so desired.

(b) Adequate compensation should be made by the State to the migrating population for lands and property left behind.

(c) Advance reservation of areas and lands should be made preferably on the border district for settlement of the Scheduled Castes who would not like to go far into the interior for reasons of climate and other factors.
18. Jinnah’s Attitude towards Proposed Coalition Ministry

Telegram from H.L. Ismay to J.F. Burrows, 21 June 1947

IOR, R/3/1/159, Acc. No. 3472, NAI

New Delhi

MOST IMMEDIATE
SECRET

No. 1533-S. Jinnah has told me that he has had telephone message from Suhrawardy saying that you had threatened him with Section 93 if he refused coalition ministry or regional ministry. He said that this was entirely ultra vires, that we had considered Section 93 in NWFP and decided that it was impossible. There was no reason why Suhrawardy should not carry on with caretaker government. He begged me to inform Viceroy of position at once and ask him to instruct you to take no final decision till matter had been discussed between Viceroy and Jinnah.

Have just telegraphed Kashmir accordingly. Viceroy returns Monday and should be able to let you know his views Monday evening or Tuesday morning at latest.

19. ‘Bengal Partitioned: Fateful Decision by Legislators of Non-Muslim Majority Areas’

Extract from a report in Amrita Bazar Patrika, 21 June 1947

The decision to divide Bengal in order to remain attached to the Indian Union was taken by the Bengal Assembly members representing Hindu majority areas voting for it at their meeting at the Assembly House on Friday.

This fateful decision was taken by 58 members voting for it and 21 against. The Congress members on whom the responsibility for the decision lay acted as they were expected to and all uneasiness that any of them could do otherwise was set at rest by all of them voting solidly for the motion. All Congress members were present with the exception of Mr. J.C. Gupta who is out of the country being on his way home from England. Mr. Annada Prosad Mandal with his temperature running 104 degrees was present and cast his vote in favour of partition.

With four Anglo-Indians, 2 Communists and 1 Indian Christian joining the solid phalanx of Congressmen and Dr. Syama Prosad Mookerjee, the number of supporters for the partition rose to 58, the Moslem League section voting en bloc against partition.

The members of the Bengal Assembly excluding the Europeans met in two sections at 11 in the morning and there being demand for joint meeting from the Congress section at both these meetings they were immediately adjourned. The joint session commenced at 3 p.m. where the League members voted solidly not to join the existing Constituent Assembly while the Congress members and Anglo-Indians voted for it, voting being 126–90. Three Communist members remained neutral.

The two sections then met separately again and the Hindu majority section voted as stated above. While the other section, the meeting of the representatives of the Muslim majority areas, voted against partition and for joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

The Congress members opposed both these motions. Voting being 106–35 and 107–34. The motion whether in the event of Sylhet referendum resulting in favour of amalgamation, Sylhet would be amalgamated was adopted by 105–34 votes, Congress members opposing this.
The morning session of the meeting of the members representing the non-Muslim majority districts commenced punctually at the scheduled time—11 a.m. at the southern lounge on the first floor of the Assembly House. Congress members were first to take their seats and Muslim League members started at 2 p.m.

The meeting was then dissolved.

MUSLIM MAJORITY SECTION

When the two parts of the Bengal Legislative Assembly met at 11 A.M. one in the Chamber itself and another in the southern lounge on the first floor of the Assembly House, Mr. Nurul Amin, president of the Eastern Bengal section, said as follows:—We are taking a very momentous decision to-day, at this meeting, which will go down as an important event in the history of freedom of this sub-continent. I appeal to each member of the House to support me on this solemn occasion in conducting the proceedings.

‘It is necessary for us to adopt certain rules of procedure for this meeting. The rules were drafted yesterday at a meeting of the leading members of both the parts of the House including the presidents of the two parts of the Assembly. The rules have been supplied to you and I believe that they may be adopted.’

There being no objection, Mr. Nurul Amin declared that the rules of procedure as circulated among members had their approval.

He then announced that the first business before them was to ascertain whether there was any member to demand a joint sitting of the two parts of the Assembly at which the decision would be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the province as a whole would join in the event of the province remaining undivided.

Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy then rose in his seat and demanded that there be a joint meeting. The President thereupon adjourned the sitting in response to Mr. Roy’s demand and said that the joint meeting would be held at the same place and at 3 P.M. He also announced that this part of the meeting would re-assemble in the Chamber fifteen minutes after the termination of the joint meeting.

A message to the effect that a request had been accepted for holding a joint meeting was communicated to the President of the other part of the Assembly members.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ISSUE

AT 3 P.M. the joint session of the two parts of the Assembly met in the Chamber under the presidency of Mr. Nurul Amin. The President then wanted to ascertain the opinion of the meeting whether the province as a whole would join the existing Constituent Assembly or a new and separate one consisting of representatives of those areas which decided not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly. He asked the House to divide and directed that those who were in favour of joining the existing Constituent Assembly should go to the ‘Ayes’ lobby and those who wanted to join the new and separate one to the ‘Noes’.

The House then divided, 90 members voting in favour of joining the existing Constituent Assembly and 126 for the new and separate one. Three Communist members remained neutral.

The members again split up in two sections. When the section representing Muslim majority districts assembled at 3-30 P.M. under the presidency of Mr. Nurul Amin, he said he would now ascertain the wishes of the members as to whether the province of Bengal should
be partitioned or not. He asked those members who were in favour of partition to go to the 'Ayes' lobby and those against to the 'Noes.'

The House divided and 35 members were found in favour of partition and 106 against. The only Communist members of this section of the Assembly voted in favour of the partition while five Scheduled caste members including two Ministers and two parliamentary secretaries and one Indian Christian the only Indian Christian in this section voted against.

MUSLIMS TO JOIN PAKISTAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

On reassembling the House again divided on the issue as to which of the two Constituent Assemblies, the Eastern Bengal province would join. Thirty-four members voted in favour of joining the existing Constituent Assembly while 107 voted for the new and the separate one. The Communist member voted in favour of the new and separate Constituent Assembly along with the five scheduled caste members and one Indian Christian.

The House again met and soon divided on the question whether the district of Sylhet in Assam if it decided to join the new Eastern Bengal province would be coming in when there were only five minutes to go. When Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy arrived the front benches had been filled up and the Chief Minister was looking for a seat somewhere at the back of the House. Mr. Dhirendra Narayan Mukherjee, Chief Whip of the Congress Party, who acted as the Congress spokesman for the section spotted him and leading him to the front row gave him a seat there.

Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan who presided first ascertained if the rules of procedure for the meeting which had been settled in consultation with the party leaders on the previous day and circulated had the approval of the members. Members signifying their approval, he wanted to know if any member desired a joint sitting of the two parts of the Assembly to decide which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join in the event of Bengal remaining undivided.

Mr. Dhirendra Narayan Mukherjee rose up and made the demand for the joint sitting. The Chairman then announced that the joint meeting would be held at 3 P.M. at the Assembly Chamber and the section would meet again fifteen minutes after the session of the joint meeting was over and adjourned the meeting.

The whole proceedings of the morning session took about eight minutes.

PARTITION MOTION CARRIED

The non-Muslim majority area section meeting reassembled at 3:35 p.m. after the joint session was over.

The Chairman of the meeting Maharajadhiraj Bahadur, observed that this part of the Assembly members was to decide whether the province of Bengal would be divided. He put the question before the House whether the province of Bengal would be partitioned and asked the members who were in favour of the motion to go to the 'Ayes' lobby and those who were against it to the 'Noes' lobby.

The Congress members, four Anglo-Indians and two Communists went to the 'Ayes' lobby and the Muslim League members to the 'Noes' lobby.

At 3:47 according to the clock in the House (but according to a gentleman in the Press gallery who was sure that his watch kept the right time it was 3:52) the Chairman announced that the motion had been carried by 58 to 21 votes.
The next question put before the House was whether the constitution of the separated province consisting of non-Muslim majority areas should be framed in the existing Constituent Assembly. The House again divided and voted in favour of joining the existing Constituent Assembly, the figures of voting being again the same 58:21.

The Chairman then said that he had an announcement to make. The decision taken to-day that there should be partition of Bengal involved fresh election to the Constituent Assembly of their choice, but until the Governor-General had received official intimation of this decision no official announcement was possible. But he had been asked to state that the programme for the election from this part was as follows. Date by which nomination papers must be received by the Secretary of the Legislative Council—June 30, 11 a.m.; scrutiny July 1, 11 a.m.; withdrawal of nomination papers July 2, 12 noon, Polling July 4 between 10 a.m. and 2 p.m.

The meeting was then dissolved....

20. ‘Votings in Bengal Assembly’
Amrita Bazar Patrika, 21 June 1947

VOTING IN THE SECTION REPRESENTING NON-MUSLIM MAJORITY DISTRICTS

BENGAL PARTITION

For: 58 (49 Congress, 4 Anglo-Indians, 1 Indian Christian, 2 Communists and 1 Independent)
Against: 21 (Muslim League)

CONSEMBLY ISSUE

For All India Union: 58 (49 Congress, 4 Anglo-Indians, 1 Indian Christian, 2 Communists and 1 Independent.)
For Pakistan: 21 (Muslim League)

VOTING RESULT IN THE JOINT MEETING ON CHOICE OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

JOINT MEETING RESULT

For All-India Union: 90 (84 Congress, 4 Anglo-Indian, 1 Indian Christian and 1 Independent).
For Pakistan: 126 (120 Muslim League, 5 Schedule Castes and 1 Indian Christian)
Neutral: 3 (Communists)

(The Dy. Speaker Mr. Tofazzel Ali could not cast vote on being shut out.)

VOTINGS IN THE SECTION REPRESENTING MUSLIM MAJORITY DISTRICTS

BENGAL PARTITION

For: 35 (34 Congress and 1 Communist.)
Against: 106 (100 Muslim League, 5 Scheduled Castes and 1 Indian Christian.)
CONSEMBLY ISSUE
For All India Union: 34 (Congress.)
For Pakistan: 107 (100 Muslim League, 5 Scheduled Castes, 1 Indian Christian and 1 Communist).

AMALGAMATION OF SYLHET
For: 105 (100 Muslim League and 5 Scheduled Castes.)
Against: 34 (Congress).
Neutral: 1 (Communist).

Names of Scheduled Caste members who voted with the Muslim League:—Mr. Dwarika Nath Barory, (Minister), Mr. Nagendra N. Roy, (Minister) Mr. Bholanath Biswas (Parliamentary Secretary), Mr. Haran Chandra Barman (Parliamentary Secretary) and Mr. Gayanath Biswas (Mymensingh).

21. ‘Communists and Partition of Bengal’
People’s Age, 22 June 1947

The Mountbatten Award has divided on communal lines and partitioned Bengal. The very existence of Bengal national life is threatened. The century old cradle of Indian renaissance, the pioneer of national liberation movement and land of immortal Tagore has been torn into pieces. British imperialism is aiming to safeguard its interest on Indian soil by inflicting a lasting injury to the mutual relations of Hindus and Muslims.

On June 20, 1947, the members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly will be called upon to vote on three questions in terms of the Mountbatten Award namely:

(1) Which Constituent Assembly Bengal shall join, in case it is decided that she remains united;
(2) Whether Bengal shall be partitioned and
(3) Which Constituent Assembly each respective part shall join in case Bengal is partitioned.

The choice on this grave and momentous occasion should have been given directly to the people, that is, the issue should have been decided by plebiscite. Plebiscite is an effective weapon to forge the unity of the common people by winning their willing support for Indian unity. By denying plebiscite, Mountbatten’s Award has seriously weakened this fight for unity. A serious responsibility therefore rests on the Communist members of the Legislative Assembly.

Through their vote they have to express not what is good for the people of Bengal (joining the Union) in ideal conditions (on basis of self-determination) but how to help the Bengali people, sharply divided among themselves, towards the goal, in the given circumstances.

The acid test is that our vote should help to smoothen and not rather intensify Hindu-Muslim conflict above all, help to keep the unity of the working class and peasant movements, the builders of the unity of Bengal and India.

Partition a Reality
The Mountbatten Award and its acceptance by the Congress and the League has made partition a reality. Partition become a reality not after the voting in the Bengal Assembly on June 21, it
came into being as soon as Mountbatten secured the seal of approval to his award from the Congress and the League.

**No Alternative of Sovereign Bengal**

The Communist Party has always stood for the self-determination of Bengal inside a Free Indian Union. The Communist Party will continue to fight for this. A Congress-League agreement for a united sovereign Bengal, leaving it to the peoples’ verdict to decide which Constituent Assembly to join, can be an important step in this fight for Indian unity. The Communist Party will continue to campaign for these unceasingly.

On June 20, however, in the Bengal Legislative Assembly when the first question on which a decision will be taken is— which Constituent Assembly Bengal joins if she remains united, the choice is whether the whole of Bengal shall join the existing Constituent Assembly or the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

**Against Forcing West Bengal into Pakistan**

In order to decide the question, any one may bring a motion, to the effect that Bengal must join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in case she remains united. Such a motion expresses the desire that the Hindu-majority areas of Western Bengal must also be taken into Pakistan and no other alternative should be given for United Bengal.

The Communist Party will vote against any such motion. Communal division of India is itself disruptive and helpful to British imperialism, the demand for taking even Western Bengal to Pakistan is much more disruptive and much more helpful to British imperialism.

Moreover, the Muslim League demands the division of India on communal lines. Consistently with this demand it can demand the inclusion of ONLY the Muslim majority part of Bengal in Pakistan. If it continues to demand the inclusion of the whole of Bengal in Pakistan, it will thereby further sharpen the conflict between Hindus and Muslims and develop hostility between the Indian Republic and Pakistan.

**No Coercion of East Bengal**

The decision may also be sought by means of a motion to the effect that Bengal must join the existing Constituent Assembly in case she remains united. Communist members of the Legislative Assembly will remain neutral in the voting on such a motion.

The willing support of the people of North and East Bengal for the existing Constituent Assembly of the Indian Republic may yet unsettle Mountbatten’s partition plan but the Congress by refusing to support the demand for sovereign united Bengal and by rejecting, for the time being, the principle of self-determination of nationalities has made it difficult to win that support.

Until that support is won, the demand for taking the whole of Bengal into the existing Constituent Assembly will not only intensify Hindu-Muslim conflict but will also disrupt the common movements of workers and peasants, which constitute the vanguard in the fight for reunification and which have played a foremost non-factional part in the past in forging Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Communist Party by remaining neutral on the above motion appeals to the Congress and the Muslim League not to worsen the relations between the two great communities of Bengal by demanding the entry of the whole of Bengal in the existing Constituent Assembly without the prevailing support of Muslim masses or by claiming the inclusion of the whole of Bengal inside Pakistan.
Why Vote for Partition
The two parts of the Bengal Legislative Assembly will also be asked separately to decide whether Bengal shall remain united and which Constituent Assembly each part should join if partition is voted upon.

The choice ... appears to be clear-cut between ... Bengal unity or Bengal partition. But in reality the very basis of such unity, namely, the peoples’ direct verdict for joining the Indian Union or remaining sovereign has been repudiated in the Mountbatten Award.

It is also patent that the League majority in the Bengal Assembly make the joining of Pakistan the only condition for United Bengal.

Therefore, behind this apparent alternative, that is, Bengal unity or Bengal partition, lurks the REAL alternative, namely, inclusion of the whole of Bengal in Pakistan or the partition of Bengal. The Communists will vote for the latter alternative.

Communist members of the Assembly will in this case cast their votes on the principle that the fight against partition has to be carried on in a new way under the new conditions. The fight is to be carried forward by developing friendly relations between the Indian Republic and Pakistan.

For Their Own Assemblies
After the Mountbatten Award and its acceptance by the Congress and the League, the fight for unity is no longer a fight against the possibility of partition but a fight for reunification of partitioned Bengal in partitioned India.

Imperialism seeks to make the two States HOSTILE to each other. The sectarian ideas of the reactionary politicians and the greed of the vested interests behind them play into the hands of imperialism. But the new States will be based on the support of the people.

It will be the task of the people to defeat the reactionaries within and make the new States FRIENDLY to each other, to advance the mutual interests of the Bengali people who have been temporarily divided.

It is this new reality and the new task which demands that Communist members in the two parts of the Assembly shall vote on the second question for partition and on the third question Communists shall vote in Western Bengal for joining the existing Constituent Assembly and in Eastern Bengal for joining the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan.

By so casting their votes, the Communists maintain that each part of Bengal joins that Constituent Assembly which is the choice, in the present circumstances, of the majority of the people living in that part and thus carry forward the fight for reunification.

For Democratic Republic
Inside both the Indian Republic and Pakistan the Communist Party will carry on the fight for drawing up a democratic constitution, for declaring complete independence outside the British Empire, for full protection to the rights of minorities in matters political, legal and religious and unfettered opportunities in education, culture, employment and other matters.

The Communists will fight for a COMMON defence, COMMON foreign policy, a COMMON monetary system by agreement, joint administration of transport and communications, for mutual cooperation in economic reconstruction and for peaceful adjustment of just boundaries.
Towards Lasting Union

The Communist Party realise that such a fight will be tremendously more difficult in Pakistan than in the Indian Republic because the democratic forces are very weak and reactionary forces very strong in the former, because the main force of the democratic movement has grown inside the Indian Republic.

The Communists will strengthen the joint front of the people in the two States through the common mass organisations and through all other means so that the common people of both the States are strengthened.

The fight for re-unification for complete liquidation of imperialist control can and must be won by the common forces of the national liberation movement, the organised working class and the peasantry.

However, the common struggles of the workers, peasants and other toilers are being seriously disrupted by the imperialist plan of partition. Yet it is the development of these common struggles through the common front of the people that will pave the way for reunification and defeat the game of imperialism.

It is the common people’s movement for the establishment of democracy and the liquidation of imperialist control that will lead to final and permanent unity.

22. ‘Birth of Eastern Pakistan’

Editorial from *Dawn*, 22 June 1947

The decisions taken in Bengal by the Legislative Assembly and its two Parts on Friday only formally registered what was a foregone conclusion. But these formalities were essential features of the Plan for the division of India and the establishment of Pakistan. The effect of the Bengal decision is that the first legal step towards the sub-continent’s division has been taken and what was so long a political proposal has now become a legally established fact. This will enable the partition arrangements already made in the Centre to go full steam ahead. Within this week Punjab and Sind will also complete these legal formalities.

The occasion when, by the vote of the Hindus, Bengal has been finally split into two, has called forth from Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy an impassioned message of farewell to that part of the province with which Muslims now part company. With the best of intentions, but always true to the ideal of Pakistan, Mr. Suhrawardy had worked for an independent sovereign Bengal. He failed because on the other side there was lack of straightforwardness and conditions were laid down which would have ensured Hindu domination over the whole province through the back door of joint electorates. Had there been agreement on those terms, eventually the whole of Bengal would have been lost to Pakistan and to Muslims.

There will undoubtedly be a wrench in many Muslim hearts that parts of Bengal which they have always regarded as their indivisible homeland should have been allowed thus to secede. Much that was common will be common no more. Nevertheless, having regard to the
larger interest of the Muslim nation and the homogeneity and solidarity of Pakistan, we echo Mr. Suhrawardy’s felicitous phrase that Muslim Bengal ‘has little to grieve for’. We would go further and say that the partition of Bengal has been a blessing in disguise. After the Boundary Commission has done its job, Eastern Pakistan will doubtless emerge with its territories enlarged from its present ‘notional’ size. It will be a compact, and powerful State because, its 45 million population and its vast economic potentiality will make it a factor which the world will have to reckon with. As Mr. Suhrawardy says, its food supply will be ample and because of its jute it can ‘have the world at its feet.’ And the greatest of all considerations which makes Muslims rejoice is that they will be able to rule the land and develop it according to their own genius, unhampered by constant obstruction from an unsympathetic, turbulent and numerous minority to whom everything Muslim was anathema. The opportunity that now lies ahead of the Muslims of real Bengal that is to be Eastern Pakistan, will call from them their very best in endeavour, enterprise and sacrifice. History has no parallel for such an opportunity presenting itself before a nation except through years of devastating wars. In all such cases the task of healing wounds, wiping off scars and rebuilding what was largely destroyed immediately confronted the winners of freedom. Turkey was one such country and Kemal had to rally and organise his nation to build almost from scratch. Eastern Pakistan that became a legal reality on Friday, June 20, 1947, has none of these problems to face. It begins its career by taking over territory which is very much more a going concern.

Nevertheless, complacency will be fatal and lethargy criminal. Belts must be tightened, great sacrifices made, tremendous obstacles overcome. Nature has endowed Eastern Pakistan with the richest of resources and God has now given its people the freedom and the opportunity to turn them to the best advantage. This cannot be done by following traditional routine and time-honoured ways of life. Every man and woman, from the highest to the lowest, must put their shoulders to the great task ahead. The enemy that must now be sought and destroyed will not come from without but from within. The easelover and the shirker, the selfish and the corrupt—for these there is no place in Pakistan, and wherever found they must be ruthlessly punished. There are men, who have exploited the people and misused their power and opportunity for selfish gain. They must be allowed to do so no longer, and if they persist they must be deemed and treated as capital offenders against the national State. Only by such relentless intolerance of corruption and selfishness, from the very start, can the nation ensure purity and integrity of the administration. Only thus can be built up the progress and stability of Pakistan.

23. Future of Suhrawardy Ministry

Extract from Viceroy’s Conference Paper No. 88, 23 June 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 210, NMML

SECRET

THE VICEROY’S HOUSE, NEW DELHI
GOVERNMENT IN BENGAL

The position now reached in Bengal is summarised as follows:

(1) Neither the Congress nor the Muslim League agrees on the basis of a Coalition Ministry for the Province.

(2) Congress is in favour of the formation of Regional Ministries, but the Muslim League is opposed to such an arrangement.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

(3) The League is also opposed to the Governor taking over under Section 93, but the Congress is prepared to acquiesce in a 93 administration as a Caretaker arrangement. In other words, the League position is that the present Ministry must continue in office and that no suggestions for any alternative arrangement should be considered; while the Congress is most anxious that the present Ministry should not remain in office.

2. The decision having been taken that the Province of Bengal should be partitioned, it is obviously most anomalous that the League Ministry, which definitely does not enjoy the confidence of the Hindus, should continue in sole charge of the whole Province during a period when issues of vital importance to both parts of Bengal will have to be settled. This point has been well brought out in the Governor's report of his interview with Mr. Suhrawardy.

3. The issue raised takes on an added importance in view of the fact that any decision taken will have implications in other Provinces and possibly in the Centre as well.

4. In the Punjab the Governor has continued in Section 93 and has refused to allow the Khan of Mamdot to form a purely Muslim League Ministry because a communal Ministry would find it difficult to maintain itself in present conditions in that Province; he has informed the Muslim League leader that constitutional Government by a Ministry must be conducted in accordance with certain principles, and when any large section of the population denies the validity of those principles, the position of a Ministry becomes impossible. One of the first acts of the Governor, after the issue of H.M.G.'s Statement of June 3, was to put to the party leaders a suggestion for a 'divisible' Coalition Ministry during the short period remaining before partition. If we allow Mr. Suhrawardy to continue in Bengal with the present Ministerial set-up, the position of the Punjab Governor is bound to be weakened, and he may not be able to withstand further pressure from the League for the formation of a communal Ministry in that Province.

5. In the N.W.F.P. it is clear that if as a result of the Referendum the Province opts to join Pakistan, the position of Dr. Khan Sahib and his Ministry will at once directly be in issue. But this Ministry has a comfortable majority in the Legislature. If therefore it insists on remaining in office on the strength of its Parliamentary majority, our decision in Bengal will more or less also decide our attitude in the N.W.F.P.

6. It is also possible that our decision in regard to Bengal may affect the set up at the Centre. A Coalition Government at the Centre consisting of both the major parties is a most valuable safeguard of the interests of the two Dominions after Partition. But, if the League continues in power in Bengal, we may not be in a strong position to deal with a Congress demand that the Centre should be run by the majority party on a Caretaker basis.

7. My conclusion therefore is that, both on merits and on a consideration of the wider implications involved, there remain in Bengal only two alternatives—either that the Chief Minister must reconstitute his Ministry in a manner acceptable to the minorities, or that the Governor should go into Section 93 as an assurance that during the crucial weeks that lie ahead there will be an impartial Caretaker in charge.
24. Demand for Dissolution of Bengal Ministry

Telegram from S.P. Mookerjee to Vallabhbhai Patel, 25 June 1947


Calcutta

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

**INSISTENT DEMAND IMMEDIATE DISSOLUTION BENGAL MINISTRY. ITS CONTINUANCE AFTER 20 JUNE HIGHLY ANOMALOUS AND IMPROPER. MINISTRY’S ACTIVITIES HIGHLY PREJUDICIAL INTEREST NEW PROVINCE. PLEASE INSIST SECTION 93 WITH REGIONAL ADVISERS PENDING FORMATION REGIONAL MINISTRIES.**

SYAMAPRASAD [Mookerjee]


Extracts from a report in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 26 June 1947

‘Bengal with its cultural, linguistic and economic unity will soon, I am sure, transcend the political division that has been imposed upon it by a foreign domination. The reunion of Bengal can come only when the two parts East and West will co-operate with each other in common effort,’ says Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President in a message received by Sj. Surendra Mohan Ghose, President, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, in connection with the Convention of Congress workers that meets at Mymensingh on July 26 to consider the problems that face Bengal.

Other messages wishing success to the Convention have been received from; among others, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Sja. Sarojini Naidu.

Following is the full text of Acharya Kripalani’s message:—‘I hope the Political Conference at Mymensingh will devise ways and means to put fresh vigour in the Congress organisation for the new tasks of construction that face Bengal to-day. Though Bengal stands divided to-day its inner unity, the unity of its culture, of its language, can never be disturbed by any artificial political arrangement. This unity is not confined to one community. It embraces both the communities the Hindus and the Muslims. Beyond this linguistic and cultural unity is the unity of economic interests.

‘In other countries common economic interests alone have united different peoples in a unity that has fashioned them into nations. Bengal with its cultural, linguistic and economic unity will soon, I am sure, transcend the political division that has been imposed upon it by a foreign domination. The reunion of Bengal can come only when the two parts East and West will co-operate with each other in common effort. Bengal will then take its rightful place among the provinces of India. Let, therefore, the Mymensingh Conference keep before the people a programme that makes for the unity, prosperity and greatness of Bengal.’...
‘LOOK AFTER MINORITIES’

Wishing success to the convention Sj. Satish Chandra Samanta says:

‘The British people are quitting India but due to the division of India and the provinces of Bengal and the Punjab we are not having the joy of freedom to the fullest extent. Now it is our foremost duty to look after the interest of the minority community. All round welfare of the country entirely depends on us.

‘I hope the Mymensingh Conference will give a lead in this direction so that we may attain success through our joint efforts. May the divided parts in Bengal and the Punjab be united and pave the way towards the unity of India—this is my last prayer.’

THE RESOLUTION

Sjta. Labanyaprova Datta, Vice President, B.P.C.C. will move the following resolution at the convention:

‘Whereas India has been for the purpose of administration divided into the Dominions.

‘And whereas on the same principles Bengal has also been divided into two parts—one to be joined with the Union of India and the other with Pakistan.

‘And whereas before the division of Bengal as aforesaid consent of the people of Bengal all over was obtained and secured for division of Bengal.

‘And whereas during the entire period when such consent as aforesaid of the people of Bengal all over was obtained and secured they had been under belief and impression and were given to understand tacitly and impliedly that the Indian National Congress and the Bengal Provincial Congress in particular composed and constituted as they are, would look to the interests of and will take proper steps for the benefit of the people of Bengal particularly those of the seceding portion of Bengal even after the partition of Bengal for which partition the people of Bengal all over voted under the aforesaid belief, impression and understanding.

‘And whereas at the time of obtaining and securing as aforesaid the consent of the people of Bengal all over for partition of Bengal there did not come from any quarter whether in Bengal or in other parts of India an inkling of any idea that immediately after or at any time after obtaining all Bengal’s consent as aforesaid for partition and securing actual partition the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee would be divided.

‘And whereas inspite of the fact that India has been divided into two dominions the Indian National Congress has not been divided by the High Command as that would be injudicious, improper and unfair.

‘And whereas the facts, circumstances and principles in consideration of which the Indian National Congress has not been divided inspite of division of India into two dominions should be precedent and guidance to the Bengal Provincial Congress for its deciding whether the Bengal Congress should be divided or not because of division of Bengal into two parts—one joining with the Union of India and the other with Pakistan.

‘And whereas the division of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee will eventually develop into interminable bitterness between West Bengal and East Bengal worse than the present day communal bitterness and will also in various other ways had so far-reaching evil consequences beyond the region of rectification and remedy affecting and jeopardising the interests of Bengal as a whole as well as the said two divided portions of Bengal.

‘Now therefore it is resolved that in the interests of Bengal and following the footsteps of the Indian National Congress as aforesaid and on the same principles on which the Indian
National Congress has not been divided as aforesaid the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee as well should not be divided and should remain intact.’...

26. Future Administration of Chittagong Hill Tracts
Telegram from J.F. Burrows to Louis Mountbatten, 26 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/153, Acc. No. 3467, NAI

IMPORTANT
CONFIDENTIAL

No. 175-C. My immediate preceding telegram. Chittagong Hill Tract. Constitutional position of the Hill Tracts was fully discussed in memorandum about their future administration forwarded with para. 4 of my General Letter F.J.B. 24 dated May 7th. It was recommended that Hill Tracts should continue to remain attached to the Province of Bengal and that their future administration should rest with the Provincial Government. Their only easy means of communication with outside world is through Chittagong District and all their commerce and administrative ties are with the District. It would be wholly impracticable for them to be administered as part of West Bengal Province.

Population figures in 1941 Census are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tribals</td>
<td>233,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>7,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>4,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>247,053</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When I saw the three Chiefs of the Tracts on May 3rd they strongly deprecated being placed under the Muslim Province of East Bengal and indicated preference for federation with Tripura and Assam States; (group corrupt) admitted that all their links were with Bengal. Great weight need not be attached to opinion of the Chiefs who are more concerned with personal aggrandisement than the welfare of the population.

3. Neither major political party has yet evinced any strong interest in tracts which as an excluded area have been outside the main stream of political life of the province. But League are likely to press for inclusion in East Bengal, if only because hydro-electrical project for electrification of Chittagong Area depends on the dam at Barkal on Karnaphuli River in the interior of tracts. Congress will naturally try to keep any non-Muslim Area out of Muslim hands.

4. Though reference to ‘Other factors’ in terms of reference of the Boundary Commission gives Commission considerable scope, I assume that the fate of Hill Tracts would be a matter for negotiation between the two Dominion Govts. or their Constituent Assemblies and not for decision of Boundary Commission.

5. Your Joint Secretary Christie was Deputy Commissioner Hill Tracts for two years and will be able to give you much local colour.
27. Hill Tracts ‘Temporarily’ Treated as Part of East Bengal

Telegram from J.F. Burrows to Louis Mountbatten, 26 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/153, Acc. No. 3467, NAI

IMPORTANT
SECRET

174-S. My telegram 161-S dated 18th June. Indian Dominion Bill. I have following supplementary comment. Under clause 3(3)(b) of the Bill Chittagong Hill Tracts will, until otherwise determined, fall within the new Province of West Bengal. For reasons indicated in my immediately succeeding telegram I regard this as entirely impracticable proposition since all of the Hill Tracts’ links are with Chittagong District. Pending negotiations between the two Dominions, I would strongly press for amendment of the Bill to allow Hill Tracts to be treated at all events temporarily as part of territories of East Bengal.

28. Demand for a Shadow Cabinet for West Bengal

Extract from minutes of the meeting of the Partition Council, 27 June 1947

SECRET

...His Excellency said that the Bengal Ministry was responsible to the Legislature and was, as such, entitled to continue. It was proposed, therefore, and Mr. Jinnah had agreed to this, that the Bengal Governor should be asked to invite the leaders of West Bengal to form a shadow Cabinet and be responsible for matters solely or predominantly concerning West Bengal. In the event of any disagreement, matters would come up before a full Cabinet meeting at which the Bengal Governor would be invited to preside. As regards the Centre, he had discussed this question with the Cabinet when he was in London and the law officers of the Crown had been consulted as to the legality of an arrangement similar to that now proposed for Bengal. It had been necessary for him to do this as, in agreeing to partition, the Congress had asked for an assurance that they would be allowed a free hand in dealing with the area which would fall to them. He for his part had given this assurance subject to its being found to be legally feasible, and provided the Congress agreed to give to Muslim League an equally free hand in their areas. The Congress were agreeable to this condition. When he realised the amount of work that had to be done to implement the decision to partition, he had hoped that it would be possible to carry on on the standstill basis. The Congress, however, had made an issue of the matter and wished immediately to be masters in their own house. He had considered the whole question very carefully and suggested for the consideration of the Council the following arrangement: firstly, that he should ask for the resignation of all existing members of the Cabinet; secondly, that he should invite the leaders of the two future governments to nominate an equal number of men for appointment as members. He would suggest a set of 9 members on each side, each of whom would hold about two portfolios. The Congress members would be in actual charge of the portfolios but would be responsible only for their own future area. The League members holding corresponding portfolios would see all papers and would have over-riding powers both to refer to the full Cabinet and, in the event of disagreement, to the Viceroy for his own decision on any proposal which solely or predominantly affected Pakistan and to which they objected. They would also have the right to initiate any action required for the Pakistan
area which must be acted upon by the member concerned. The standstill agreement would of course still continue to operate, since we had to concentrate all our energies to getting on with the partition work. The only real difference between this suggestion and Dr. Rajendra Prasad's was that in the case of the latter proposal both members would sign, whereas under the former only one would sign and that would be the Congress member who would be in actual charge.

Concluding his remarks, His Excellency said that he hoped that this suggestion would be acceptable to the two parties. So far as Muslims were concerned, they would be setting up a machinery which they would have to pack up and remove to Karachi after some 40 odd days. His suggestion would give them and their government a certain measure of continuity.

Mr. Jinnah remarked that this was now only a matter of 40 odd days. He would appeal to the Congress to rise to the occasion and not to put forward a proposal which may be humiliating to either side. We were already agreed that nothing should be done which was prejudicial to either side, and although he realised that there was distrust on both sides, which he hoped would disappear soon, he trusted that no attempt would be made to dishonour any agreement which we had entered into as honourable men. His suggestion therefore was 'Do not do anything which would make it appear that it was the Congress which would have the authority while the League would be merely a watch dog.' While this was his appeal he thought it necessary to emphasise that legally and constitutionally the proposal was wrong and untenable.

Sardar Patel said that he in his turn would appeal to Mr. Jinnah to look after his own area and to leave them to look after theirs. What was the good of going into the legal side of the question?

His Excellency reiterated his own preference for the continuance of the existing arrangement but in view of the assurance that he had given to the Congress and the legal opinion that had been given to him he could not accept Mr. Jinnah's view. As regards the legal issue, his advice was, and that was supported by what Mr. Jinnah had earlier quoted from Parliamentary debates, that he could appoint anybody, have as many portfolios as he considered desirable, and distribute the work among the members appointed as he considered suitable.

It was agreed that Mr. Jinnah should prepare a note on the legal aspect of the proposal and submit it to His Excellency the Viceroy by Sunday morning. His Excellency the Viceroy for his part would warn H.M.G. that a telegram on this question would be coming. He would despatch Mr. Jinnah's note as soon as it was received asking H.M.G. to let him have a reply in time for the matter to be finally settled at the Cabinet meeting on Wednesday.

After a brief discussion, it was further agreed that in so far as Bengal was concerned, the existing League Ministry would continue in office for the whole of Bengal but that the representative of the future government of West Bengal would be included in the Ministry and be given over-riding powers both to refer to the full Cabinet and, in the event of disagreement, to the Governor for his own decision on any proposal which solely or predominantly affected West Bengal and to which they objected; they would also have the right to initiate any action required for the West Bengal area which must be acted upon by the League Minister concerned.

In the case of the Punjab, which was under Section 93, it was agreed that the Governor would be invited to appoint two bodies of advisers one from each of the future parts of the Province to advise him on matters concerning their respective territories.
I. Political

1. The whole fortnight has been dominated by political considerations, centering round the question of the partition of the Province. All other matters have been of secondary interest though, once the decision to partition was taken, the need for a change in the personnel of the existing Ministry was strongly urged and became a very live issue.

2. Up to the 20th attention was mainly focused on the meeting of the members, other than the Europeans, of the Bengal Legislative Assembly to decide the question of partition, and some anxiety was felt in certain quarters lest, for one reason or another, the efforts of the Hindus to achieve partition would break down and Bengal would remain united. Such fears were, however, groundless and the decision to partition, which was generally regarded as inevitable, was arrived at quickly and without disturbance. In fact the calmness with which this vital matter was approached in the days previous to the 20th and the quietness and absence of fuss with which the decision was received must be considered as remarkable, having regard to past experience in Bengal and the extent to which the hopes of thousands of Muslims in the Calcutta area must have been shattered by the decision that was taken.

3. It is now possible to assess with more certainty the reactions to the Viceroy's Announcement of the 3rd, implemented in Bengal by the meeting of the 20th.

4. The vast majority of the inhabitants of Calcutta continue to regard the decision with relief or resignation. There are, however, signs of growing unease and disquiet in certain sections which augur badly for the future. The first reaction of certain sections of the Muslims was one of disappointment that they should have been permanently cut off from Eastern Pakistan and would be regarded in future as aliens in the city. This feeling has tended to harden during the period and there are undoubted indications, at present, that the rank and file of the Muslims feel that they have been let down by their leaders. This feeling has already found expression in a deteriorating communal situation.

The Hindus in Calcutta are unquestionably overjoyed at what they regard as a victory over the Muslim minority in the city, and in certain quarters this feeling has resulted in an attitude of truculence towards the Muslims. The immediate result, referred to in more detail in the Communal section, has been a deterioration in the political-communal situation and every indication that in the weeks to come the situation may still further deteriorate.

The indications, at the time of writing, are, in fact, that if the present Ministry remains in power during the intervening period while the Boundary Commission carries on its work the chances of serious disturbances taking place in the next few weeks are strong.

5. An inevitable development, following the decision to partition, has been the attempt by leading Hindu politicians to secure a change in the present Government of the Province. In this matter the Mahasabha has been prominent. A number of meetings have been held to present their point of view, notably on the 21st at the University Institute with Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee in the chair at which speeches were made and resolutions were passed demanding the immediate dissolution of the League Ministry and the formation of two regional Ministries. A further meeting was held on the 26th with Dr. Mookerjee again in the chair when an attempt...
was made to unite the Hindus for the protection of their lives and properties and the dissolution of the Ministry was demanded.

6. The importance of the work of the Boundary Commission to the two Provinces of Bengal has already been fully appreciated in Calcutta and considerable activity has already taken place to muster opinion and prepare the cases of the various parties for presentation before the Commission. From the Hindu side the district of 24-Parganas and the Scheduled Caste dominated areas of Bakarganj, Faridpur and Jessore are recognised as key areas and a number of meetings have been held welcoming the suggestion of Dr. Mookerjee for the formation of a Joint Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, Congress, Indian Association and the New Bengal Association to collect data for the Boundary Commission and proposing the formation of a Committee to implement the Hindu claims to these parts of the Province. A further meeting organised by the Gopalganj Nationalist Association expressed the unwillingness of the Hindu areas of Faridpur, Bakarganj and Jessore to remain in the Pakistan Government and demanded inclusion in the Hindusthan area. The Muslims, on the other hand, have not been idle and Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq and other prominent Muslim Leaguers are reported to be preparing a memorandum demanding the inclusion of Calcutta in Pakistan.

7. As in Calcutta so in the districts reactions to the partition of the Province have crystallised. In West Bengal the definite conclusion seems to be that the Hindu section of the public unquestionably welcomes the decision that has been taken: the more intelligent section regards the decision as a necessary evil while the rank and file are frankly jubilant. The Muslims, on the other hand, have received it with a feeling of resignation and also of disappointment. Some resentment in fact remains and it would be premature to conclude that the prospects of any trouble have ceased or that both communities, are yet prepared to live in amity with each other. The extent of the Muslim disappointment may be evidenced by the fact that League flags were taken down in many Muslim areas in Howrah after the decision to partition had been confirmed by the meeting of the Assembly members. In the Presidency Division the reactions of the two major communities are similar to those of West Bengal. All the districts of the Division will, to a greater or less extent, be the subject-matter of dispute between the two Provinces, and the political parties are busy preparing their respective cases for presentation to the Boundary Commission. The likelihood of disturbances taking place as a result of the boundary investigation is fully appreciated. In North Bengal, where jubilation among the leading sections of the Hindus is contrasted with disappointment among the politically-minded Muslims, there is likely to be similar disturbance in the districts of Dinajpur and Malda over the provincial boundary. In both these districts there are large Hindu-dominated areas and preparations are already being made for pressing for the inclusion of such areas in West Bengal. The Santhals of Malda, always a likely source of trouble, are reported to be uneasy over the inclusion of their area in Pakistan as they are generally more sympathetic to the Hindus than to the Muslims. Fortunately in the Dacca Division both communities, outwardly at least, remain satisfied while great activity exists over the presentation of the case of the Scheduled Caste areas in Faridpur and Bakarganj. In the former district both the Congress and the Mahasabha are making determined efforts to win back the Scheduled Caste Federation. In the Chittagong Division Muslims are now reported to be some what uneasy at the prospect of losing Calcutta but are not expected to make trouble in view of their disciplined dependence on their High Command. The Hindus live in the hope that the Provinces will eventually be reunited and at present are apprehensive of their future....
30. ‘Religion Is a Private Matter’

Extract from M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 15 July 1947

_CWMG_, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 343–4

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

...Some friends from Bengal have been to see me. They say that with the division of Bengal Hindus in East Bengal are haunted by the fear that the Hindus of West Bengal will forget them. If that happens I shall be pained. It will be very bad if Hindus thus forget Hindus and Muslims forget Muslims. Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians all are Indians. Religion is a private matter. If I wish to worship God, what power on earth can stop me from doing so? But if Mussalmans, Parsis, Hindus and Christians all consider themselves separate, what is left of India? I admit that is was hardly necessary to divide Bengal. I have lived among Bengali Muslims. I have walked with them in Noakhali. I found only love in their hearts. Why should Hindus have harboured fear of Muslims? The madness that had seized them would not have lasted for ever. In my view no harm will come to the Hindus of East Bengal. But many things have happened which we did not want to happen. Bengal has been partitioned. And India and Pakistan are separate countries. But we should proceed forward from what has happened and later put it right. Hindus and Muslims of East and West Bengal have always lived together and speak the same language. If the Hindus of East Bengal treat the Muslims there as friends, would the Muslims still want to kill them? When not a single Hindu considers Muslims his enemies, all will be friends.

They also asked me if the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee will be dissolved since it too has been divided into two. In my view the division of Bengal does not apply to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. It should continue in its present form. It is outside Government laws. If it divides itself, then I will say that West Bengal has broken faith. The structure of the Congress today is such that at the very bottom there are village Congress Committees, Mandal Congress Committees, District Congress Committees, then Provincial and at the very top the All-India Congress Committee. Thus there will be Congress Committees in East Bengal as well as in West Bengal. Both will then constitute the B.P.C.C. The Congress belongs to all, to Muslims, Christians, Parsis and others. It is not going to change its character in the days to come. The Bengali friends also wonder whether East Bengal has been so impoverished that it must have even its ministers from West Bengal. But they should welcome this. For this will make for cohesion between East and West Bengal. East Bengal no doubt has an overwhelming majority of Muslims. But why should we assume that all Muslims are bad? So many Muslims were slaughtered in Bihar and yet I can say that the millions of Hindus in Bihar are not bad. It is wrong to condemn the whole community for the fault of a few individuals. It only goes to show that we ourselves are not clean, that we are cowards, that we have not the courage of non-violence, for the courage of non-violence is the courage to die, never the courage to kill. There are vast armies in the world but considering the population of the world, they are only a handful. But we have got into the way of never being able to see straight. Whenever there is some incident somewhere we at once ask for the army to be sent. In Noakhali, Bihar, the Punjab and the N.W.F.P., wherever there were riots there was only one demand: that the army be sent for their protection. Why should people who ought to be brave want this?
31. Report from Bengal

Extract from the fortnightly report on Bengal for the first half of July 1947, 16 July 1947
Home Poll (I), File No. 18/7/47, NAI

I. Political

1. Interest during the fortnight centered round the appointment of the new Hindu Ministers in Bengal; the attempt that has been made to handle the extremely complex and difficult politico-communal situation in the capital and activities arising out of the partition of the Province.

2. The new Hindu Ministry was sworn in on July the 3rd. The appointment of the new Ministers, additional to the Muslim League Government, was hailed by Hindu circles as a first step in the elimination of Muslim League domination from West Bengal but considerable doubt has been expressed whether the newcomers would be able to do anything effective, having regard to the conditions under which they were appointed. Thus in West Bengal, for instance, though the appointments have been favourably received on the whole, marked enthusiasm has been lacking and the younger Hindu elements, mostly of a militant type, are disappointed at the Ministers accepting office under conditions which leave room for doubt whether they will be able to do anything to look after the interests of West Bengal during the interim period. This view is representative of the Hindu Mahasabha union who are undoubtedly disappointed at the non-inclusion of Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee in the West Bengal Cabinet.

3. Nevertheless considerable interest has been taken in the actions of individual Ministers—notably the Hon’ble Dr. P.C. Ghosh—to become acquainted with the tasks that confront them and with the declarations of policy which they have made. There is no doubt, in fact, that Hindu political opinion in Calcutta and West Bengal is extremely anxious that the West Bengal Ministry should assert itself and control the situation in the West of the Province as early as possible, even before August the 15th.

4. The problems connected with the partition of the Province have continued to dominate political activities and a number of meetings to organise public opinion in support of the various interests concerned continue to be held in anticipation of the detailed examination of the cases of the various political parties by the Boundary Commission which will start from July the 16th. The inhabitants of Calcutta whose homes lie near the boundary between the two Provinces have been particularly active in representing their case. At a recent meeting of residents of Faridpur and Barisal living in Calcutta speeches were made and resolutions passed urging the inclusion of the Hindu majority areas of Western Barisal and Faridpur in West Bengal and protesting against the suggestion that certain portions of the districts of Murshidabad, Nadia and Jessore should be secured to West Bengal at the cost of the Hindu majority areas of Faridpur and Barisal. Protests were also made at the appeasement policy of the Congress and the threat given that if the homeland of the Namasudras was sacrificed for the appeasement of the Muslims they would rise and resist to a man. At another conference on similar lines at the University Institute held on July the 5th, at which prominent Congress and Mahasabha members were present, the attitude to be adopted before the Boundary Commission was discussed and the Hindus were urged to rise to a man if their voice went unheeded by the Boundary Commission and to repeat the performance of unsettling a settled fact. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee pointed out that instances were mounting daily to show that the Hindus in East Bengal were hardly able to live there, maintaining their culture and social order. During the meeting a resolution was passed demanding that the eastern boundary
of West Bengal should be a natural one and should, in effect, give to West Bengal a corridor along the western boundary and the whole of the Presidency Division. Other aspects of the decision to partition have also been discussed during the period. Advantage was taken of the Partition Protest Day on the 5th to organise a number of meetings, at which the Mahasabha was particularly prominent, at which the audiences were urged to agitate and not to rest until the East Bengal Hindus as also the Nationalist Muslims had been declared nationals of the Indian Union and their rights and privileges had been safeguarded. It was also declared that it should be the first charge of the Bengalees to protect the lives and properties of the East Bengal Hindus and that they should also be pledged to bring East Bengal back to the fold of the Indian Union.

A similar protest against the division of the Punjab was staged by the Sikhs on July the 8th, when they observed a *hartal* and refused to ply their buses and taxis or open their shops. The Hindu owners of taxis and buses also suspended their services in sympathy.

5. The revolutionary parties are not yet clear as to where exactly they stand in the light of recent political changes but from present indications their attitude would appear to be one of hostility to the latest developments, combined with very considerable apprehension regarding the future of the Hindus of East Bengal. The Forward Bloc, in particular, take the view that a national calamity had overtaken India and consider that the partition of India would further aggravate communal tension and lead to civil strife: for this the responsibility must rest with the reactionary Congress leadership. A crusade to reunite India has been advocated.

The attempt of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose to start a new party has been a feature of the period: it is as yet too early to say how far he is likely to command any support—the present indications are that he will gain few adherents.

6. Reports from the Divisions indicate the political activity has followed very closely the lines of developments in Calcutta. In West Bengal protests and *hartals* were organised by the Mahasabha against the partition of India. The Muslims, on the other hand, appear to have accepted their fate with resignation and at a large meeting of some 3,000 Muslims and Sikhs at Kharagpur the President advised the communities to live in peace with the Hindus, the partition of Bengal being a settled fact. In Howrah, too, the Muslim League is reported to have been devoting much of its attention to keeping the small scattered Muslim population from retaliating in the face of considerable provocation. In North Bengal the main political parties have been concentrating their attention on the question of partition and directing their activities to the collection of material to ensure the inclusion of the largest possible area within the boundaries of their own Province.

7. Growing apprehension regarding their future in East Bengal has been noticed among the Hindus both in North Bengal as well as in the Division of Dacca where both from Mymensingh and Faridpur come reports of apprehension for the future. This apprehension is reflected in the attitude of Government officers of all grades who have been asked to choose whether they will serve in East or West Bengal. Present indications are that the Hindus will choose West Bengal almost to a man, the Muslims being equally emphatic for East Bengal.

8. In Gopalganj sub-division of the Faridpur district efforts to secure the support of the Scheduled Castes forced the authorities to prohibit all meetings under section 144....
32. Hill Tracts Demand Exclusion from Pakistan
Letter from Mong Raja Nanoomah to Vallabhbhai Patel, 22 July 1947

New Delhi

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the resolution passed at a grand meeting of the hill people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts demanding entire exclusion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts from the Pakistan zone.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Mong Raja

Enclosure

21 July 1947

A meeting of the hill people, all the leading headmen, Khijas, Karbaris was held today at Manikcheri, Chittagong Hill tracts, presided over by Mong Raja Nanoomah, Lady Chief, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The following resolutions have unanimously been passed today:

Resolved that the hill people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts demand entire exclusion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts from the Pakistan zone.

Resolved further that copies of this resolution be sent to His Excellency the Viceroy, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel, Acharya Kripalani, Jaipal Singh, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookherjee, Mr. Atul Chandra Gupta.

Mong Raja
President

33. Congressmen Must Come Together for India’s Unity
Vallabhbhai Patel’s message to Convention of Bengal Congressmen, 23 July 1947
SPC, Vol. V, p. 62

I understand that a convention of Bengal Congressman is meeting at Mymensingh. Although the country is going to achieve freedom from foreign domination from 15 August, the internal problems facing it are of unusual complexity and have become more difficult. It is on Congressmen that the responsibility lies for tackling them with courage, foresight and determination. India, more particularly Bengal, is passing through a period of crisis. Communal struggle started from Bengal and has enveloped the whole of India. The beginning of the solution of that problem will have to be made in Bengal, and I have every hope that if Bengal Congressmen act with wisdom, courage and unity, Bengal will once again be united sooner than most people expect. It will thus pave the way once again for India’s unity. In the meantime, the duty of every Congressman is to try to solidify and not disrupt the country’s forces.

New Delhi

Vallabhbhai Patel
34. Boundary Commission to Decide the Issue of Hill Tracts
   Letter from Louis Mountbatten to Jawaharlal Nehru, 23 July 1947
   SPC, Vol. IV, p. 174

Dear Mr. Nehru,

Please refer to your letter dated 19 July about the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

I agree with you that in the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the Chittagong Hill Tracts have been included as part of India. This is in accordance with the principles of the Statement of 3 June, since the Chittagong Hill Tracts form a predominantly non-Muslim area.

I am sure, however, that you will agree with me that, now that the Boundary Commission has been set up, we must leave it to the Commission to determine whether any issue that might be raised before it does or does not fall within its terms of reference.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

35. Demand for Representation of Bengal in the Union Cabinet
   Letter from Members of the Constituent Assembly from West Bengal to Rajendra Prasad, 23 July 1947
   R.P. Papers, File No. 1-B/47, NAI

New Delhi

Dear Sir,

We, the members of the Constituent Assembly from West Bengal, submit the following for your consideration:

The Province of Bengal, on partition, has been made into two provinces of which West Bengal forms part of the Indian Union. This division has brought changes of such far-reaching character in all the fields of administration that the new province would not be able effectively to function without the close and active co-operation with the Dominion Government at the Centre. Many new problems confront the new cabinet of West Bengal which call for immediate and satisfactory solution. Apart from the question of day to day administration, there is also the question of development projects and the problem of food which demand special consideration for which purpose particular attention of the Central Government is essential.

It will be realised that the Eastern boundary of West Bengal will constitute the frontier of the Indian Union and the contiguity of a sovereign independent state with different political ideas and methods is sure to add fresh complications to the already difficult and delicate situation in the newly formed province.

There are also questions of financial allocations from the Centre without which the pressing problems of the province can in no way be effectively tackled.

It is the common desire of us all that the Government at the Centre should be made as strong as possible. At the same time it is necessary to create a psychological change in the mental attitude of the people of West Bengal that its governance must henceforth be in full concord with the policy pursued by the Government at the Centre to ensure which it is essential that West Bengal should be accorded representation on the Dominion Cabinet to be constituted in the immediate future.
From these considerations we maintain that we would be failing in our duty if we do not impress on you the desirability of choosing a Minister of the Dominion Government from West Bengal, who is fully alive to her needs and problems and who also commands the respect and confidence of all. In this connection we suggest for your consideration the names of Dr. B.C. Roy and Dr. Syamprasad Mookerjee.

Yours truly
Sd/- H.C. Mookerjee
Sd/- Suresh Chandra Majumdar
Sd/- Prafulla Chandra Sen
Sd/- Basanta Kumar Das
Sd/- Renuka Ray
Sd/- Satish Chandra Samanta
Sd/- Lakshmi Kanta Maitra
Sd/- Upendranath Barman
Sd/- D.P. Gurung
(one signature illegible)
Sd/- Arun Chandra Guha
Sd/- D.P. Khaitan

36. Scheme of Administration in Hill Tracts
Letter from the Chairman of Advisory Committee on Minorities, Fundamental Rights, Tribal and Excluded Areas, Constituent Assembly, to the Chairman of Bengal Boundary Commission, 25 July 1947
IOR, L/P&J/10/117, Acc. No. 3624, NAI

I have the honour to address you on behalf of the Advisory Committee set up in pursuance of paragraph 20 of the State Paper of the 16th May 1946 by the Constituent Assembly of India. A Sub-Committee was set up by the Advisory Committee to report on a scheme of administration for the Excluded Areas. This Sub-Committee visited the Chittagong Hill Tracts, which is an Excluded Area, in April 1947 and took the evidence of local officials, non-officials and associations who were interested in the future administration of the area. The Sub-Committee have recently considered the future administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and although they are not in a position to send their complete report yet, they have pointed out that the people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts were unanimously against the Tracts forming a part of Bengal (as it then was) and that in view of the predominantly non-Muslim character of its population the area should in no circumstances be included in East Bengal. They have also pointed out that the Tracts adjoin and form part of the Lushai Hills of Assam and that communications exist between them.

I have the honour to bring the views of the Sub-Committee on behalf of the Advisory Committee to your notice and to say that I am fully in agreement with them. A copy of the evidence recorded by the Sub-Committee is enclosed herewith.¹

¹ Not reproduced here.
I. Political

1. The events of the fortnight have been dominated by the immediate prospect of the announcement of the Boundary Commission’s award, the partition of the Province, and the assumption of Dominion Status.

2. As the deadline approaches it is obvious that there is very considerable apprehension indeed in all circles regarding the manner in which the Boundary Commission’s award will be accepted and the partition will be effected. This apprehension appears to be justified for the present attitude of the two major communities towards each other, is one of suspicion and mistrust and very little indeed would be sufficient to start a major disturbance.

3. The activities of the various political parties emphasise this general conclusion. As is only to be expected the Mahasabha have been particularly prominent and have lost no opportunity to emphasise the necessity for the West Bengal wing of the Cabinet to assume full power immediately and to set about a radical alteration of the present regime. In their efforts to consolidate their position in Hindu eyes they have given expression to certain views which are unlikely to make for peace and amity in the weeks to come. Thus at a meeting attended by such Mahasabha leaders as Ashutosh Lahiri and Debendra Nath Mukherji, held towards the end of the last period, the report of which has now been received, resolutions were passed urging the West Bengal Ministry to treat the Muslim minority in West Bengal in the same manner as the Hindus in East Bengal if the latter are oppressed. At a further meeting attended by 500 persons on 19th July and presided over by Ashutosh Lahiri a clear indication was given of the refusal of the Mahasabha to accept for all time the partition of the Province and of their determination to do what they can to recover East Bengal for India. The Hindus of Pakistan were urged to stick to their homes and the Hindus of West Bengal were urged to stand by their brethren in East Bengal and to help them in their fight for reunion by destroying Pakistan. One speaker went so far as to warn the audience that if Pakistan was not nipped in the bud it would destroy the entire Indian Union and exhorted the audience to lay down their lives to bring Pakistan back to the Union. A further speaker observed that if a single Hindu was molested in East Bengal the 30 crores of Hindus of the Indian Union would stand behind him for his protection.

In pursuance of their policy of watching over the interests of the East Bengal Hindus action has already been initiated by the Mahasabha to organise minority committees in that area to protect the rights of the Hindus and such committees have been instructed to send to the Mahasabha office detailed reports of Muslim atrocities, if any.

4. The necessity for ensuring that the interests of the Hindus in East Bengal are adequately considered and protected was also the main theme of the Congress Convention at Mymensingh towards the end of the period, a convention which was preceded by a number of meetings held in Calcutta notably the one organised by the Bengal Relief Organisation at which 1,000 persons were present on 18th July. At that meeting resolutions were passed urging the Constituent Assembly to take up immediately the question of the safety of the East Bengal Hindus and condemned any idea of dividing the Bengal Congress between East and West Bengal. A warning was also given to the League Government that any oppression of the Hindus would be followed by vengeance and the ousting of Muslims both from India as well as from Pakistan.
5. From information at present available it does not appear that the attempt of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose to form a new party has been in any way successful. Despite this rebuff Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose has apparently decided to resume his political activities—his long-term policy being to build up a mass, leftist, front against the Congress. Present indications point to the fact that in Bengal he will exploit every issue to embarrass the present West Bengal Cabinet. His first action has been to preside, on the 27th of July, at the University Institute, at a meeting called by the Civil Liberties Committee which marked the beginning of an agitation for the release of the I.N.A., R.I.N. and all other political prisoners. In order to avoid constitutional difficulties and the risk of being entangled in disciplinary action Mr. Bose has resigned his membership of the Congress.

6. The Muslim League in Calcutta were busy during the first-half of the period in presenting their case for the inclusion of the city in East Bengal before the Boundary Commission. It seems clear that certain sections of those Muslims who have lived in Calcutta for years, prominent among whom is Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq, have convinced themselves that they have a chance of securing Calcutta for Pakistan. The possibility of disturbances occurring should these sections find themselves disappointed is obvious and a constant source of disquiet. The situation in Muslim circles has been further complicated by the decision of many Muslim Police officers to serve in East Bengal—a decision which has created a certain amount of insecurity and by the alleged decision of the West Bengal Ministry not to maintain the Islamia College in its present form in the event of Calcutta falling in the share of West Bengal—which has caused resentment.

7. In West Bengal interest in the activities of the West Bengal wing of the Ministry continues. Though much is expected of them the public are generally conscious of the magnitude of the problems facing them. Receptions given by District Thana Congress Committees, etc., to Hon’ble Ministers who have gone on tour have been heartening and attendances have been considerable.

8. As in Calcutta the proceedings of the Boundary Commission have been watched with intense anxiety and the possibility of trouble occurring on the boundary claimed by both States cannot be ignored: special precautions are being taken to ensure that any disturbance is firmly handled. Rangpur, Bogra and Malda in particular apprehend serious communal trouble and prohibitory orders against the holding of public meetings, demonstrations, etc., have been issued.

9. Symptomatic of the present tension and unease are the reports from North Bengal that non-Muslim businessmen are making arrangements for the transfer of their businesses to West Bengal or to other parts of the Indian Union while the transfer of bank accounts and the withdrawal of savings bank deposits are reported to be taking place on an extensive scale. From Tippera district, too, comes the report that many Hindus are transferring their deposits as they feel that with the establishment of Pakistan they will be treated as a subject race and will be submitted to indignities and acts of oppression. The District Magistrate is attempting to counter this feeling by circulating copies of Mr. Jinnah’s latest assurances regarding the treatment of non-Muslims and by organising lecture tours in which the need for protecting the rights and privileges of the minority community is being stressed.

10. The announcement of the further ad interim increase in pay has been received with satisfaction by the Bengal Police. There is, at the same time, considerable anxiety among all ranks regarding their future. It is felt that there is no guarantee that the present level of pay will be maintained and that, in East Bengal in particular, the rates will be reduced before very
long. Such anxiety has resulted in marked deterioration in morale and in the quality of work performed. All ranks, from Superintendents of Police downward, are thinking more of their own future than the work in hand.

Communalism is infecting all ranks as the date for the partition of Bengal and the transference of power approaches. Communal leanings are particularly apparent in the lower ranks—one symptom being a disinclination on the part of officers to institute vigorous searches in the houses of persons of their own community....

38. ‘Mr. Mookerjee Joins Dominion Cabinet’

_Hindustan Standard_, 3 August 1947

New Delhi, Aug. 2—Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee has been offered a seat in the first Indian Dominion Cabinet and he has accepted the same, according to lobby reports here.

It is gathered that Sj. C. Rajagopalachari is going to Bengal as its Governor after August 14. The Congress President, Acharya Kripalani is not likely to accept the post of Governor of any province.

39. Extend Support to Rajaji

_Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Sarat Bose, 7 August 1947_

SPC, Vol. V, pp. 86–7

My dear Sarat,

We were all pained to read your statement on Rajaji's appointment. It seemed to us rather bad taste that you should have referred in these terms to one who was a colleague of yours in the Cabinet for two months. No doubt things have happened in the past which have been distasteful to you, but when you shared the Government with him, they should have been forgotten. I assumed that they had been forgotten and that your relations were nothing but cordial. To refer to his past in this manner when it should have been buried—and more so, in public—is, in my judgment, most unfortunate. Rajaji's appointment as Governor was made with the full consent of Prafulla Babu. We ourselves were reluctant to part with him, but we felt that our loss would be Bengal's gain. I do hope you will extend to Rajaji every co-operation and assistance that he will need in the discharge of his duties and will now at least not harp upon old bickerings.

I also hope that you will use your influence to discourage any black flag demonstration, if the report is true that they are being contemplated. The issues before the country are too big to be trifled with. The problems before Bengal are too gigantic to be further accentuated by such old memories. I hope, therefore, that you will see that there is no untoward event and that all of you settle down in Bengal with your new responsibilities and problems without a jarring note.

I am sending herewith some information which has come to me about Subhas. I am writing to Nathalal, who is in Belgium, to make enquiries and to assist the family if the information given is correct.

Yours sincerely,

Vallabhbhai Patel
Replying to the welcome accorded to him on behalf of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce Mr. K. Nazimuddin, the prospective premier of East Bengal Government said that his Government would work in such a manner that they would have the goodwill and support of all sections of the people. It was essential, further he said, for a State which was in the process of its birth to have such co-operation and it could not afford to have unnecessary opposition. The commercial community, therefore, he said, could rely on him when he would state that no injustice would be done to them and that they would certainly get justice and fairplay.

Mr. D.N. Sen, president of the Chamber welcomed Mr. Nazimuddin and referred to anxious enquiries that were being made by members of the business community in East Bengal about the policy which might be followed there under the new regime. There was a general apprehension among members of the business community said Mr. Sen that in administering the various control measures the new Government might deprive the legitimate and normal trade channel of its business and give preferential treatment to persons who had not been in the trade before.

Dr. S. B. Dutt said that there was confusion and complication in the minds of many about the future of trade in the two areas. He was connected with banking and could say that anxious enquiries were being made about the future monetary and other transactions. Some people had become panicky, without any reason, about the possibility of freezing of funds there. He would therefore welcome an authoritative pronouncement on the subject from Mr. Nazimuddin.

UNITY OF ECONOMIC LIFE

Dr. Nalinakshya Sanyal emphasized the essential unity of the economic life of East and West Bengal and the existence of well-marked transport terminals like Khulna, Gualando, Shirajgunj, Santahar etc. for transhipment of traffic which should not be lightly interfered with. In regard to custom it was urged that territorial boundaries of the regions need not be co-extensive with the customs boundaries the determination of which depended on factors economic and administrative for fixing proper customs zones. The two States should come to an early agreement to maintain customs union as has been the practice in many European countries. As a practical measure of giving effect to the assurances for maintaining harmony in trade and commerce he suggested the setting up of a suitable co-ordination council composed of experts and commercial men.

Mr. N.C. Ghosh drew the attention of Mr. Nazimuddin to the price of raw jute which was going down on account of lack of buyers in East Bengal. They, said he, were apprehensive that the existing facilities and measures of security so long prevailed might not be operative in future. In the circumstances Mr. Ghosh urged Mr. Nazimuddin to take all measures and give an assurance to those businessmen so that agriculturists might not be deprived of their reasonable price of raw jute on account of paucity of traders.

Dr. S.C. Roy and Mr. Bimal C. Ghosh also drew the attention of Mr. Nazimuddin to the difficulties that commercial men were experiencing in East Bengal and urged their removal early.
NAZIMUDDIN'S REPLY

Mr. Nazimuddin said that he could not improve upon the assurance given by Mr. Jinnah which had been referred to by Dr. Sanyal. That assurance was categorical, definite and was in terms which they would all like. On one point he could however dilate and that was that so far as the nationals of East Bengal were concerned there would be no discrimination.

He could not reply to some specific points raised there as the subjects were of the Centre and it was therefore not within his powers to make any pronouncement on them. There had been some references about the future of banking trade in East Bengal. He could not understand that if Netherlands Banks could operate in India, Indian Banks would not be able to operate in East Bengal. The panic about freezing was not justified because a Government had to maintain its reputation and for international recognition and therefore could hardly afford to interfere with the intricate machinery of such an institution. As far as facilities were concerned he would try his best to maintain as they had been extending them in the past without any discrimination.

The most important thing was about control and issuing of licenses and in this respect he could give them the necessary assurance subject to one restriction and that was that they in East Bengal were going to eradicate corruption and if in following that general policy the Government had to take certain actions it was expected that the commercial community would give the Government their support. This was the one thing which was not peculiar to Bengal but to the whole of India. They might therefore introduce methods by which they would seek to eradicate corruption and black-marketing specially that aspect of the black-marketing which crushed the poorer section of the people. If in carrying out this policy his Government adopted certain measures he had hopes that he would get the support and co-operation of the business community.

Apart from that the Government would give all possible help to the commercial community and bear in minds the claims of the men in business. They did not want to take away rights from men who had been in legitimate business and did not want unduly to interfere in the affairs of business and industries.

Among those present at the meeting were Mr. S.M. Bose, Dr. S.B. Dutt, Mr. I.B. Sen, Mr. S.C. Roy, Mr. S.M. Bhattacharyya, Mr. B.T. Ghattach, Mr. G. Basu, Mr. Debes C. Ghose, Mr. S.N. Dutt, Dr. N. Sanyal, Mr. P. Mukherjee, Mr. B.K. Dutt, Mr. B.C. Ghose, Mr. N.C. Ghosh, Mr. B. Maitra, Mr. C.L. Bajoria, Mr. J.K. Mitter, Mr. S.C. Chaudri, Mr. D.P. Goenka, Mr. B.N. Banerjee and Mr. Dhirendra Nath Bose.

41. Tribal Areas in Favour of Indian Union

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Louis Mountbatten, 13 August 1947

SPC, Vol. IV, pp. 174–5

New Delhi

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

A deputation of the Chittagong Hill Tribes saw me this morning and expressed to me their grave apprehension that their area was going to be included in East Bengal under the Boundary Commission award. I am unaware of the source of their information, but they seemed to be well convinced that this was going to happen. I have told them that the proposition was so monstrous that if it should happen they would be justified in resisting to the utmost of their power and count on our maximum support in such resistance.
2. Personally, I feel it is inconceivable that such a blatant and patent breach of terms of reference should be perpetrated by the Chairman of the Boundary Commission. We have all along felt that the future of this area was not at all in doubt. No fair reading of the terms of reference or appreciation of the factual position could make a 97 per cent non-Muslim area a part of the award relating to the boundary of East Bengal. Such a decision would also jeopardise the position of the adjoining Tripura State which is a Hindu State with predominantly Hindu population, which has acceded to the Indian Dominion and has joined the Union Constituent Assembly.

3. I, therefore, feel bound to draw your attention to the serious consequences which would follow such a manifestly unjust award. There is no doubt from the report of the Tribal Areas Committee who collected unimpeachable evidence on the spot and whose views I represented to the Chairman of the Commission in a letter (copy enclosed) which I sent to him as Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly, that the entire population of this area is in favour of remaining in the Indian Union.

4. Any award against the weight of local opinion and of the terms of reference, or without any referendum to ascertain the will of the people concerned must, therefore, be construed a collusive or partisan award and will have, therefore, to be repudiated by us. I make this statement with a full sense of responsibility as one who was party to the setting up of the Commission. But you cannot clearly expect us to submit to a proceeding which would be in violation of the basic conception underlying the Commission's terms of reference.

5. I must also point out that public reaction would wholly and overwhelmingly support us in such repudiation. Already there is considerable doubt whether they would get an impartial award under the novel and strange procedure adopted by the Chairman of not even hearing the arguments. Many persons have come and complained to me that he has rendered himself liable, by this means, to being influenced by circles in your secretariat whose antipathies to India and sympathies with the League are well known. The selection, as secretary of the Commission, of one of the European officers of the Punjab, who are generally associated in public mind with pro-League sympathies, has not mended matters. I have generally adopted an indifferent attitude to these complaints, but if the award confirms the worst fears entertained by the public, it is impossible for me to predict the volume of bitterness and rancour which would be let loose and I am certain that this will create a situation which both you and I may have to regret.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

42. Refusal to Support Rajaji's Appointment
Letter from Sarat Bose to Vallabhbhai Patel, 14 August 1947
SPC, Vol. V, pp. 87-8

1 Woodburn Park
Calcutta

My dear Sardar,

Your letter of the 7 instant with enclosure was to hand yesterday. I do not think I was guilty of bad taste. In condemning Rajaji's appointment as Governor of West Bengal I criticised his
public activities and I did so out of a sense of public duty. The fact that we were colleagues in the Congress Working Committee and in the Cabinet cannot and ought not to stand in the way of my expressing my opinion on a most important issue. Public life would come to an end if we allowed personal relations to interfere with our public duty. In condemning Rajaji’s appointment I was also voicing the general opinion in West Bengal. I have heard that Prafulla Babu consented to Rajaji’s appointment but that shows that he was entirely out of touch with public opinion on this side. Bengal has nothing to gain and everything to lose by Rajaji’s appointment. His appointment is an outrage upon Bengal’s sentiments and to expect Bengal to co-operate with him is expecting too much. I wrote a long letter to Jawaharlal on the 9th instant and he will probably show my letter to you. It is unnecessary, therefore, to say more in this letter.

I have read the enclosure to your letter very carefully. I cannot accept the report contained therein as true. I wish you had referred the matter to me before writing to Nathalal. I do not think Nathalal has the training necessary to make enquiries of this nature and he may do more harm than good. After all, if Subhas left a family (which I do not believe) it is up to me and not to Nathalal to assist the family.

Thanks. I am somewhat better now. I trust you are keeping well.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Sarat Chandra Bose

43. Boundary Commission’s Award on Hill Tracts
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Vallabhbhai Patel, 15 August 1947
SPC, Vol. IV, pp. 177–8

New Delhi

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I asked B.N. Rau to give me a note in regard to the Chittagong Hill Tracts. He has given me the enclosed note.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal

ENCLOSURE

THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS AND THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION’S AWARD

The Boundary Commission’s award has not yet been published; but it is said that the Commission has decided to allocate the above Tracts to East Bengal.

The following facts are relevant:

(a) These tracts cover an area of about 5,000 sq. miles, with a population (according to the Census of 1941) of about 2,47,000, only 7,300 being Muslims. That is to say, about 97 per cent of the population is non-Muslim.

(b) According to the provisional boundaries mentioned in the Indian Independence Act, these tracts fall in West Bengal and therefore in the Dominion of India.
(c) These tracts are an ‘Excluded Area’ under the Act of 1935 and its inhabitants had therefore no representation in the Bengal Legislature and no opportunity of expressing their views on any of the issues connected with the partition of Bengal.

Therefore, every consideration of natural justice required that before an overwhelmingly non-Muslim area of this character, which had been provisionally included in West Bengal, was finally allocated to East Bengal, its inhabitants should have been fully heard by the deciding authority.

‘All persons exercising judicial or quasi-judicial functions must observe the following rules:
(1) if the tribunal consists of several members, they must sit and deliberate together and not separately; (2)....; (3) each party must be given an opportunity of stating his case. If these rules of natural justice are not observed, the decision will be voidable, not absolutely void.” [Halsbury, Vol. 26, pp. 285-7]

Apparently in the present instance, the Boundary Commission has made an award in contravention of the above principles. If so, the question arises what is the remedy now available. Pakistan will claim these tracts by virtue of the award and of the provisions of S.3 of the Indian Independence Act. India will claim, on the other hand, that the Award is vitiated by breach of the principles of natural justice. There will thus be a dispute between the Dominions on a ‘justiciable’ issue. Such a dispute falls to be decided in accordance with the procedure prescribed by the Imperial Conference 1930 for this purpose. That is to say, by an ad hoc arbitral tribunal of five members.

Each part selects two members, one from among States of the Commonwealth that are not parties to the dispute and the other with complete freedom of choice; these four members then choose the Chairman. Assessors may be employed if the parties desire and the expenses are to be equally shared, but each party has to bear the expenses of presenting its case. [Halsbury, Vol. XI, p. 30]

I have discussed the case with Sir Dhiren Mitra and this note represents his views also.

B.N. Rau

44. Bengali Hindus in the UK Support Partition Demand

Letter from Monoranjan Biswas to S.P. Mookherjee, undated

S.P. Mookerjee Papers, Subject File No. 141, NMML

Dear Sir,

We, the undersigned as Convenor and members of the Committee formed in connection with Bengal partition movement in the United Kingdom, have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the report and resolution on Bengal partition. We would like to bring to your notice the fact that this movement is gaining strength every day among the Bengali Hindus here. We have already in our possession the signatures of more than one hundred and fifty Bengali Hindus in the U.K. supporting the resolution. Letters supporting this movement are being received almost every day from different parts of the U.K. We hope that our demand for the partition of Bengal will receive due consideration in shaping the future of India.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/

Monoranjan Biswas,
Convenor
In view of the reactionary and communal policy pursued by the Muslim League supported by Imperialism, Pakistan, which was nothing but a dream of Mr. Jinnah, has become almost a reality to every Muslim Leaguer. The Bengali Hindus, who have always stood and stand for a united India, are observing with great concern that Muslim League is going to vivisect India and recent statements of the Indian leaders and of the Indian Press confirm this apprehension. Under these circumstances, we, the Bengali Hindus residing in the United Kingdom, reviewed the problem and are warning the Muslim League and their instigators that we will never tolerate the idea of separation, in any form, from the All-India Union. We have tasted and are tasting enough of the Muslim League rule and can well envisage the horror of a full fledged Pakistan. Our aim is to include as large number of people as it is possible to the All-India Union. We, therefore, solemnly state in the event of Pakistan:

'We the Bengali Hindus, residing in the United Kingdom, have observed with great despair the communal policy followed by the present Muslim League Government in Bengal and have resolved that to preserve our glorious culture of Bengal, to keep up the National Institutions of Bengal, we have no other way than to obtain a separate portion of our Motherland, allotted to us Hindus, so as to build up a state based on the principle of Nationalism, joint electorate, adult franchise, full freedom of speech and press; and thereby to enable us to remain in an All-Indian Union.'

Further resolved that copy of this Resolution be sent to:

1) Mahatma Gandhi
2) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
3) Acharya J.B. Kripalani
4) Sj. Syamaprasad Mukerjee
5) Babu Rajendra Prasad
6) Mr. C. Attlee
7) The Viceroy of India
8) The Secretary of State for India and Burma
9) The Governor of Bengal
10) The Premier of Bengal
11) The Amrita Bazar Patrika
12) The Ananda Bazar Patrika
13) The Hindustan Standard
14) The Jugantar
15) The Statesman
16) The Basumati
17) The Nationalist
18) The Bharat
19) The Hindustan Times
20) Search Light
21) The Tribune
22) The Hindu
23) The Bombay Chronicle
24) United Press
25) The National Herald
Chapter 33. Referendum in NWFP and Sylhet

A. NWFP

1. Premier Protests against Jinnah’s Speech

   Letter from Dr. Khan Sahib to Louis Mountbatten, 4 June 1947

   IOR, R/3/1/150, Acc. No. 3465, NAI

   17 York Road,
   New Delhi

   Dear Lord Mountbatten,

   I feel I must write to you to draw your attention to certain remarks which Mr. M.A. Jinnah
   made last evening in the course of his broadcast. He referred to the proposed referendum in
   the NWFP and appealed to the people of the Frontier to vote in a certain way, i.e., support
   the Muslim League candidates. On an occasion like this, it seems to me highly improper for
   Mr. Jinnah to indulge in an electioneering speech. Further he has referred to the fight for civil
   liberties in the Frontier. I do not know what Mr. Jinnah’s conception of civil liberties is. It is
   evidently very different from the normal conception. The Muslim League movement started
   very definitely on a communal basis and was responsible for a large number of brutal murders
   in Hazara district. Later there was continuing violence and occasionally arson. In D.I.K. and
   Tonk there was murder and arson on a large scale. There was destruction of public records.
   Even within the jails there were riots and mutinies resulting in death and injury.

   2. The amount of civil liberty allowed to the Muslim League demonstrators for a considerable
   period was so great that most people criticised us for our lenient treatment of a movement
   which was not only violent but often indecent. Ultimately we had to limit these liberties for
   demonstrators and others in prison. Even so I think our record would compare very favourably
   with other Provinces, in spite of the grave situation in the NWFP.

   3. I am writing to you to record my protest against the misuse of the radio by Mr. Jinnah
   on a very special occasion.

   Yours sincerely,
   Khan Sahib
2. Nehru Demands Removal of NWFP Governor
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 4 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/170, Acc. No. 3824, NAI

SECRET AND PERSONAL

17 YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI,

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd June about the referendum in the N.W.F.P. I have informed Dr. Khan Sahib of what you have written.

2. Dr. Khan Sahib’s immediate question was about the change in Governors in the N.W.F.P. This matter has been before you for some time now. There has been progressive deterioration in the relations between the Provincial Government and the Governor and it is hardly possible to carry on the administration with this continuous conflict going on. You know how strongly the Provincial Ministry feel about this.

3. Quite independently of that Ministry and for reasons connected with the External Affairs Department, I have been suggesting a change of Governors even before you assumed charge of the Viceroyalty. My experience during the last nine months has convinced me of this and I feel that any delay in this is harmful. Indeed this applies to some other senior officers also serving in the Tribal Areas. I have had personal experience of them both during my visit to the Frontier and later, and I feel that they are totally unsuited for their present positions.

4. For the present, however, I should like to draw your particular attention to the case of the Governor. You will find, if you have the opportunity to do so, that there is very widespread feeling in this matter quite apart from any party or group. This exists in many circles which have come in contact with the present Governor of the N.W.F.P. during the past years in Delhi and elsewhere.

The part that Sir Olaf Caroe played as Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar in 1930 when there was large-scale shooting and killing of peaceful demonstrators still evokes bitter memories.

5. I would beg of you, therefore, to give urgent consideration to this matter.

Yours sincerely,

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

3. NWFP Would Never Join Pakistan
Record of an interview between Louis Mountbatten and Dr. Khan Sahib, 5 June 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 193, NMML

SECRET
(Note:—Lt. Colonel Erskine Crum was in attendance during the latter half of this interview and dictated the record.)

I showed Dr Khan Sahib the telegram which had arrived from Sir Olaf Caroe that afternoon, saying that he had seen two members of the N.W.F.P. Government who said that they refused to accept paragraph 4 of the Announcement and would not in any circumstances co-operate in the referendum unless a third choice for an independent Pathanistan was included. I explained to Dr Khan Sahib that this third choice had been excluded for all Provinces on the express request of Congress; and that I had asked Pandit Nehru how he suggested that a Province of three million people could stand out alone with a reasonable chance of success. I told him that
Pandit Nehru had agreed that it could not and would have to join one or other of the new States after a while. I had asked Pandit Nehru why it should not do so now. He had seen my point.

Dr Khan Sahib said that I should take no notice of this telegram from the Governor. He said that he would go straight back to the N.W.F.P. and let me know what the true situation was. He seemed to grasp the reasons for my refusing to change paragraph 4 but he stated categorically that the N.W.F.P. would never join Pakistan. He said that he did not understand how Pakistan was going to be run. I pointed out to him that the fact that the Western Punjab would be between the N.W.F.P. and the rest of Hindustan in no way made it impossible for the N.W.F.P. to join Hindustan. A similar situation prevailed as between Western and Eastern Pakistan.

He told me that he considered it absolutely necessary that Sir Olaf Caroe should be replaced before the referendum took place. He felt that the appointment of a new Governor would make an immense difference to the way the referendum was carried out.

I recalled that Dr Khan Sahib had previously told me that he would not trust I.C.S. officers to run the referendum. I informed him that I had arranged for 9 British officers of the Indian Army to be made available for this purpose. He appeared very pleased about this and said that he ‘preferred military people’.

Finally, I asked him whether he would really co-operate in the running of the referendum. He replied quite sincerely ‘I will do my best’.

4. Muslim League Calls Off Agitation
Telegram from Olaf Caroe to Louis Mountbatten, 5 June 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 96B, NMML

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL

192-CB. Moslem League agitation officially called off throughout province by provincial War Council. No activities 4th except picketing Mansehra where instructions apparently arrived late. Moslem League jubilant but depression continues among minorities.

Addressed to Viceroy, Secretary of State, Governor of Punjab, Governor of Sind.

5. Peaceful Referendum Contingent upon Option of Independent Pathanistan
Telegram from Olaf Caroe to Louis Mountbatten, 5 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/151, Acc. No. 3819, NAI

IMMEDIATE
SECRET

No. CA/IO6. My telegram CA/IO5 para. No. 5.

2. My Chief Secretary and other officials have suggested that peaceful referendum would be far more likely if the three issues of Hindustan, Pakistan and Pathanistan could be put before electors. Apart from probability that alteration of this kind would secure ministerial cooperation it is argued that introduction of new issue might split vote on both sides.
3. I understand that Your Excellency in press interview yesterday said that you were willing to consider Pathanistan issue if all parties agreed. From my limited knowledge it seems to me impossible that League could agree and that introduction of third choice might upset large measure of agreement already secured between the parties on all-India basis. Moreover reality of case is that Frontier could never stand alone.

4. Since however those in favour of Pathanistan will carry opposition to great lengths if issue stands as at present I think considerations here given should be fully weighed. I think too many advocates of Pathanistan are sincere and some of Jinnah’s local supporters are not without sympathy for this idea. As matters stand I shall naturally give no encouragement to suggestions on these lines.

6. Mountbatten Asks for Caroe’s Resignation

Letter from Louis Mountbatten to Olaf Caroe, 6 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/170, Acc. No. 3824, NAI

STRICTLY PERSONAL
No. 1450

Dear Sir Olaf,

When we first met in India, I gave you my assurance that I would give you my utmost support and backing so long as you held your present difficult appointment: but I thought it only fair to give you warning that circumstances might arise in which I should be compelled to ask you for your resignation, since, in these momentous days, personal considerations are a small thing compared to the public weal.

I am afraid that I have recently been bombarded again by representations from your detractors (whom I need not name) to the effect that there is no hope of peace, nor of a fair and orderly referendum, in the NWFP so long as you hold the reins of office. I do not have to tell you that I myself have a high opinion of your capacity, integrity and selfless devotion to duty under an immense strain: but I feel that the time has come when I must, for the moment at any rate, replace you as Governor of the NWFP.

On the other hand, I am most anxious that this grave step should be taken so far as possible without injury to yourself, and without closing the door to your further employment in India if you were so to desire: and in this matter developments have presented me with the possibility of a satisfactory solution.

I am aiming at transferring power to Hindustan and Pakistan by 15th August, and shortly before that date I shall call on all the present Governors and Chief Commissioners to place their resignations in my hands. It will then be a matter for the Governments of the two new States, to reappoint those Governors whom they wish to retain. My proposal, therefore, is that you should go on leave as soon as it can be arranged for your temporary successor to arrive, and that you should remain on leave until 15th August, or such date as the two new Governments are in a position to select the new Provincial Governors. It is clear to me that if Congress win the NWFP, there would not be the slightest chance that they would reappoint you as Governor. On the other hand, if the Province goes to Pakistan, it may very well be that the Pakistan Government, who, I believe, share my high opinion of you, would ask for you to be reappointed.
I suggest to you that the course that I propose has solid advantages. In the first place, it will strengthen my hand with Congress, who will not hesitate to say, if you are Governor during the referendum and if they lose, that you enabled the League to win with a view to your remaining as Governor on the League’s advice. Secondly, it will give you the respite that you have richly deserved. Thirdly, it does not close the door to your future employment. Fourthly, it will mean that the referendum will be carried through entirely by soldiers, since I am proposing to H.M.G. that General Lockhart should be seconded—not retired—from the Army in order to officiate as Governor, NWFP, until the transfer of power.

I am sure that you will understand my motives in making this suggestion and I shall be glad to have your reactions as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

7. Referendum Might Lead to Bloodshed

M.K. Gandhi’s talk with H.L. Ismay, 6 June 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 88–9

Mr. Gandhi suggests that H. E. should speak to Mr. Jinnah in the following sense:

I am extremely anxious lest the referendum in N.W.F.P. should lead to bloodshed and blood-feuds between brother and brother Pathan, and I have been wondering whether it could possibly be avoided. Now that you have got your Pakistan, would it not be wise for you to go to the N.W.F.P. and speak to the people of the Province, of whatever party they may be, including the present Ministry and their followers? You could explain what Pakistan which has hitherto been a vague expression, really is and present your case in an attractive manner, in the hope that you will be able to woo them to become a Province of Pakistan, with perfect freedom to frame their own Provincial constitution.

If you are successful in your persuasion, the proposed referendum and all that it involves would be avoided. If you felt disposed to adopt this suggestion, I could, I think, give you a positive assurance that the Khan Brothers and their followers would meet you as friends and give you an attentive hearing.

Mr. Gandhi asked that if this appeal to Mr. Jinnah was unsuccessful, he (Mr. Gandhi) might be informed of the fact, in order that he might consider the position again. Mr. Gandhi added that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was so anxious about the permanent blood-feuds which would result from the referendum that he would go to almost any length, consistent with honour, to avoid it. In the last resort, he would be prepared to advise his brother and his colleagues in the Ministry to resign, and then to ask the Viceroy to put the N.W. F. P. under Section 93.

Mr. Gandhi emphasised that he had not discussed the above with his colleagues, and therefore that it should not be mentioned to anyone at this stage. Mr. Gandhi suggested that Mr. Jinnah should be advised to try to win over West Bengal and Eastern Punjab to Pakistan by the same methods.

Mr. Gandhi suggested that H. E. the Viceroy should speak in the following sense to Mr. Jinnah, when he found him in the right mood to listen:

I am here to help both parties to reach an agreement in any way that I can, and I regard this task not only as a pleasure, but as a duty. You must remember, however, that I cannot in any event, be here forever. Now, therefore, that the decision has been made and you have your
Pakistan, why do you not go yourself and talk with the Congress leaders as friends, and try to get a settlement between yourselves on all the various points at issue? This would make for a much better atmosphere than adhering to the practice of only meeting together under my chairmanship.

Mr. Gandhi said that there was a lot of loose talk going about that H.M.G. might have different agreements with Hindustan and Pakistan which would possibly tend to favour one over the other. It was, therefore, important that an announcement should be made to the effect that it was H.M.G.'s wish either to enter into tripartite arrangements with both the Dominions, or to have identical bilateral agreements with each of them; and that, in any event, there would be no question of differentiation.

8. ‘Pakistan Merely a Dream in NWFP: Badshah Khan’s View’
   The Tribune, 7 June 1947

NOWSHERA, June 4.—‘Pakistan, which is another name for the domination of the Punjab, is merely a dream in this province,’ says Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in a special article to the ‘Pakhtoon’, the official organ of the Khudai Khidmatgars.

‘The times are now being changed. The administration of the Frontier will be solely under the charge of the Pathans themselves,’ adds the Khan Badshah.

In the course of his lengthy message, Badshah Khan tells his countrymen that they know fully well that he had all along been opposed to the forming of ministries in the provinces, without the attainment of real power. On his return from the tour of Bihar, he realised that agents of British imperialism in the Frontier Province, could not brook the presence of even a powerless ministry in that province and had actually hatched a plot with the help of the henchmen to overthrow the popular ministry and thus witness as a spectator the internecine feuds between the Pathans. The Pathans were very well aware of his activities. Badshah Khan says: ‘I always undertake that work, which benefits my nation and the British are naturally annoyed over it. I have now decided to expose them naked before the bar of public opinion.’

Advice to Muslim League

‘I had conveyed to the Muslim League leaders that the country is going to be shortly free. The British are packing up bag and baggage. Let us join hands to deliberate over our future and thus chalk out a programme likely to be beneficial to our country and the nation. But the pity is that forces have arrayed against us to deprive us from achieving our objective, which is now visible at a very short distance. These antagonistic elements cannot tolerate unity and solidarity in our ranks. I take all those who live in this country as my brothers be they the Green-shirt, the Red-shirt or the Blue-shirt. I beseech them with all the earnestness at my command and ask them—“why are you going mad?” The British are quitting. This is not the time to create trouble and widen the gulf. Is it not most disgraceful on their part that the lives of our Hindus and Sikhs fellow countrymen have become most insecure in the town, while walking, they are panic-stricken and apprehend the danger of being stabbed and shot dead, at any moment. On the other hand, foreigners, both men and women, roam in your towns and villages without any such fear or danger merely to see the spectacle of your madness.’

Governor’s Game

‘I have definitely decided to expose the British conspiracy hatched to bring destruction and devastation to the Pathan race and to warn my brother Pathans regarding the impending danger.
With a view to performing the post-mortem [sic] of this plot I am undertaking an extensive village to village tour of our province to bring home to my brethren the real implications of the present struggle enunciated by the enemies of the Indian aspiration. We have made heavy sacrifices during the last 17 years and have actually watered the tree of freedom with our blood and now when the tree has grown to yield fruit a section has sprung up and conspired with our enemies to deprive us of the fruits of our labour.'

'I frankly tell my brothers and bring home to them that the Governor is not their friend, he is their confirmed and arch enemy. He is quitting himself and is very much perplexed. In the midst of his confusion, he wants to see us plunged in mutual warfare. He is the same Sir Olaf Caroe, who was the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar in 1930, when he used to lose his temper on the very sight of a Red Shirt. The country belongs to Pathans and the Pathans would rule over it. I therefore appeal to you—as the sons of my soil and members of my nation to give a wide berth to Sir Olaf Caroe's party and join hands with me to forge a united front against him, to carve out your own prosperous future.

When any leader of your own country comes to your territory, your behavior is not decent, but when the foreign Viceroy visits your land, you express mad jubilation and dance to the time [sic] of your so-called masters. Those Muslim League leaders, who had been sent to consult Mr. Jinnah, after being released from jail, were very well tutored by the Governor at his bungalow, before they were made to fly.'

Warning

'I ask the Pathans to beware of the coming danger. The British is [sic] anxious to cause disturbances in the country resulting in untold of bloodshed and devastation, thus compelling the people to request the Britishers to stay on for some time more. The Hindus and Sikhs are murdered in the Frontier to afford an opportunity to the non-Muslims in their majority area to retaliate against the Muslims in the same manner. Some women and men from the Punjab have been imported to our province to spread communal poison both in the settled districts and Agency areas.

'I can assure them that the establishment of Pakistan, which is another name for the domination of the Punjabis is merely a dream in this province, as long as the popular ministry is in harness in this province. I would appeal to you to have patience in spite of gravest provocation so that our efforts for the attainment of our goal are not thrown to the winds.

The Congress has finished its job of divorcing the British from this country. The British are now going. The times are now being changed. The administration of Frontier province will be solely under the charge of the Pathans themselves. The psychological moment has arrived. You are passing through critical times. Be united and don't spoil the whole game.

9. Gandhi and Nehru Disagree on NWFP

Letter from M.K. Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru, 7 June 1947

*CWMG*, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 94–5

The oftener we meet the more convinced I am becoming that the gulf between us in the thought world is deeper than I had feared. He (the Sardar) says that you are largely responsible for the present situation. He is of the opinion that Badshah Khan’s ... influence is on the wane. Badshah Khan has not left any such impression on me. Whatever he is today, he was always. There is undoubtedly more steadiness today than before. I also feel that Dr. Khan Saheb
and his colleagues would be nowhere without the Badshah. He alone counts in so far as the Congress influence is concerned.

If the Qaid-e-Azam does not go to the Frontier and does not woo the Badshah, his brother and his other colleagues, the Frontier Ministry should resign and so also the Parliamentary majority on the sole ground that a referendum at this moment must lead to bloodshed and probably, if not certainly, to a lasting blood-feud, which they should avoid in so far as it is humanly possible. Amrit (Rajkumari Amrit Kaur) tells me that you think to the contrary. You think the referendum should take place now... You are also of opinion that a referendum will not cause bloodshed, indeed that my proposal would be more likely to cause it. I do not share this view. I had told the Badshah that if I do not carry you with me, I shall retire at least from the Frontier consultation and let you guide him. I will not and cannot interpose myself between you and him. After all, was it not you who brought him to me? You will now decide and tell me.

10. ‘League Efforts at Rapprochement’

_The Tribune, 8 June 1947_

New Delhi, June 6.—Already efforts are being made to bring about a rapprochement between the Frontier Gandhi, Dr. Khan Sahib, the Red Shirts and Mr. Jinnah and Muslim League leaders of the North-West Frontier Province.

It is learnt that the Principal of the Islamia College, Peshawar, met the Frontier Gandhi and urged him to join the Muslim League and avoid the acrimonious contest in the so-called referendum designed to discover whether the Frontier Province should join the Muslim Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan one.

It is argued that as the choice for Pathanistan or independent existence had been eliminated so the Congressmen in the Frontier and the Muslim Leaguers should join hands.

The Islamia College Principal has been trying to arrange a meeting between Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mr. Jinnah.

At the moment, it seems that Frontier Congress leaders may contest the referendum—it is not a referendum—not all adults are to vote but only the persons on the electoral rolls of the Provincial Assembly. Ten or 12 British army officers, knowing Pushto are being deputed to the Frontier Province for making arrangements in connection with the proposed referendum, in consultation with provincial authorities. It is possible that efforts at a settlement between the Frontier Congress and League leaders may be pursued at Peshawar.

11. League Propaganda for NWFP Referendum

_Letter from Abdul Qaiyum to M.A. Jinnah, 9 June 1947_

_Sadia Rashid and others (Eds), Letters to Quaid-i-Azam, 1944-47, Book III, pp. 282-5_

Respected Qaideazam:—

Our enemies have started in right earnest. We must not lose any time. The Frontier delegates to the A.I.M.L. Council should be asked to return immediately and attend the meeting of the Provincial League on 14/6. May I also request you to set up the committee, which you told us the other day, should control expenditure. Funds must be allocated for the purpose. We must have trucks, jeeps & microphones at once. Ulemas and students should enter the province from outside. We want Noon, and Shakhir Usmani, Jamal ..., and such others as you can spare.
I am told Brg. Booth of S. Waziristan has been appointed Referendum Commissioner for NWFP. The most vital thing is a revision of the electoral rolls. It should be made clear whether there will be a revision of electoral rolls, or else we will be placed at a great disadvantage.

The following figures will indicate the number of voters in the existing 1945-46 list. These are from the official Report of the last general election.

Total number of voters Moslem, Hindus and Sikhs = 6,04,094
District & communitywise they are as under

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muhammadan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Towns</td>
<td>54,619</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hazara District</td>
<td>113,850</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peshawar District</td>
<td>105,172</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mardan District</td>
<td>83,153</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kohat District</td>
<td>56,375</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bannu District</td>
<td>57,161</td>
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<tr>
<td>D.I. Khan District</td>
<td>50,175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landholders</td>
<td>1,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>60,727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikhs</td>
<td>24,144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The report says that there were 50,173 deletions from the list—and the actual number of voters now is 5,74,634. It does not say how the deletions are spread over the 3 communities.

In my earlier letter I suggested that your headquarter should be in Abbottabad—where the climate is cool & refreshing. Later on you can ... flying visits to other districts. May I know whether you approve of it—and also the approximate date of your visit & the duration of your stay.

Abdul Ghaffar's talk of a settlement was insincere and its object was to put us off our work. He and his people have started a terrific campaign. We must do the same at once.

The Congress party is using the Pushtu broadcasts of the A.I.R. for their referendum propaganda. This is unfair. Either both sides should have equal opportunities or the Congress should be denied this advantage altogether.

I hope & wish that you are in the best of health.

Your sincerely
Abdul Qaiyum
Leader of opposition in NWFP Assembly

12. Report from NWFP

Extract from the fortnightly report on NWFP for the second half of May 1947, 9 June 1947

Home Poll (I), File No. 18/5/47, NAI

...2. Political and Communal – There has been no fundamental change in the Muslim League agitation, except in the Mardan District. Beginning on May 16th there was in that District a general attack on Patwarkhanas, where records were burned and destroyed, and on such Government property as P.W.D. Rest Houses in which also records and furniture were destroyed. Simultaneously there was an increase in the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, and in the picketing of Railway Stations, where Pakistan tickets were freely issued. It
has been reliably reported that a War Council has been formed to concentrate on sabotage in this form and also in the form of arson and the use of explosives. It may or may not be a coincidence that two of the worst incidents of the past fortnight occurred about the same time in different parts of the District. In one, three Hindus travelling in a Tonga were way-laid and shot dead on the morning of May 22nd. In the other, on the same morning three Hindus when bathing were fired at, with the result that one was killed on the spot, one died later, and the other was injured.

In Peshawar District the outstanding events were the Jail riots on May 19th and 20th. The first was the most serious, and was only brought under control after two or three hours by the skilful and courageous handling of the situation by the District authorities and the Inspector-General of Prisons. The ultimate cause was undoubtedly the decision of the Provincial Government (mentioned in my last report) to withdraw the privileges of political prisoners. The immediate cause was the release by political prisoners of a number of condemned convicts, and the burning by them of the gallows. On neither day was it necessary to resort to firing, although tear gas and lathi charges were employed. Casualties of a minor nature were fairly numerous, but when stock was taken of the situation on May 20th there was only one case which could even technically be described as constituting grievous hurt. Unfortunately one man who had suffered from superficial burns caused by tear gas bombs unexpectedly died on the night of May 23rd; and there was another death alleged to be from similar causes on the 29th night. In each case the funerals were celebrated in Peshawar City on a very large scale accompanied by the observation of hartals; but there were no breaches of the peace.

Apart from these outstanding incidents, the agitation in Peshawar District has continued to be on a larger scale than in other districts, and has spread to the Charsadda Tahsil, which had hitherto been almost completely quiet. The people of this area are predominantly of the Congress Party, and it seems that the extension of the Muslim League agitation to it is intended as a reply to the formation of the ‘Zalmai Pakhtun’ organisation. The Muslim League have now created a rival organisation, the ‘Ghazi Pakhtun’, members of which have paraded armed in that area. There has been some anxiety on the part of the district authorities that the existence of these two organisations, combined with the fact that both the Red Shirts and the Muslim League National Guards have been observed at meetings in possession of large numbers of arms, would lead to a pitched battle sooner or later. Anxiety was particularly acute when it was announced that Martyrs’ Day would be celebrated at Takkar, in Mardan District, on May 28th by both parties at the same time and place. This is traditionally a Congress celebration dating from 1930. In fact, however, the leaders of both parties agreed to celebrate at different times; and although the Congress celebration was attended by some 9,000 men, including many from Charsadda, and the Muslim League celebration by some 3,000 men, including many from the Malakand Agency, both passed off without incident.

A sequel to the communal outrages of the last two weeks of March was the rounding up of Adezai village in Peshawar District on May 28th by Civil Armed Forces with military forces in support. The operation was effected without bloodshed, and a collective fine of Rs. 3,000 was imposed of which nearly Rs. 1,800 was collected on the spot.

The main features of the agitation in other districts have been as follows. In Hazara the no-rent campaign has continued in the southern areas, and nearly led to a clash between landlords and tenants at a meeting convened by the Extra Assistant Commissioner, Haripur, on May 16th. The original impetus was given, as previously reported, by the Ahrars. But tenants in a number of places (now including Kohat District) allege that they have instructions
from the Congress Socialist Party or from Congress speakers (they are not clear on the point) to withhold rents from their landlords pending legislation which will fundamentally affect the relationship between landlords and tenants. There has been a tendency for landlords, of whom there are large numbers in the Muslim League, to react by preaching the refusal of land revenue payments to the Government. In Kohat district the agitation has been marked by the participation of women in substantial numbers in processions and demonstrations. In Dera Ismail Khan the agitation has restarted on a small scale after the lapse of several weeks following the communal disturbances of April.

Communal tension has by no means disappeared, but fortunately incidents have been few. The general manifestation of communal feeling has been the continual occurrence of bomb explosions throughout the Province. Most of them have done little or no damage, but in Kohat on 23rd May a grenade was thrown into a Hindu Serai which injured six Hindus including women and children. It is believed that these outrages are the work of an organisation which derives its inspiration and some of its personnel from the Punjab. The apprehensions of minorities have not lessened, and emigration on a substantial scale continues from nearly all Districts. Meanwhile recent searches of passengers travelling by train from Peshawar to the Punjab have resulted in the recovery of six rifles, 18 revolvers, and 436 rounds of ammunition.

Apart from the incidents already described, the Jail situation has not deteriorated further. Unrest does continue, but all Muslim League prisoners are leaving Jail on the expiry of their sentences. Several hundreds have already left from Peshawar and Haripur.

Recent reports have been so concerned with the Muslim League agitation that they may have tended to give an unbalanced picture of the political situation in the Province as a whole. In fact the Congress Party have been increasingly active, and large numbers of supporters have attended meetings in the Mardan, Peshawar, and Kohat Districts during the past few weeks. These meetings have been addressed by Hon’ble Ministers on many occasions. The theme of recent speeches has been that the Province should not automatically adhere either to Pakistan or to Hindustan, but should unite its forces to create a State of Pathanistan, which would exercise a free choice regarding association with any other group or State. The present Muslim League attitude to this development ostensibly is that the idea has been propagated with the intention of deceiving the people. But there are indications that it is not without its attractions for all Pathans.

There is nothing fresh to report about Volunteer Organisations as a whole, except that the ‘Zalmai Pakhtun’ is reported to have increased its members to about 500. A new organisation has, however, been started during the past fortnight, namely the ‘Ghazi Pakhtun’ referred to above. It is not yet numerous....

13. Gandhi’s Advice to Jinnah

Letter from M.K. Gandhi to Louis Mountbatten, 10/11 June 1947

*CWMG*, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 126-8

DEAR FRIEND,

The Rajkumari has given me the purport of your conversation with her.

Though you have been good enough to tell me that I could see you at any time I wanted to, I must not avail myself of the kindness. I would like, however, to reduce to writing some of the things I hold to be necessary for the proper and swift working of the scheme.
1. As to the referendum in the Frontier Province I must confess that my idea does not commend itself to Pandit Nehru and his colleagues. As I told you, if my proposal did not commend itself to them, I would not have the heart to go any further with it.

2. This, however, does not in any way affect my proposal that before proceeding with the referendum, you should invite Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah to proceed to the Frontier Province and to woo the Ministers including Badshah Khan and his Khudai Khidmatgars who have made the province what it is better or worse. Before he goes, no doubt, he should be assured of a courteous hearing from them.

3. Whether he favours the idea or not, Qaid-e-Azam should be asked to give a fair picture of the Pakistan scheme before the simple Pathan mind is asked to make its choice of Hindustan or Pakistan. I fancy that the Pathan knows his position in Hindustan. If he does not, the Congress or the Constituent Assembly now at work should be called upon to complete the picture. It will be unfair, I apprehend, to choose between Hindustan or Pakistan without knowing what each is. He should at least know where his entity will be fully protected.

4. There is as yet no peace in the Frontier Province. Can there be a true referendum when strife has not completely abated? Minds are too heated to think coherently. Neither the Congress nor the League can disown liability for disturbances by their followers. If peace does not reign in the land, the whole superstructure will come to pieces and you will, in spite of division, leave behind a legacy of which you will not be proud.

5. The sooner you have a homogenous ministry the better. In no case can the League nominees work independently of the whole Cabinet. It is a vicious thing that there is no joint responsibility for every act of individual members.

6. The only way to keep the wonderful time-table made by you is to anticipate the future and ask your special staff to work out all the items presented by you, without reference to the Cabinet and then when the time comes, the report should be presented to the respective parties for acceptance, amendment or rejection.

7. The more I see things the more firmly I believe that the States’ problem presents a variety of difficulties which demand very serious and fearless treatment on your part.

8. The problem of the civil and military services, though in a way not equally difficult, demands the same firm handling as the States. Gurgaon strife is an instance in point. So far as I know one single officer is responsible for the continuance of the mischief.

9. Lastly may I suggest that the attempt to please all parties is a fruitless and thankless task. In the course of our conversation I suggested that equal praise bestowed on both the parties was not meant. No praise would have been the right thing. ‘Duty will be merit when debt becomes a donation.’ It is not too late to mend. Your undoubted skill as a warrior was never more in demand than today. Fancy a sailor without his fleet, save his mother wit!

10. I have tried to be as succinct as possible. I could not be briefer. If any of the points raised herein demand a personal talk, you have but to appoint the suitable time. Please do not think of calling me for the sake of courtesy.

11. I received your kind note of 10th instant whilst I had almost finished this note. It does not call for a separate reply.

This was finished at 9.25 p.m. It will be typed tomorrow.

Yours sincerely
M.K. Gandhi
14. Governor Denies Charges of Partisanship
Letter from Olaf Caroe to Louis Mountbatten, 11 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/170, Acc. No. 3824, NAI

PERSONAL

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, PESHAWAR

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I received your letter No. 1450 of June 6th today—the letter saying you must put in, at any rate for the time, an officiating Governor. It is strange that I had been thinking of writing to you to say that, if the Province goes to Pakistan and I were asked to stay on as Governor, I should have grave doubts whether it would be right or proper for me to do so, if in any way it came to be said as a result that I was identified with one party, and had antagonised the other for all time. For—I say it very firmly and finally—I am not a partisan. On the other hand I have steadily resisted authoritarianism and maliciousness in high places. If a League regime comes here, they will be more in the tradition, but that is another matter. They are not big men and will have a very difficult time.

It is clear that you have made up your mind that the charges of partisanship make it wrong, on a wide view, to retain me here during this critical period, and of course I accept that judgement. It is with deep sorrow that I accept it, for I believe I can still help these people to straighten themselves out, and from the limited point of view one can get here it is hard not to feel that the change will be regarded in many quarters as a surrender to unfair attacks. But that is for you, and not for me. I am sorry to not to be able to follow your leadership in working through the critical months ahead.

I suggest one way of making it easier for all concerned would be for me to say (taking the initiative) that I wished to go on leave during the next two months (viz. the remaining months before the transfer of power) in order to make it quite clear that I was determined it should not be said I had used my authority to influence the course and results of the Referendum. It could be added that, as far as could be foreseen, it was my intention to retire under ‘the terms’. Whether it would be right or proper for me to come back if circumstances change and if anybody wants me, you and I should have to consider very carefully when and if the time should come. And the decision should not be made on personal grounds.

I don’t know whether it would be best to take leave in India or go home—on the whole I think I had better go home, for, if I remained here, it would look as if I were hanging about on an off-chance, and it might keep propaganda on both sides going. Another reason I could give for going home is that my mother has just died, and I have to decide various questions relating to our family house and so on.

I know Lockhart well—he is a great friend; and one could not wish for a nicer person to hand over to. One thing that does worry me is the packing-up business, for my wife is not strong enough to do it in Peshawar in the middle of the hot weather. Another thing is that many here will feel that I’m letting them down, but that can’t be helped.

It is very good of you to think of possible ways of making things easier, and from what I know of Your Excellency already I can say quite truthfully that I accept your judgment and am only sad that, together, we can’t carry through this reorganisation of the frontier. My own conscience is clear, and that is what matters.
I have kept no copy of this letter. If you can let me have an idea of the date on which Lockhart expects to take over, it would be very helpful.

Yours sincerely,
O. K. CAROE

P.S. We might go to Kashmir until our staff have packed our things, and then go home. I hope we might be able to travel by air to the U.K.

15. Liaquat Objects to Caroe’s Removal

Extracts from a letter from Liaquat Ali to Louis Mountbatten, 11 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/170, Acc. No. 3824, NAI

IMMEDIATE SECRET
FINANCIAL MEMBER OF COUNCIL, NEW DELHI

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

....I feel that by sending away the permanent Governor of the N.W.F.P. during the next critical phase in the history of the Province you will be taking an extraordinary and dangerous step. As you are well aware, the present N.W.F.P. Ministers are notorious for their abuse of power, particularly in connection with elections. To remove a Governor who knows the Province and its people and to bring in one who has no experience of the Province or of any Civil Administration at all means nothing except that any little check which may otherwise be expected on abuse of power by the Ministers during the referendum will also disappear.... If the Congress alleges that the present Governor is anti-Congress—which as you know is absolutely without foundation—and you feel that a person with alleged anti-Congress views should not be Governor of the Province during the referendum, I trust you will agree that the repeated demand of the Muslim League for the removal of the N.W.F.P. Ministry has still greater force. As you will doubtless appreciate, there is a much greater likelihood of the Ministers abusing their powers than the Governor doing so, as he has nothing to do with the day-to-day administration of the Province. I am convinced that the step you propose, which will appear to the world as nothing short of complete surrender to the Congress, will mar all chance of a fair and free referendum unless you agree to remove the Ministry also at the same time. I would, therefore, strongly urge upon you not to take the dangerous step of removing the Governor alone. I suggest that it would be better if you could discuss this matter with Mr Jinnah before taking any decision. I shall be glad to discuss it with you myself, should you so desire, after tomorrow morning’s meeting.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN
16. ‘Khan Ministry Upset over Referendum Issue: Bid to Carve Out Pathanistan’
Dawn, 12 June 1947

In a statement to the ‘Orient Press of India,’ Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was striving to carve out a small State between Afghanistan and Pakistan, which would be financed by Hindustan. Besides satisfying the personal vanity of the Badshah who was eager to become a King and whose residence was known as Shahibagh. This vassal State would act as fifth column of Hindu Imperialism.

It would be a permanent threat to both Pakistan and Afghanistan, inasmuch as it would be a wedge between the two. He added that the Frontier Muslims were wide awake and they would not be influenced by the tactics adopted by the Congress.

Mr. Qaiyum said that the Viceroy gave a clear assurance that the elections would be fair. The Congress party, which was upset over the fact that a referendum was to be held, was indulging in considerable abuse of power, thereby placing the League at a disadvantage.

Congress Tactics
He said that the Congress was freely supplying arms to those who were likely to help it.

The Frontier police was either powerless or too frightened to stop this. He complained that the Pushtu broadcasts were entirely devoted to Congress propaganda, and demanded that either they should cease or both the parties should be provided equal radio facilities. He added that the present state of affairs called for the intervention of the Governor-General.

Mr. Qaiyum recalled that not long ago, Qazi Ataullah, the Chief Lieutenant of the Frontier Gandhi had said that the N. W. F. P. was with the Congress and they were determined to hand it over to Hindustan, when the British left India in June, 1948.

He said that prominent Congress leaders had all along opposed Pakistan and asked as to how they could drop their demand for Hindustan in favour of Pakistan. He revealed that the Red Shirts received their orders from the Congress.

Mr. Qaiyum said that in view of the change in public opinion, Congressmen had inscribed the words ‘Allah-o-Akbar’ on their flag in place of the ‘Charkha’, had put forward the demand for Pathanistan and had adopted violence by starting the organisation, the ‘Zalme Pakhtoon.’—OPI.

17. ‘Referendum in NWFP—Refugee Electors Must Return Home’
The Tribune, 13 June 1947

RAWALPINDI, June 11.—In view of the forthcoming referendum in the N. W. F. P. which will require the presence of every elector of that province in his native place, Mr. Tilak Raj Bhasin, Secretary, Rawalpindi Destitute Sufferers Rehabilitation Committee has made an appeal to the Punjab and N. W. F. P. Hindu and Sikh refugees at Hardwar and elsewhere to return to their hearths & homes.

‘For better or the worse,’ continues the appeal, ‘their proper place is in their homes, particularly now that the British plan for transfer of power has been unfolded and, momentous decisions have to be taken. A minority communities’ convention is being called shortly to consider many problems of urgency.’
18. Apprehensions of Britain’s Imperial Interests Affecting India

Extracts from a letter from Krishna Menon to Louis Mountbatten, 14 June 1947

PERSONAL

17 YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

...You may remember that when I first submitted to you ideas on what may be done, and we had talks in London last March, the one thing we both thought fundamental was that, in any partition, which I put forward as necessary to a solution, the outer line of India must remain intact. All secession must be subject to it.

That picture has changed, the N.W.F.P. referendum appeared to cut right across it. Given the results of that referendum, being a victory for Pakistan, owing to various causes, the Baluchistan referendum is meaningless. However the shape of things appear to leave the defences of India in Pakistan. Mr Bevin said at Margate, that the withdrawal from India meant consolidation of Britain in the middle east. Is our frontier still the hinterland of this imperial strategy? Does Britain still think in terms of being able to use this territory and all that follows from it? There is a considerable amount of talking in this way and if Kashmir for one reason or another chooses to be in Pakistan, there is a further development in [?] that direction—I do not know what British policy is in this matter. I do not know that you would know it either. But if this be British intent it is tragic. It will be a grave miscalculation. As it becomes more evident, the attitude of India would be resentful, and British hold on Pakistan would not improve it. I think I have said enough, perhaps a little too much. Events in Kashmir are watched with concern. If Kashmir and N.W.F.P. go to Pakistan, all hopes of the plan being a settlement will prove fanciful. India might be absorbed in her internal and economic difficulties and for the moment be too weary. But in [?] those areas, [?] any fight will spread on a huge scale and we may be menaced by years of conflict. I have just thought aloud. I hope you will forgive me for doing so. It may be that as the events cast their shadow on this unhappy country one begins to see every vision more distorted. Perhaps I am wrong and Britain does not think in terms of Empire. But it would not have been right if I did not mention to you these thoughts that pass through my mind as I have in my, very happy, relations with you maintained the utmost frankness and I hope reasonable objectivity. I won’t write more about this.

I hope the weekend in Simla has done you some good. I shall leave here tomorrow and return by the end of the month and see you before I go back to London.

Yours sincerely,

KRISHNA

Please don’t keep this letter.

19. Discussions about NWFP Referendum

Extract from the record of an interview between Louis Mountbatten, M.K. Gandhi, and M.A. Jinnah, 17 June 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 194, NMML

I saw Mr Gandhi from 10 to 11 a.m. The main topic of the discussion was the referendum. He still wanted Mr Jinnah to go and see the NWFP Government leaders, to woo them as suggested in the statement he had prepared with Lord Ismay.
He was most dissatisfied at Mr Jinnah’s stipulation about no Congress interference; and he still wanted me to urge Mr Jinnah to go, as their correspondence had come to a full stop.

I asked him whether he would agree to see Mr Jinnah right away, and on obtaining his agreement, sent a telephone message to Mr Jinnah asking if he would come earlier than his original time, to see Mr Gandhi. Mr Jinnah came at 11.0 a.m. and joined the meeting until 12 noon.

Both these great men spoke in such low voices that they could not hear each other, so I had to move their chairs close together. After a good deal of mutual recrimination about their correspondence, I finally solved the problem by suggesting that since Abdul Ghaffar Khan had been invested with plenary authority by the Frontier Ministry, Mr Jinnah should take advantage of his presence in Delhi to meet him here.

Both leaders seemed to think this a good idea, but Mr Gandhi said that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was most mistrustful of Mr Jinnah and would not come unless he received a written invitation. Mr Jinnah said he had frequently extended verbal invitations, and that if Abdul Ghaffar Khan was not prepared to accept these, he certainly had no intention of sending him a written invitation.

After this wrangle had gone on for some time, I solved the difficulty by offering to invite all concerned to meet me at 7.45 the same evening. Both accepted and honour was satisfied.

(Unfortunately, Abdul Ghaffar Khan had had an engagement 100 miles outside Delhi, and although he was due back between 6.0 p.m. and 7.0 p.m., he did not get back in time for the meeting. I personally telephoned Mr Jinnah and Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, Mr Gandhi’s Secretary, and got them to agree to a meeting with Abdul Ghaffar Khan at the Viceroy’s House the following day, under the chairmanship of Lord Ismay....

20. Demand for Giving Frontier the Option of Independence

Letter from Louis Mountbatten to Jawaharlal Nehru, 17 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/151, Acc. No. 3819, NAI

PERSONAL AND PRIVATE
New Delhi,
No. 1446/3

Dear Mr. Nehru,

I have received a letter from Mr. Kripalani dated the 17th June about the Referendum for the North-West Frontier Province. One of his main points is contained in the first paragraph, which reads as follows:

‘The provincial government has been unable to work with the Governor with the result that there is now a complete impasse in regard to many matters and the relations between the Ministers and the Governor are strained to an extreme degree. It is in this context that we have to consider other developments.’

In this connection I am sending you a copy of a letter I have received from Sir Olaf Caroe, together with a copy of my reply. I should like you to know that I only had to mention to him the difficulty you felt about the Referendum for him to have come forward with this generous suggestion on his part, thus making everything much easier. I hope you will agree that I could not do less than send him the reply of which a copy is enclosed.

Mr. Kripalani’s letter puts forward once more the suggestion of allowing the Frontier to vote for independence, and I am sending you a copy of the reply I have sent to him. I have
not of course made the point in this reply that it was at your written request that the option for Provinces to vote for independence was taken out; and that Mr. Jinnah (who was in favour of Bengal being allowed to vote for independence) is aware of the fact that I conceded this point to Congress. But in the circumstances you will see that both your position and my position would be completely untenable if either of us were to go back on this arrangement now. I hope, however, that the action of the Governor in offering to go on leave may help you in influencing Abdul Ghaffar Khan to accept the Referendum in the right spirit.

I know I do not need to ask you to use your influence to avoid the Press saying that Caroe had been sacked, for it was on the basis of your promise of no further Press attacks that I wrote to him.

Yours sincerely,

MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

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1 See next Document.

21. Option of Independence Should Be Given in the Referendum

Letter from J.B. Kripalani to Louis Mountbatten, 17 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/151, Acc. No. 3819, NAI

IMMEDIATE AND SECRET

6 JANTAR MANTAR ROAD, NEW DELHI

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

As you know a position of peculiar difficulty has existed in the Frontier Province for a long time. We have drawn your attention to various aspects of the situation on several occasions. The provincial government has been unable to work with the Governor with the result that there is now a complete impasse in regard to many matters and the relations between the Ministers and the Governor are strained to an extreme degree.

It is in this context that we have to consider other developments. Whenever the question of the Frontier arose, we told you that it would be necessary to consult the Frontier Ministers and leaders before a final answer could be given on our behalf. The matter concerned them intimately and they were the best judges of the situation. They were very much averse to any issue being raised in the province which could be exploited as purely communal or Hindu-Muslim issue. This would give a chance to the communally-minded persons to rouse popular passions. The best way to avoid this was to put forward the real issue. This was the creation of a free Pathan State which would later decide on its relations with the Indian Union or Pakistan.

In accordance with this strong sentiment I wrote to you in my letter dated June 2nd, paragraph 12, that ‘the proposed referendum should provide for the people voting for independence and subsequent decision as to their relation with the rest of India’. I understand that you have been unable to agree to this unless the Muslim League also agreed. This has added to our difficulties and we have been giving anxious thought to the matter.

We have accepted the Plan contained in the Statement of June 2 [3] and we propose to abide by it fully. We do not wish to do anything which can be said to go against that Plan. At the same time we cannot impose any course of action on the N.W.F. Province to which the leaders and people there are opposed. It is this difficulty which has faced us.
We have again conferred with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mr Yahya Jan, Minister for Education for the N.W.F.P. The former has recently consulted his colleagues, and he has been given authority on their behalf to deal with the situation. He tells us that there is a strong and insistent demand that the Frontier people should be allowed to pronounce on the issue of independence. They are totally averse to taking part in a referendum which must turn purely on the communal issue.

The referendum must take its course, assuming that there is perfect peace restored in that unhappy province. But Badshah Khan contends that if the issue cannot be between Pathanistan and Pakistan, he would advise his followers to abstain from participating in the referendum. This, he holds, will ease the situation somewhat though the Province may be lost to the Congress, at least for the time being.

Various proposals had been put forward by you in regard to this referendum. This includes the avoidance of electioneering speeches and a clear statement of the issue by either side. Irrespective of agreement I can say that the Congress has no intention of sending anyone from outside the province to influence voters there for this referendum. And we have advised Badshah Khan to avoid electioneering speeches in the province immediately after the date of referendum is published.

We are very anxious that whatever might be done in the Frontier Province, it should in no way be in opposition to the working out of the plan we have agreed to. We have impressed this upon our colleagues of the Frontier. On behalf of the Congress I hope to make a public statement explaining the Congress position in regard to the Province.

Yours sincerely

J. B. KRIPALANI

22. Quaid-i-Azam’s Message to Frontier Muslims

Report in Pakistan Times, 18 June 1947
Cited in Jinnah Papers, Vol. II, p. 870

D.I.KHAN, June 16: ‘It is the duty of every Muslim to vote for Pakistan and establish his own Government,’ said Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in a message to the Frontier Muslims through Nawab Tank, Deputy Leader, Frontier Muslim League Assembly Party and Haji Mohammad Ramzan Khan, President, Dera Ismail Khan Muslim League, who returned yesterday, after attending the Muslim League Council meeting at New Delhi and Provincial Muslim League meeting at Peshawar.

The leaders added: ‘We were much impressed with the League Council meeting at Delhi, where we saw Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who has full sympathies with all Muslims who have suffered during communal riots. He was informed of collective fines imposed on the villages and the mode of their realisation.’

Quaid-i-Azam, in his reply, said: ‘Pakistan has been achieved by Allah’s kindness. Your sacrifices have borne fruit. Wait for two months more and vote for Pakistan in the referendum. When you win the referendum, you will get rid of the Congress Raj and your own Government would be established. You would then rule according to your wishes.’
23. Report from NWFP

Extract from the fortnightly report on NWFP for the first half of June 1947, 19 June 1947
Home Poll (f), File No. 18/6/1947, NAI

...Political and Communal—The Muslim League agitation continued in a slightly modified form up to the evening of June 3rd. His Excellency the Viceroy’s announcement caused general satisfaction among followers of the Party, and on the following day the agitation was completely called off. The forces of law and order were able for the first time in more than three months to draw breath. The Jails were rapidly emptied of all prisoners other than those charged with, or convicted of, offences involving violence. For the next few days there was very little activity of any sort by the Muslim League, but gradually their referendum campaign has got under way, and with the return of their leaders from Delhi towards the end of the second week of June the campaign has been in full swing. There has so far been no trouble apart from a very minor clash between the members of the Zalmai Pakhtun and Muslim League National Guards in Hangu on June 6th. There are, however, reports that the Muslim League are by no means anxious to see members of minority communities return to the Province to participate in the referendum. A speech by Abdul Qayum Khan in Peshawar Cantonment on the evening of 13th June was capable of being interpreted as a warning to minorities against interference. On the same evening there was a bomb explosion in a Hindu locality of Peshawar City and a case of attempted arson on a Hindu house in Kohat City. There is no doubt that the number of votes possessed by minority communities, which is about 80,000, must be a matter of concern to the Muslim League. Nor are they prepared so far to accept the Congress Party’s thesis that the issue in the referendum should lie between Pakistan and Pathanistan and not between Pakistan and Hindustan.

The attitude of the Congress Party to His Excellency the Viceroy’s announcement is one of some disappointment. The partition of India cannot be other than a cause of sadness to those who have devoted their public life to a different ideal. The referendum is regarded as unnecessary, since it is considered that, whatever the wishes of the Party might be, this Province could not possibly form a portion of Hindustan once Pakistan is geographically and constitutionally established. Their line of action in the immediate future has not yet been published. After a lengthy party meeting on June 11th and 12th the following resolution was announced:

‘Whereas the announcement of British Government of the 3rd June 1947, vitally affects the political, economic and cultural future of North-West Frontier Province, this meeting of members of Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, Congress Parliamentary Party and Salars of Khudai-Khidmatgars vests Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan with all the powers to decide and take whatever actions he thinks best’.

In pursuance of this Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan travelled to Delhi on June 13th and had not returned by the end of the fortnight covered by this report. Meanwhile the party has not relaxed its efforts in respect of public meetings in the Peshawar, Mardan, Kohat, and Bannu Districts.

The activities of other parties have not been significant, although the Khaksars have been more active in parades and meetings than for some time past. Their numbers are very small compared with those of the two major parties. Their policy appears to be to adhere to the Pakistan demand in its most extreme form even to the extent of repudiating those Muslim League leaders who have acquiesced in the announcement of June 3rd. A meeting of Communists was held on May 29th at Mansehra in the Hazara district, at which adverse
criticism was impartially directed against the Provincial Government and the Muslim League, and the audience were invited to organize themselves for their own salvation. The R.S.S. Sangh exercise regularly but are few in number....

24. "We Won’t Let Anyone Dominate Over Us": Afridi Jirga’s Assurance to Dr. Khan Sahib’

Extracts from a report in The Tribune, 20 June 1947

PESHAWAR, June 19.—The Pathans, inhabiting the tribal areas and the settled districts of the Frontier are the flesh and blood of Pakhtoon race, and, as such, would ever remain strongly knit together, in prosperity or in adversity,‘ said Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier of the Frontier Province, while replying to an address given by tribesmen yesterday.

A joint Jirga of about 60 prominent Afridis and Mahmands arrived at the Premier’s bungalow yesterday afternoon and held an hour’s discussion with him on important matters affecting the Pathans at this critical juncture....

Jirgah Chief’s Views

Earlier, the Jirgah spokesman Miran Khan voicing the declared sentiments of his tribesmen said: ‘This is a land of the Pakhtoons and we will never let Punjabis or anyone else dominate over us. We stand for the ideal of Pathanistan and are deadly against Pakistan. Here we have..., Afridis, Mahmands and...who unequivocally demand that they should be consulted as to the political future because we also made...sacrifices for the freedom of our country along with Khudai Khidmatgars in 1930 and after.’

Concluding, he said that ‘Pakistan as at present envisaged contains seeds of destruction of all Muslims economically, politically, culturally and nationally.’

Referring to the League President, M.A. Jinnah’s proposed visit to the Frontier he said: ‘It would have been better if he were not to come here. But since he is visiting the Frontier of the British territory we have nothing to say. As regards our territory we have advised him not to come.’—United Press.

25. ‘Jinnah Insists on Referendum: Badshah Khan’s Proposal Turned Down’

The Tribune, 21 June 1947

NEW DELHI, June 20.—It is reliably learnt that Mr. Jinnah has turned down the proposals made by Badshah Khan not to hold referendum in the Frontier Province and avoid conflict and clashes between Pathans and others.

It is understood that Mr. Jinnah said that referendum was the democratic method and the best means to ascertain the people’s will. It seems the League leader said that first the Frontier people must decide to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly before any talk could take place regarding the future set up in that part of the country. He assured Badshah Khan that he or the League leaders did not want to pursue the quarrel; they wanted peaceful settlement of the points at issue but insisted that referendum must be gone through as the League had accepted the June third plan.
Regarding the demand for Pathanistan Mr. Jinnah seems to have assured against any inroad into local or provincial autonomy with the exception of subjects reserved to the central authority of Pakistan for common objectives. It is said Mr. Jinnah wanted the Congress and the Red Shirts leaders to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. Thus no settlement has been reached between Badshah Khan and Mr. Jinnah on the issue of referendum.

26. ‘Line of Action regarding Referendum to Be Decided Today’
Extract from a report in *The Tribune*, 22 June 1947

PESHAWAR, June 21.—After Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s decisive talks with Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress Working Committee and Mr. Jinnah in Delhi, a momentous meeting of the Congress organisation in N.W.F.P. consisting of the members of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, the Congress Parliamentary Party and the Khudai Khidmatgar Salars is to-day in session at Bannu where the fate of the Pathan nation as an independent Socialist republic is likely to be announced.

Talks with prominent Congressmen reveal that the attitude of the Congress party to the H.M.G.’s announcement of June 3 is still one of disappointment. ‘The partition of India cannot be anything other than a cause of sadness to those who have devoted their public life to a different ideal; referendum is unnecessary declared a prominent Congressman.

The province could not possibly form a portion of Hindustan once Pakistan is geographically and constitutionally established.

In pursuance of the party mandate Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan travelled to Delhi on June 13 and returned yesterday. Meanwhile, the party has not relaxed its efforts in respect of public meetings in Peshawar, Mardan, Kohat and Bannu districts. There has been no trouble apart from very minor clash between members of the Zalmai Pakhtoon (Young Pathans) and Muslim League National Guards in Hangu on June 6. Jails have been emptied. There are reports that the Muslim League is by no means anxious to see the members of the minority communities return to the province to participate in the referendum. The speech of the Leader of Opposition in the Frontier Assembly in Peshawar on the evening of June 13 was a warning to minorities against interference. On the same evening there was a bomb explosion in the Hindu locality of Peshawar city and a case of attempted arson on a Hindu house in Kohat City. The number of votes possessed by the minority communities is about 85,000 and that is a matter of concern to the Muslim League. Nor are they prepared so far to accept the Congress Party’s thesis that the issue in referendum should be the choice between Pakistan and Pathanistan and not between Pakistan and Hindustan. Activities of other parties are not significant although the Khaksars are more active in parades and meetings than before. Their policy appears to be adherence to Pakistan demand in its most extreme form even to the extent of repudiating those League leaders who have acquiesced in the announcement of June 3....

27. ‘Equal Rights for One and All’
*The Tribune*, 22 June 1947

PESHAWAR, June 20.—Dr. Khan Saheb, Frontier Premier, addressing yesterday a largely attended meeting at Risalpur Cantonment defined ‘Pathanistan’ as an independent Socialist State in which every Pathan whether Muslim, Hindu, Sikh or Christian, would be his own
master having equal rights and opportunities, where all children, rich or poor, would have equal facilities for education and where all lands would be primarily State-owned and distributed to real tillers of the land.

A referendum, Dr. Khan Saheb continued, was to take place here shortly whereby people would have to register their choice either for Pakistan or Pathanistan. The former ideal in the Frontier, he added, was supported by those who till yesterday were in conspiracy with their British patrons and ruthlessly obstructed the efforts of patriotic forces to wrest freedom of the country while the latter was staunchly held by Khudai Khidmatgars whose fundamental aims had been the attainment of country’s independence and fair and free service to all Pathans.

He added: 'I am a revolutionary and have no interest in elections etc. Nevertheless I am not afraid of referendum. My party men to-day are in power solely due to our people’s unbigoted confidence in us. We are always ready to go to the people to show them our achievements and abide by their verdict.'

Proceeding, the Premier expressed doubt whether the Pakistan State would be bereft of all British influence and would not be a Dominion of the British Commonwealth as, being a deficit State, it would not completely retain its independence.

Concluding, Dr. Khan Saheb warned his audience against the coming vital times and said a slip now would undo all their remarkable sacrifices of the past. It was at this time when their province was about to become free that certain capitalists and self-seeking persons were trying to usurp their hard-earned independence by false ruses in the name of religion. They should be more than ever vigilant against such subtle moves and present a united and disciplined front.—United Press.

28. 'Free Democratic State for Pathans'

*The Hindustan Times*, 23 June 1947

PESHAWAR, June 22.—A joint meeting of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, the Congress Parliamentary Party, Khudai Khidmatgars, and Zalme-Pakhtoon which started at Bannu last evening, passed a resolution stating that ‘a free State of all Pakhtoons be established with a constitution based on Islamic conception of democracy, equality and social justice.’

The meeting lasted five hours and was attended by over 500 representatives from all over the Province as also prominent Waziris, Mahshuds, Bhattanis from the tribal areas. Khan Amir Mohammad Khan, President of the Frontier Congress Committee, presided.

The following is the text of the resolution: 'This meeting of the members of the N.W.F.P. Congress Committee, the Congress Parliamentary Party, Khudai Khidmatgars and Zalme-Pakhtoon held at Bannu on June 22 under the chairmanship of Khan A.I. Mohd. Khan, President of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, unanimously resolve that a free Pathan State of all Pakhtoons be established. The constitution of the State will be framed on the basis of Islamic conception of democracy, equality and social justice. This meeting appeals to all Pathans to unite for the attainment of this cherished goal and not to submit to any non-Pakhtoon domination.'

At 10 this morning the meeting began its second sitting when it is likely to take a final decision on the proposed referendum.—U.P.I. and A.P.I.
CONFIDENTIAL

29. British Tribal Management System Should Not Be Changed

Extract from a letter from Olaf Caroe to Louis Mountbatten, 23 June 1947


Confidential

Government House, Nathiagali,

No. GH-93

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

In two days' time I expect to have handed over, but we have been too closely in touch for it to be necessary for me to attempt to tie up many loose ends in this letter. There is, however, one matter on which I think it important I should lay emphasis at this moment, and that is the position of the North-West Frontier tribes. Circumstances have been such that Your Excellency has been compelled to devote the greater part of your attention to political and ministerial matters within the Province as they affect the parties in India, but you found time to speak to the tribes. What I wish to say now is that the most important part of the Governor's work up here is keeping the tribes steady. The tribal situation and the situation within the Province of course react to one another continually, but by proper management a great deal can be done to maintain tribal steadiness. The fact that on the whole we have been successful in doing this during the last few years, including the last momentous year, is not the result of chance. It is in the first place a tribute to our system of tribal management over many years, while recent success owes a tremendous lot to the influence of Cunningham and the way in which he left the tribes for me to take over. During the last 16 months I have given a great deal of my mind and energy to this matter, have seen innumerable Jirgas, and talked to tribesmen and to the ruling Chiefs in the north continually. I have made a great point of keeping the right men, as far as I could judge them, in the right places, and this includes not only the Resident and the Political Agents, but the Assistant Political Officers who belong to the Provincial Service. My Ministry have continually tried to interfere with postings and to bring unfair charges against officers in the tribal areas, mainly Indian, based on prejudice or false report. I shall tell Lockhart that it will be necessary for him during the next two months to keep an eye on this.

I have already written separately to you about the all-important question of fitting the tribes into the new Constitution and finding the money to run them during the interim period, and I have particularly emphasised the value of employment as the real method by which we maintain a steady frontier. This employment must be kept going. Mudie, to whom we lent a number of Frontier Constabulary platoons to deal with the Hurs, will tell you what splendid men they are, and the same applies to the Militias and Scouts in Waziristan, the Khyber and elsewhere. The Khassadari system, too, must be kept alive and improved, and it is worth remembering that we spend about eight times as much on Khassadars as we do on Maliki allowances.

Lastly in my view the new Constitution should not aim at placing the tribes under the Provincial Government, which can never pay for them and too often must clash with them. The Agent who deals locally with the tribes must derive his own authority from a Centre, whether that Centre be of Hindustan or Pakistan. And in the long run I believe H.M.G. will not be able to divorce themselves entirely from interest in the maintenance of this most delicate and difficult land frontier.

2. It was inevitable that the Afghans would bring their weight to bear in this matter and raise the cry of Afghanistan irredenta, but it is interesting that they should have timed it and brought
it into line with the Congress theme of Pathanistan. I do not myself think that this Afghan interference is going to be very dangerous, if (and this is the important point) the successor authority makes it quite clear that the tribesmen are going to get the benefits that they enjoy at present from this side. Tribal jirgas are already asking the Political Agents if there is any objection to their going off to see the Afghans in Kabul, and the answer the Political Agents should be able to give is that the tribes receive benefits from this side and we are going to do our best to see that any successor authority continues to grant those benefits. If the successor authority, whoever it is, can be got to endorse this, so much the better. The pity is that it is impossible to get any line on matters of this kind out of the External Affairs Department at this moment.

3. This brings me to one reflection which I think I ought to make, namely that most of our troubles were started when Nehru took tribal affairs under his wing and followed this up with his ill-starred visit. Before that time the Province was going along very nicely all things considered, but it was an impossible thing to do to bring these tribes under a Pandit. Practically all our frictions and tensions date from that time....

30. ‘Khudai Khidmatgars Will Never Allow Pakistan in N.W.F.P.’

_The Tribune, 24 June 1947_

Peshawar, June 23.—Addressing a public meeting at Bannu today, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said that the British who were the enemies of Pathans were bent upon thrusting Pakistan in the Frontier Province against the will of the Pathans in order to establish military bases and landing grounds for themselves against Russia. He added: ‘As long as the Khudai Khidmatgars are present in the Frontier Province, they will not allow them to succeed in their schemes.’ He accused the British of having created differences among the Pathans and asked the Pathans not to become tools in their hands.

Inviting the Frontier Muslim Leaguers to sit with him to form constitution of Pathanistan, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said that he was willing to come to a compromise on the basis of Pathanistan.

Referring to the new organisation Zalmai Pakhtoon he said: ‘The organisation is not for any offensive measure but its main aim is to preserve a peaceful atmosphere in the province which was spoiled by Sir Olaf Caroe the Governor of N.W.F.P.’

Referring to the proposed referendum in N.W.F.P he said that they were prepared to contest on the issue of Pathanistan and Pakistan but not on the issue of Pakistan and Hindustan.—API.

31. ‘League Launches Referendum Campaign’

_Extracts from a report in Dawn, 25 June 1947_

Peshawar, Tuesday

The Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Mr. I.I. Chundrigar, members of the Committee appointed by Qaed-e-Azam Jinnah to supervise the Muslim League work in the N.W.F.Province addressed two large meetings of the League workers, one at Kohat and the other at Peshawar yesterday, and chalked out an elaborate programme for the forthcoming referendum in consultation with the local intelligentsia.
Mr. Chundrigar visited the village of Manki where he was the guest of Pir Sahib of Manki at lunch today.

Mr. Ghazanfar Ali left for Abbottabad this afternoon where he will stay for about five days when he will tour Hazara District.

Mr. Ghazanfar Ali accompanied by Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif visited Kohat yesterday. Hundreds of gunshots were fired in the air by tribesmen to greet the Muslim League leaders when they motored through the tribal territory on their way to Kohat. They accepted hospitality of tribal people and inspected the gun factory in Kohat Pass tribal area.

At Kohat they were taken in procession through different bazars of the city decorated with arches and League flags.

Over 20,000 armed Muslim League National Guards marched through the city last evening. They were joined by about 50,000 other Muslims in the course of the march.

Later a meeting was held which was addressed by Mr. Chundrigar. He said that the Congress had always proclaimed their desire for an Indian Union; but when they found it impracticable, they decided to divide the Punjab and Bengal and have now begun preaching about Pathanistan.

This was merely to disrupt Muslim solidarity and to include the N.W.F.P. in Hindustan.

Mr. Chundrigar said that 95 per cent of the people in the province would not like to be dominated by Hindus. He said that the only difficulty was that some selfish Muslims were playing into the hands of their Hindu masters....

32. ‘We Can’t Have This Referendum: Says Frontier Gandhi’

*The Tribune*, 25 June 1947

Peshawar, June 24.—Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in the course of a lengthy statement issued today, maintained that a great majority of the Pathans are for establishment of a free Pakistan [Pathan?] State and expressed his readiness for holding a referendum or general elections with a view to ascertaining the will of the people in that respect.

As regards a referendum on the present issues, he said, we cannot associate ourselves with this referendum because of so many difficulties. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, therefore, appealed to all the Pathans to keep aloof peacefully from it and meanwhile prepare themselves against the ‘new coming danger wherein not only liberty of Pakhtoons but their very existence is at stake.’

The statement runs:

‘Great changes that are taking place in India resulting in the ending of the British domination not only affect the whole of India but the Frontier Province especially. I have given the greatest thought to these changes and have also consulted my co-workers.

‘For more than a generation we struggled for the freedom of the Frontier. In course of this struggle we, Pathans suffered great hardships but have never given up the struggle. Our struggle was against the British rule and domination and in this we allied ourselves with the Indian National Congress—a great organisation which was similarly fighting. Naturally in the circumstances we found ourselves in close alliance and comradeship with the Congress. When we, in the Frontier, were in great trouble in course of freedom struggle it was the Congress that came to our help which in spite of our request the Muslim League did not give. As a matter of fact many of the present League leaders of the Frontier helped the British Government against their own people.'
Our struggle all along had been for freedom of India and more especially for the Pathans. We want complete freedom. That ideal of ours still remains with us and we shall work for it.

Unfortunately recent developments placed grave difficulties in our way. In the announcement of H.M.G.'s plan of June 3 it has been stated that a referendum will be held in N.W.F.P. where the only alternative which will be put before the electors of the present Legislative Assembly will be whether to join the Indian Union Constituent Assembly or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. This limits our choice to two alternatives neither of which we are prepared to accept. We cannot vote as we want to vote for a free Pathan State. The way this question will be put makes it a communal question and the people will be confused because of this communal approach. We do not want to encourage communalism in our province.'

33. Referendum Is Unjustified
Statement by the Frontier Ministry, 26 June 1947

1. The Ministry have given careful thought to H.M.G.'s Announcement of 3rd June, 1947, regarding the transfer of power in so far as it affects the N.W.F.P. They are of the opinion that the proposal to hold a Referendum in the N.W.F.P. on the issues mentioned in para 4 of the Announcement is unjustified. The last General Elections of 1946 were contested by our organization on the clear issue of Pakistan and the electorate gave an unambiguous verdict against it. Therefore, it is unnecessary to hold a Referendum now.

2. It is a fact that a violent communal agitation was launched by the Muslim League in this Province about 7 or 8 months ago. The Nazi methods used by them, which resulted in the murder of hundreds of innocent men, women and children, and considerable loss of property amounting to crores of rupees, struck terror into the minds of all those who were unable to defend themselves. This lead [sic for led] to the exodus of a large section of the population from the Province. The agitation was still going on when H.M.G. announced the partition of India on communal lines, i.e. Hindu India & Muslim India. Similarly due to the widespread riots in the Punjab, the partition of that Province on communal lines became inevitable. The partition of Punjab naturally created a physical barrier between Hindustan and N.W.F.P. Under the terms of the Announcement, Referendum in the N.W.F.P. was to be held only after the partition of the Punjab had become an accomplished fact. In these circumstances, to call upon the 94 per cent Muslim population of N.W.F.P. to vote whether they wished to join Hindustan or Pakistan is highly unfair and unjustified.

3. Long before the Announcement, it was made abundantly clear by the leaders of our organization, both in press and on the platform, that they did not wish to join either Hindustan or Pakistan but that they desired to have a free Pathan State of their own in N.W.F.P. The Ministry, therefore, feel that with a view to ascertain[ing] the will of the Pathans of N.W.F.P., a Referendum should have been held on the issue of Pathanistan and Pakistan.

4. It may be explained that the two Members of our Organization attended the meetings of the existing Constituent Assembly because under the Cabinet Mission Plan of 16th May, 1946, only one Constituent Assembly had been set up and they had rightly hoped that the Muslim League will also ultimately join it, in view of their earlier acceptance of the said Plan.

5. The Ministry also feel that whereas in the case of other Provinces which are affected by the partition, it was Members of the Legislative Assemblies concerned that were given the right to express their opinions; in this Province alone a departure was made.
6. The campaign of violent crime, arson, loot and forcible conversions in which the Muslim League Party indulged for the last 7 or 8 months, has created an atmosphere in which the holding of a free Referendum is not possible. The responsible leaders of the Muslim League still hold out open threats of violence both against the minorities and the weaker section of the general populace that if they cast their votes against Pakistan they will do so only at their peril. The Ministry feel that the holding of Referendum under such conditions will lead to violence and bloodshed. They, therefore, protest against H.M.G.'s proposal to hold a Referendum in the N.W.F.P. on the issues mentioned in para 4. They also wish to state for the information of H.E. the Viceroy that the Khudai Khidmatgars will not associate themselves with the proposed Referendum.

K[HA]N SAHIB

34. Appeal to Muslims in the Frontier Province to Vote in Favour of Joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly

Revised draft of the Press statement by M.A. Jinnah, 28 June 1947


I regret that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has not, as arranged, so far communicated to me the decision of the Frontier Congress Organization, but the text of their resolution has been released to the press and was published on 23rd June 1947. I am, therefore, obliged now to deal with the matter according to the press reports.

The Resolution lays down:

1. that free Pathan State of all the Pakhtoons should be established;
2. that the Constitution of the State should be framed on the basis of Islamic conceptions of democracy, equality and social justice; and
3. it appeals to all the Pathans to unite for the attainment of this cherished goal and not to submit to any non-Pakhtoon domination.

This Resolution is a direct breach of the acceptance by the Congress of His Majesty's Government's Plan of June 3rd. The Congress accepted the Plan finally at their meeting of the AICC on the 15th of June and Mr. Gandhi in his speech at the meeting of the AICC also finally not only himself accepted the Plan but urged upon the AICC to do so. The Plan, *inter alia*, provides for a referendum in the N.W.F.P. on the question whether the Province would join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or whether it wishes to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. This, in fact, is a vote whether the N.W.F.P. should form part of Hindustan or Pakistan and there is no other alternative at issue whatsoever.

After the Plan having been accepted by the AICC, the Frontier Congress organization was bound to honour this agreement and acceptance by the Congress of which they are a part and parcel; the Frontier representatives of the Congress were present in the Congress Working Committee as well as in the AICC and the decision was taken finally in their presence.

It follows therefore that the Congress are bound to honour the terms of the Plan, but instead Mr. Gandhi has since been expressing views at his prayer-meetings which are calculated to encourage the Khan Brothers to sabotage the Plan, to incite the people of the Frontier and to disrupt the Muslims of the N.W.F.P.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

Never before was such an insidious (and) spurious demand put forward for the establishment of a Free Pathan State of all the Pakhtoons by the Khan Brothers or anybody else. This is a new stunt and slogans are being invented to mislead the people of the N.W.F.P. The second cry is disingenuous and calculated to mislead the Pathans when they say that the Constitution of the proposed Pathanistan will be framed on the basis of Islamic conceptions of democracy, equality and social justice, thereby insinuating that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, which will be composed of an overwhelming majority of Muslims, will disregard the Islamic conceptions of democracy, equality and social justice. There is no truth in it; nor is there any ground or reason for it. This is only a subterfuge on their part intended to mislead the Muslims of the N.W.F.P. The Khan Brothers, specially Abdul Gaffar Khan who is proud to call himself Frontier Gandhi, have not the monopoly of true Islamic conceptions of democracy, equality and social justice, and, till yesterday, they were wedded to nationalism, the theory of one Indian nation and the Congress demand for a strong Federal Government for all India!

This sudden and new volte face is a piece of pure political chicanery and a manoeuvre intended to prop up the Khan clique in power and it pains me that it has received the apostolic blessings of Mr. Gandhi who has declared himself most anxious to see that a fratricidal fight amongst the Pathans is avoided at all costs.

It is obvious to any intelligent man that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, as it has been repeatedly explained by me, can only frame a Constitution in which the Frontier Province will be an autonomous unit, and, as such, the people of the Frontier will be their own masters regulating their social, cultural and educational matters, besides the general administration of the Province, as a unit of the Pakistan Federal Government like any other province or unit in Pakistan. But the Khan Brothers in their statements and interviews given to the press have raised another poisonous cry that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly will disregard the fundamental principles of the Shari'ah and Qur'anic laws. This, again, is absolutely untrue. More than thirteen centuries have gone by and in spite of bad weather and fair that the Musalmans had to pass through, we have not only been proud of our great and holy Book, the Qur'an, but we have adhered to all the fundamentals all these ages, and suddenly now this present cry has been raised, insinuating that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, composed of an overwhelming majority of Muslims, as I said before, cannot be trusted. What would have happened to the Khan Brothers, who have now suddenly started out-Heroding Herod in their championship of Islam and Qur'anic laws, in the Hindu Constituent Assembly with a brute majority of the Hindus which they willingly joined without demur?

I want the Muslims of the Frontier Province clearly to understand that they are Muslims first and Pathans afterwards; and that the Province will meet a disastrous fate if it does not join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. The 3½ million people of that province which is economically deficit will not be able to stand even for a few months by themselves and politically and geographically the province will be reduced to a non-entity although there are great potentialities for the N.W.F.P. to make its contribution to Pakistan in times to come. It will be, to start with, a liability to Pakistan financially and the other provinces and units like the Punjab, Bengal and Sind will have to foot the bill in order to raise the people of the Frontier to a higher level economically and socially, to say nothing of the defence. For all these considerations, I appeal to every Muslim in the Frontier Province in the interest of solidarity of Pakistan and the vital interest of the province to vote solidly in favour of joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

Finally, I appeal to you not to slacken your efforts and not be lulled into the belief that our opponents have decided to boycott the referendum, but be vigilant and record every vote in
favour of Pakistan Constituent Assembly. The Khan Brothers are the last ditchers and we want to expose thoroughly the fraud that they have practised upon the Muslims of the North-West Frontier Province for nearly a decade. They have succeeded in the past in bamboozling and misleading the Pathans at the bidding of outside authority of the Congress. Let us hope that they will not succeed in deceiving the Pathans for all time and that you will give your clear and thumping verdict in favour of the Province joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

35. Participation in the Frontier Referendum
Letter from M.K. Gandhi to Louis Mountbatten, 28/29 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/151, Acc. No. 3819, NMML

Dear Friend

I have to inflict another letter on you—this time about the Frontier referendum. Badshah Khan writes to me to say that he is carrying out the plan I had discussed with you and he with Qaide Azam Jinnah. The plan was to move for free Pathanistan framing its own local constitution and when the Pakistan and the Union Constitutions were out to decide either to belong to one state or the other. In this move he has failed. Therefore the referendum would go on without any interference by his followers, the latter abstaining from voting either way. He fully realizes that in this case the Frontier would probably go to Pakistan.

He wants me also to draw your attention to the fact that Punjab Muslims men and women are being freely introduced in the Frontier Province to affect the referendum and that notable non-Frontier Muslims too have been sent to the Frontier Province for the same purpose. This increases the risk of bloodshed and worse.

He also says that the non-Muslim refugees numbering many thousand will have no chance, so far as he is aware, of taking part in the referendum and they are threatened with dire penalty should they dare to exercise the vote.

I see in today’s papers that Qaide Azam Jinnah contends that if the Pathans abstain from voting, the abstention will constitute a breach of the terms of the referendum. I do not see the force of the contention.

Many thanks for your telegram to the Resident in Kashmir.

Yours sincerely,
M.K. GANDHI

36. Congress Propaganda against Referendum
Letter from Firoz Khan Noon to M.A. Jinnah, 29 June 1947
Jinnah Papers, Vol. II, pp. 600–1

PESHAWAR

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Faqir of Ipi is out for trouble. Nehru must have suddenly opened the route to him, for buses are taking passengers to him openly. The last 18 miles they walk. He gives Rs. 20 [to] each Mulla who goes up and gets his signature on a paper that he will join Jehad. But he does
not know against whom. The rumour here is that money has passed to him to create trouble for us so that the Punjab may be busy on the east and the west. He is also ambitious and wants to be a King. The Afghan people are also hoping to benefit by the trouble here. The whole Indian Army can be kept busy here. You will have to be very ruthless and firm here.

a. The Legislature will be a hindrance to law and order which must be preserved at all costs.
b. Your Governor here must be a Pathan or else the charges will stand proved that the League is friendly towards the British or that other than Pathans will rule in the N.W.F.P.
c. British officials in the political and the administrative services must be removed from here for similar reasons. The British technical men, e.g. Engineers, Doctors, etc. people here will not object to.
d. There is a small local tribal war going on already in a certain area. You must decide your tribal policy now and start acting on it and consolidating the right elements. Unless you have peace here in this province you will not be able to do any constructive work anywhere.

The referendum position I think is still only 60% in our favour. In Kohat area the Congress are not canvassing. In the Mardan and Peshawar areas they are canvassing. Their women are going round with the Qur'an and asking people not to go to the polls.

There was a Hindu poster circulating yesterday calling upon Hindus not to take sides in the referendum as it was a quarrel between a Muslim and Muslim. Abdul Ghani, son of Ghaffar Khan, says that Patel has authorised him to issue gun licences to his retainers. The Deputy Commissioner here has seen these pieces of paper. Law and order does not exist in this province.

Practically all the Muslim public servants are pro-League in spite of the Dr. [Khan Sahib] being the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

37. ‘Leaguers Preaching Hate in N.W.F.P.’

_The Tribune_, 1 July 1947

Haripur (Hazara), June 29.—The cult of violence of the worst type is being preached and lawlessness advocated not only in secret and private meetings but also in public gatherings by adherents of the Muslim League and various speakers throughout Hazara district on the eve of the referendum in the Frontier Province. Communal poison is once again being injected into the voters of this district and the plain question that is being asked is ‘Do you want to become idol worshippers instead of idol breakers or pray in a mosque as ordained by the holy Quoran—then you are at liberty to vote for Hindustan but if you want to remain faithful and loyal to Islam then only the latter course is open for you.’ This is the gospel of hate that is being preached on this side of the country.

Another open challenge of violence is being thrown in the words ‘Any one whether Hindu or Muslim who comes in the way of establishment of Pakistan in the Frontier Province will be given the extreme penalty.’

Fanatic _mullahs_ are being requisitioned for propagating hate and scores of Muslim League workers, men, women and students are being regularly imported throughout the province to
Referendum in NWFP and Sylhet

1857

prepare the ground for holding the referendum. Minorities are being threatened with the fear of extinction if they vote either side or participate in the referendum. Women workers of the League are reported to have gone to several mohallas in Peshawar and other places warning them against dire consequences if they take any part in the referendum which was a clear issue for the Muslims alone. It is stated that 85,000 non-Muslims have the rights of vote, although most of them are at present away from their homes.

With the boycott of the referendum by the Nationalist element the League might have an easy walk-over in the referendum but top rank Congress leaders, including Badshah Khan are exerting every nerve to maintain peace and avoid bloodshed in the province.

38. Gandhi Still Defends Ghaffar Khan

Report in Pakistan Times, 2 July 1947
Cited in Jinnah Papers, Vol. III, p. 876

NEW DELHI, [June] 30: Mr. Gandhi in his after prayer speech this evening referred to the allegation that the Frontier Congress Leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was playing into the hands of Afghanistan and said he considered Badshah Khan ‘incapable’ of any underhand dealing. The Frontier Leader would not allow the Frontier to be absorbed by Afghanistan.

The question of referendum in the Frontier Province just now looms large in the public eye, because it has been and is still officially a Congress Province. Badshah Khan and his co-workers do not relish being asked to choose between Hindustan or Pakistan. ‘The charge of the new cry of Pathanistan is being flung in Badshah Khan’s face. He does not want to create an additional State. If he can frame his own local constitution he will gladly make his choice of the one State or the other. It is difficult for me to understand the objection to this yearning after Pathan autonomy unless the object is to humiliate the Pathans and to take them into subjection.

‘The more serious charge is that the Badshah is playing into the hands of Afghanistan. I consider him to be incapable of any underhand dealing. He would not allow the Frontier Province to be absorbed by Afghanistan.

‘As his friend and because I am his friend I must admit one failing of his. He is highly suspicious especially of British professions and intentions. I would urge on all to overlook this failing which is by no means peculiar to him. Only it does not sit well on a leader of his eminence. I contend that though I have called it a failing and which it is in one way, in another it is to be regarded as a virtue in that he cannot, even if he tries, conceal his thoughts. He is too honest to hide them.’-API.

39. ‘We Will Succeed Despite All Hindrances’—Dr. Khan Saheb

The Tribune, 2 July 1947

PESHAWAR, June 30.—Dr. Khan Saheb, Frontier Premier, disclosed last night that some time back he had received a telegram from Mr. Jinnah asking him to quit office.

Addressing a public meeting at Chawk Yadgar, Peshawar City, the Frontier Premier asked: ‘How could a person like Mr. Jinnah think I would resign merely on his asking? What right had he to demand my resignation? Did I form the Ministry at his behest and with the backing of his followers here?’ He said he would leave the ministerial chair if he found a great majority of his people voted in favour of Pakistan despite the referendum boycott.
Continuing, he discounted the rumours about the Ministry’s impending resignation saying: ‘The Ministry is the Pakhtoon’s sacred trust which I, as a trustee, so far kept safe and secure in spite of the recent unparalleled hooliganism and intimidation. The Ministry can never be dislodged so long as it had the unchallenged backing of its people behind it.’

Dr. Khan Saheb went on: ‘The Pakhtoons are resolved to establish their own free Pathan State. Come what may, they will never brook any outside domination or exploitation. The Frontier is their homeland for whose emancipation they shed their blood against the British usurpers in the past and in future too they will turn any outsider who dare to temper with their birth right of freedom.

He concluded: ‘Our struggle for Pathanistan like the country’s freedom will continue with unabated vigour till it succeeds. Our goal is righteous, our principles based on truth, we have the unstinted support of the masses and we will succeed despite all hindrances.’—United Press.

40. Gandhi’s Support to Pathanistan Is a Political Debt to Khan Brothers
Letter from Howard Donovan to George Marshall, 2 July 1947
Jinnah Papers, Vol. III, pp. 883–4

Confidential
No. 9

Subject: Further Developments in Agitation for ‘Pathanistan’

Sir,

I have the honor to refer to my airgram No. A-130 of June 23, 1947 regarding Gandhi’s support of the ‘Pathanistan’ movement in the North-West Frontier Province and to submit some additional information on the subject. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Communications Member for the Government of India, issued a statement on June 28 severely criticizing the Pathanistan movement. The text of his statement, as it appeared in the Delhi Statesman of June 28, is enclosed herewith. The Pathanistan movement was characterized by the Communications Member as a movement ‘to isolate the North-West Frontier from Pakistan and ultimately make it a province of Hindustan’. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar also charges that if Pathanistan should come into being it would ‘seriously threaten the freedom of Pathans of the independent tribal areas.’

On the same day Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier of the N.W.F.P. issued a statement that once it had been decided to divide the Punjab it was impossible for the N.W.F.P. to continue to remain in Hindustan. He added that since a definite verdict against Pakistan ‘had already been given by the Frontier people during the last elections there was no alternative but to have a separate sovereign State.’

The Delhi Statesman on the same date published an editorial severely criticizing Gandhi and the Congress for espousing the cause of Pathanistan and thereby repudiating the commitment which they made to abide by the Viceroy’s plan of June 3. The text of this editorial is enclosed and it is in my judgment a very fair statement of the case. This is a fair sample of impartial press comment on this subject.

The Viceroy remarked yesterday during the course of a brief conversation which followed the presentation of the Ambassador’s credentials that only Gandhi supported the ‘Pathanistan’ movement. This confirmed what I had heard from other sources. The whole affair is merely a case of Gandhi discharging a political debt to the Khan Brothers and in so doing he has
embarrassed the Congress and has sown the seeds of trouble in the N.W.F.P. The Viceroy in this same conversation deprecated the idea of trouble in the N.W.F.P. as a result of the Congress boycott of the forthcoming referendum but I am inclined to think that there might be some wishful thinking involved in the Viceroy’s statement. Mr. Jinnah, in commenting on the matter yesterday, denounced it as merely a trouble making device instigated by Gandhi and he said categorically that the Muslim League would sweep the N.W.F.P. at the forthcoming referendum.

Respectfully yours,
Howard Donovan
Counsel of Embassy for the Ambassador

41. ‘League Will Have an Easy Walk Over in Frontier’
Report in Pakistan Times, 4 July 1947

Begum Shah Nawaz, MLA, who accompanied by Begum Fatima and Begum Salma Tasadduq Hussain toured the NWFP, on her return to Lahore on Thursday [3 July] evening, said that the Muslim League would have an easy walk-over in the coming referendum.

Begum Shah Nawaz and the other women leaders from the Punjab toured the Districts of Peshawar, Bannu and Kohat. They were the first Indian women to cross into the tribal territory and to address meetings.

Giving impressions of her tour, Begum Shah Nawaz said: ‘Everywhere [sic] we went, we saw scenes of enthusiasm and rejoicing at the coming into being of the greatest Muslim State into the world. The Pathans, are proud to be the citizens of Pakistan and they assured us that they were prepared to sacrifice their all for the cause of Islam and the Muslim nation.’

Begum Shah Nawaz added: ‘During the tour three things impressed me the most. First and foremost was the remarkable awakening among Muslim women who are determined to contribute their bit towards the establishment of Pakistan. They are working tirelessly and heroically like soldiers. Their political knowledge and power of oratory surprised me. Batches of young girls are touring the remote villages explaining the implications of the coming referendum to Pathan men and women. Secondly, the enthusiasm and patriotism of the tribal people. They assured us of their unstinted support for Pakistan. Thirdly, the wonderful organization of the Ghazi Pakhtoon, which is the spearhead of youth movement on the Frontier.’

LEAGUE WILL SWEEP THE POLLS

Expressing her confidence that the Muslim League would sweep the polls in the Frontier Province, Begum Shah Nawaz said:

‘A new spirit seems to have electrified the atmosphere in the Frontier in favour of the Muslim League. The last bastion of the Khan Brothers, Utmanzai, their home-village, fell to the Muslim League mujahids when we held meetings there and exposed the policy of the Khan Brothers who had always stood in the way of the emancipation of the Muslim nation.’...

In a short speech, Begum Shah Nawaz explained the significance of the coming referendum and told the Pathans that this was opportunity for them to become the masters of their own affairs. She added:
‘A powerful Muslim State is about to come into existence and you have been given an opportunity. Either to join the great fraternity of Islam or to put the noose of Hindu domination round your necks.’

MESSAGE TO QUAID-I-AZAM

Replying on behalf of the Afridis of Darra, Nawab Malik Samad Khan assured Begum Shah Nawaz of their whole-hearted support to the Muslim League....

Malik Hassan Khan, the nephew of the Nawab presented two rifles to the League deputation and requested that one of them be sent to the Quaid-i-Azam.

Begum Shah Nawaz presided at a mass meeting at Kohat without a burqa. In a forceful speech, she asked the Pathans to be on their guard against the deceptive and un-Islamic slogans of the Frontier Congress, which is still playing the Hindu game. She asked where was the Congress when the Muslim League fought and got the Pathans a separate autonomous province? What is the Congress share in the fight against the annulment of the Frontier Regulations? The Muslims had the first foretaste of the Congress brand of independence when the purely Congress-ridden Interim Government ordered bombardment of the Waziristan territory, and later Pandit Nehru took Pathan hostages in Hazara. Where was Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s Zalme Pakhtoon when Pathans were murdered in cold blood in Bombay? What have the Khan Brothers done to help the Muslims in Bihar, where thousands were killed treacherously and many thousands more were uprooted from their hearths and homes.

In the end Begum Sahiba appealed to the Pathans to rally round the Muslim League flag and thus defeat the machinations of the Khan Brothers who wanted to keep the Frontier Province under Hindu raj.

Welcoming the League women leaders, a representative of Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif said: ‘Today our sisters are the front-rank soldiers of Islam and as this is a peaceful Jehad, we welcome them in our midst unveiled but dressed in clothes which is shar‘i purdah.’

42. Free Pathanistan Does Not Mean Complete Independence

Telegram from Jawaharlal Nehru to M.K.Vellodi, 4 July 1947

Jinnah Papers, Vol. III, p. 895

IMMEDIATE/SECRET

No. 5211

Personal for Vellodi from Nehru

4[3]. Sudhir Ghosh’s telegram to me, dated 3rd July regarding Frontier referendum: no breach of pledge involved in abstention from referendum by Frontier Congress.

Referendum nevertheless takes place. Method of asking people to choose was objected to as it became a communal question. Ideal of free Pathanistan does not mean complete independence or isolation from India. It means full autonomy for province and liberty of choice as to which Dominion to join. Frontier Congress entirely opposed to any intrusion of Afghanistan in a matter which appertains to India only.

4. On Muslim League side propaganda to build up pan-Islamic State from Frontier to West Asia. Frontier Congressmen entirely opposed to this as well as to joining Pakistan. However in order to avoid contest on purely communal issue and possibility of conflict on such issue they decided to abstain from taking part in referendum. Quite clear that there is no demand
for separate sovereign state as everyone realizes Frontier Province too small and weak for such existence.

43. Red Shirts Persuading People Not to Vote

Letter from Louis Mountbatten to M.K. Gandhi, 4 July 1947

Dear Mr. Gandhi

In your letter of 28/29 June to me you said that the Referendum on the Frontier would go on without any interference by the followers of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

It is reported to me from the Frontier that Red Shirts are now ‘persuading’ people not to vote. I think you will agree that any action of this sort is likely to lead to the very violence you and I are so anxious to avoid. I trust that if the reports are true, in view of the policy stated in your letter you will be able to persuade Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan to implement that policy.

Yours sincerely

MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

44. Gandhi Appeals for Withdrawal of Agitation against Voting

Letter from M.K. Gandhi to Louis Mountbatten, 5 July 1947

Bhangi Colony, New Delhi,

Dear Friend,

I thank you for your letter which came into my hands after the evening prayer. Agitation is undoubtedly being carried on today by Badshah Khan and his lieutenants to tell the voters that it is wrong for them to take part in the voting. There should be no demonstration during the voting days and there should be no approach to the voters during the voting time. If this is what you mean I shall be glad to refer to the matter in those terms at the evening prayer. I am quite prepared to adopt quicker means of reaching Badshah Khan, if you suggest any.

If you have any other thing in view, you will please let me know.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. GANDHI

45. ‘League Campaign Spreads All Over NWFP: Tremendous Public Enthusiasm Evinced’

Extracts from a report in *Dawn*, 5 July 1947

ABBOTTABAD, Friday.—A mighty movement to mobilize popular support for Pakistan is being carried on by the Muslim League leaders and workers in the Frontier Province, where for the past 10 days towns and villages have been literally resounding with cries of *Allah-o-Akbar* and *Pakistan and Muslim League Zindabad*.

In spite of the fact that the Khan Brothers have virtually fled from the field and the result of the referendum is an absolute certainty, the idea of the Muslim League leaders is apparently not only to win the referendum but to take advantage of the present opportunity to educate
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

public opinion in an effort eliminate come [sic] for all traitors to the cause of Muslim solidarity in Pakistan....

TREMENDOUS ENTHUSIASM

There is throughout the Province tremendous enthusiasm for the Muslim League, the position of the Khan Brothers and their party being more or less the same as that of Malik Khizr Hyat Khan and his Unionist Colleagues during the general elections in the Punjab. The League movement has simply swamped them and drowned their voice in this Province.

The line of the League propaganda is simple and clear. The country has now been divided between the Hindu India and a Muslim India. For their own survival as well as for the sake of their brothers who have been left in Hindustan it is the duty of all Muslims to join and form as strong a Pakistan State as possible. Out of spite for Pakistan certain leaders of the Hindustan State are trying to weaken and disrupt the Muslim State even before it is born and the Khan Brothers are acting as their tools. Will the Pathans allow these agents and fifth columnists of Hindustan to sabotage the strength and solidarity of Pakistan? In any case, how can a Muslim dare disregard the basic teaching of Islam that Muslims are all one and that their unity based on a common faith transcends all differences of caste and language.

The argument is unanswerable, and several leaders of the Muslim League who are extremely effective and persuasive speakers have completely taken the wind out of the sails of Pathanistan. They are naturally anxious that the separatist cry of Pathanistan should be killed and buried for ever. They have to think not only of the immediate problem of the referendum (which is really no problem) but also of the more distant future....

46. Real Pathan Bravery on Its Trial

Letter from M.K. Gandhi to Abdul Ghaffar Khan, 5 July 1947

CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 276–7

BHANGI COLONY,
NEW DELHI,

DEAR BADSHAH,

Khudai Khidmatgar Alam Khan saw me before 12 o’clock and he said that he was leaving for Peshawar tonight. I did not send any letter through him. But I told him that there should be no demonstration against the Muslim League, that it should be enough that in the present state of tension and misrepresentation Khudai Khidmatgars should not vote at all one way or the other, that they were entitled so far as internal affairs were concerned to claim and to have complete autonomy without any interference from Pakistan or the Union, and that they could come to a decision as to the choice between the Union or Pakistan when the constitutions of the two were promulgated and when the Frontier Province had fashioned its own autonomous constitution. Above all, every occasion for clash with the Muslim League members was to be avoided. Real Pathan bravery was now on its trial. It was to be shown by cheerfully meeting blows or even meeting death at the hands of the opponents without the slightest sort of retaliation. Boycott would certainly result in a legal victory for Pakistanis, but it would be a moral defeat if without the slightest fear of violence from your side the bulk of Pathans refrained in a dignified manner from participating in the referendum. There should be no fuss, no processions, and no disobedience of any orders from the authority.
I had acted promptly on receipt of your letter. I wrote a long letter to His Excellency on which he took action. You must have seen also how I had dealt with the question of the Frontier Province in one of my post-prayer speeches. I send you herewith a copy of my letter to the Viceroy and of my post-prayer speech. This letter is also in answer to a complaint received by the Viceroy that it was reported that there was fear of disturbance to be caused by the Khudai Khidmatgars.

I hope the strain under which you are working is not telling upon your health.

Love,

BAPU

47. ‘Ghaffar’s Dream Is to Rule over Pathans’

DERA ISMAIL KHAN, July 3: Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, ex-Premier of the NWFP, who has been working here organizing the referendum campaign, in an interview on Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s statement of June 28, says:

The gist of the statement can be thus summarised that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan says that he wants to establish Pathanistan, an independent state of all Pathans. There will be no king and the land will be ruled by the entire Pathan nation jointly.

It will become the self-styled Badshah Khan who calls his village garden Shahi Bagh to say that there will be no king [sic]. His very denial betrays his cherished dream and life long ambition of kingship.

His statement that the land will be ruled jointly most probably means such a joint rule of Pathans as his present family Ministry is. It is a brother Premier, a son-in-law and his son’s father-in-law Ministers, plus Pathan-i-Azam Mehr Chand Khanna [sic]!

Of [sic] his statement wherein he brazenly insinuates [sic] against the Quaid-i-Azam saying that the arrival of General Montgomery in India and his meetings with Mr. Jinnah are significant. Are not the meetings of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh with General Montgomery equally significant? Two Indias are adjusting their relations with Great Britain about Quit India arrangements and meetings must take place. But for Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan any stick is big enough to strike [sic].

Of [sic] Muslim India he is blind to the fact that his original (Mr. Gandhi) and the Congress are accepting even British Dominion status for India and his Congress is contemplating the retention of Sir Claude Auchinleck for some years more. He also conveniently forgets his own two-page fulsome praise of Sir Olaf Caroe in his paper Pukhtoon (at) the time of his appointment as Governor.

The Muslim India wonders why he is anxious to qualify himself to stand in line with Mir Jaffars and Sadiqs. The fact of the matter is that Abdul Ghaffar Khan does not see a beam in his own eye because his sole aim is rather [sic for neither] Pathanistan nor independent state of all Pathans, but Ghaffaristan and himself to be the real Badshah Khan.

According to the Mountbatten Plan six provinces are to go to for Hindustan and five and a half Muslim provinces to Pakistan. Bombay does not object to domination by the U.P. as there is not [sic]. In fact the plan means the federation for beneficent purposes, otherwise provincial units would be completely sovereign and autonomous [sic]. Two sovereign
Hindu and Muslim States are envisaged in the plan but he finds Ghaffaristan uncalled for [sic]. He should take note that the Pathans are Muslims first and Pathans afterwards. They will stand in the Muslim group in spite of his sentimental chicogery [sic for chicanery]. Frontier Pathans will not give up their Muslim federation and Islamic solidarity for his sentimental mess of potterge [sic for pottage]. His game is [sic] up by the July 15, Insha 'Allah. He will meet his Waterloo in the referendum. He should beware the ideas of March [sic] or July instead Pakistan Zindabad [sic].

48. Report from NWFP

Extracts from the fortnightly report on NWFP for the second half of June 1947, 7 July 1947

Home Poll (I), File No. 18/6/47, NAI

Secret.

...2. Political and Communal.—Great interest centred at the beginning of the fortnight on what the policy of the Congress Party was to be in relation to the Referendum. It was already known that they regarded it as unnecessary; but there was much speculation about the possible results of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s journey to Delhi on June 13th for discussions with Congress and Muslim League leaders. During the next week the party practically ceased to hold public meetings, although party officials and groups of members conducted extensive tours throughout the villages of the Province. A party meeting was held in Bannu, after Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s return, on June 22nd. The proceedings were in camera, but at a later public meeting on the same day it was definitely announced that the Congress Party would take no part in the Referendum, and that it was pledged to a policy of achieving an autonomous Pathanistan State. Thereafter the Party’s activity has been concentrated on spreading and explaining this policy, and a number of largely attended public meetings have been held.

The Muslim League campaign has been vigorous both before and after the Congress announcement. They have opposed the Pathanistan idea on the basis of arguments which have become well-known through press and platform publicity. At one stage it seemed possible that the League leaders might agree to calling off the Referendum; but up to date they have not decided to do so, apparently because the Congress boycott has not been announced in the form of the formal party resolution, and therefore there is some suspicion that the decision to boycott may not be final.

So far the Referendum campaign has not resulted in any serious breaches of the peace, but this is not to imply that the atmosphere is peaceful. On the evening of June 20th there was a minor clash in Peshawar City between followers of the two main parties after a large Muslim League procession and meeting; and the subsequent tension was so high that only the personal intervention of the Hon’ble Chief Minister on the morning of June 21st prevented a serious breach of the peace. During the Hon’ble Revenue Minister’s tour of Hazara District in the last week of the month there were several hostile demonstrations which had to be controlled by the police. Elsewhere there have also been a few minor clashes. It is only to be expected that feelings should run high, but the inherent dangers of the situation are enhanced beyond measure by the very large number of arms, licenced and unlicenced, possessed and freely displayed throughout the Province. The matter is one which has caused considerable concern to the Provincial Government, and it is the intention that the carrying of arms within
one thousand yards of polling stations should be absolutely prohibited while voting is going on. The decision of the Congress Party not to take part in the Referendum has undoubtedly been a very large contributory factor to the relative absence so far of serious disturbances. Another factor has been the discreet conduct of the minorities. On the whole, also, although a few speakers have used unrestrained language and even threats, the general tone of Muslim League speeches has not been unduly provocative. There is no doubt that the leaders of both parties are anxious for peace to prevail both during the Referendum and after.

An illustration of what might happen was seen in the Charsadda sub-division on the morning of June 24th. In pursuance of a bloodfeud two murders had been committed three days before; and on the day in question about 250 men of each faction took part in a pitched battle. Some thirty police succeeded in stopping it after advancing under heavy fire arresting 11 persons, and seizing ten fire-arms and a quantity of ammunition, but not before two persons had been killed and seven injured ... was the second incident of its kind during the month. The previous one also occurred in Charsadda sub-division on June 9th, when more than one thousand rounds were fired by rival factions, and one person was killed and two wounded.

Khaksars have held a number of meetings mainly in Peshawar City, but also in Haripur and Nowshera. Their avowed object is to achieve by conquest a Pakistan which will extend as far as Delhi. There is nothing special to report about Communist activities, which have been confined to small meetings in the Hazara District. It is not always easy to appreciate the policy of this Party, but in this Province it appears to be 'when in Rome do as the Romans.' That is to say, the inclusion of this Province in Pakistan is advocated together with the adoption of the law of Shariat. But within this framework they include such other demands as the expulsion of the Jews from Palestine and of the Ahmadias from the Muslim League; the ownership of land by tenants; and the rejection of Dominion Status. The R.S.S. Sangh's volunteers continue to drill in a few headquarters towns.

There is nothing fresh to report about volunteer Organisations. The two main ones, the Redshirts and the Muslim League National Guards, remained fairly constant in numbers; their offshoots, the Zalmi Pakhtoon and the Ghazi Pakhtoon, have been recruiting; and others are numerically insignificant....

By order, etc.,
A.N. Mitchell
Chief Secretary to Government,
North-West Frontier Province

49. ‘3 Mile Long Procession of Red Shirts in Peshawar’
*The Hindustan Times*, 8 July 1947

Peshawar, July 7.—About 20,000 Khudai Khidmatgars and ‘Zalme Pakhtoons’ shouting slogans ‘Pathanistan Zindabad’, and ‘Badshah Khan Zindabad’ paraded through the narrow streets of Kissa Khani Bazar this afternoon, on the occasion of the celebration of the ‘Pathanistan Day.’

The Red Shirts, four abreast, marched to the accompaniment of bagpipes and drums. The procession was three miles long.

Smartly dressed Khudai Khidmatgars in their red uniform and Pathans in *salwar* and *kurta* carried sticks, axes and walking sticks.
Dr. Khan Sahib said: ‘These Red Shirts are only drawn from certain parts of Peshawar and Mardan districts.’

The celebration of the Azad Pathanistan Day in Peshawar today was a landmark in the history of this movement. Peshawar city wore a festive appearance, with tastefully decorated gates built at many places. Thousands of Khudai Khidmatgars poured into Shahi Bagh from adjoining villages. At 4 p.m. they marched through the city in a three-mile-long procession, passing through Kissa Khani and other main bazars of the town. It finally terminated at Chawk Yadgari, where a public meeting was held.

Khan Sahib’s Promise

Dr. Khan Sahib announced at a Press conference today that if the Pathans voted for Pakistan ‘I will resign.’

He added that in the last election in February last year 63 per cent of the electorate voted. ‘Now if more than 30 per cent of the total electorate votes on referendum we will be morally bound to resign.’

Dr. Khan Sahib said: ‘After August 16 when the British leave we will know what we can do. I will deal with the Muslim League in a nice, peaceful way. Personally I will have nothing to do with Pakistan.’

According to reports from Mansehra in Hazara district, the polling booths for the Hazara-Mardan Sikh rural constituency were deserted.

The Referendum Commissioner, Brigadier Booth, said that the voting yesterday was ‘very orderly,’ but no Hindu or Sikh vote was cast.

Loyalty to Party

‘My loyalty and allegiance to the Khudai Khidmatgar Party stands unshaken,’ said Khan Mohammed Nawaz Khan, a prominent Khudai Khidmatgar worker of Kandi, in a statement. ‘The Nawaz Sahib of Teri, Begum Fatima Sahiba and others asked me that I and my family should join the League and vote for Pakistan. They could not convince me.’—F.O.C., A.P.A. and A.P.I.

50. The Frontier Leadership Must Symbolize ‘Deepest Emotional Aspect of the Pathan Mind’

Letter from Mohammad Yakub Khan to M.A. Jinnah, 8 July 1947


Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

During a month’s stay in the Frontier Province (having returned only yesterday) I have formed some definite impressions about the state of things in that Province which I feel, I should, in the interest of the stability of our national state of Pakistan, bring to your notice. These impressions are based on personal contacts with people and leaders of all schools of thought.

The Referendum will, by God’s Grace, be a decisive victory for Pakistan. But it will by no means be the end of the struggle. It will only open up another and a more difficult phase of
Referendum in NWFP and Sylhet

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the struggle. The enclosed note is an appraisement of those difficulties and a suggestion how to meet them.

I hope you will find it of some use to you in arriving at correct conclusions about affairs in the Frontier which are assuming urgency as the Referendum is coming to a close.

With the deepest regards and devotion,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,

MUHAMMAD YAKUB KHAN
Editor, the Light, Lahore

Enclosure

THE FRONTIER SITUATION TODAY

How to launch Pakistan in this Province

In order to lay the foundations of Pakistan in the Frontier Province on a sure and firm footing, it is essential to take stock of the existing situation in this Province and shape the future line of action in the light of that situation.

RED SHIRTISM

The most outstanding factor about the present Frontier situation is that Red Shirtism, though swamped for the time being, is not altogether dead. It has only retired into its shell and entrenched itself in well-knit pockets. Given an opportune moment it may flare up any moment and serve as a springboard for Hindu imperialism in this very heart of Pakistan. The belated slogan of ‘Pathanistan’ conceived and coined at the Bhangi Colony and the Afghan Government’s eleventh hour note to British Foreign Office demanding Indian territory up to the Indus are unmistakable indications that the partition of India has by no means put a ‘Finis’ to Hindu dreams of all-India domination. And viewed in the context of the Congress-sponsored Pathan ‘Storm Troops’ known as ‘Zalame Pakhtoon’, and the open exhortations of top ranking Congress leaders to the youth of Hindustan to prepare for the restoration of India’s unity by force of arms, the whole thing assumes a most sinister look and it will be a fatal mistake to suppose that now that Pakistan has been won, all is going to be smooth sailing. The very corner-stone of the ‘Frontier Policy’ of Pakistan must therefore be to see that Red Shirtism, the dangerous fifth column of the Congress in the very heart of Pakistan, is eradicated root and branch from the soil of the Frontier.

The question is: How to do it?

Red Shirtism can be liquidated only by Red Shirtism. This is no paradox. When under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Red Shirtism became an out-agency of Hindu imperialism in the Frontier, many front rank Red Shirt leaders, scenting the danger, parted company with him and joined the Muslim League. Many more followed suit when in the recent grim struggle for the very existence of Islam in India, the Khan Brothers openly came out as the champions of Hindu domination over Muslims. It is this element in the League ranks in the Frontier which alone is capable of driving the last nail into the coffin of Red Shirtism. For over a quarter of a century, popular leadership in this Province has been the monopoly of the Red Shirt movement. To this movement goes the sole credit for political awakening among the Pathans. By virtue of the long and daring fight this movement put up against British
imperialism, all true dynamic leadership of the Pathans has come to be associated with this movement. Recent developments have brought many non-Red Shirts who swelled the ranks of the League, into the limelight. But they lack the hallmark of sufferings and sacrifices which the old veteran ex-Red Shirt leaders have to their credit. It is to these alone that the Pathans are accustomed to look up with respect and confidence. As a matter of fact, it was this element in the League ranks that put life into the recent civil resistance [disobedience] movement against the Congress Ministry. League leadership in the Frontier must be vested in these men, veterans of many a fight against British imperialism, bearing scars of years of jail life and commanding the esteem and confidence of the masses, if Red Shirtism is to be effectively dealt with.

The whole secret of the strength of Red Shirtism lies in the solid compact leadership which it has, through long years of comradeship and common suffering in its fight against British imperialism, evolved. Unionism in the Punjab has vanished like the morning dew at the very first impact of the League movement. Red Shirtism had to face a worse avalanche but it has managed to linger on in the soil of the Frontier. What is the explanation? The solid and compact leadership developed through years of close team-work and comradeship. The League in the Frontier must give the masses exactly this kind of leadership, equally well-knit and compact and with a like halo of the heroic around it, if [it] is to grip the imagination of the Pathan masses and command their confidence and respect. Such leadership alone can throw Red Shirtism in the shade and finally liquidate it.

**PATHANISTAN**

The cry of ‘Pathanistan’ as raised by the Khan Brothers is no more than selling the ‘Pathans’ to the highest bidder, the Hindu capitalist of Hindustan. But the idea of Pathan nationhood is not without a solid substratum of reality in the mental make-up of the Pathans. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan may have attempted to exploit that deepest racial loyalty of the Pathans to an ignoble end. But he must be given credit for insight into Pathan psychology and for tapping just this tenderest chord in his mind. The League High Command will do well to take a leaf out of his practical knowledge of Pathan mentality and take due note of this very live issue [sic] in the Pathan intellectual and emotional being.

‘Pathanistan’ in the sense of a flourishing, progressive, expanding Pathan nationhood within the comity of units comprising the Pakistan State and a bulwark to that state is an ideal which glows in the bosom of every Pathan and which is the only stimulus that can evoke the best response in him. It is this tender chord that the League High Command must touch in the Pathan’s mind and there could be no surer and quicker way to liquidate Red Shirtism which owes its last flickering vitality to this very factor.

The question again is: how to do it? And the answer again is: the right type of leadership. League leadership in the Frontier must symbolize this deepest emotional aspect of the Pathan mind. It means a leadership with blazing, burning idealism, with a lofty vision as to the Pathans’ destiny and above all with a complete identification with the life of the masses. I should go a step further and say that even in the physical sense Pathan leadership must be typically Pathan-like. The Pathan has an intense racial pride. Everything Pathan—Pathan blood, Pathan language, Pathan mode of life, even such details as Pathan dress and salutation—constitute with the Pathan the hallmark of respectability. League leadership in the Frontier must reflect all these features in the highest degree. Such a leadership will knock the bottom out of Dr. Khan’s hue and cry against the bogey of outside influences dominating the life of the Pathans. It shall impress the Pathans as a Government of the Pathans, by the Pathans, for the Pathans.
‘Pathanistan’ within Pakistan and a source of strength to it will thus be an accomplished fact, and Red Shirtism will, *ipso facto*, lose its last lingering foothold on the Pathan’s imagination.

**MASS UPLIFT PROGRAMME**

Another important factor to make Pakistan strike deep roots in the hearts of the Pathans shall be how far Pakistan administration in this Province comes up to the high expectations which people have come to form of the advent of this new era. No one, of course, would expect that the country should overnight flow with milk and honey. Nevertheless no time should be lost to launch a full-blooded programme of all-round mass uplift and to carry out that programme at top speed. This again needs a well-knit team of workers at the helm, bound together by a common burning passion to fight tooth and nail for the amelioration of the lot of the Pathans, to banish poverty, ignorance and disease from among them, to eradicate their social and moral evils, to bring out the best and noblest that is in their Pathan culture and civilization and thereby to make them a tower of strength to the state of Pakistan. This is the kind of team and team-work, fired with this burning glowing idealism that can cope with the nation-building work which the inauguration of Pakistan is to devolve on the coming Frontier leadership....

**LEADERSHIP**

From every point of view, the Frontier problem resolves into a question of efficient inspiring leadership. Critical are the days that lie ahead. The Frontier Province, the most explosive area in the whole of India, is going to become the battle ground of diverse conflicting forces contending for supremacy. The League High Command must know and appreciate that three million sturdy, valiant Pathans, ready for any sacrifice for Pakistan, with another three to four million of their kinsmen scattered across the border belt from Gilgit to Baluchistan, with no less than a full million rifles and crack riflemen, constitute the most invaluable asset of Pakistan. Coupled with this is the consideration that in another few weeks when Pakistan Ministries come into saddle, we will be laying the first brick, as it were, of Pakistan. This first brick will be a fateful brick. Upon it will largely depend how far Pakistan is going to be a state worthy of the great faith, culture and history of Islam....

In the end I may be permitted to add that Muslim India has not in the past been quite alive to the key position which this Province occupies. British imperialism attached so much importance to this part of the country that its ‘Frontier policy’ came to develop into a regular science and there sprang up a number of schools of experts advocating one policy or another. Hindu imperialism too was not slow to see the tremendous potentialities of this region in the shape of things to come. Long ago it established extensive contacts in the Frontier and has ever since spared neither thought, nor pain, nor money to make this province a citadel of that imperialism. Muslim India was lying snugly asleep all this time when Hindu imperialism, was steadily stealing a march on it at this strategic point. Red Shirtism which has been the main stumbling block in the path of Pakistan and threatens to be its main headache after the establishment of Pakistan, is the punishment visited upon the Muslims of India for this lack of alertness on their part, so far as the Frontier is concerned. Let us not repeat that mistake and proceed with the utmost caution and vigilance, so far as our policy in the Frontier is concerned. This note indicates what the key-note of that policy must be.

Muhammad Yakub Khan
Editor, the *Light*, Lahore
51. ‘Referendum Begins in N.W.F.P.’
   The Tribune, 8 July 1947

New Delhi, July 6.—The Pathans of the N.W.F. Province began going to the polls today for the second time in 16 months, this time to vote whether to join Pakistan or India.

In February, 1946, the issue was whether to have a Congress or League ministry. The Congress won, and in a House of 50, obtained a solid majority of 30 members, including 19 Muslims, 9 Hindus and 2 Sikhs. The Muslim League contested 38 (?) constituencies, but won only in 17.

The referendum which started today and continues until July 17 is a consequence of the June 3 Plan, which laid down that in case the Punjab or a part of the Punjab decided to secede from the Union of India, the electors of the Frontier Province should be given a chance to decide their own preference—whether to be part of the Indian Union or part of Pakistan.

The League agitation that preceded the June 3 Plan was thus aimed at the overthrow of the Congress Government headed by Dr. Khan Sahib. The Congress leaders strongly opposed this move and, as a via media, Lord Mountbatten proposed the referendum.

If the Pathans vote overwhelmingly in favour of Pakistan, which has already been conceded even by the Congress, a new situation arises. The Khan Sahib Ministry might be obliged to leave office, despite the curious fact that he still commands a clear majority in the legislature. In a recent speech, anticipating such a position, Premier Khan Sahib said: ‘I will resign from office if the Pathans vote for Pakistan in the coming referendum.’

52. ‘Battle for Pathanistan’
   Report in National Herald, 8 July 1947

Peshawar, July 6.—‘This is a crucial hour in the history of the Pakhtoon race. If the people remain united, disciplined and organized their future is bright and no power on earth can prevent them from attaining their cherished goal of Pathanistan’ said the Frontier Premier, Dr. Khan Sahib, while addressing a public meeting in Peshawar Cantonment last night.

He added that their success was pretty well certain if they had decided to participate in the referendum which they boycotted with the sole idea of preventing unnecessary bloodshed between brother and brother. ‘Today we see in our midst hundreds of Punjabis who are out to create disorder and strife amongst Pathans. It is our duty to warn our nation of the coming danger. Exploiters of yesterday are posing themselves as the friends of the exploited today. But, in fact, they are furthering their own capitalistic ends by playing upon the nature of the unsophisticated poor masses. On the one side, there are those so-called new well-wishers and on the other, therefore the Khudai Khidmatgars whose 17 years’ record of selfless service and gallant struggle against British imperialism are before you. It is upto you to choose between false and real coins,’ declared Dr. Khan Sahib.

The Premier said: ‘Freedom cannot be attained without sacrifice. Now that you have dedicated yourselves to Khudai Khidmatgar ideal of Pathanistan be prepared to stake your all for its success against capitalist-cum-reactionary forces. Revolution is in the making. If you don’t prepare yourselves beforehand to face it you better give up the desire to have freedom. We have resolved to fight the battle for Pathanistan even singlehanded and for this we want an army of well-disciplined soldiers and not a crowd of weaklings.’—UPI.
Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

H.E. called me again for an interview on the 7th instant at 4 p.m. and further discussed with me the effect of the Referendum on the continuance of the present Ministry. He told me that his own reports corroborated my statement that the Muslim League is likely to score a decisive victory in the Referendum. I told him that one of the fundamental differences between the Congress Party and the Muslim League Party was their attitude towards Pakistan, and once it is ascertained that the majority of the electorate is with the Muslim League on this issue, it must be assumed that the present Congress Ministry has forfeited the confidence of the electorate and cannot continue in office any longer. He agreed with me that constitutionally I was entirely right and that the Congress Premier should tender the resignation of his Ministry if a fairly large number of the electorate voted in favour of Pakistan. There are about 5,22,000 Muslim voters and about 85,000 non-Muslim voters on the electoral roll. The total number of votes actually polled in the last election was 3,80,000 and nearly 62% of the number of voters on the electoral roll in the constituencies in which the elections were contested, participated in voting. Even if the present elections were contested, the polling was likely to be about 62%, and if the Muslim League secured more than 31% of the votes on the electoral roll, it could have obtained a clear majority against the Congress Party. As it is, the vote is likely to be much more decisive. The Governor agreed that if the Muslim League could secure 40% of the number of Muslim votes on the electoral roll, they could be deemed to have a majority of the Province with them and the Khan Ministry ought to resign; but he was not quite sure whether they would do so, and in that event he wanted to discuss with me the various alternatives open to him. I told him that the only two alternatives open to him were to dismiss the Ministry and invite the Leader of the Muslim League Party to form a Ministry, or at the worst, to take over the administration under Section 93. There was no third alternative open. He, however, wanted to know whether it would be possible to form a Coalition Ministry from about the 20th July to the 15th August, either with Dr. Khan Sahib as the Premier or with the Leader of the Muslim League Party as the Premier. I told him that this was entirely out of question because the Khan Brothers and the Congress Party were acting as traitors to the Pakistan State. They were trying to weaken Pakistan with a view to help Hindustan. They were inviting the Faqir of Ipi to declare himself Badshah and were promising him support, thereby practically inviting a foreign invader. In these circumstances, the idea of forming any coalition with them was impossible. After fully discussing the problem he agreed with me that a coalition was impossible. He said that there was no point in ordering fresh elections under the 1935 Act when the constitution of the Province was going to be framed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and fresh elections could only be held under the new constitution. He said that Dr. Khan Sahib ought to resign if the result of the Referendum disclosed that about 40% of the Muslim voters on the electoral roll voted in favour of Pakistan.

2. He called me again on the 8th instant at 7.30 p.m. and further discussed the same question with me. On this occasion he put forward a strange suggestion that the Pakistan Dominion will probably appoint its own Governor and Interim Ministry by the 15th August, and whether he
should not in that event refrain from dismissing the Khan Ministry if it did not resign about
the 20th July, as the interval between the 20th July and 15th August would be short. I told him
that this point was already fully discussed by me with him. The Khan Brothers were already
preparing themselves to launch a movement against the Government, and it would be absurd
to allow a party to prepare itself for launching a movement against Government with all the
resources of Government at its command. I told him that the Muslim League will take this very
seriously, and could not contemplate the continuance of the present Ministry in office even for
a single day after the result of the Referendum was known. My impression is that he was trying
to watch my reaction to this proposal, but on finding that my reaction was uncompromisingly
hostile, he said that there was considerable force in what I said, and he agreed that it would
not be proper to allow a party to use the machinery of Government for strengthening itself to
fight Government in future.

3. He asked me one pertinent question. It was whether the Pakistan Government had
decided to have a Muslim Commander-in-Chief just as the Hindustan Government was likely
to appoint a Hindu Commander-in-Chief. I told him that, so far as I knew, the matter was not
finally decided, but that if he had any views, I will communicate them to you. Naturally he
felt embarrassed but said that if the present General in Northern Command were considered,
he would probably be willing to place his services at the disposal of Pakistan Government. As
far as I could read between the lines, he wanted himself to be considered for the post, and I
did not consider it politic either to encourage or discourage any hopes.

4. I think on the whole he is inclined to take the right view that the Khan Ministry must
resign or be dismissed after the Referendum discloses the voting by about 40% of the Muslim
electorates on the rolls in favour of Pakistan. Personally I feel we will have a much larger vote.

5. The Referendum in three Muslim constituencies in Hazara District and one Muslim
constituency in D.I. Khan District took place on the 6th and 7th instant and reports received
show that about 70% of the electorates are in favour of Pakistan in the former and about 66%
in the latter. Polling has commenced in the remaining four districts yesterday. The Red Shirts
wanted to create trouble and disorders during the polling but elaborate arrangements by the
Police and Military have unnerved them. They, however, attacked a lorry of Muslim Leaguers
near Chagri Matti under Mathra Police Station in Peshawar District yesterday and injured one
Muslim Leaguer by a bullet. The Referendum Commissioner, the Governor and the Military
all ran to the spot and large reinforcements have been sent to the place. This is one of the few
strongholds of the Red Shirts in the Province. It is only in a few places in Charsadda Tehsil
in Peshawar and a few places in Swabi Tehsil of Mardan District that these people can create
trouble. We hope, however, to meet it courageously.

Yours sincerely,

I.I. CHUNDRIGAR

54. ‘Give Full Liberty to Pathans—Sardars’ Appeal’

The Tribune, 10 July 1947

BOMBAY, July 8.—An appeal to the British Government to reconsider the situation about
the Frontier province and give full liberty to the Pathans to establish their own Pathanistan
was made by four Sardars who were detained in India, namely, Hafizullah Khan, Inayatullah
Khan, Habibullah Khan, and Mohammed Yakub Khan in the course of a statement to the United Press of India yesterday.

‘If the British Government does not reconsider the situation,’ the statement said, ‘consequences would be dangerous for the British and Pakistan. Pathanistan leaders would have no other way but to put the whole question before the United Nations.’

Referring to a press report that Britain believed that Russia inspired Afghanistan to put up the claim on the Frontier the Sardars said: ‘It is no good policy of Britain to put blame on the shoulders of others. History proves that it is their old policy to blame a nation which asks for freedom. We hope brave Pathans would not be misled but would fight to the end against any foreign power to achieve free Pathanistan.’

Concluding, the Sardars expressed the hope that America and Russia would support a free land for the Pathans.-U.P.

55. ‘Not Pathanlike to Give Way to Panic: Mr. Khanna’s Advice’

_The Tribune_, 13 July 1947

PESHAWAR, July 12.—In an exclusive interview with the ‘Tribune’ correspondent, Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, Finance Minister, N.W.F.P., advised the minorities of the Frontier province to face their difficulties with courage, determination and not to run away from the lands of their birth. ‘The Hindus and Sikhs of this province who were born and bred here are rooted in the soil as are their Muslim brethren’ said Mr. Khanna. ‘It is not Pathanlike on their part to give way to panic and fear created to serve certain political ends.’ He appealed to all those who had migrated, to return to their homes. The conditions in the Frontier province are fairly normal now.

‘It is not easy for the non-Pathans to resist our demand for Pathanistan’ said Mr. Khanna referring to the immediate objective of Pathans. ‘The movement for the establishment of a Free Pathan State is gaining momentum everyday. Pathans are as determined to fight for freedom of their homeland as they were for independence of the whole country.’

Referring to the current referendum and the Muslim League’s reported claim to have polled ninety per cent of votes, Mr. Khanna said ‘On the issue of H.M.G.’s Plan it is quite immaterial whether the Leaguers poll ten per cent or ninety per cent votes. The only way to substantiate their claim that the majority of Pathans is with them is to accept the Congress challenge to contest the general elections on the issue of Pathanistan versus Pakistan.

Mr. Khanna advocated the unification of all Pushto-speaking areas under the proposed Pathan State, particularly those towards west. He criticised the present boundary line between the Frontier Province and Punjab, specially the inclusion in the N.W.F.P of the mainly Punjabi speaking Hazara and the exclusion of Campbellpore District which had ‘greater social, cultural linguistic and ethnological affinities with Pathans.’

56. ‘Pathanistan Movement Come to Stay’

_The Tribune_, 15 July 1947

PESHAWAR (By Mail), July 13.—Pathanistan movement in the N.W.F.P. has come to stay and is daily gaining momentum. This is the impression that is left on one’s mind after witnessing the ‘Pathanistan Day’ celebrations in Peshawar on Sunday, July 6 when over 50,000 Red
Shirts, young and old, armed and unarmed, marched through the main streets of the provincial capital with shouts of ‘Pathanistan Azad.’ The enthusiasm that marked the celebrations led many to exclaim: ‘A tough job indeed for the future N.W.F.P. Government to deal with the new Pathanistan force.’

The leaders of the new movement—which according to the Red Shirts is only a continuation of their struggle for freedom—are the same Khan Brothers who played no insignificant role in shaking up the ‘mighty’ British Government. The movement has the necessary material in the Red Shirts—popularly known as the Khudai Khidmatgars (servants of God)—whose outlook on the current political issues is being reconditioned to suit the changed circumstances. The spirit and motive force for the movement is provided by the racial and cultural unity of the Pathans as distinct from that of the Punjabis, the Sindhis or Bengalis.

The only factor which has led to rejuvenation of the Khudai Khidmatgars into a virtually ‘Pathanistan force’ is H.M.G.’s announcement of June 3 calling upon the people of the N.W.F.P. to decide the fate of the Province in a referendum fought on the issue of Pakistan versus Hindustan. This, the sponsors of the new movement argue, reduces the issue to a communal one. But the differences between the two parties in the province which belong to the same community are ideological and not communal. Hence the issue to be decided should be anything but communal.

The proposed Pathan State, according to one of the numerous posters displayed in the streets and bazaars of Peshawar City, will aim at socialization of wealth and its governing principles will be ‘Islamic conceptions of democracy, equality and social justice.’ Another poster, which also carried a smiling picture of Badshah Khan, says: Join ‘Punjabistan’ or ‘Gharibistan’ obviously meaning that if the Frontier people decide in favour of an independent and sovereign Pathan State they will live in a State governed by the common man (Gharibs).

It will not be out of place to mention here the support extended to the Pathanistan demand by the neighbouring State of Afghanistan. This has given a good impetus to the movement and is likely to play an important part in its progress. The consensus of opinion among Congressmen in Peshawar is that they do not want to join Afghanistan. They are determined to continue their struggle for a free Pathan State.

One thing, however, that strikes a student of Frontier politics is the change in the technique of the Khudai Khidmatgars. The new slogan of the Red Shirts ‘Talwar se lenge Pathanistan”, which recalls to one’s mind the slogan ‘Zore se lenge Pakistan’, so popular during the recent Muslim League agitation in the N.W.F.P. and the Punjab, shows that the ‘cult’ of non-violence is gradually giving way to that of violence under pressure of new forces. The formation of the ‘Zalme Pakhtoon’ (Young Pathans), an off-shoot of Khudai Khidmatgar organization by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s son, Khan Abdul Ghani Khan, M.L.A. (Central), also shows the way the wind is blowing. It is an armed organization believing in force for the achievement of its objective.

A question that is often asked relates to the form the movement would take and the way its leaders would deal with the Muslim League in case the latter forms a Government in the N.W.F.P. The answer was given at a recent press conference by Dr. Khan Sahib when he said: ‘We would deal with Muslim League in a very nice peaceful manner. No underhand or underground tactics would be used.’
57. Problems Brewing in NWFP

Letter from R.M.M. Lockhart to Louis Mountbatten, 16 July 1947

T.O.P., Vol. XII, pp. 187–90

Secret
D.O. No. GH-127

Dear Lord Mountbatten

Reference my signal CA-145 dated 15 July 1947

I attach my report on my talk with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib on 14th July. It is in telegraphic form because I drafted it as a telegram. I then heard that an officer was going to Delhi by air and so decided that a possible few hours delay would not matter and that it would be best to send it by hand.

2. It may be that I have been led up the garden path, and all that the Congress Party want is to remain in power and are prepared to do anything to do so. It may be that they are trying to postpone any decision to dismiss them after the Referendum, or are seeking to find some excuse for not resigning then.

However, I believe that slight though the modifications in Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s demands are they might not be totally unacceptable, and I am sure that if the two parties can be brought to any sort of agreement it will be a great help for the future. I believe too that the Congress Party may be seriously seeking a compromise: there was a report which I saw last night that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was trying to find a way to one through the Pir of Manki.

I have only a very slight hope that I may be right. I do not like the campaign of vilification of the conduct of the Referendum which has been started. Dr. Khan Sahib himself only yesterday made the most sweeping accusations against the officials connected with it. They are a most illogical and prejudiced lot of men, and I mistrust the motives at the back of this campaign. Nevertheless I feel that any step which may lead to a peaceful solution is worth trying.

Yours sincerely

R.M.M. LOCKHART

Enclosure

Secret and Personal

No. GH-125

First Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib came to tea on 14th. Afterwards I had a discussion with them lasting about three-quarters of an hour.

Second I started by saying I had not invited Abdul Ghaffar Khan to talk politics, but with object of meeting him. I felt however that all three of us had welfare of Province as our first interest, and wished above all for peaceful solution to its present troubles. I was most anxious to know what the position would be on August 15th and line their (Congress) Party proposed to adopt. I would therefore be very grateful if they would tell me what was in their minds about future.

Third Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who throughout was amiable, spoke at some length, very quietly and mostly in Urdu. He stressed his desire for peace and his horror of present bad relations between Muslims of opposing parties in the Province. He assured me that he would do nothing to encourage any violence or ill-feeling, in fact he would do everything in his power to prevent them.
Fourth He then referred without rancour to his failure to secure Jinnah’s agreement to what he said were his three main points, namely:

a. complete provincial autonomy;

b. the right to admission to the N.W.F.P. of contiguous territories inhabited by Pathans (By this he meant areas such as Baluchistan, Tribal Territory and parts of Western Punjab on banks of Indus);

c. to the Province’s right to secede from Pakistan if it so desired.

Fifth We all three then discussed these points. Discussion remained quiet and amicable. It ended in my asking Abdul Ghaffar Khan if he would be willing to meet Jinnah again. He said he would.

Sixth I then suggested that he should modify his demands on Jinnah. After some discussion he agreed that he would be willing to negotiate with Mr. Jinnah on the following terms and if Jinnah agreed to them his party would accept Pakistan:

(a) Complete provincial autonomy for the Province in all matters except
   (i) Defence
   (ii) External Affairs
   (iii) Communications

(b) the right of any party to move for the secession of the Province from the Dominion in the same way that a Dominion has the right to secede from the Commonwealth should it so desire.

(c) That it is open to areas contiguous to the Province which are included in the present boundaries of British India and are inhabited by Pathans to ask to become part of the N.W.F.P., and if they do to be included in it.

Seventh If Jinnah is willing to negotiate on these terms Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is willing to fly to Delhi at once. He would like to take with him Qazi Ataullah Khan, Revenue Minister, and two attendants.

Eighth I then asked what they saw happening if Jinnah agreed to these terms. The answer was that one solution would be that the present Ministry would continue until a general election under the new Constitution had been held. In reply to my query they agreed that it would be desirable to include at any rate one Muslim League Minister in the Ministry. Abdul Ghaffar Khan said that he had himself suggested this previously.

Ninth Although I am dubious of Jinnah’s reactions to eight above I see possibility of peaceful settlement, at least for a time, if Jinnah and Abdul Ghaffar could meet again and reach some agreement on lines of proposals now made. I hope Your Excellency also will agree that meeting is worthwhile and persuade Jinnah to agree to it.

Tenth I would add that in informal talk with Ministers 14th morning Qazi Ataullah, Revenue Minister, said that what their party resented was being thrown to Pakistan. What they would like would be for the Province to remain excluded from Pakistan and be governed under Government of India Act 1935 until they had been able to consider the new Pakistan Constitution. After such consideration they would be in a position to negotiate with Pakistan the terms on which they would enter it. It was being compelled to join Pakistan unconditionally that they disliked. The referendum was not fair as it was impracticable to join Hindustan, and unjust to be forced into Pakistan when they could not influence in the Pakistan Constituent
Assembly (where they would have only three representatives out of 42) the terms of their inclusion.

Eleventh I realise that Qazi’s views amount to non-acceptance of H.M.G.’s plan, but I mention it to show way some Congress Party’s minds are working. It indicates risk of civil disobedience campaign if Congress cannot be brought to accept Pakistan on some basis of agreement.

Twelfth I would also add that Congress leaders may now be affected by anxiety about their personal safety under Pakistan. Some Muslim League leaders have made wild statement about anyone opposing Pakistan being ‘Kafirs’ and also about hanging traitors.

Thirteenth I urge therefore that Jinnah should meet Abdul Ghaffar and Qazi and negotiate on points in above, and also if agreement on these is reached on possibility of forming a coalition Ministry to carry on until a general election.

Fourteenth If you agree and Jinnah is willing could special aircraft be made available urgently.

Fifteenth Dr. Khan Sahib has seen and agreed paras above.

Sixteenth There are indications that Congress Party are starting campaign to show that referendum has not been properly conducted. Their criticisms are that there have been many bogus votes and officials have not been impartial. We shall no doubt be able to refute these accusations, but I regard campaign as indication that Congress Ministry are out to justify refusal to resign on result of referendum.

58. ‘League to Be Approached Again for Compromise?’

The Tribune, 16 July 1947

PESHAWAR, July 14.—Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan gave an indication of another friendly approach to Muslim League for a compromise in his speech while addressing a public meeting at Takhtbahai about 8 miles from Mardan yesterday.

Refuting certain allegations, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said:—‘It is wrong to say that I am trying to create a sort of barrier wall of Pathanistan between the Muslim state of Pakistan on one hand and Afghanistan and Iran on the other. In fact I have got no such intention of creating barriers and I take the responsibility that no such barrier will be created. But let us sit together and remove our mutual suspicions and doubts.

‘Even Afghanistan has no such intention. Afghanistan has clearly announced that she has got no territorial claims but it is her moral duty to ask for right of self-determination for their kith and kin on this side of the Khyber Pass. It is of course very disappointed to note that when we compare the Afghan Government version on the radio and in press with the British Government announcements it looks to me as if the British Government purposely wants to create misunderstanding between Afghanistan and India.’

Referring to his own demands Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said: ‘My demands are clear and simple and will not in any way weaken the position of Islam or Pakistan. On the other hand a strong Pathanistan will be a source of real strength to both Pakistan and the Muslims.’

The meeting passed a resolution urging the Frontier Government to make ‘Pushtu’ as the official language of the province since it was popular among all inhabitants of N.W.F.P. irrespective of their caste and creed.

Khan Amir Mohd Khan, President of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee announced the decision of the Banjaur Tribe to join the Red Shirts.-API.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

59. Report from NWFP

Extracts from the fortnightly report on NWFP for the first half of July 1947, 17 July 1947
Home Poll (I), File No. 18/7/47, NAI

SECRET

....2. Political and Communal.—Polling in the Referendum began in Hazara District on July 6th and elsewhere on July 8th. Very careful and elaborate dispositions of the available military and civil armed forces were made, and up to the time of writing polling has taken place in an atmosphere peaceful beyond expectation. There has been a moderate number of ordinary election offences and a few affrays between members of the two major parties. But there has been no single incident of sufficient magnitude to be worth reporting. Apart from the precautions taken, the main contributory causes have been the boycott of the Referendum by the Congress Party combined with general adherence to the peaceful instructions of Congress leaders; the creditable organisation and control of their followers by the Muslim League; and, on two occasions when affrays might have had repercussions, the personal intervention of the Hon’ble Chief Minister. Hindus and Sikhs have largely remained neutral and thereby removed a further possible provocation to communally minded persons.

This peaceful atmosphere is even more surprising in view of the anxiety caused before polling started by the large number of arms being carried by supporters of both parties at political meetings. These meetings were numerous and very largely attended on both sides, with the Congress urging the boycott and the advantages of a free Pathanistan State, and the Muslim League retaliating with criticism of the Pathanistan theory and its originators. Feelings ran high, processions were marked by the firing of numerous shots in the air, and some of these, striking adjacent buildings or accidentally injuring members of the processions, enhanced the impression that at any moment there might be a major clash. The joint appeal, however, issued by His Excellency the Governor, the Hon’ble Chief Minister, and the leader of the opposition, on July 4th, which was given very wide publicity in the press, on the Radio, and by means of leaflets, had a great effect. So did orders under section 144 Criminal Procedure Code forbidding the carrying of arms in certain towns and Cantonments and within one thousand yards of polling booths. Probably also there is present at the back of the minds of all members of all parties a reluctance to proceed to extremes and to involve the Province in troubles whose issue might be unpredictable.

The result of the Referendum will not be available until July 19th or 20th, but with the Congress boycott there can be only one answer, namely a vote for union with PAKISTAN. Polling has been very heavy in some areas, and as low as 25 per cent, in others, and interest centres on what the final aggregate will be.

There has been only one serious communal incident, which took place on June 30th. A Hindu Sub-Inspector of Police was escorting three Muslim accused persons to Dera Ismail Khan, when he was shot by fellow traveller in the same lorry who was President of the Muslim League in a town of the District. It is reported that the crime arose through the refusal of the Sub-Inspector to permit the accused persons to remain in the town and his insistence on removing them to jail.

Communists have held occasional meetings, mainly near Peshawar Cantonment Railway Station. The speeches related to grievances of railway workers. Khaksars have held occasional
meetings and R.S.S. Sangh volunteers continued to perform physical exercises in a hall in the Peshawar Cantonment....

By order, etc.,
A.N. MITCHELL,
Chief Secretary to Government,
North-West Frontier Province

60. The Official Result of the Referendum
Telegram from Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel, 20 July 1947
T.O.P., Vol. XII, p. 277

MOST IMMEDIATE
New Delhi
No. 543 GT.I. The result of the North West Frontier Province Referendum is as follows:

a. Valid votes for Pakistan 289,244.
b. Valid votes for India 2874
c. Majority 286,370
d. Percentage of valid votes to total electorate entitled to vote 50.99 per cent.
e. Valid votes cast in last general election 375,989.

2. Total electorate entitled to vote in referendum was 572,798 therefore votes for Pakistan were 50.49 per cent.

3. Leaders are being informed of result which will be released to the press at 1730 I.S.T. on July 20th.

61. Dr. Khan Agrees to Resign if General Election Is Held
Letter from Eric Mieville to M.A. Jinnah, 20 July 1947
T.O.P., Vol. XII, p. 271

PERSONAL
No. 90/II

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

H.E. the Viceroy, who is away today (Sunday) at Lahore, has asked me to let you know that Lockhart has just telegraphed him to the effect that all present information including private talks with Ministers indicated that the Frontier ministry has no intention of resigning. He added, however, that Dr. Khan Sahib had indicated yesterday (Saturday), in private conversation, that if he could be assured that a general election would be held in the reasonably near future he would resign.

H.E. the Viceroy asked me to let you have this for your personal information.

Yours sincerely,
ERIC MIEVILLE
62. Illega l Methods Adopted by the Muslim League during the Referendum

Letter from General Secretary, Congress Committee, Peshawar, to the Referendum Commissioner, 20 July 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-14/1946-7, NMML

Sir,

Most respectfully I wish to lay before you a few facts concerning the huge bogus polling of the Muslim League and the illegal devices used by them to prevail upon the illiterate and simple masses of North-West Frontier Province.

It may be analysed herein for your information that there are not only two political parties, namely, the Congress and the Muslim League, but many other political parties as well, such as Khaksars, Aharars, Jamait-ul-Ullima, Anjuman-i-Ghariban and others which wield not inconsiderable influence upon the people. To the annoyance and surprise of all such nationalist elements, Muslim Leaguers polled almost all of these votes not excepting even nationalist women as they had boycotted the referendum and therefore refrained from polling.

Votes of deceased persons; of persons residing out of station on the occasion of referendum, of person whose votes had been doubly enlisted have been polled in huge numbers, not inconsiderable is the numbers of ‘Pretenders’ who illegally polled for others in their zeal to establish ‘Pakistan’.

There are persons who were dragged reluctantly to the polling booths, there are persons who were coerced and bribed at the expense of their helplessness and poverty, there are persons who were incited in the name of diplomatic ‘Jahad’ against Kuffaristan.

Votes of nationalist women who had boycotted the referendum were usurped and misused by the modernized fashionable ‘Tom-boys’ hired from other Provinces of India. The number of such voters is not less than 1500 out of the total of 3000 in the City of Peshawar alone, which is explicit from the fact that almost all the women votes have been polled in Peshawar.

The slips issued to the voters by the Muslim Leaguers have the heading of ‘The decisive battle between the Pakistan and the Kuffaristan.’ May I know if this decisive battle was between the Kuffaristan and the Pakistan or the Hindustan & Pakistan? Such steps are a living testimony to the false propaganda carried by the ‘Ghazis.’

It may be stated as well that the number of ‘Pretenders’ who polled for others cannot and should not be ignored. Already a dozen are in the custody of the police, investigations are proceeding against them. A few have been released on bail and a good number declined to poll as they could not stand on their legs when interrogated by the polling agents and were let go through persuasions carried in the name of poverty, old-age, evils of litigation and for the maintenance of peace.

A list of few votes that fall under the above complaints is attached herewith for your kind perusal and consideration.

I beg to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd/-
(General Secretary)
Congress Committee, Peshawar...
Referendum in NWFP and Sylhet

List of Few Bogus Votes Polled in Peshawar Urban Muslim Constituency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Vote No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father's name</th>
<th>Residence in Mohalla</th>
<th>Particulars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mushtaq Ali</td>
<td>Safdar Ali</td>
<td>Marvi Sowem</td>
<td>have polled their votes twice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nawazish Ali</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>15115</td>
<td>Rahim Gul.</td>
<td>Aman Gul.</td>
<td>Shah Qabul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hazarat Gul.</td>
<td>Zafar Gul.</td>
<td>Dhand Barizkiyan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>14963</td>
<td>Mohd. Aslam</td>
<td>Said Ahmad</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is employed in Bengal Railway and he is out of station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1546</td>
<td>Altaf Hussain</td>
<td>Faqir Hussain</td>
<td>Dad Mohalla</td>
<td>Item No. 7 to 13 are polled by others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>4513</td>
<td>Ghulam Jan.</td>
<td>Ghulam Rahim</td>
<td>New Kashmiri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>4517</td>
<td>Mohib Ali</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>Abdul Rahman</td>
<td>Mohd. Ji.</td>
<td>Sarbana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ghulam Ahmad</td>
<td>Ghulam Ali</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>out of station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mohd Shaffi</td>
<td>Mohd Sharif.</td>
<td>Dhand Bazar</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wazir Mohd.</td>
<td>Chouddri Mohd Yunnis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: I can provide a list of numberless bogus votes, this list is only to give a bird’s eye view.

63. Congress Does Not Favour Gandhi’s Support to Pathanistan

Letter from Howard Donovan to George Marshall, 23 July 47

RESTRICTED
No.A-130

AMERICAN EMBASSY
NEW DELHI

Gandhi’s recent statement that it was right and proper that the Pathans should have their own state, ‘Pathanistan’, is understood to be Gandhi’s own idea and not that of the other [sic] Congress Ministers, including Nehru and Patel. It is the opinion in Delhi that the North-West Frontier Province will go solidly for Pakistan and that Gandhi’s statement is a last desperate effort to save the situation and at the same time to help out his friend Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was in Delhi recently for talks with Jinnah. The North-West Frontier Province is one of the deficit provinces and some observers think that the Congress would be well advised to let the province go to Pakistan without a struggle since it has in the past had to be subsidized to the extent of Rs. 20 million per annum. If the NWFP goes to Pakistan the Dominion of Pakistan must carry this financial burden.
1882  Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

It is also considered poor politics on Gandhi’s part to espouse the cause of ‘Pathanistan’ since the Congress is at the same time denying the right of independence to Travancore and Hyderabad. Foregoing represents opinion of AP and UP correspondents at New Delhi.

DONOVAN

64. ‘Establishment of Pathanistan to Be Announced on Aug. 15’
The Tribune, 23 July 1947

SARDARYAB (RED SHIRT HEAD QUARTERS), July 21.—Revolutionary changes in the future set up of the Frontier administration appear to be quite visible.

Despite the result of the referendum, which has been characterised as ‘one sided show,’ the Pathanistan movement has taken firm hold not only throughout the province, including tribal areas and the Swat State but also in various parts of Baluchistan. Thousands of tribesmen and residents of the Swat State have already joined Khudai Khidmatgar organisation and taken pledge to establish a free and sovereign Pathan State of all Pushto-speaking regions. The number of members of the ‘Zulme Pukhtoon’ (Young Pathan organisation) is swelling every day.

It is learnt from very reliable circles that formal declaration of the establishment of Pathanistan will be made on August 15 when Indian and Pakistan Dominions start functioning. Grand preparations are already afoot to mark the occasion. Muslim League would not be allowed to form their Government in the Frontier Province as the leaders of the Pathanistan movement have emphatically declared that no power in the universe could stand in the way of the realisation of their cherished goal. Major part of Baluchistan will join the new Pathan Dominion.

About one lakh eager Pathans were assembled at the huge meeting held at Bajor territory of the Swat State, where Badshah Khan brought home to all those present there the real significance of Pathanistan movement fully explaining the implications of Pakistan Government which would be dominated by the Punjabis entirely.

Immediately after his speech hundreds of Bajwari tribesmen joined Khudai Khidmatgar organisation.

The leading Khan of Southern Hashinagar joined the Khudai Khidmatgar organisation along with about one thousand followers.

65. League Fears Congress Intends to Stage a Civil Disobedience Movement

Extract from a letter from R.M.M. Lockhart to Louis Mountbatten, 23 July 1947
T.O.P., Vol. XII, pp. 306-7

POST-REFERENDUM PROBLEM

...5. It is the future which is now exercising everybody’s minds. I have had talks with numerous people (officials as well as leaders of the political parties and my Ministers).

The Muslim League are, I think, genuinely anxious about the intentions of the Congress Party. They believe that the Congress intend to stage a civil disobedience movement.

A deputation of 5 local League leaders came to see me on Sunday (July 20th). They made the usual accusations against the Congress Party and the Zalmai Pakhtun, and urged me to dismiss the Ministry, to resort to Section 93, to take immediate action to disarm the Zalmai
Pakhtun, generally to render the Congress Party incapable of sabotaging the administration of the Province before 15th August, and so ensure that Pakistan would have a fair start on that date.

I told them that decisions as to what action would be taken as a result of the Referendum would have to come from you.

6. There are I think good grounds to suppose that the Congress Party do intend to stage a movement, and that this movement may be violent. Many reliable people are sure of it. Most significant of all is that Dr. Khan Sahib, who came to see me on 21st July, practically admitted that a movement which might result in violence was likely.

Dr. Khan Sahib was not at all excited and spoke quietly. He said that the people would resent the dismissal of his Ministry, dislike intensely a minority League Ministry, and like little more government under Section 93. He repeated that he would only resign if assured that a General Election would be held in the reasonably near future. He agreed that such an election could only be held under the new Pakistan Constitution and after new electoral rolls had been prepared. He expressed his and his party’s apprehension that the Pakistan Government would not hold elections soon, but govern the Province for some time to come by Ordinances or something similar.

7. Both parties are indulging in much propaganda; the League’s is to the effect that the Congress are going to turn violent; the Congress and Red Shirts are being provocative and threatening, and preaching Pathanistan and the need to fight for it. There is great tension and feelings are being worked up. Congress have perhaps some reason to fear victimisation.

It is possible that all this is bluff and part of a war of nerves. But the risk is there. When a movement would be launched I can’t yet say. It might be soon; they may wait till 15th August or even until after the Roza....

8. As regards the formation of a League Minority Ministry, the local leaders don’t seem at all keen on the idea; they say because they do not command a majority in the Legislative Assembly. I am however not at all sure that it isn’t because there are so many dissensions amongst them that they cannot agree who should be Ministers!

9. No more has been said about a compromise between the two parties. I gather that Jinnah would not be willing to consider it. Abdul Ghaffar Khan is however, Dr. Khan Sahib says, still willing to go to Delhi to discuss the possibility with Mr. Jinnah.

10. The Faqir of Ipi has been attracting even more local attention than usual lately, and I think it likely that he may come into the open after the Id.... Ipi, of course, has always been a good friend of Congress, who have given him liberal financial support, and he did his best to dissuade his followers in the Bannu District from voting in the Referendum....

66. No Discussion on the Future Situation with Abdul Ghaffar Khan

Letter from M.A. Jinnah to Eric Mieville, 25 July 1947

10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi

Dear Sir Eric Mieville,

I am in receipt of your letter of 20th July, 1947 and I thank you for it.

I have carefully considered the matter and I regret to say that it is not possible for me to meet Abdul Ghaffar Khan and discuss an agreement on the basis reported to you by the Governor of the N.W.F.P. I am sure you will see that all these matters can only be dealt with
by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan who will frame the constitution for the Pakistan Federation. It is obvious that I cannot negotiate with any section or party over the head of the Constituent Assembly. Besides, I have no power to commit the Constituent Assembly in advance or anticipate their final decisions.

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

67. Jinnah Welcomes Cunningham as the Governor of Frontier Province
Telegram from Louis Mountbatten to Earl of Listowel, 26 July 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 62, NMML

IMPORTANT
CONFIDENTIAL

New Delhi

No. 2963-S. Please pass following to Cunningham. Begins. Jinnah has asked me to let you know how glad he is that you have agreed to serve as Governor of the Frontier Province and to send you a personal message of welcome. He is delighted to have secured for the Governorship of this most important Province such a distinguished person as you who, he is sure, will serve Pakistan with all your heart and loyalty to the state. Ends.

68. ‘Referendum Does Not Affect Ministry: Dr. Khan Sahib’s View’
The Tribune, 26 July 1947

PESHAWAR, July 24.—‘The recent referendum in N.W.F.P. does not affect the Frontier Ministry constitutionally or legally’, said Dr. Khan Sahib, the Frontier Premier, at the weekly press conference today. Dr. Khan Sahib added: ‘The referendum was only to decide whether the Frontier Province should be in Hindustan or Pakistan. As it was out of question for N.W.F.P. to join Hindustan, it has gone to Pakistan.’

When asked if there was any possibility of calling of the session of the Frontier Legislative Assembly, Dr. Khan Sahib said: ‘As Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has resigned from the membership of the Constituent Assembly, there may be a possibility of calling a session of the Frontier Assembly with a view to elect another Frontier representative in his place.’

Answering another question, whether it was true that the Red Shirts would formally declare the establishment of a Pathan independent State on August 15, Dr. Khan Sahib said he did not know anything about it. He further added: ‘In my opinion, the Red Shirts and the Muslim League in N.W.F.P. should both celebrate the Indian Independence Day together, because it will be a celebration of freedom from foreign domination. I am certain all Pathans will join in the rejoicings.’

Answering another question about the appointment of a new Frontier Governor, Dr. Khan Sahib said: ‘I know nothing about the appointment of a new Governor of N.W.F.P. He demanded that the Premier of the province should have been consulted when the appointment of a Governor was under consideration of the Governor-General.’-API.
69. Frontier Situation Discussed with League

Extract from minutes of Viceroy's twenty-third miscellaneous meeting, 29 July 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 196B, NMML

...SIR ROBERT LOCKHART said that he had then considered what recommendation for the future Government of the Province to make to the Viceroy. He had first thought of some form of Coalition Ministry for the interim period. But neither the present Ministry nor the local Muslim League leaders considered that this was practicable, although Dr. Khan Sahib personally thought that it could be done although he himself would take no part. Another course might be for the present Ministry to continue until 15th August. But this did not seem fair to the future Government of Pakistan. Another possibility was to dissolve the Legislative Assembly. A still further one was to dismiss the present Ministry and to form a Ministry of the Muslim League minority—but, if the Legislative Assembly met, such a Ministry would be in a minority in the House. Furthermore, the local leaders were not particularly keen on this course. The last course open was Government in Section 93. The only point in favour of this course was that it would be the least offensive to either party at the present time. But the great disadvantage was that there would be no one to carry on the Government when 15th August came.

HIS EXCELLENCY said that he personally was violently opposed to Government by Section 93 as it would be interpreted by the public as the last act of the British to introduce direct rule.

SIR ROB LOCKHART said that he had later seen Dr. Khan Sahib again and the latter had still adhered to his decision not to resign. He (Sir Rob Lockhart) had asked Dr. Khan Sahib on what terms he might consider resigning. Dr. Khan Sahib had suggested that the Legislative Assembly should be dissolved and fresh elections ordered. But he had agreed that this was impossible before 15th August, and that new elections would have to be held under the new Constitution and the new Electoral role [sic]. Dr. Khan Sahib had thought that this could be done within three to four months. SIR ROB LOCKHART said that finally he had pointed out to Dr. Khan Sahib that it was in his own interests to resign; and thus the position had been left when he had come away. He had asked Dr. Khan Sahib what the Congress party would do if the present Ministry was dismissed. Dr. Khan Sahib had left no doubt in his mind that it was intended to stage a movement of some sort. He had personally given an assurance that he would himself do his best to ensure that this was non-violent. SIR ROB LOCKHART added that he understood that, if the Assembly was dissolved, the existing Ministry would have to carry on.

THE VICEROY asked whether it was considered that there was any possibility of those members of the Legislative Assembly who had up to now supported the present Ministry, changing sides.

SIR ROB LOCKHART said that it was very difficult to get definite information on this point; but so far as he could gather, few members of the Legislative Assembly had declared this intention.

MR. LIAQUAT ALI KHAN said that he considered it quite possible that non-Muslim members, now that they knew that Pakistan had been established, would feel that they must look to the Muslim League, and might cease to support Congress.

MR. JINNAH said that he agreed with this, but he considered that it was necessary to plan on the assumption that Dr. Khan Sahib would continue to enjoy the support of the majority of the Legislative Assembly. He pointed out that there had been precedents, for example in
Bombay and the Punjab, for calling on minority parties to form Ministries. He agreed that the Legislative Assembly should not be summoned. He further agreed that Section 93 Government should be avoided. He gave his opinion that the North West Frontier Province had given a ‘thumping’ verdict of ‘No confidence’ in the present Ministry. MR. JINNAH went on to say that he considered Dr. Khan Sahib was acting in a manner which made it clear that he was unfit to be a Prime Minister. No decent man would, in such circumstances, refuse to resign. MR. JINNAH said that in his view the only practicable course now was again to ask Dr. Khan Sahib to resign; and, if he refused, to dismiss him and to form an Interim Ministry of the next largest party (the Muslim League). MR. JINNAH suggested that a Ministry of three should be formed to begin with. Possibly later the fourth place might be offered to the Hindus. He gave his opinion that the Hindus would be the first to support such a new Ministry.

MR. JINNAH said that he did not consider that it would be desirable to dissolve the Legislative Assembly. It was not necessary that this Assembly should be called together until the Budget Session in March 1948. He did not consider it necessary that it should be called in order to choose a successor to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who had resigned from membership of the Constituent Assembly. He went on to say that, in the rules which would be framed on 10th August for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, there would be provision to the effect that if a member did not attend two consecutive meetings he would, *ipsa facto*, be expelled unless he had special reasons to be excused.

THE VICEROY said that, in his opinion, it would be psychologically ideal to give warning to both sides of this intention now, but not to take the step until 15th August. He enquired whether, if such a course was chosen, the present Government could do much harm to the future of the Province in Pakistan.

SIR ROB LOCKHART replied that he did not consider that they could do a great deal of harm. Financially, the North West Frontier Province was in a poor way, and there was no more to spend. There might, however, be interference in the posting of officials. THE VICEROY suggested that a Standstill Order might be enforced on this aspect.

SIR ROB LOCKHART went on to say that he considered that, if warning of the intention to dismiss the Ministry was given, the Congress party would have more time to plan and prepare a movement. Therefore, he considered it desirable that, if a change were to be made, it should be made as soon as possible.

MR. LIAQUAT ALI KHAN said that he also considered that a new Ministry should be formed as soon as possible. It would then have time to get hold of the machinery properly, particularly in view of the danger of trouble in the tribal areas, where the machinery of Government could be used for propaganda purposes. MR. JINNAH said that he considered that every day that passed made the situation more dangerous. He could provide no definite proof of the intentions of the tribes; but was receiving daily reports of agents stirring up trouble in the tribal areas and even of terrorization in the Province itself. For example, 6,000 arms licences had been issued during the last few weeks....
70. Report from NWFP

Extracts from the fortnightly report on NWFP for the second half of July 1947, 1 August 1947
Home Poll (I), File No. 18/7/47, NAI

SECRET

...2. Political and Communal—The polling in the Referendum finished on July 17th, and the later stages were even more lacking in incidents than the earlier. The arrangements made for security were undoubtedly excellent; but local authorities have also given credit to party leaders for the restraining influence which they exercised on their followers. There was some apprehension that when the result was announced there might be demonstrations. In fact, however, these were not general and were nowhere on a large scale. As is now common knowledge, rather more than 50 per cent of the total votes on the register were polled for Pakistan. But this figure had already been anticipated. Indeed optimists of the Muslim League party were expecting more. There was, therefore, nothing surprising in the final announcement, which was made on July 20th. A few shots were fired in the air in a few places, there were some illuminations, and a few speeches were made. The Ramzan had, however, started on July 19th, and the hardship involved at this time of year in going without food and water from sunrise to sunset presents an almost insuperable obstacle to any kind of activity.

Political activity in particular has thus been almost at a standstill. The main feature of it has been a sort of war of posters in Peshawar City in which the respective merits of Pakistan and Pathanistan have been described and political opponents criticised. There also seems to be rising in Bannu District a party consisting of supporters of the Faqir of Ipi. Several meetings have been held at which the audiences have been asked to accept the Faqir as their King with a government independent both of Congress and of the Muslim League. The most active party has been the Khaksars. At a meeting on July 18th in Peshawar City the chief speaker alleged that the movement would not die in spite of the official announcement by its leader that it had been disbanded. He appealed to Khaksars to march on Delhi and conquer Northern India. This party has also issued posters to a similar effect.

The minorities are still uneasy, and in some Districts there are little signs of the return of those who left earlier in the year. Opinion in the Hindu-Sikh Minorities Protection Board, which has from time to time held meetings to discuss the future, appears to be divided on the point whether the minorities should rely on assurances given by Muslim League leaders or should migrate. This uneasiness is undoubtedly due to the fact that the air has been thick with rumours of further impending disturbances in the Province, in which the minorities feel that they would be among the first to suffer. There is at the moment no concrete evidence of any impending disturbances, and the rumours are based on speculation as to possible political developments following the result of the Referendum. Various affrays which have taken place in the past fortnight have been only too readily linked up with these rumours.

In some cases there was justification for this, in others none. In a village in Nowshera subdivision firing took place between followers of the Congress and the Muslim League because, it was alleged, a certain Maulvi had failed to vote for Pakistan in the Referendum and was therefore asked by Muslim League supporters to vacate certain village common land which he was occupying. The Hon’ble Chief Minister visited the village on the following day and pacified the contestants. In another case in Charsadda sub-division on July 21st, in which a
Muslim Leaguer was killed, there was no political significance at all, the fight being between two sets of old enemies arising over a trivial dispute. On July 24th, however, numerous shots were exchanged between Redshirts and Muslim Leaguers following a private dispute which led to fighting on party lines. There is no doubt that with political feeling running high and with arms, both licenced and unlicenced, in the hands of a very large number of people, there are at present possibilities of serious rioting. But a feature of all the incidents which have so far taken place is the extraordinarily small number of casualties in proportion to the number of shots fired. Approximately one bullet in two hundred has found a mark.

There is little fresh to report about Volunteer Organisations, except that there has been some increase in numbers. It is estimated that active Redshirts now number about ten thousand. Zalmai Pakhtun enlistment has been active, and there are probably now about two thousand of them. Muslim League National Guards have been very large in evidence, though their members are probably still about 5,500. The Ghazi Pakhtun have increased to 600. The Khaksars, although very active in the matter of meetings and processions, do not exceed 1,000. There are about 2,000 members of the R.S.S. Sangh, most of them in Peshawar and Bannu, their activities are mainly confined to physical exercises. Lastly there are the Ahrars, numbering about 150, who attract very little attention in this Province....

By order etc.,
SAADULLAH KHAN
Assistant Secretary (Political),
for Chief Secretary to Government,
North-West Frontier Province

71. ‘If Attempt Made to Oust Khan Sahib: Complications Likely’
The Tribune, 5 August 1947

SIMLA, Aug. 4.—Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, Minister for Finance and Information in the N.W.F.P., in a press interview here, today hinted at the complications that might arise ‘in case an attempt was made to oust the Khan Sahib ministry before or after the deadline fixed for the transfer of power to India.’

‘The Frontier Ministry,’ Mr. Khanna said, ‘continues to enjoy an overwhelming support and confidence of the legislators and the electorate.’

The Finance Minister refuted the charge that the cry of Pathanistan was a ‘political stunt’ and said: ‘I fail to understand why our demand for holding fresh elections on the issue of Pathanistan versus Pakistan remains unaccepted. The obvious reason is that the idea of Pathanistan is gaining momentum everyday and its protagonists are confident of their victory at the polls.’

‘There is nothing inconsistent in this demand.’ Mr. Khanna pointed out, ‘as the Muslim Leaguers themselves have been demanding fresh elections during their so-called civil disobedience movement.’

Referring to the question of participation of the Frontier representatives in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, the Finance Minister said that so far no decision had been taken. One school of thought was against participation, while another was for it, on the ground that in case the Assembly did not satisfy them they would be at liberty to withdraw.—API.
72. Muslim League to Be Invited to Form the New Ministry

Telegram from Louis Mountbatten to R.M.M. Lockhart, 6 August 1947
T.O.P., Vol. XII, p. 560

IMMEDIATE

No. 3206-S. Your telegram CA 158 of 3rd August.

2. I have been formally advised by the Pakistan Provisional Cabinet
   (i) to direct you to ask the present Ministry to resign, and if they refuse, to dismiss them, and call on the leader of the Muslim League to form a new Ministry; or
   (ii) if (i) is unconstitutional, to place the province in Section 93, and direct you to appoint Muslim League leaders as Advisers with a view to a League Ministry being installed by the 14th August.

3. I promised to accept the advice tendered me provided I was satisfied that I could constitutionally do so. The Congress leaders maintain that either course of action would be constitutionally improper.

4. I am consulting the Secretary of State in regard to the constitutional position, and have sent him a copy of your telegram. I have also asked that the correspondence should be shown to Cunningham, and his views obtained. I shall let you know further as soon as I receive a reply.

73. Khan Aware That ‘Ministry Might Be Dismissed before 15th’

Telegram from R.M.M. Lockhart to Louis Mountbatten, 6 August 1947
T.O.P., Vol. XII, pp. 561–2

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

No. CA-162 Reference my telegram CA-158 dated 3rd August.

Khan Sahib came to see me today. He attended the meeting of Party Leaders at Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s house on the fifth. Although he expressed satisfaction with meeting Khan Sahib said there was no advance on information he gave me on 2nd. Abdul Ghaffar and Qazi had seen Liaquat Ali in Delhi and latter had been conciliatory. In fact from his attitude and Jinnah’s appeal to let bygones be bygones in statement on 30th July they had hoped Jinnah might accept Ministry’s cooperation. However, from other sources of information Khan Sahib and party learned that Ministry might be dismissed before fifteenth. For that reason his party decided to keep away from celebrations on 15th August. They did not intend violence.

2. Later in discussing arrangements for 15th August Khan Sahib said he thought Ministers should attend official ceremony such as flag hoisting.

3. Incidentally it is very difficult to settle celebrations on 15 August not knowing who is to be in power.

4. Khan Sahib reiterated statement that his party is prepared to accept Pakistan and cooperate provided that—
   (a) province is autonomous all matters except External Affairs (I much doubt whether Premier includes tribes under this), Defence and Communications.
   (b) no prohibition is placed on party programmes provided that they are advocated and executed in constitutional manner.
5. It might help towards solution if Liaquat Ali and/or Ismay or Abell could fly here and discuss with me and Khan Sahib.

74. ‘No Armed Force Can Subjugate Pathans’

_The Tribune, 8 August 1947_

PESHAWAR, Aug. 7.—The Hon’ble Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan, Bar-at-Law, Speaker N.W.F.P. Legislative Assembly, in the course of a statement said:—

‘The forces of liberty and freedom which particularly as a result of World War II have swept over countries and nations all over the world, have infused among the Pathans a spirit of independence for which there is no parallel in the modern history of India. Those who advocate the subjugation of the Pathans either in the settled districts of the N.W.F.P. or in the border land by employment of military forces and seek thereafter to control them by a show of military strength, are sadly mistaken in their estimation of Pathans’ determination for the establishment of Pathanistan.

‘The Pathans as a peace loving nation do not want to fight with anyone in any way for the achievement of their cherished goal and hope that an amicable settlement of the issue will be forthcoming in a friendly and brotherly spirit.

**Oneness with Tribal Areas**

‘Thousands of the Pathans of the settled districts are constantly visiting the independent territory and many thousands of the hillmen regularly migrate to our districts, in fact whole clans live for half the year on this and for the other half of the year on that side of the border, where the residents within and without the Frontier are not the men of the same clan or of the same tribe yet they are connected by the intimate ties of common race, of marriage, neighbourhood and of an association territorial and social which has endured for many generations.

**Frontier Arbitrary Line**

‘In short, there is no impassable gap or gulf difficult to cross between British and independent territory. The Frontier is in reality only an arbitrary line drawn through the limits of a more or less homogeneous population. Consequently to ensure the safety of the Indian Governments it is of paramount importance by international point of view that the issue of Pathanistan be tackled immediately by both the Governor-General of India and Pakistan, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the leaders of the Pathanistan movement for the safety, integrity and peace of the North-West Frontier.’

75. Immediate Dismissal of the Ministry Could Lead to Grave Disturbances

_Telegram from R.M.M. Lockhart to Louis Mountbatten, 9 August 1947_

_T.O.P., Vol. XII, pp. 615–16_

**MOST IMMEDIATE**

**SECRET**

No. CA/167. Addressed Viceroy repeated Secretary of State.

I have had further consultation with Area Commander and Inspector-General of Police with reference to your recent telegrams.
Referendum in NWFP and Sylhet

1891

They are both gravely perturbed at prospect of dismissal at this particular juncture and foresee very serious and widespread disturbances. Area Commander is emphatic that owing to partition of troops movements of forces at his disposal are inadequate and some of doubtful temper.

Both consider that we shall be in better position in two months time when Cunningham will have had chance to exert his influence. We are going ahead with preparations to act at once but in the circumstances I feel compelled to recommend delay and that you should ask Jinnah to urge patience on League.

My information is that any League repercussions to temporary retention of present Ministry would be less dangerous.

Dissolution might still save situation.

76. ‘Pathanistan’ Vigorously Advocated: League Gearing to Deal with Congress

Extract from a letter from R.M.M. Lockhart to Louis Mountbatten, 9 August 1947

T.O.P., Vol. XII, pp. 616–18

SECRET

Government House,

No. GH-151

Peshawar

My Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am afraid this letter is a little late.

GENERAL SITUATION

2. The general situation remains much as it was when I saw Your Excellency a week ago. Members of the Congress party organisations continue to make threatening and sometimes provocative speeches in public and to individuals. ‘Pathanistan’ is being vigorously advocated and the idea is, I think, proving attractive to many Pathans. Rumours and reports of continued activity by the Faqir of Ipi flow in daily. There is no doubt that Congress are in touch with him and that he may initiate some form of trouble, but probably not until after the Id. He has apparently had no success with the Mahsuds or Wana Wazirs and his efforts to create trouble seem likely to be confined to North Waziristan, although he has some following in the Bannu District.

3. There is a feeling of expectancy of impending changes amongst the tribes in general. Although it is considered that Mr. Jinnah’s announcement on 30th July that existing agreements and arrangements are to continue in force, will have a good effect, it is possible that the idea, held by some, that everyone will be free to do what he likes after 15th August may lead to some light-heartedness on the part of irresponsible elements after that date.

4. The revival of talks on the Kabul Radio and articles in the Afghan Press, after the recent lull, is also a disturbing feature. It is I think significant that this revived interest coincided with a visit to Kabul of one Puri, the Peshawar correspondent of the Hindustan Times and the Deputy Speaker of the Province’s Legislative Assembly. He is commonly supposed to be the main link here with Gandhi. In articles to the Hindustan Times from Kabul he has made the most of Afghan interest in Pathanistan. I cannot help feeling that his visit to Kabul at this particular time was not accidental.

5. I have seen Dr. Khan Sahib several times since my return from New Delhi. On the first two occasions on which he visited me his manner was pre-occupied and somewhat downcast,
although he said nothing to explain this. When however he came to see me on the 6th, after attending a meeting of Congress Party leaders at Abdul Ghaffar Khan’s house on the fifth, his manner was most cheerful. He said ‘it was a very nice meeting.’ I signalled my report of my talk with him to Your Excellency that day.

He still adheres to his intention not to resign. I will try again, in accordance with your instructions to persuade him to do so, though I fear there is little chance of my success.

He has in recent talks seemed more inclined to co-operation with the Pakistan Government than he has done previously, although he still doesn’t like the idea of a coalition. As I telegraphed to you he even said he would co-operate and accept Pakistan if Jinnah would agree to full Provincial autonomy and to placing no prohibition on political party programmes provided they are advocated and executed constitutionally.

However, I fear that though he himself may have some inclination towards the constitutional conduct of the political differences between his party and the League, the Congress Party here as a whole are determined to fight for power with any means at their disposal, and have their plans ready.

6. The Muslim League are aware of all the Congress activities and are reported to be preparing to deal with any action the latter may take. They are as insistent as ever that Dr. Khan Sahib’s Ministry must go before the 15 August. I, and the officials I have consulted here, would prefer that the Pakistan Government should take the necessary action to do this. I can see the argument against it, i.e., that it would be hard on the Pakistan Government to have as its first act to dismiss the present Ministry and face the probable ensuing trouble. On the other hand it can be said that it is the Pakistan Government, by its insistence on not dissolving the Legislative Assembly, that has led to the present situation, where Dr. Khan Sahib refuses to resign.

7. There are dissensions amongst the local League leaders. Some disapprove of the appointment of a British Governor, some are disappointed with Jinnah’s choice of Ministers for the League Ministry here and some are annoyed because Jinnah said he could not establish ‘Shariat’ law. (I understand that Mr. Jinnah has selected Abdul Qaiyum, Habibullah Khan of Lakki Marwat in the Bannu District and Abhas Khan of Hazara as Ministers).

There is I think little doubt that the League will deal firmly with their opponents and I am concerned as to how one can protect the present Ministers from bad treatment.

77. ‘Conspiracy to Deprive Pathans of Fruits of Their Sacrifice’

The Tribune, 12 August 1947

PESHAWAR, Aug. 10.—The appointment of Sir George Cunningham, ‘an old pensioner of strong imperialist views’ as the Governor of the N.W.F.P., is regarded by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, as the outcome of ‘a conspiracy between the Muslim League and British Imperialism to deprive the brave Pathans of the fruits of numerous sacrifices offered by them in the cause of freedom and to maintain British influence over them.’

The above opinion was expressed by Badshah Khan in the course of a statement, issued today which continues, ‘It has given me no surprise that the Pakistan Dominion Government has chosen Sir George Cunningham as the first Governor of the N.W.F.P. We had all along suspected that there was a conspiracy between the Muslim League and British Imperialism to deprive the brave Pathans of the fruits of numerous sacrifices offered by them in the cause
of freedom and to maintain British influence over them. It is wonderful that while in all
provinces in the Indian Dominion the Governors have been appointed after consultations with
representatives of the people, our province has been totally ignored.'

'Moreover in the Indian Dominion', Badshah Khan went on to say, 'all new Governors
are selected from the ranks of those who have made sacrifices in the nation’s struggle for
overthrowing foreign domination but in our province an old pensioner of strong imperialist
views who has played a prominent part in suppressing the Pathans’ spirit of freedom has been
imposed on us. Could it not have been possible for the Governor-General of the Pakistan
Dominion to have selected a Pathan or someone from the 10 crores of Mussalmans of India.
It appears that the new set up of the Pakistan Government is not going to be different in any
way from the old British Imperialism of Churchill.’—United Press.

B. SYLHET

1. Claims of Garo People to Link Garo-Majority Areas of Bengal
with Assam

Letter from Gopinath Bardoloi to Louis Mountbatten, 3 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/150, Acc. No. 3465, NAI

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Your and H.M.G’s plan regarding the future of India and Assam has been seen by me. I
understand that the Congress Working Committee has approved of the same and it is surely not
for me to raise any protest against it. I fully endorse the views the Congress Working Committee
has expressed. There is however one little fact which I venture to place before you, and that
is in reference to the claims of the Garo people to include in their district a small portion of
the Mymensingh district which is contiguous to Garo Hills with a population of fifty to sixty
thousand of Garo people.

You and H.M.G. have been pleased to accede to the Muslim League to have not only Sylhet
by a referendum but also concede to them to have such areas of Assam with Muslim Majorities
as are contiguous to Eastern Bengal. If this principle was made applicable to other people also
you will have to consider very seriously whether Garo areas within the Mymensingh district of
Eastern Bengal which has been artificially made to form part of Bengal would not be allowed
to join with their brethren in Assam inside the partially excluded areas. This point was strongly
represented by the Garos before the Advisory Sub Committee, set up by the Constituent
Assembly to enquire and report on the administration of Excluded and Partially Excluded areas
of Assam. I would like to make to you once more clear that I am not raising this question with
a view to sound any note of dissent to you or H.M.G.’s proposal, but I earnestly request you
to consider whether some provision could not be made by which the Boundary Commission
to be set up later on may be empowered to enquire into and recommend on this question.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Gopinath Bardoloi
Prime Minister of Assam and
Chairman of the Advisory Sub Committee.
2. ‘Future of Sylhet’

Article by Jnananjan Pal in Amrita Bazar Patrika, 5 June 1947

The Pakistan demand has raised feelings of intense communal exclusiveness. Strange and unnatural claims are, therefore, put forward in the name of Moslem communal solidarity, and movements are started to press these claims for acceptance by force. One such claim is the inclusion of the district of Sylhet, which now forms a part of Assam, in the Pakistan State of Eastern Bengal. This claim is based on the fact of Moslem majority (about 56 per cent) in the district of Sylhet. No other consideration, economic, social or cultural, of special benefit to the Moslems even, is seriously put forth in support of this.

This claim, born of communal blindness, will do incalculable harm to the non-Moslems of the district as also to the Moslems. The district of Sylhet was incorporated in Assam as a matter of administrative convenience. Such changes, of transfer and re-transfer of outlying districts from one provincial administration to another, have not been rare under British rule. Sylhet, being Bengali-speaking, has wanted to be part of Bengal, if linguistic divisions of the provinces were undertaken as the most scientific and rational for cultural development.

India is faced with a political crisis, when such readjustments at least in certain areas will have to wait. India’s main problem will be to cure it of the communal poison that seems just at present to overpower it. And the main responsibility of doing it will fall to those areas and provinces where, owing to Moslem preponderance, it has reached the most acute stage. Bengal’s struggle, therefore, will be the keenest perhaps on this side of India. And Assam being her neighbour is naturally faced with intricate problems and issues as Moslem communal pressure is focussed on her. The claim on Sylhet by Moslem or Pakistan Bengal is probably the most serious as also the most sinister development she may be confronted with.

Assam will be, as she is even now, a regional State, where the economic interests of the whole area and the entire people and the social well-being of all, without distinction of creed or community, will be guarded and advanced. That policy, with the added advantage of being joined to the Indian Union, will benefit all parts and all sections of the people of the province. The Mussalmans, together with the Hindus, the Bengalees as well as the Assamese and the tribal groups, will share equally in those benefits. The first Indian Governor of the Province, Sir Akbar Hydari, also expressed unreservedly his view that ‘Assam should remain as it is’, adding ‘with Assam’s resources and the population not pressing heavily on the land, she could be transformed into a more prosperous land in the future’. He also emphasised that ‘India is one country and every part of it is inter-dependent’.

This is the view also of the progressive elements among all sections of the province. By forcible inclusion of the district of Sylhet in the possible Pakistan State of Eastern Bengal, the nationalist aspirations of the people will be smothered, and the door will be barred to the large Hindu minority, nearly half of the population, to progress culturally, politically and economically. Economic depression will not be less severe. Chronic poverty, inseparable from a policy of unbalanced and excessive pressure on land which will inevitably be followed in the communal or Pakistan State of Eastern Bengal—if that unfortunate consummation cannot be averted—will be the lot of the people of Sylhet forced on her Hindu populations, and accepted by the duped dumb masses of the Moslems.

In democracy communal majority has no right to force its will on the communal minority, even if the minority be small. Democracy and freedom go together. You cannot have democracy denying freedom permanently and perpetually to a minority. That will be slavery of the minority.
Has anyone a right to impose this slavery on another? Can it be expected that the large and progressive Hindu elements of the populations of Sylhet will agree to enter into it? Can they continue under it? We hear of ‘brute majority’ from the lips of communal Moslem leaders. A brute majority is majority of numbers, not grouped ideologically under political or economic programmes, but the numerical majority of the race or the community. The majority of the Moslem community, when it seeks to impose its will on the strength of that majority on others, is brute majority. Modern civilised politics has shunned this brute majority as the rule of the jungle. To expect any part of India to accept it is unthinkable.

Our demand for non-inclusion of the district of Sylhet is based not on so-called communal grounds, as a concession to the sentiments of the Hindus only. By taking Sylhet to the weak communal zone of Eastern Bengal, already thickly populated, with almost entire dependence on land, you will make its economic future dark. The standard of life, low as now it is for the mass of the people, Hindu or Moslem, will be lower still perhaps. Will that be helpful for the social or cultural life of the people, or even of the Moslems? The Moslems can have no reasonable fear of being culturally submerged by the Assamese Hindus. The Moslems of Sylhet are the same as the Hindus of the district in race, language and culture. Their difference is only a difference in denominational religious allegiance; they can have no fear to be left alone to defend their linguistic or cultural heritage from the dominant Assamese Hindus. In fact, not cultural suppressions but cultural comminglings are envisaged in the future free India we want to build up. A plebiscite, taken honestly and under normal cool atmosphere, of the entire Sylhet populations will convincingly prove, what we have been pleading for the interests of Sylhet as a whole, that the will of the people is for non-inclusion of the district in the Pakistan zone of Bengal. Till such plebiscite, which can only be taken in an honest atmosphere, the issue should wait. On no condition, should the large non-Moslem populations, as well as the nationalist Muslim populations of Sylhet, be forcibly thrown into the communal or Pakistan State of Eastern Bengal.

3. Pros and Cons of Sylhet Joining East Bengal

Letter from Nawab of Bhopal to M.A. Jinnah, 8 June 1947

SECRET/PERSONAL

QASR-I-SULTANI, BHOPAL,

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending you quite informally a note which has been suggested to me and which contains one point of view as to the pros and cons of the Sylhet District joining Eastern Bengal or remaining in Assam.

The note may be of some little [sic] use to you. It is of course for you to decide which is the best course for Sylhet to adopt.

Yours very sincerely,

HAMIDULLAH

NOTE

The District of Sylhet in Assam, the population of which is pre-dominantly Muslim, will be called upon to make its choice whether to join the East Bengal Constituent Assembly or to join
the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. At first sight it would appear as if the decision should be a pure formality in the sense that the ideology of Pakistan would require that Sylhet and its surrounding Muslim-majority areas should link up with East Bengal. But even from the point of view of Pakistan and the Muslims, the matter is not quite so simple. In order to properly appreciate the issues that arise, it is necessary to keep in mind clearly the population divisions in Assam. According to the 1941 Census, the proportion of Caste Hindus in the population of the Province is roughly 35%, that of Muslims 32%, that of the Tribes 26% and that of the Scheduled Castes 6%. If the Scheduled Castes are included in the category of Hindus the total of the Hindu population would amount to 41.5% as against 32% Muslims and 26% Tribes. It will thus be seen that no single community can claim an absolute majority in the population.

If Sylhet decides to join East Bengal, what would be the gain to East Bengal and what would be the gain to Sylhet? In East Bengal the Muslims have already a majority of over 75%. The accession of Sylhet might raise this majority by another 2 or 3% which would make no practical difference to anybody. There would, however, be a distinct gain to Sylhet if it joins East Bengal inasmuch as the Muslims of that area would become a part of the majority of East Bengal and cease to be a portion of the Muslim minority in Assam. As against this, their position in Assam is not merely that of a minority comprising slightly less than one-third of the total population. There are several other minorities in the Province, the largest of which, the Tribes, comprise as much as 26% of the total population. In fact the Muslims and the Tribes together comprise over 57% of the population.

Another very important factor in the situation is that the number of Muslims in Assam has been constantly on the increase owing to both natural causes and migration from East Bengal. It is reasonable to expect that in the course of the next few years the number of Muslims in the Province shall be equal to the number of Caste Hindus and that thereafter the Muslims will be the largest single community in the Province. It is not beyond the bounds of reasonable possibility that in the course of a quarter of a century the number of Muslims may equal and even exceed that of Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes combined. This is a position of great advantage and should not be surrendered without compensating advantages on the other side.

If Sylhet decides to join East Bengal, the number of Muslims in the rest of Assam will be reduced to a very small proportion of the total population and they will occupy in that Province the position of an unimportant minority. This would mean that Assam would for all time have been abandoned as a part of Pakistan.

On the other hand, if Sylhet and its surrounding Muslim-majority areas decide to continue as parts of Assam, there is every prospect that with passing years Assam will grow closer to East Bengal and that at no distant date the two will decide either to form one Province or to form one group. Already the Hindu leaders in Assam are hoping that Sylhet will decide to leave Assam and join East Bengal, thus leaving Caste Hindus in a position of absolute majority in the Province. The principle of Pakistan having been conceded and the Muslims having secured large areas as parts of Pakistan in the west and in the east, their anxiety should now be to make such dispositions as may enure to their benefit in the long run. The decision to leave Sylhet in Assam would prove that the Muslims are beginning to take long views already and it will certainly carry dismay and consternation to the ranks of the Caste Hindus in Assam whose devout wish at the moment is to get rid of the Muslim-majority in Sylhet and its surrounding areas. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the decision on this matter will be arrived at on the basis of the considerations set out above and other relevant factors and not merely on the basis of the desire to claim as much area for Pakistan today as may be possible. The factors pointing
in the direction of leaving Sylhet in Assam are of a very weighty character and should not be lightly brushed aside.

4. Adverse Impact of Muslim League’s Fanaticism

Letter from R.N. Choudhury to Vallabhbhai Patel, 9 June 1947

SPC, Vol. V, pp. 23-4

Calcutta

Most revered Sardarji,

You know much more than anybody else that the illiterate Muslim masses are led by sheer fanaticism engendered by the unprincipled Muslim Leaguers. They have got a hold in the district of Sylhet, as elsewhere in India, due to historic reasons of which you are fully aware. Unfortunately the referendum is very ill-timed inasmuch as the Muslim feelings in Sylhet have been worked up to a white heat of communal frenzy on the issue of eviction of Muslim encroachers from certain Upper Assam districts. Due to these initial handicaps, the result of the referendum is rather doubtful for the Hindus. The Muslims are in no mood to listen to the voice of reason and the glamour of newly earned Pakistan would be too strong a temptation for them.

Under the circumstances this moment is hardly a suitable time for fairly ascertaining public opinion on such a vital issue. But since it is an all-India question, it is idle to expect that the referendum in the district of Sylhet would be postponed for a more suitable time, though that would have been more fair. I suppose now there is no other alternative for the Hindus of Sylhet but to prepare themselves to face the referendum with all their earnestness as well as their resources with a determination to defeat the unholy project of transferring Sylhet to Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,

R. N. Choudhary

5. ‘Sylhet Mob Raids Polling Station—Police Open Fire’

Extract from a report in The Hindustan Times, 10 June 1947

SYLHET, July 9.—Reports of lawlessness, intimidation and stray assaults are pouring in from various parts of the district. Members of the minority community in pocket villages are reported to be contemplating to migrate to towns. Rescue parties from the district headquarters have been sent to the villages, it is learnt.

The police opened fire in the Sylhet sub-division, following a mob raid on the polling station, states a report received here. One person was killed. Injured persons have been removed to hospital.

‘No report of major disturbances have been received from anywhere in the district,’ said the Referendum Commissioner after the polling was over on Monday evening. But several reports of obstruction and intimidation by League volunteers in many polling stations were received in the Congress camp....

‘In many cases boats were not allowed to come to the shore. Reports of assaults of the voters were also received by the Deputy Commissioner from Taokul in North Sylhet. The Presiding Officer of the station is learnt to have sent a wire asking for more military force.'
Mr. Basanta Kumar Das, Home Minister, and Mr. Baidyanath Mookherjee, Supply Minister, are touring the disturbed areas. Military patrolling has been intensified.

Counting Begins

Counting of the votes in the referendum began here yesterday morning. The counting room was heavily guarded by the military and strict secrecy was maintained.—A.P.I and U.P.I.

6. Arrangements for the Referendum in Sylhet

Telegram from Akbar Hydari to Louis Mountbatten, 11 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/158, Acc. No. 3471, NAI

IMMEDIATE

Reference your telegram 1342-S of June 7th. In consultation with my Ministry I propose referendum should be held under symbol system and on basis of present rolls of Provincial Assembly. There is the risk of communal disturbances and therefore I should like to make special arrangements for the use of army to preserve order and secure a fair vote. First Battalion Assam Regiment would be suitable instrument for this purpose. As even in cold weather attempt to secure simultaneous ballot throughout the District would be extremely difficult I propose now that it will be monsoon time that voting should be undertaken in successive blocks and votes counted only when completed. Process should not take more than about eight days and (gr. om)s will occupy about one month. In this connection please refer to telegram from Reforms dated 10th. If Bengal decides on partition before that date contemplate holding poll about July 15th. Grateful for your urgent telegraphic approval to above proposals.

7. Muslim Voting Strength Must Be Equated with Their Population Strength in Sylhet

Letter from Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten, 11 June 1947
IOR, R/3/1/158, Acc. No. 3471, NAI

New Delhi

Dear Lord Mountbatten

I am writing to you in regard to the referendum in the Sylhet district of Assam which is contemplated in para 13 of H.M.G.'s statement of the 3rd June, 1947. The population of Sylhet district is distributed as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>60.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled castes</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caste Hindus</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribals</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of electors in the Assam Legislative Assembly for the Sylhet district is as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>3,11,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>2,35,808</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The position therefore is that while the Muslims form 60.7% of the total population of Sylhet district, they form only 54.27% of the total electoral roll of the district. On the assumption that
the referendum will, as in the case of the N.W.F.P., be confined to the electorate, it is clear that the Muslim votes will not reflect the true strength of Muslim opinion on the issue of the referendum. In order to secure this result it will be necessary to multiply the number of Muslim votes by a factor which would equate the voting strength of the Muslim with their population strength. I shall be glad if you would kindly confirm this.

2. I presume that the electorates of special constituencies, such as labour, tea planters, commerce, etc. would not participate in the referendum. This may also kindly be confirmed.

Yours sincerely
Sd/- Liaquat Ali Khan

8. ‘Truce in Assam’
Editorial from Dawn, 13 June 1947

After three months the Muslim League civil disobedience movement in Assam has been called off. This is a wise decision in view of the acceptance by the Muslim League of the British Plan of June 3. The time has now come for breathless constructive activity to which the energy and attention of Muslim leaders and workers will have to be devoted. In Assam there is now a more immediate problem which calls for concerted and concentrated effort, namely, the referendum in the district of Sylhet. Although the Muslims form 61 per cent of the population and Hindus only 37 per cent, the electoral rolls, which will be the basis of the referendum, do not unfortunately reflect this margin, the Muslim majority being approximately 55 per cent in the electorates. The Congress has already launched a campaign in order to confuse the issues and mislead the voters. That all the resources of the Congress will be utilised in order to secure a vote in favour of Sylhet remaining in Assam, and therefore in Hindustan, goes without saying. The Provincial Muslim League leaders will, therefore, have to be specially alert and active and a large number of workers will have to be put immediately into the field. This could not have been done with a civil disobedience movement in progress and most of the leaders and a large number of tried workers in detention. We trust that the Bardoloi Ministry will take immediate steps to release League leaders and workers of the province whom it had clapped into prison in its endeavour to stem the tide of resistance against its policy of ejecting Bengalee immigrants.

The issue over which the Assam Muslim League decided to launch its movement is well-known, and it unfortunately still remains unsettled. The Bardoloi Ministry, with the active support of the Congress High Command and under the special instigation of none else than Mr. Gandhi himself, embarked on this policy of ejectment of immigrants and repression of the Muslims who had resorted to peaceful civil disobedience after all persuasion and normal methods of agitation had failed to wean the Congress Ministry from its inhuman policy. To that policy it still remains committed, and it has further sullied its record during the past three months by acts of administrative terrorism against peaceful civil resisters and against equally peaceful immigrants, some of whom have been shot down in cold blood. People outside Assam have little knowledge of the proportions which the League movement in that province assumed and of the sacrifices that were made in course of it. The Ministry had placed a ring of censorship round the province and it was difficult to get accurate news into the Muslim Press outside. In spite of all this the movement showed no sign of weakening, but on the contrary it was gathering momentum when more weighty considerations and a momentous change in
the general political scene made it expedient to call it off. This does not mean that the issue of the Bengalee immigrants in Assam has ceased to exist or that the struggle has been finally abandoned. Some means will have to be found in the not-distant future, after the major tasks connected with the establishment of Pakistan have been accomplished, of taking the matter up afresh—by friendly negotiation with the future Assam Government, if that Government is inclined to be reasonable, or otherwise. By the settlement of the larger political issue in the manner it has been, the bogey that Assam would be ‘converted into a Muslim majority province’ has been laid. The rulers of future Assam, where vast tracts of cultivable land will for many years to come invite toilers and settlers from outside, should be able to take a more rational view of the agrarian problem which sheer communal prejudice has turned into a political one.

9. Demand for Retaining Sylhet in Assam

Press Statement by Nibaran Chandra Laskar, MLA, Silchar, 13 June 1947
S.P. Mookerjee Papers, Subject File 130, Instalments II to IV, NMML

It is now almost a settled fact that Bengal will be partitioned and the East Bengal will agree to amalgamate Sylhet District with it. A referendum will, therefore, be held in Sylhet to decide her fate.

It is obviously the duty of Assam as a whole to make every effort to retain Sylhet in the Province while other parts of the Province get the benefit of remaining under the New Indian Union.

Cachar being the neighbouring district of Sylhet she has got some special interests in the retention of Sylhet in Assam. According to the H.M.G.’s plan if the referendum in Sylhet results in favour of her amalgamation with East Bengal, a Boundary Commission will be set up to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts, which will be transferred to East Bengal. Some portion of Cachar thus stands the risk of being amalgamated with East Bengal. To do away with this risk, it is the duty of Cachar to see for her own interest that the referendum in Sylhet results against such amalgamation with East Bengal. Secondly, if Sylhet remains in Assam she will serve the interest of Cachar in another way, as in that case, there will be a long cry between the border of Cachar and the border of Pakistan, thus saving Cachar from all troubles which are likely to be caused by a next door Pakistani area. I, therefore, appeal to all people of my district to render all possible help to Sylhet in her fight against the contemplated amalgamation with East Bengal.

If however unfortunately, inspite of all best efforts and reasons, Sylhet has to go to Pakistan, there is no reason, whatsoever, why a portion of Cachar, if any, should also go. Cachar has its own culture, tradition, history etc which have very little affinity with those of East Bengal and Sylhet, unlike which it is a purely temporary-settled area and has never come under Muslim domination. It is a non-Muslim majority district. Only one thana in the district i.e. Hailakandi thana has a slightly Muslim majority population (55.3%). But in the last Assembly election a Jamiet candidate was returned from that area which clearly indicated that even the Muslim population of that area are against Pakistan. From the geographical point of view too this area cannot be separated from Cachar because of its having a natural boundary—the Saraspur Hills in the west. Moreover, this only Muslim majority area of the district has on all sides of its areas which are non-Muslim majority ones. If all these justifications be not considered convincing,
we the people of Cachar are ready to face any challenge in the shape of a referendum which we can claim as our right to self determination—so unfortunately ignored in the H.M.G.’s plan. Once again I, therefore, appeal to my sisters and brothers of my district to remain in readiness for offering every fight for the retention of our dear Land—every inch of it in the Indian Union, far beyond the reach of the bankrupt Eastern Pakistan.

If the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district go to Pakistan then there is no reason, why the non-Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district such as Ratabari, Patherkandi, Barlekha, Srimangal, Kamalganj, Kulaura thanas etc lying on the south of the main railway line right from the East to the West in the Sylhet district, which are contiguous to the Cachar district, should not be amalgamated with Cachar.

I request the people concerned of Sylhet to unite with us in the demand both in their own interest as well as ours.

Sd/ Nibaran Chandra Laskar, M.L.A.
Silchar

Copy forwarded to Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Ex-President, All India Hindu Mahasabha for information and favour of necessary action.

10. Apprehensions regarding Referendum
Letter from Purnendu Kishore Sen Gupta to Vallabhbhai Patel, 15 June 1947

P.O. Kulaura
District Sylhet

My dear Sardarji,

I crave your indulgence for intruding upon your valuable time, and my excuse for doing so is the very great danger with which our district of Sylhet is faced today.

At the very outset I may tell you that though in Sylhet district Muslims are in a majority, during the last general election out of the total Muslim votes recorded, about 26 per cent of the votes went in favour of our nationalist Muslim candidates. The total Hindu votes along with this 26 per cent of the Muslim votes represented an overwhelming opinion against any idea of Pakistan so far as Sylhet district is concerned and yet, as ill luck would have it, we have to face a referendum to decide the question whether Sylhet should remain in the Indian Union or be joined with East Bengal.

I beg to approach you today for all the help that lies in your power to give us at this critical juncture.

Our first difficulty is with the tea garden labour population. There are 221 tea gardens in Sylhet district with a labour population of 1,97,272. The labourers have got only one seat in the Assam Assembly and they elect their representative from different zones by rotation. As such the existing electoral roll for the tea garden labourers is confined to one thana only which has a labour population of 30,522 in 30 different gardens of which not more than 11,449 are entitled to vote. The existing electoral roll does not give any scope of voting to 1,66,750 labourers living in 191 tea gardens scattered over the district—the number of actual voters thus deprived of the franchise will not be anything below 50,000.
Whatever may be the device arranged for representation of labourers in the Legislative Assembly there is no reason why all of them should not be given full facilities for expressing their opinion on the question under referendum. Sjt. Jibon Santal, Labour MLA representing these tea garden labourers, has addressed a memorial to His Excellency the Viceroy praying that a supplementary voters’ list may be prepared immediately to give full facilities to all the labourers living in the district for recording their opinion on the matter.

The entire tea labour in Assam including Sylhet is recruited from Bihar, UP, CP, Madras, Orissa and West Bengal—all falling in the Indian Union and none from East Bengal, Sind or the Punjab. It is of utmost importance therefore that they should be given the opportunity to give their full weight in deciding this vital issue of division. I do most earnestly request you to kindly exert all your influence with the Viceroy so that the labourers may get their franchise.

Our next difficulty is with our nationalist Muslim friends. They have expressed their desire to remain within the Indian Union, but the Muslim League is determined to resort to any means as they did during the last election for winning the referendum and it will be extremely difficult for our nationalist Muslim friends to go and record their votes in the face of Muslim League hooliganism unless elaborate measures for maintaining law and order right in the interior villages are adopted by the Government. The provincial Government should be given all necessary help in this connection by the Central Government. And we do rely absolutely on you for this help without which the whole referendum may be meaningless for us.

Our next and the greatest difficulty is about finances. Of course the district will try to help itself as much as possible, but our resources being very much limited and the time at our disposal also being very short, making it impossible for us to approach all the people in the district, we don’t know how we can find the huge amount of money that will be required for the purpose unless all India comes to our rescue. And for this financial help we do approach you to take up our cause with the people of the Indian Union. We do like to remain within the Indian Union and it will not be possible for us to do so unless the people of the Indian Union will also kindly extend their helping hand to us. Some of us may soon meet you for the purpose and we are confident that you will very kindly give us all the guidance and help necessary in the matter.

It would inspire our people very much if you could kindly visit the district once at your earliest convenience. We require your guidance in organising our people for the referendum and the district will remain ever grateful to you if you could kindly spare a few days for our sake.

With best regards,

Yours in the service
of motherland,
Purnendu Kishore Sen Gupta, MLA
Member, Executive Committee,
Indian National Trade Union Congress
and Organiser, INTUC, Surma Valley

11. ‘Geographical Base of Surma Valley Districts’
Extracts from an article in Hindustan Standard, 15 June 1947

The partition of Bengal is a certainty. So in a few days a referendum will be held in Sylhet to decide whether this district will join the projected Province of East Bengal or it will continue
to play its part in the economy of the Province of Assam. Religion, which is a personal matter with man, should not be allowed to cloud the vision of the electors to the real issue, which is economic and political rather than religious. An attempt has, therefore, been made in this study of the geographical position of the district to show the relative advantages and disadvantages of its union with East Bengal and the maintenance of ‘status quo’.

The people of the district of Sylhet in Assam will soon have to decide whether they will join the proposed Province of East Bengal, or continue to play a prominent part in the economy of the province of Assam, and thus remain united with Nationalist India. The geographical position of the Sylhet district as the immediate neighbour of Muslim Bengal, and the character of the communal composition of its population are such that it has been found necessary by Lord Mountbatten to ascertain the wishes of the people by holding a referendum in the district. Now, it is for the children of the soil to decide what is best for them and their future generations. A false step may lead to a disaster of the first magnitude. The present and potential resources not only of this district but of the whole of Assam should be carefully studied, and also what these will mean to the 31 lakhs of men and women of Sylhet, when India becomes free to utilize fully its rich resources.

The district of Sylhet along with the adjoining district of Cachar is dominated by the Surma drainage system, and hence in both administrative and geographical parlance it is known as the Surma Valley. This Valley runs from east to west for a distance of over 100 miles, and is surrounded on three sides—north, south and east—by rugged mountains and plateaus. The Khasi, Jaintia and Cachar hills border the Surma Valley on the north and separate it from the most important agricultural region of Assam—the Brahmaputra or Assam Valley. From Chhatak, an important trade center on the Surma the Khasi hills appear to rise out of the swampy plains of Sylhet so abruptly as to remind one of some precipitous island in the ocean. It is only in recent years that a good motorable road has been built right across the steep cliffs, connecting Shillong with Sylhet. The Jaintia hills occupy a central position in this group, and do not rise abruptly and hence can be more readily approached from the plains. The formidable Barail range occupies the eastern part, some of its summits rising to about 10,000 feet. (Japvo peak—9890 feet). On the east lies the mountainous State of Manipur, through which runs the land route to Burma. It was here that a decisive battle was fought during the last world war. On the south-east stand the Lushai hills which throw several north-south running spurs towards the Surma Valley.

With such impenetrable hills and mountains on three sides, a low-lying level tract like the Surma Valley may appear to a military strategist as an extremely vulnerable area to attack from a neighbouring hostile sovereign state. It is true that there will arise no danger of attack in future from a Nationalist India even if the district of Sylhet decides to join East Bengal, but it is worth while to study the physiography of a country from the military point of view. (Editor's Note: Map showing physiography not reproduced.)

The entire Surma Valley is composed of alluvial plain and in its eastern end its level is as low as 23 ft above the sea near about the town of Sylhet. Here, one comes across a number of hillocks, locally known as ‘tilas’, which hardly rise above 200 feet. In the eastern part not only isolated hills but long ranges dominate the landscape. The greater part of the Surma Valley is, however, ... with innumerable sluggish ... ‘khal’ and saucer-shaped impressions, locally known as ‘haors’. The Surma river is known as the Barak in the Cachar district. It rises from the southern slopes of the Barail range and flows first through the Manipur hills. Its course
in the Manipur State and Cachar district is about 300 miles long. It is well-known that the agricultural prosperity of Sylhet district depends largely on the Surma river.

It will certainly be difficult to train the river for irrigation and drainage, if part of its course falls in one sovereign state, and part in another.

The province of Assam covers an area of 54,951 square miles and contains a population of a little over one crore (1,02,04,733), according to the 1941 census. It is one of the most sparsely populated provinces of India, the density of population per square mile being as low as 185. Of the districts of Assam, Sylhet has the highest density, 572 per square mile. The densities in other districts vary between 44 and 329. Compared to these, the densities in the adjoining districts of Muslim Bengal appear to have reached a saturation stage: Mymensingh, 979; Tippera, 1,525; Dacca, 1,542.

In a free India if the standard of living of the masses is to be raised, attempts should be made to reduce the pressure of population on agricultural land.

Sylhet, if it becomes a part of Muslim Bengal, must be prepared to accommodate land-thirsty immigrants, and it is to be seen whether an agricultural district like that of Sylhet can bear the extra burden of population.

A study of the figures, as shown below, relating to the proportion of arable land which has been brought under the plough in the province of Assam as a whole and in the Surma Valley districts and in the neighbouring districts of Muslim Bengal—Mymensingh and Tippera—will reveal that there is an immense possibility of developing agricultural land in Assam, whereas in Muslim Bengal there is now very little cultivable land left, which can be brought under the plough so as to raise the standard of living of the cultivators. (All agricultural statistics used in this article are taken from a Government publication entitled Agricultural Statistics of India, published in 1945).

Table I
Arable land in Assam, the Surma Valley districts, and Mymensingh and Tippera districts of East Bengal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Arable land (Acres)</th>
<th>Net Area Sown (Acres)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>2,68,06,517</td>
<td>66,18,912</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylhet</td>
<td>29,29,811</td>
<td>19,58,548</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cachar</td>
<td>16,28,719</td>
<td>3,90,372</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mymensingh</td>
<td>27,77,414</td>
<td>25,08,700</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tippera</td>
<td>12,31,354</td>
<td>11,71,100</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If Sylhet is separated from Assam and especially from Cachar, which is a non-Muslim majority district, then the pressure of population is bound to increase in the district to the detriment of tillers of the land.

Land Tenure

The nature of land tenure, as shown below, indicates that it is in the district of Sylhet the ‘zamindari’ system predominates over the ‘raiyatwari’ system, whereas in Assam as a whole it is just the reverse. Whether one likes or not the ‘zamindari’ system, the obvious conclusion from this is that the Assam Government did not make any attempt to thrust anything on the
people of the district against their wishes. It may also be mentioned in this connection that the number of zamindars being very large in this district, the agricultural wealth could be more evenly distributed.

Table II
Nature of Land Tenure (In Acres)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Assam</th>
<th>Sylhet</th>
<th>Cachar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All types</td>
<td>3,54,84,800</td>
<td>35,05,920</td>
<td>24,71,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raiyatwari</td>
<td>2,98,72,142</td>
<td>8,62,487</td>
<td>21,81,206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(temporary settled)</td>
<td>16,93,526</td>
<td>2,43,711</td>
<td>2,90,474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zamindari (permanently settled)</td>
<td>39,19,132</td>
<td>23,99,722</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The land revenue in Assam amounted to Rs. 1,48,35,240 in 1938-39, the district of Sylhet contributing Rs. 15,08,799, and Cachar district, Rs. 8,74,118. Thus, the land revenue per capita was very low in Sylhet district, eight annas and ten pies, whereas in the province as a whole it was considerably higher; one rupee eleven annas and ten pies.

The resources of Assam are varied. Of the agricultural crops rice is undoubtedly the most important, taking up as much as 71 per cent of the total area sown. Tea, mustard seeds and jute are the important cash crops. The following table shows acreages under different crops in Assam and in the two Surma Valley districts.

Table III
Acreage under the main crops in Assam and the Surma Valley districts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Assam</th>
<th>Sylhet</th>
<th>Cachar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>53,51,506</td>
<td>19,17,148</td>
<td>3,27,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>4,30,089</td>
<td>89,450</td>
<td>53,518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustard seed</td>
<td>4,05,730</td>
<td>34,218</td>
<td>9,107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jute</td>
<td>3,02,628</td>
<td>42,100</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits and Vegetables</td>
<td>4,61,204</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>28,914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Cane</td>
<td>38,542</td>
<td>2,676</td>
<td>6,859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>36,650</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesamum Seeds</td>
<td>22,662</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>3,238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>14,432</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that Sylhet is essentially a rice-growing district and will have to depend on other districts for a number of cash crops either for domestic use or to feed factories. East Bengal may not be in a position to supply these crops to Sylhet, as there the relief, soil and climatic conditions are not quite favourable for growing crops other than rice, jute and tobacco. In Assam, on the other hand, optimum conditions for the cultivation of tea, oilseeds, pulses, sugarcane and cotton prevail in various parts. Since the eighties of the last century the tea industry has grown rapidly in the province. There are at present 562 tea gardens employing some 40,000 workers daily. Most of the tea gardens are to be found in the eastern portion of the Assam Valley in the districts of Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Darrang. In the Surma Valley there are some 165 tea gardens, 95 in Sylhet and 70 in Cachar, employing 7,500 and 4,000 workers respectively. The other cash crops—oilseeds, sugarcane and cotton also need well-manured land for their
cultivation, and constant attention of the farmers. Mustard seeds are extensively grown in the western and central portions of the Assam Valley in the districts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong. Such is the case with ‘til’ (sesamum indicum) as well. About one-third of the linseed-growing land is, however, found in the Surma Valley districts. Cotton is at present chiefly grown on high lands, hence Garo and Lushai hills have the maximum acreage under this crop. Sugarcane is grown practically everywhere in the level plains of Assam and Surma Valleys though still not on a large scale. It is expected that the acreage under sugarcane will increase enormously in near future.

Livestock in Assam include cattle, goats and horses. One-quarter of the cattle population is found in Sylhet district. There is excellent grazing ground in winter in the greater part of the Sylhet district, when the floods drain off from the marshes, and this accounts for a large cattle population....

Population Composition

As to the communal composition of the population of the Surma Valley, the eastern part comprising the district Cachar is a non-Muslim majority area, and in the western part in the district of Sylhet Muslims form the majority community. Of the total population (6,41,181) of Cachar district, 2,32,950 persons or 36% were returned in 1941 as Muslims. In Sylhet district the number of Muslims was 18,92,117 in that year, that is to say, 60.7 per cent of the total population of the district (31,16,602). The Muslims are not evenly distributed all over the Surma Valley districts.

12. ‘Immediate Dissolution of Assam Ministry Demanded’

*Dawn, 17 June 1947*

SHILLONG, Monday—‘Immediate dissolution of the Congress Ministry in Assam in the interest of free and fair referendum proposed to be held in Sylhet District to determine whether
it should be amalgamated with Eastern Pakistan as envisaged in HMG's plan of June 3' has been demanded by Mr. M.H. Siddikie, Secretary, Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industries, Assam, in a statement to the Press on Sunday.

'Along with the Ministry,' he added, 'the Governor, Sir Akbar Hydari must also go'.

'The question of immediate release of political prisoners, now that the Civil Disobedience Movement is no more' Mr. Siddikie said, 'has greatly agitated Muslims of Assam. Taking advantage of the forced absence of our leaders, arch Muslim baiters like Mr. Basanta Das have set out on a whirlwind tour of Sylhet at the expense of public money for propagation of Caste Hindu view and this is being done under the very nose of Governor Hydari who has now kept it a secret that his sympathies are with the Hindu Congress'.

'What's the reason' he asked, 'for keeping leaders still under duress particularly when referendum knocks at the door. The reason appears to be that the enemies of Muslims are afraid of the tremendous popularity that our leaders enjoy among the people. They are afraid that once they are released all machinations and manoeuvres of the Caste Hindu Junta would miserably fail and ramshackle the structure of the house of the Basanta Das which will fall into pieces'.

Continuing, Mr. Siddikie said, that Muslims of Sylhet will not grudge Mr. Das and his friends' political harakiri; they have preferred to commit by alternating [sic] Muslims still further. He will never be able to keep Muslim Sylhet under Caste Hindu domination. Instead of trying to create rift in the ranks of the Muslims, Mr. Basanta Das will be well advised to keep his hand off from the land of Hazrat Shah Jalal.

'Muslims need hardly be told' Mr. Siddikie added, 'what Congress domination means to them. Fifteen months of Congress rule that has brought death and destruction to thousands of innocent Muslims, is still fresh in the public mind. The Muslims and Scheduled Castes are determined to wipe out the rule of tyranny at least from the District of Sylhet and other non-Hindu Districts.'

In conclusion Mr. Siddikie appealed to the Viceroy to dissolve the present Ministry and recall Sir Akbar Hydari, else it was feared that the Muslims will be denied their legitimate role in the impending referendum.

13. 'Future of Sylhet Lies in the Hands of Its Own Inhabitants'
Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to R.N. Choudhury, 17 June 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 9th instant about the Sylhet referendum.

We fully appreciate the peculiar position of Sylhet, but having regard to the composition of its population and its contiguity to a majority Muslim area, it was impossible to escape from the referendum, if we wished that the same principle should be applied to similarly situated areas in the Punjab and Bengal. If local opinion, both Hindu and Muslim, feels strongly on the subject of partition from Assam, there is nothing to prevent its receiving full expression in the referendum. The future of Sylhet lies in the hands of its own inhabitants, and I would ask you to devote your energies and attention to seeing that its future is not jeopardised by the result of the referendum.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel
14. No Change Possible in Electoral Rolls
Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Purnendu Kishore Sen Gupta, 20 June 1947
SPC, Vol. V, p. 27

New Delhi

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 15 June 1947 regarding the Sylhet referendum. I am afraid we shall have to proceed on the existing basis and no further change can be made in regard to the electoral rolls. You can rest assured, however, that every effort will be made from here as well as by the provincial Government to maintain peace during the referendum.

I am sure that if you organise local opinion in the manner it should be, the verdict of Sylhet will be on the right lines. It is futile to ask for assistance from outside. The work has to be and can be done only by local leaders.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

15. Demand for a Separate Boundary Commission for Assam
Telegram from Akbar Hydari to Louis Mountbatten, 23 June 1947

No. 145-MSG. Reference para. I of your telegram 1472-S June 17th. Boundary Commissions. There is strong and unanimous feeling among my Ministers that there should be separate Boundary Commission as between Eastern Bengal and Assam in case Sylhet elects to join Eastern Bengal. The same Boundary Commission as may be appointed for partitioning Bengal would not be acceptable. I recommend compliance of this request.¹

¹ This recommendation was rejected by the Viceroy in his Forty-Seventh Staff meeting held on 25 June 1947. He argued that ‘in view of the fact that the Indian Leaders had already agreed that the Bengal Boundary Commission should deal also with Assam, and because the establishment of a separate Commission for Assam would cause further delay, he considered that it was not practicable to accede to the Governor of Assam’s request.’ See Document No. 344 in T.O.R., Vol. XI, p. 635.

16. ‘No Fair Referendum Possible under Congress Govt: Regional Ministry in Sylhet Demanded’
Dawn, 25 June 1947

Calcutta, Tuesday—‘Black Regime of Assam’s Congress Government must end immediately. The Muslims of Sylhet demand free and fair referendum. But it will become a mockery if it is held while the Bardoloi Government is in power,’ said Mr. Mohammad Abdus Subhan Choudhury, Chairman of the Sylhet Pakistan Referendum Committee, in a statement.

Continuing he said: ‘In spite of the withdrawal of Muslim League movement in Assam, Muslim League workers are still arrested and harassed on false pretexts. The Bardoloi Government is delaying unnecessarily the release of League leader and workers.’
Mr. Chowdhury said that while the League leaders were behind the bars, the Bardoloi Government went ahead with its propaganda. He added that the recent flood had created another difficulty as many villages had been cut off from the towns and cities in Sylhet district and the people were unaware of the new political development. He said that holding the referendum so suddenly was not fair, as it was not a child’s play.

Continuing Mr. Chowdhury said: ‘Sufficient time should be given for free and fair referendum in Sylhet. The Qaed-e-Azam and the Viceroy should intervene in this matter immediately, so that the Muslims should be given a fair deal. It is certain that the proposed referendum will not be fair, under an hostile Government. Therefore the British Government should at once impose Section 93, or should set up regional Ministry in Sylhet only and the referendum should be held in the last week of July.’—OPI

17. Issues concerning Sylhet Referendum

Letter from M.A. Jinnah to H.L. Ismay, 26 June 1947

Jinnah Papers, Vol. II, pp. 522-4

Dear Lord Ismay,

I am enclosing herewith some points affecting the Sylhet Referendum and I believe it is reliable information and requires your immediate attention.

Yours sincerely

M.A. Jinnah

Enclosure

The June 3 Statement provided that the Sylhet Referendum, like that in N.W.F.P., will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General. But matters have been apparently left in the hands of the Provincial Government. For instance:

a. No formal announcement has been made but it has already appeared in the press that Mr. H.C. Stock, I.C.S., Secretary, Legislative Department, has been appointed Referendum Commissioner. He was a prisoner in Turkey during First World War and is notorious in Assam as being anti-Muslim.

b. Symbols for ballot-boxes have been fixed without consulting the parties: a ‘Hut’ for staying in Assam, and an ‘Axe’ for joining Eastern Bengal. According to local popular superstition the axe symbolises causing an injury to oneself.

c. Military, mostly Gurkhas, are still posted throughout Sylhet District, and they are still harassing people though the Movement is being called off.

2. The date fixed for Referendum is too early and time given for voting too short. Referendum is to be held on 6th and 7th July. Voting is to be between 9.30 to 6.00 on these days.

Until 23rd when I left Sylhet, authenticated voters’ lists had not been made available. Time is too short for canvassing, specially because of the floods now raging in large areas of the district. We shall not be able to reach the interior areas in time.
Experience of Assembly elections have [sic] shown that not more than 50 per cent of votes can be recorded in this time.

3. Assam Government is deliberately impeding our work. They are censoring news as well as telegrams to outside League leaders and to our own local leaders and workers. They are arresting, under Public Safety Act, our best workers. Two have been arrested and we learn that just before the Referendum more arrests will be made.

4. Instead of the Governor-General sending British Military officers, Mr. Baldev Singh has sent a number of Sikh officers who are extensively touring the district ostensibly to find out whether posting of more troops is needed for maintenance of peace. Mixed troops, fifty-fifty Muslim and non-Muslim, should be posted and Gurkhas withdrawn.

1 This was submitted by Moinul Haque Chaudhary, MLA (Assam).

18. ‘Vote for Sylhet’s Union with Eastern Bengal—Qaed-e-Azam’s Appeal to Musalmans’

*Dawn, 27 June 1947*

New Delhi, Thursday.—**QAED-E-AZAM M.A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League,** in a statement to the Press, has appealed to every Musalman to cast his or her vote in favour of the Sylhet District being amalgamated with the new province of Eastern Bengal, which will not only strengthen Eastern Pakistan, but, will also be a boon to the Muslims of Sylhet.

The following is the full text of the statement:

‘Now that it has been officially announced that the referendum in Sylhet (Assam) will be held on the 6th and 7th of July, I have appointed a committee consisting of Mirza Ahmed Ispahani, Mr. Moazzamuddin Hussain and Mr. A.W. Baakza to organize and help the Muslims of Sylhet in every way to face the forthcoming referendum, and I have been assured by them that they will do their best and help the Muslims of Sylhet in every way.

‘I therefore, request all the leaders and workers of the Muslim League in Sylhet to get in close touch with the Committee and work in full co-operation and complete harmony as a united and disciplined people in a team and I appeal to every Musalman to cast his or her vote in favour of Sylhet District being amalgamated with the new province of Eastern Bengal.

‘It is my fervent hope and prayer that the verdict of the Muslims of Sylhet, on whom the responsibility to take the decision mainly rests, will be in favour of Sylhet’s amalgamation with East Bengal. Muslims there are in the powerful majority and if they vote solidly, as I advise them to do, it will not only strengthen Eastern Pakistan, but it will be a boon to the Muslims of Sylhet.

‘On both these grounds, I appeal to every Muslim voter to cast his or her vote in favour of the amalgamation of Sylhet with East Bengal, which will also carry with it the contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts which will then be transferred to Eastern Pakistan.

‘A grave responsibility now rests with the voters and supporters of Pakistan. At this moment which is the most vital and crucial one in our history, you have to decide this most important issue and I feel confident that your verdict will be in favour of Sylhet being amalgamated with Eastern Bengal.”
Respected Sardarji,

Although the fate of Sylhet is yet to be decided and the future is very uncertain, the native people of Cachar seem to be very firm in their attitude against going to Eastern Bengal (Pakistan). They are entertaining some doubts and fears that in case the verdict of the referendum goes in favour of Sylhet joining with Pakistan the Boundary Commission might award Hailakandi thana, from Cachar district, to Pakistan, and they therefore desire that the matter is brought to your notice as early as possible with a view to make you understand the whole situation. It will be seen from the map sent herewith that the yellow marked area which includes Ratabari, Patharkandi, Kulaura, Kamalgunj and Srimangal thanas of Sylhet district are Hindu majority areas and under the terms of reference contained in the Viceroy’s statement these thanas should be excluded from the areas of Pakistan (the area of this portion of Sylhet is 1,177 square miles with a population of 521,592).

As regards Hailakandi thana, in which the percentage of Musalmans is 55.3%, it is disconnected from the Muslim majority area by a strip of hilly area in which the Hindu majority is nearly 55%. Therefore the Muslim League can never have any reasonable claim to include Hailakandi within Eastern Pakistan, the Hailakandi PS (Police Station) being not contiguous to the Sylhet Muslim majority area.

Apart from the above, the natives of Cachar district are determined not to concede to the Muslim League any slice of the district on the following amongst other grounds:

1. Cachar is a predominantly non-Muslim district, the percentage of Muslims being only 32.6%.
2. Cachar has her natural boundaries on all sides and never in history was it a part of the Muslim area.
3. Cachar is a temporarily settled district and its laws and regulations are same as in Assam Valley.
4. There is a section of Assamese-speaking people in the district also.
5. Since 1832, that is to say as early as the establishment of British rule, Cachar forms part of the administration of Assam and historically Cachari kings [always] had relationship with the kings of Assam.

Our attitude in strongly supporting the claims of the Hindu majority areas of Sylhet and the entire Cachar district within the Indian Union is also connected with the maintenance of Tripura State within the Indian Union. It will be seen from the map that if of these six thanas at least Kulaura, Barlekha and Ratabari thanas are included within Pakistan, Tripura, in spite of her 70% non-Muslim population, will have to go to Pakistan simply for want of an outlet into the Hindustan area. If, however, Tripura can maintain, by road and rail, connection with Cachar, then she is safe from fears of Pakistan domination. You might possibly know that Chittagong Hill Tracts has already expressed opinion against [its] inclusion in Pakistan in unequivocal terms and has registered its resolve in favour of inclusion with Assam. It will be seen therefore that in order that Tripura and Chittagong Hill Tracts might have good access to the Union, these
thanases, Srimangal, Kulaura, Kamalganj, Barlekha, Patharkandi, and Ratabari of Sylhet district, must be included in the Hindustan Union and must be saved from the clutches of Pakistan. If on the other hand this cannot be done and Hailakandi is to go, then not to speak of Tripura but Lushai Hills, which form part and parcel of Assam, shall also have to be given up.

If you kindly give me some time while I shall be in New Delhi (from 10th July onward till the end of the session of the Constituent Assembly) I shall be able to throw further light on the subject. In the meantime I am sending you the map of the district of Sylhet and Cachar with the adjacent districts of Tripura and Manipur. On the opposite page of the map sheet in print, you will find the percentage of population in different thanas with their respective areas which may be of interest to you. You will also find in type on another sheet some of the points which have been made out by the natives of Cachar.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Gopinath Bardoloi

20. Secure Sylhet for Assam

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Gopinath Bardoloi, 3 July 1947

My dear Gopinath,

I have your letter of 29 June 1947.

I will do my best and send Prabhu Dayal to work for securing votes in favour of the retention of Sylhet in Assam. You must all try your best and not remain indifferent. We cannot afford to ignore the fact that 45 per cent of Hindus are in Sylhet and some of the Muslims are also desiring to remain inside, and therefore our case must not go by default. Your Congress committee must work hard, and before the Boundary Commission some good lawyers from Calcutta should also put Assam’s case properly.

Yours sincerely,

Vallabhbhai Patel

21. Sylhet’s Right to Self-Determination

Letter from R.N. Choudhury to Louis Mountbatten, 4 July 1947

Governor-General (Reforms), File No. 41/20/47-R, NAI

P.55, C.I.T., Shovabazar,
P.O. Box No. 12211,
Calcutta

Your Excellency,

I confirm having sent to you a long telegram a copy of which is enclosed herewith.¹ This telegram deals with various points of omission and commission relating to the ensuing referendum in the district of Sylhet which falls due on the 6th and 7th July 1947. I earnestly hope that the various points raised in my telegram under reference, and a copy of which has been enclosed herewith, will receive Your Excellency’s kind consideration.
Your Excellency's unspiring efforts for the solution of the Indian problem has been so much appreciated everywhere in India and England (and justly so) that I shall probably be regarded as a detractor of a great public man if I happen to disapprove your decisions in connection with the Sylhet Referendum and if I have to be critical of the methods how Sylhet Referendum is being conducted, apart from the big decision in the field of Indian politics which is having the whole of India in its grip and over which Your Excellency could not be happy yourself.

Now turning to Sylhet Referendum, unfortunately the Referendum is very ill timed, in as much as the feelings of a section of the Muslims of Sylhet have been worked up to a white heat of communal frenzy on the issue of eviction of Muslim encrochers [sic] from certain Upper Assam districts. Due to these initial handicaps the result of Referendum will be prejudiced to a great extent. Under the circumstances this moment is hardly a suitable time for fairly ascertaining public opinion on such a vital issue.

I am of opinion that the case of Sylhet has not been properly represented before Your Excellency. It could have been easily argued that in the present constitutional set up the existing provinces have been taken as Units. It was never contemplated to redraw the boundary of the provinces through-out India at this stage. Therefore, provincial boundaries have been treated as sacrosanct everywhere. Why should a different principle be applied to the province of Assam alone?

I am of opinion that there should have been no contemplation to partition the province of Assam and no Referendum should have been taken at all, according to British Government Plan as unfolded before the leaders on the 3rd June, 1947, as the special communal situation prevailing in the provinces of Bengal and Punjab was conspicuous by its absence in the province of Assam. Province of Assam has been needlessly dragged into the controversy and a part of it has been subjected to a Referendum with a view to a most unjust partition of the province to suit the whims of the Muslim League and Your Excellency’s decision (which unfortunately has been supported by Congress leaders) has been to rob Peter to pay Paul. Assam stands absolutely in the same footing so far as minority is concerned, with other Indian provinces (except Bengal and the Punjab) and as such different principles should not have been applied to Assam, as distinct from such other provinces.

Contiguity of areas may have a great meaning elsewhere, but it should not have any such charm while transgressing the boundary of an existing province. The whole question of Referendum with a view to partition the province of Assam has been decided in a slipshod fashion and there ought to have been a vehement protest against holding of Referendum with a view to partition Assam.

I am of opinion that the people of Sylhet, especially Hindus, with a view not to embarrass Your Excellency and Congress leaders, shall have to face the Referendum under protest and try their level best to avoid the partition of the province of Assam and transfer of a part of the district of Sylhet to the proposed province of Eastern Bengal, by winning the Referendum in favour of non-transfer.

But since the time is most ill-suited for a Referendum, as public mind is frantically agitated over the extra-legal activities of the Muslim League on the eviction issue and since the whole affair has taken a communal turn, it is feared a Referendum at this stage is most likely not to reflect the true opinion of the citizens of Sylhet. Under the circumstances, the citizens of Sylhet, especially the Hindus reserve their rights to make their self-determination and to keep
themselves away from the proposed province of Eastern Bengal, in case the Referendum favours amalgamation of the district of Sylhet with the proposed province of Eastern Bengal.

At least it should have been possible to effect a partition of the district of Sylhet allowing all the Hindus, resident therein, to remain in the province of Assam by resorting to transfer of population if necessary, (a probability of which has been foreshadowed in Your Excellency's Press Statement dated the 4th June, 1947) in addition to the provisions of paragraph 13 of British Government plan. It is unjust to tag Sylhet to any other Muslim Province. The western part of Punjab has not been tagged to Sind and vice versa. Since an outrage has been committed on the citizens of the district of Sylhet and specially on the Hindus and incidentally on the province of Assam, most elaborate safeguards ought to have been provided for such of the citizens, as are deadly against a transfer to the proposed Eastern Pakistan. I am afraid this aspect of the matter did not receive full consideration from the authorities concerned.

I have drawn Your Excellency’s urgent attention to several matters relating to the referendum at Sylhet in my telegram which require to be set right by Your Excellency immediately. I need not recount them here again to avoid repetition. Their extreme urgency is patent on the face of them. What is most imperative is to check violence of the followers of the Muslim League, in all shape and form, and to give protection to all voters right from their village homes to the Polling Booth if the Referendum is held though, as I have suggested, it ought to be postponed sine die. I have no doubt that Your Excellency will have issued appropriate orders in the meanwhile. The points I have raised are self explanatory and I need not dilate upon them any more here.

Probably I might add a little information about the Votes in the Labour Constituency which have been shut out very mistakenly from the ensuing Referendum. I am directly connected with a group of Tea Estates both in Surma and Assam Valleys belonging to perhaps the biggest individual tea estate owner in India. I can tell you from my direct knowledge, that tea estate labours [sic] in the district of Sylhet are in no sense a floating population. They are permanently settled in the tea estate areas living for generations in the same locality. They have also lands settled on them in most cases. Therefore, there is no reason whatever to discriminate against the labour population in this particular instance. Since Hindus, Muslims, Christians all are being allowed to take part in the Referendum why should the labours be precluded from doing so is a mystery to every thinking man, specially in view of the importance of labour in these days. Since the Labour Constituency Votes were cast in the last Assam Legislative Assembly Election, the eligibility of labour votes being cast in the ensuing Referendum cannot be disputed. These labour voters are as much vitally interested in this Referendum as anybody else. Your Excellency must have been wrongly advised in this matter. I appeal to Your Excellency to issue appropriate orders removing the disability on the labour voters numbering about twelve thousand.

The ideal of one undivided India has been and is the only correct solution of the Indian Problem. A departure from this ideal has been a profound mistake and tragedy of the first magnitude. Future will unfold what untold sufferings are yet in store for the inhabitants of this country on the wake of the projected division of India. The proposed Referendum of Sylhet with a view to partition in the district is even more regrettable as this contingency could have been avoided easily, since in a similar case it was not found necessary to transfer the Hindu majority areas of the districts in the province of Sind, to contiguous Hindu majority districts of Bombay province.
It is a thousand pity [sic] that Your Excellency went against your own conscience and also against the conscience of the British Government in sanctioning the partition of India only to placate one Mr. Jinnah and his irreconcilable followers. The verdict of history will be, I am sure against this partition and it will be ranked as one of the greatest blunders ever made in all history.

I remain,

Your Excellency’s most obedient servant,

(R.N. Choudhury)
(Rabindra Nath Choudhury)

Not reproduced here.

22. ‘Neglected Sylhet’

Extracts from an editorial in Dawn, 6 July 1947

Neglected Sylhet will go to polls today to record their verdict whether they desire amalgamation with Pakistan or Hindustan. In the North-West Frontier Province the voting will extend over a period of several days whereas in Sylhet it will be over in two. We do not wish to discuss afresh the issues involved or to canvass for a particular verdict, because the time for that is past and Muslim League workers are already in the field doing that work on the spot. What we wish to place on record on the eve of the referendums is our protest at the comparative indifference which the Governor-General continues to show in the conducting of the Sylhet referendum....

We asked the Governor-General to intervene and set matters right, and we have reasons to believe that similar requests were made to him by responsible League quarters. As will appear from a report published elsewhere in this issue, the Governor-General seems to have taken some notice of these complaints, but with most disappointing results. It appears that Lord Mountbatten has proceeded on the assumption that the Governor of Assam, Sir Akbar Hydari, and the Referendum Commissioner, Mr. Stork, can do no wrong. When one remembers that another Provincial Governor, Sir Olaf Caroe, was sent away because the Congress would not trust him, this attitude of Lord Mountbatten in the case of Sir Akbar Hydari cannot but be described as more than strange. Can it be that even he, whom one has come to regard as an outstanding Englishman, quite apart from his Royal blood, has fallen into the time-honored British habit of sitting up and taking notice when the Hindus shout, but merely shrugging his shoulders with impatience when Muslims protest? Can it be that even in the case of an ordinary British I.C.S. officer like Mr. Stork of Assam, Lord Mountbatten is still of the exploded view that a British Officer cannot be suspected of bias or partiality merely because his skin is white?

Our Special Correspondent who has been in Sylhet for the past few days has sent several despatches, published in our columns, which show that the Congress Premier of Assam and other Ministers have descended from the heights of Shillong upon the plains of Sylhet and are campaigning freely and with the backing of the power they possess, in order to influence the verdict of the people in a particular direction. Our Correspondent also reports that the great majority of officers employed to conduct the referendum are Hindus and subordinates of the Ministry, that troops posted throughout the district are similarly non-Muslim and non-British, that impediments and obstacles are being placed in the way of League workers—in some places boats and motor launches intended to carry Muslim voters to the polling centers.
have been seized, and that there is every likelihood of ballot boxes being tampered with after the voting has taken place. But merely because a ‘Brown Englishman’ with pro-Congress bias who is now Assam’s Governor, reports that everything is lovely in the garden, the Governor-General’s conscience is satisfied!

It is too late perhaps for any effective steps to be taken to remedy this state of affairs, because within the next 36 hours the voting in the Sylhet referendum will be over. Nevertheless, we place our protest once again on record and we repeat that the Governor-General has failed to honour properly his promise, his undertaking and his duty which was clearly to make the Congress Ministry in Assam ineffective so far as the referendum was concerned and to send British officers of the Indian Army to take charge of it and to supervise it from start to finish. We do share the optimism of the Assam Muslim League that in spite of all handicaps and obstructions the people of Sylhet will return a verdict in favour of Pakistan. But that will be in spite of the Congress Ministry, in spite of the Congress-minded Governor, and in spite of the unhelpful Governor-General.

23. Referendum Results in Sylhet
Telegram from Gopinath Bardoloi to Vallabhbhai Patel, 8 July 1947

SPC, Vol. V, p. 30

Shillong

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

YOUR LETTER THIRD. SYLHET REFERENDUM RESULT UNCERTAIN. BOTH HIMATSINGKA AND MYSELF DID OUR UTMOST.

Bardoloi

24. ‘Jamiat Leaders Join Muslim League—Streams of Volunteers Pour into Sylhet’

Dawn, 8 July 1947

Sylhet, Sunday

THE Sylhet referendum commenced today to determine whether the district should remain part of Assam or join the Eastern Pakistan State of East Bengal.

There are 239 polling stations spread over the district. Voters number about 5,47,000 of whom 3,11,000 are Muslims and 2,36,000 Hindus.

‘Dawn’ Special Correspondent has informed that all the office-bearers of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, Sylhet, joined the Muslim League on Saturday. The news disturbed the Congressmen to such a degree that they began shouting provocative slogans while a League meeting was being held. Military was, however, rushed to the spot and a serious clash was averted.

The first hour of polling passed off smoothly in Sylhet town but towards the close of the day reports of sporadic incidents from adjoining areas are being received. There have been attacks on workers but details are lacking.
Unending streams of demonstrators carrying flags of different organisations have poured into the town and demonstrations are being staged. Precautionary measures are being intensified. In comparison with the previous nights stormy demonstrations a lull prevailed last night. Shops closed earlier. Mobile military units were patrolling at frequent intervals.

Severe weather has overtaken Sylhet on the referendum day and there have been incessant rains since the early hours of the morning, causing considerable difficulty to the voters.

Mobile units of volunteers are moving on the main roads, shouting slogans. In spite of the weather, the streets are crowded and animated scenes are being witnessed at the polling stations, where volunteers of different organisations have taken up their posts.

Till 1.15 p.m. no incident was reported from any part of the district.

Mr. H.C. Stork, the Referendum Commissioner, told the Associated Press of India that polling was continuing peacefully. He expressed the hope that it would continue so.

25. Hope of an Easy Win in Sylhet

Letter from M.A. Ispahani to M.A. Jinnah, 9 July 1947

Jinnah Papers, Vol. III, p. 204

51 Ezra Street, Calcutta

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have sent you a telegram reading as follows:

‘According to our estimates based on information received from polling centres expect Insha’Allah winning Sylhet Referendum stop imperative you kindly take steps ensuring clean counting votes stop please remit’.

Mr. Moazamuddin Hossain stayed there right through the Referendum and returned yesterday evening by air. His report I have telegraphed to you. He gives a figure of roughly winning the Referendum by about 25,000 votes. The others give the figure more like 40,000 votes. There were 30,000 workers in Sylhet from Bengal and Assam. Although we started very late, but by the grace of God we have done the best we could. The Hindu organisation was far better owing to their larger resources. The Musalman has again responded to the call.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly remit to me Rs. 50,000 within which I sincerely hope to finish the payment of outstandings. Very soon my Committee will make up [sic] accounts and send you the same.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. Ahmed Ispahani

26. ‘Assam Govt.’s Partisan Attitude: Hindu Girls Attack Muslim Women’

Extracts from a report in Dawn, 9 July 1947

Sylhet, Tuesday.—In spite of the belated assurance of the Governor of Assam that the referendum is being conducted under the aegis of the Governor-General, the fact remains that those employed for referendum purposes were, without exception, servants of the present Government of Assam, which in every way is a Government
hostile to Muslims and their cherished goal of Pakistan. The Governor-General in his declaration of June 3 made it clear that the Government of Assam will have no hand in the matter of referendum but the facts prove the contrary. Thus observed Mr. Mohammad Habibullah Bahar, Secretary, Sylhet Referendum Committee, Bengal, and Mr. Mahmood Ali, Secretary Assam Provincial Muslim League in the course of a statement to Press.

They said that from reports received at the League Referendum Office and from their personal experience they were in a position to say that an overwhelming majority of votes had been cast in favour of joining Pakistan, but it is not unlikely that the band of officials employed to conduct the referendum will adopt every means to please their masters.

They said: ‘We visited the polling centers of North Sylhet and Karimganj and found the result satisfactory. Jaintia was a Jamiat stronghold but Muslim League polled 80 per cent even there. At many centres, League and Jamiat workers worked together. Many of the Hindu voters also voted in favour of Pakistan. Results of Kayasthagram, Dakhiganj, Haripur, Sunagani, Habibganj, Karimganj and Maulvi Bazar sub-divisions have been satisfactory. We are confident that Sylhet has given its verdict in favour of Pakistan by an overwhelming majority.

The Government of Assam tried to influence the voters in every way possible. As a result of the Government’s partisan attitude yesterday, the situation took a serious turn at a ladies polling centre. Out of 900 Muslim lady voters at this centre, 600 had to return without casting their votes. Thousands of Congress girl volunteers flooded the polling booths since the morning and tried to stop Muslim ladies from entering the polling booth. Some respectable Muslim ladies have been seriously wounded as a result of an attack by Congressite girls. Amongst those who received injuries are Mrs. Zarina Rashid of Calcutta, girl student leader, Miss Zebun Nissa Khanam, Mahmuda Khatoon, Sirat-un-Nissa and Mubina Khatoon.

This polling centre was in Government Girls’ School, situated in a Hindu area where there was trouble during the last general election also. The Presiding Officer, here was also a Hindu. Apprehending some trouble League leaders drew the attention of the Referendum Commissioner but no precautionary measures were taken. Hindu girls came prepared for the fight and the Government representatives did nothing to stop the Hindu girls’ attack. A lady worker, Mrs. Zarina told us that when hundreds of Muslim lady voters tried to enter the polling booth, they were also of a sudden attacked. Congress volunteers tore off ballot papers and Muslim ladies were beaten. Mrs. Rashid, the League polling agent, was pulled by hair and removed from the polling booth. As a result there was no League polling agent for several hours. Many believe that taking advantage of the situation, women of the other party voted as Muslims....’

27. ‘Ballot Boxes in Sylhet Tampered With’

Extract from a report in *Dawn*, 9 July 1947

Sylhet, Tuesday.

Owing to Mr. Stork’s refusal to allow volunteers of each party to guard the ballot boxes, two cases of interference with the ballot boxes were reported on July 6–7 night. At Silam, the Presiding Officer admitted that the locks of the boxes had been found open in the morning.
Local League circles are indignant over this mean and foul tactics of their opponents. They are reported to have thrown a challenge for another referendum under the aegis of the Governor-General even at a very short notice.

The most annoying part of the whole thing is that the ballot box was deposited, during the night, at the house of a local zamindar, P. Chakravarty, who has professedly Congress inclinations and it was not guarded by any military troops but only by three unarmed police constables with another unarmed head constable.

At Silam, a place about six miles from Sylhet, the lock of a ballot box was found forced open while at Juri it is reported the side of the box was found to have been broken.

Col. Pearson, specially deputed by Lord Mountbatten is investigating these cases....

28. Referendum in Sylhet Carried Out Peacefully

Extract from a letter from Akbar Hydari to Louis Mountbatten, 11 July 1947


....5. I again visited Sylhet on the 9th to obtain firsthand information from the civil and military authorities as to how the referendum had gone. There were also present at my conference the military officers whom you were good enough to send. They all spoke from personal knowledge. They confirmed the correctness of the first report that the referendum had been carried out peacefully, and that the stray instances of disorder could not by any stretch of imagination be magnified into a widespread breakdown of law and order which had been alleged in some quarters. I got the two Surma Valley Ministers—Basanta Kumar Das (Home Minister) and Baidyanath Mookerjee (Supply Minister) to attend this Conference and the officers present, including those you had sent, were able to prove to them how unfounded were the allegations to which they had been inclined to give credence. On my return to Shillong the same evening I had the Prime Minister to dinner and gave him a full account. As he was leaving for Delhi the next morning I wanted to put him in the picture so that he would be able to answer allegations which may be made to him there.

6. It is only a guess, but it looks as if the referendum will go in favour of the League; and the Prime Minister and I, as well as my officers, think that the wildly irresponsible statements given to the Press by Basanta Kumar Das and other Bengali workers were due to their realisation that they were losing the battle and so provide an explanation in advance of their defeat.

7. On the whole, I think the officers, both civil and military, and the men have done an extremely good job of work. In addition to the senior military and civil officers the work of the Presiding and the Polling officers who are small men—school masters, clerical assistants etc.—drawn from all over the Province has been, with a few exceptions, entirely praiseworthy. The military especially were feeling annoyed at the accusations hurled at them, the Assam Rifles and the Police, and therefore at the Conference and in the presence of the two Ministers, I paid them a tribute for their good work which I repeated later to the A.P.I. correspondent.
29. Alleged Corruption and Intimidation by the League

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 13 July 1947
IOR, R/3/1/158, Acc. No. 3471, NAI

17 York Road
New Delhi

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of today’s date sending me the voting figures in the Sylhet referendum.

2. During the last few days, I have received a number of telegrams from Sylhet complaining against a number of malpractices during the referendum. Possibly some of these telegrams were received by you also. Today I had a visit from a deputation from Sylhet consisting of Hindus and Moslems. They placed before me a number of allegations supported by various statements and data which together were formidable. I do not propose to send you now a detailed list of these complaints and the facts which are meant to support them. In brief, they referred to a state of lawlessness during the referendum in the interior of Sylhet district. Most of the polling booths had no proper security arrangements and intimidation was exercised by large numbers of armed Muslim National Guards and others who had come from Bengal. Many thousands of people who came to vote were forcibly prevented from doing so. There were some incidents of killing voters and others. The district is partly under water and people travelled by boats. Voters coming by boats were not allowed to land.

3. A large number of persons voted who according to definite evidence died in the recent epidemics. Altogether the statements shown to me gave a very extraordinary picture of what took place during the voting in the referendum.

4. On receipt of this information I sent a telegram to the Governor of Assam, requesting him to send me immediately his report and his appraisal of the situation during the referendum and after. I did so especially as a Minister of the Assam Government supported the charges made. I felt that when such very serious charges are made there may be a necessity for a thorough enquiry. This was not only because of the referendum but also because of the state of terrorism that is alleged to prevail in the Sylhet district even now when armed bands move about and threaten vengeance on those who might have voted against joining East Bengal. Most of these people who move about are not residents of Sylhet district but have come from East Bengal.

5. I feel I must draw your attention to these allegations as they are gravely disturbing and if they are at all based on facts then the validity of the referendum is doubtful. May I suggest that some kind of brief enquiry be made and a report from the Governor be awaited before the figures for the Sylhet referendum that you have sent me are published?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru
30. Complaints against Irregularities in the Sylhet Referendum
Letter from Louis Mountbatten to Jawaharlal Nehru, 13 July 1947
IOR, R/3/1/158, Acc. No. 3471, NMML

Dear Mr. Nehru

Thank you for your letter about the Sylhet referendum, which was opened by Abell at about 7.30 this evening and brought straight to me before I went to the French party.

Mr. Jinnah made detailed complaints to me yesterday about interference by the Assam Ministry in the referendum and asked for an enquiry, which I refused. I do not know how good a case he could make out, but I have no doubt that if an enquiry was held there would be a long and embarrassing contest which at this stage would, in my opinion, do no good.

In any case I have already telegraphed the results to London and authorized their release to-morrow, which means that they are probably already in the offices of the newspapers, and to withdraw them would cause a sensation.

I imagine there are always complaints about the conduct of any election or referendum and in this case the Governor, who is directly responsible under me, has asked for an immediate announcement, which clearly means that he is satisfied.

I am sure, therefore, that we must not stop the announcement of the results to-morrow.

Yours sincerely
Sd/
Mountbatten of Burma

31. ‘Sylhet Votes for Pakistan’
National Herald, 14 July 1947

New Delhi, July 13—Sylhet has decided to join Pakistan, it is officially announced.

A press note issued from Viceroy’s House says:
The following is the result of referendum in Sylhet District, Assam.

Valid votes for joining East Bengal 2,39,619
For remaining in Assam 1,84,041
Majority 55,578

The percentage of valid votes to the total electorate entitled to vote was 77.33.

Against June 3 Declaration

Sylhet, July 13—The chief whip of the Assam Congress Parliamentary Party Mr. Rabindranath Aditya says that Sylhet is alarmed by clause 3 of the Indian Independence Bill transferring the entire district to East Bengal if the referendum favours amalgamation. It offends the declaration of June 3, paragraph 13, providing for such transfer only after a demarcation of the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet. Complications are sure to arise if the entire district is transferred before demarcation thereby making re-transfer of non-Muslim areas difficult.—API
32. No Intimidation of Voters during Polling

Extracts from a telegram from Akbar Hydari to Jawaharlal Nehru, 14 July 1947
IOR, R/3/1/158, Acc. No. 3471, NMML

Most Immediate Shillong

Personal

No. 959/C. Your telegram No. 5483 of July 13th. Referendum in Sylhet just received. Following figures which I have obtained from Referendum Commissioner bears (?) as follows. Percentage of valid votes to total electorate 77.33. Following figures for five Sub-Division in Sylhet read in following order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Sub-Division</th>
<th>Total Muslim Electorate</th>
<th>Total General Electorate</th>
<th>Votes cast for Eastern Bengal</th>
<th>Votes for remaining in Assam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sadar</td>
<td>92,268</td>
<td>48,863</td>
<td>68,381</td>
<td>38,871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karimganj</td>
<td>54,022</td>
<td>46,221</td>
<td>41,262</td>
<td>40,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habiganj</td>
<td>75,274</td>
<td>60,252</td>
<td>54,543</td>
<td>36,952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Sylhet</td>
<td>38,297</td>
<td>41,427</td>
<td>31,718</td>
<td>33,471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunamganj</td>
<td>51,846</td>
<td>39,045</td>
<td>43,715</td>
<td>34,211</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Above figures show

(1) that a large proportion of electorate went to polls and
(2) that in each Sub-Division proportion of votes cast for Eastern Bengal and for remaining in Assam in relation to Moslem and General electorates respectively was very high. Therefore taking district as a whole, including interior areas, there could not have been intimidation on a large scale, or if will to intimidate was there, military and police precautions were adequate to prevent it. Mukheiji one of the two Assam Ministers who had previously supported allegations of widespread intimidation now agrees that in the light of these figures they could not have been well founded....

Great majority of specific complaints were found, on testimony of military or police officers who were in localities from which these complaints came, to be unfounded. In other cases, in respect of which reports from military or police had not come, inquiries were promised and result of some of these which have come in has proved complaints to be much exaggerated. There were large numbers of Muslim National Guards who behaved arrogantly but none of them was allowed to be armed even with lathis. Hindu voters in Muslim majority areas were afraid for safety of their houses and their women folk, and in one case a small party of them refused to go to the polls even when promised escort by the military to the polls and back to their village. But while there must have been threats to induce this frame of mind there were no acts of physical lawlessness except for two incidents. In one, as a result of the police firing, one Muslim was killed and two injured, and in other a scuffle resulting in injuries to about 8 persons took place when a crowd gathered round bus which had got bogged (?) down. (?) All authorities attending conference mentioned above testified to their being sufficient protection at the polling booths, and officers sent by Viceroy were particularly emphatic about peaceful character of whole operation of polling during two days. I understand from Referendum Commissioner that complaint of false impersonation on any considerable scale is unfounded.
On my return to Shillong on evening of 9th I recounted all these matters to Bardoloi for his information, and also for yours as he was going to Delhi.

As regards security to voters after Referendum same precautions military and civil continue as were taken just before and during Referendum with this added advantage that now there is no need to guard polling booths. Reports are coming in of small scale evacuation of Hindu women and children from some interior villages to towns for fear of what may happen. But efforts are being made through military police and local authorities to allay this feeling of panic. I am in telephonic touch with Colonel Chopra (and) Inspector General of Police and will go down to Sylhet if lawlessness beaks out as a result of present tension. Much depends whether League takes its success at polls calmly or not. Have instructed Deputy Commissioner to stop influx if any of volunteers from Bengal. Is there any further information you require?

33. Third Boundary Commission for Sylhet May Be Needed

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 15 July 1947

New Delhi

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have received a telegraphic reply from the Governor of Assam in regard to the Sylhet referendum. He has given full particulars. There was undoubtedly intimidation, false impersonation and incursion of Muslim National Guards from Bengal. But it seems clear both from the number of people who voted and the result of the voting that any irregularities that took place could not materially affect the result of the referendum.

There is one important matter to which our attention has been drawn by Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Prime Minister of Assam. From the June 3rd statement it appeared that such parts of Sylhet district as might be determined by the Boundary Commission would be transferred to East Bengal, this, of course, after the referendum had taken place and the major issue decided. The Parliamentary Bill is not quite clear on this point and it might be said that in case the boundary has not been demarcated by the Commission by the 15th August, the whole of Sylhet district will be transferred. Subsequently it might be necessary and indeed it is highly probable that certain parts of Sylhet district will have to go back to Assam after the report of the Boundary Commission. Obviously, this business of transfer and retransfer of territory will produce very great confusion and difficulty and will completely upset the life of the district and surrounding areas. The process of transfer must be a single one after final determination of the area to be transferred. The easiest way to arrange this is to get the report of the Boundary Commission before the 15th August.

This question of course arises in a more or less similar form in regard to the notional division of Bengal and Punjab.

It is not quite clear as to whether the Bengal Boundary Commission will also deal with Sylhet. Presumably, this will be so. The Assam Prime Minister has pointed out that this procedure will not be a happy one, as people from Bengal will not be fully acquainted with, or interested in, Assam. There is, as a matter of fact, a longstanding difference of opinion between the Bengalees and the Assamese, quite apart from any of them being Hindus or Muslims. The Boundary Commission consists of eminent Calcutta High Court judges who naturally will be inclined to view the question more from the point of view of Bengal than of Assam.
I do not know what can be done about this matter. Because of the shortness of time available it might be desirable to have a third Boundary Commission for the Sylhet area, one person representing the Congress and the other the Muslim League, with a Chairman. This Commission might work in collaboration with the Bengal Commission.

Or else, it might be possible to attach two assessors, representing Assam, to the present Boundary Commission for Bengal. They would only function in so far as Sylhet area is concerned.

These are just ideas which occurred and I have not consulted anyone about them yet. If you wish, however, you could consult Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, the Assam Prime Minister, in regard to this matter.

I am attaching a brief note by Sir B.N. Rau pointing out the slight discrepancy between the June 3rd statement and the draft Parliamentary Bill in regard to Sylhet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

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34. Hindus Cannot Be Expected to Accept the Results of the Referendum

Letter from Rabindranath Choudhury to Louis Mountbatten, 17 July 1947
IOR, R/3/1/158, Acc. No. 3471, NMML

Your Excellency,

I confirm having sent to you a telegram on the 15th instant a copy of which is being enclosed herewith. The Sylhet Referendum has been vitiated by Muslim League violence and grave irregularities which are too many to be catalogued here but, I understand the whole question has been referred to you from other sources also. The fact remains that the Viceroy’s assurance has not been kept due to whose fault I do not know. It has not been a free and fair Referendum. Under the circumstances the very dignity of the Viceroy requires that he should arrange for a free and fair Referendum under ideal circumstances. The Hindus of Sylhet in all fairness cannot be called upon to abide by the result of this spurious Referendum. Kindly, therefore, take steps immediately to hold another Referendum untrammelled by Muslim League violence and interference of outsiders. Let there be a fresh Referendum which will be a concern of the people of the Sylhet District only and no one from outside should be allowed to complicate the issue.

Elaborate Military arrangement ought to be made so that not a single voter in the remotest village may be prevented from visiting the Polling Booth. When 17,000 soldiers were provided to North-West Frontier Province for the purpose of the Referendum there why was not similar arrangement made for the district of Sylhet consisting of 32,00,000 of people and an area over 6,000 square miles?

This injustice done, to the citizens of Sylhet and specially the Hindus ought to be set right by holding a fresh Referendum. Kindly take steps accordingly.

I remain,
Your Excellency’s
Your most obedient servant,
Sd/- (R.N. Choudhary)
35. ‘Sylhet & NWFP Go to the Polls’
Extracts from a report in The Hindustan Times, 17 July 1947

Sylhet, July 6—The Sylhet referendum to determine whether the district should remain part of Assam or join the Pakistan State of East Bengal began today at 9.30 a.m. There was brisk polling at all centres.

Towards the close of the first day’s polling reports of sporadic incidents from the adjoining areas were received. There have been attacks on workers, but details are lacking.

‘Complete lawlessness is prevailing throughout the district and it is clear that the first stage of Noakhali is being enacted,’ said Mr. Basanta Kumar Das, Home Minister, Assam Government, in a statement on the situation in Sylhet.

‘Reports are pouring in from all parts of the district of organized goondaism,’ Mr. Das added, and criticized the arrangements made for the referendum as ‘inadequate.’

The workers of a certain political party, according to the Home Minister, have made elaborate arrangements to intimidate voters and thus obstruct them from exercising their right of franchise with freedom.

The first hour of polling passed off smoothly in Sylhet town. Unending streams of demonstrators carrying flags of different organizations poured into the town and demonstrations were staged.

In comparison with Friday night’s stormy demonstrations a lull prevailed last night. Shops closed earlier. Mobile military units were patrolling at frequent intervals.

Severe weather has overtaken Sylhet today and there have been incessant rains since the early hours of the morning, causing considerable difficulty to the voters. Mobile units of volunteers moved on the main roads, shouting slogans. In spite of the weather, the streets were crowded and animated scenes were witnessed at the polling stations, where volunteers of different organizations had taken up their posts....

36. ‘Irregularities Could Not Have Affected the Result of the Referendum’
Letter from Louis Mountbatten to Jawaharlal Nehru, 20 July 1947
IOR, R/3/1/158, Acc. No. 3471, NAI

Dear Mr. Nehru,

I have your letter No. F.7(7)-PS/47 of 15th July regarding the Sylhet referendum. I am glad to note, and entirely agree with your view that such irregularities as there were could not have affected the result of the referendum.

I have no doubt that Sir B.N. Rau is right when he says that there is an apparent contradiction between paragraph 13 of the Statement of June 3rd and clause 3(3) of the Bill. So far as I can recollect, there was however no intention of treating the Sylhet district differently from the Muslim majority districts of Bengal set out in the Schedule, and I think it was always understood that in the event of the Sylhet referendum being in favour of amalgamation with East Bengal, the provisional boundaries of that province would include Sylhet district subject to the final decision of the Boundary Commission. I fully appreciate the difficulty in transferring and retransferring territory from Assam to East Bengal and vice versa. But as you point out, the problem arises also in regard to the division of Bengal and the Punjab.
In my announcement of June 30th setting up the two boundary commissions, the Bengal Commission has been asked to demarcate not only the boundary between East Bengal and West Bengal, but also, if the result of the Sylhet referendum requires it, the boundary between East Bengal and Assam. Your suggestion that in order to expedite the work a third boundary commission might be appointed is attractive, but since at the instance of the Partition Council the plural form ‘awards of Boundary Commissions’ used in the original draft Bill has been amended in the House of Commons to read ‘the award of a Boundary Commission’, it seems to preclude me from appointing another. The appointment of two assessors representing Assam will, I am afraid, have the effect of delaying matters. In any case the Bengal Boundary Commission are so arranging their work as to have the award out including Sylhet before August 15th.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

37. Cachar District to Remain in Assam under the Indian Union

Memorandum from the Nikhil Cachar Haidimba Barman Samiti to Sylhet Boundary Commission, 21 July 1947
S.P. Mookerjee Papers, File No. 130, Instalments II to IV, NMML

Haidimba Barmans, the then independent ruling race of Haidimba Rajya (or the present Cachar district), strongly demand that the whole of the present Cachar district shall remain in the Province of Assam under the Union of India and they are strongly opposed to the transfer of any portion of the present Cachar district to the Pakistan state.

In support of our above demands the following are the reasonable grounds:—

1. Historical: Cachar is the Homeland of Haidimba Barmans. Formerly Cachar was known as Haidimba Rajya. It is only during the British rule that her ancient name has been changed as Cachar.

Haidimba Barmans of Cachar are the survivors of the independent ruling race of Cachar of the past. From the earliest time they had been glorious rulers and conquerors in this Province of Assam and builders of towns and cities as well, the remnants of which still in existence, in different parts of Assam, bear the vestige of their former activities and greatness.

The last Capital of Haidimba rule in Assam Valley was at Haidimbapur or Dimapur, whence they moved to Maibong in North Cachar in the middle of the sixteenth century during the reign of Haidimba king, Tamradhwaj Narayan. From Maibong the capital was shifted to Khaspur in South Cachar in the year 1771 A.D., during the reign of Haidimba King, Harish Chandra Narayan.

The last king Govinda Chandra Narayan who had a treaty concluded with the Honourable East India Company in 1824, died in 1830 and Hedamba or Cachar was annexed to British India in 1832 A.D.

According to the treaty concluded as above Raja Govinda Chandra Narayan agreed to pay as tribute Rs. 10,000/- annually to the Honourable East India Company and the latter also agreed to protect the Haidimba kingdom from outward invasion. Unfortunately, after the death of Govinda Chandra Narayan a dispute about heirship to the throne arose amongst the two queens and other heirs when at the request of some officials the East India Company included the kingdom into the British territory. Cachar was then placed under the administration of a Superintendent controlled by the Agent of the Governor General for Assam in 1832 A.D.
Haidimba Barmans were the first settlers in Cachar, who maintained the independence of the Hindu kingdom of Cachar till the year 1832 A.D. Cachar was never dominated by any Muslim rulers. She has a close relation with Assam from time immemorial whereas she had no connection with the then Mohammedan kingdom of Bengal.

So historically there is no justification to include any portion of Cachar to the Pakistan state. For the detail history of Cachar we refer to the following historical books of Cachar:—

1) ‘Cacharer Itibritta’ by Babu Upendra Guha.
2) ‘Hedamba Rajyer Danda Bidhir’ by Babu Padmanath Bhattacharyya, Bidyabinode M.A.
3) ‘Haidimba Bhasha Prabesh’ by Babu Mani Charan Barman.
4) ‘Rajmala’ by Babu Kailash Chandra Singha.

2. Population: Out of the total population of 6,41,181 in Cachar district, only 2,32,950 are Muslims, that is, 36.33 p.c. of the total population of Cachar are Muslim. Cachar is, therefore a predominantly non-Muslim majority area.

There is no Muslim majority area in Cachar which is contiguous to Sylhet district. Thus, in Katigora Thana which lies on the western part of Silchar sub-division, the Muslim population is only 43.73 p.c. In Katlichera Thana of Hailakandi sub-division Muslim population is only 42.57 p.c.. Though in Hailakandi Thana the Muslim population is 54.83 p.c., the western part of the Thana lying between Saraspur Hills and Dhaleswri river which flows through the middle of the sub-division is again predominantly non-Muslim majority area. Besides, some areas of the district of Sylhet, such as, Patherkandi, Ratabri, a portion of Karimganj Thana and Badarpur Thana, which are contiguous to the district of Cachar are also non-Muslim majority areas.

Therefore, under clause 13 of H.M.G.'s plan of June 3, 1947, there cannot arise any question of transferring any portion of Cachar to the Pakistan state.

In this connection, we demand that the determining factor of demarcating the boundary line between Cachar and Pakistan should be on the basis of district population and not on sub-divisional or Thana- population, as the people of any part of the district of Cachar whether Muslim or non-Muslim are closely related to those of any other part of the district.

3. Political: Politically Cachar has already expressed their verdict against Pakistan during the last general election. In that election out of the total 5 seats from Cachar to the Assam Legislative Assembly 4 seats including one Muslim seat from Hailakandi sub-division have been captured by candidates who stood for the cause of Union of India and against Pakistan.

Therefore, judging from democratic point of view, no portion of Cachar can be transferred to Pakistan.

4. Geographical: Geographically the whole of Cachar is distinctly separate from Pakistan state. It is separated on the west from Sylhet district by the ranges of Saraspur Hills and the river Barak which are distinct natural boundaries. The ranges of Saraspur Hills come out of the ranges of Lushai and Tippera Hills and spread along the western boundary of Hailakandi sub-division and meet the river Barak at Siddheswar Ghat. The ranges of Saraspur Hills are 2,000 feet in height and 5 to 13 miles in breadth. The river Barak flowing from east to west through the heart of Cachar turns northward from near Siddheswar Ghat forming the western boundary of Silchar sub-division upto Baleswar wherefrom it enters the district of Sylhet. This river is the largest river boundary between Sylhet and Cachar.

Having these district natural boundaries, it does not justify to secede any portion of Cachar to the Pakistan state.
A map of Cachar and Sylhet is enclosed herewith showing the natural boundaries of Cachar.

5. **Communication**: Cachar will not be isolated from the Union of India by amalgamation of Sylhet to the Eastern Pakistan state. Cachar has got its communication link by rail through Chandranathpur Railway Station which is connected with Silchar the Head Quarter of the district by an all-weather gravelled road touching the northern boundary of Kanaigahat Thana of Sylhet.

Due to the amalgamation of Sylhet to the Eastern Pakistan state, the only outlet of Tippera state and the predominantly non-Muslim majority areas of South Sylhet is through Hailakandi Sub-division. And if any portion of the Sub-division of Hailakandi which is not in any way contiguous to the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet, be disturbed, then the whole transport system of the non-Muslim majority areas of Sylhet will be choked up and these entire areas which form a part of Indian Union will be bottled up.

6. **Drainage System**: The main principal river of the district is Barak. All other rivers of the district are tributaries of Barak. The principal rivers that flow through Hailakandi Sub-division are Katakhal and Dhaleswari. These tributaries of the river Barak originate from Lushai Hills and flowing through the centre of the Sub-division meet Barak near Katakhal Railway bridge and Panchgram respectively.

The entire drainage system of the district of Cachar are interlinked and if any portion of this system be disturbed, there is every possibility of the failure of the entire system and its effect on the economic side will also be very grave.

7. **Economical**: Economically Cachar is linked up with Assam. The main industries of the district are Tea and Forest products, in respect of these two industries Cachar belongs to the same Tea and Forest belt of Assam and the Rayatwari system of Land Revenue of Cachar district is same as that of Brahmaputra valley of Assam.

So economically the people of Cachar will be ruined if any portion of it be transferred to the Pakistan state.

8. **Cultural**: Culturally Cachar is closely related to the rest of Assam Province from time immemorial. Haidimba Barmans, the then ruling race of Cachar district conquered and ruled in Assam for hundreds of years. Their descendants are still living throughout the plain portion of Assam. The remnants of their past glories are still seen through out Assam Valley. These remnants in Assam Valley and the ancient holy places of Cachar, such as Bhubaneswar of Bhuban Hills, Sibmandir of Sonai, Ranachandi temples & Sibalings Mandir of Khaspur, Sibamandir of Shiddheswar, etc. signify that the culture of Haidimba Barmans is the Hindu culture of India. There are also ancient literatures on Hindu culture such as, Rasalilamrita Naradirasamrita, etc. which were written by the learned Pandits of Haidimba kings. Besides Haidimba Barmans, all other non-Muslim races of Cachar follow Hindu culture. Thus 64 per cent of the total population of Cachar follows Hindu culture. So culturally Cachar district shall not be separated from the Union of India.

9. **Linguistical**: Linguistically Cachar has no connection with Eastern Pakistan. There are various languages in Cachar, such as, Haidimba, Bengali, Hindusthani, Manipuri, Khavi, Syntang, Naga, Kuki, Orria, Assamese etc. Even among the Bengali speakers none excepting the few can understand the dialect of East Bengal while the above languages are used in various districts of Assam.

Thus linguistically too Cachar is closely connected to the Assam Province.

Under the above grounds I, on behalf of the Haidimba Barmans, the then independent ruling race of Cachar, appeal before the Sylhet Boundary Commission not to include an inch
of land of Cachar district in the Pakistan state, so that the people of Cachar can remain united and develop freely in all respects economical, political and cultural in the Union of India.

Sd/-

Dated, Borkhola, Cachar
Assam, the 21st July 1947
Nikhil Cachar Haidimba Barman Samiti

Encl.: (1) A map of Cachar and Sylhet
(2) A true copy of the Treaty concluded by Raja Govinda Chandra Narayan with East India Company in 1824 A.D.

38. Communal Discord Continues in Post-Referendum Sylhet

Extract from M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 22 July 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 400

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

.....But a telegram received from Sylhet is very disturbing. The referendum there is over but harassment of the people continues. Why have the Muslims there gone crazy? Nationalist Muslims are being killed and the telegram says that someone should be sent there as an observer. Whom can I send? It is only for Kripalani or Jawaharlal to find someone. I feel I ought to go to Noakhali now. Sylhet is close to Noakhali. But how can I go? I am imprisoned here. I am convinced that there is not a word of untruth in the telegram. The sender has signed his name too. It is reported that after the referendum Muslims burnt down a Harijan colony. It is a matter of shame. On one side we have Khaliq Saheb and Sadullah Saheb saluting the National Flag, on the other side in Pakistan such grisly things go on. ...

39. Need to Integrate Sylhet within India

Letter from residents of Sylhet to S.P. Mookerjee, undated
S.P. Mookerjee Papers, File No. 130, Instalments II to IV, NMML

Dear Sir,

We, the undersigned residents of the Kamalganj Thana in South Sylhet beg to lay before you the following few lines for your kind consideration and necessary action:

1. The marginally named thanas in the South Sylhet and the Karimganj Subdivision of the Sylhet district are non-Muslim majority areas.

South Sylhet Subdivision
1. Kamalganj Thana
2. Srimangal Thana

Karimganj Subdivision
1. Barlekha Thana
2. Patherkandi Thana
3. Ratabari Thana

2. Besides this, these areas are contiguous to the non-Muslim majority areas of the adjoining district of Cachar and the Tripura State.
3. The language of the people of these areas is 'Bengalee' which is also the language of the people of Cachar and Tripura State.
4. The people of these areas have got matrimonial alliance with the plains people of Cachar.
5. These areas have got extensive business with the Tripura State and Cachar.
6. With a few exceptions almost all the tea gardens of the Sylhet district are situated in the said two subdivisions which (tea gardens) are predominantly non-Muslim.
7. In the said 6 thanas there is only one High School in each thana excepting Ratabari and there is not a single college in them. The Guru Charan College at Silchar and the Cachar High School were established by the people of Sylhet at their own cost and for this reason our people get their education there.
8. The whole of the South Sylhet Subdivision and a part of the Sadr Subdivision of the Sylhet district upto the Kusiara river were not conquered by British, but obtained from H.H. the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur of Tripura by a treaty with the lapse of Paramountcy [sic] these areas should be returned to the Tripura State as claimed by the Maharaja.
9. The Maulvi Bazar town is also a non-Muslim majority area and contiguous to the non-Muslim majority areas.
10. The non-Muslims of said 6 thanas have got religious affinity with those of their brethren in Cachar and Tripura State.
11. If natural boundaries are taken into consideration, Kusiara and Surma rivers will be most suitable boundaries with the proposed Pakistan.
12. In the circumstances we fervently pray that if the whole of South Sylhet and Karimganj Subdivisions cannot be included in the Indian Union, the said 6 thanas may be tagged with the Tripura State which is contiguous to non-Muslim majority area in Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd/-)

{Signatures of 25 representatives follow}
Chapter 34. Contending with Communalism

1. Hindustan as a Hindu State
   Extract from a letter from B.M. Birla to Vallabhbhai Patel, 5 June 1947
   SPC, Vol. IV, pp. 55–6

   My dear Sardarji,
   Your kind letter of 1 June is to hand. I am so glad to see from the Viceroy’s announcement that things have turned out according to your desire. It is no doubt a very good thing for the Hindus and we will now be free from the communal canker.

   The partitioned area, of course, would be a Muslim State. Is it not time that we should consider Hindustan as a Hindu State with Hinduism as the State religion? We have also to strengthen the country so that it may be able to face any future aggression. ...

   Yours sincerely,
   B. M. Birla

2. Measures for Safeguarding Hindus
   Resolution passed by the All-India Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha meeting, 7–8 June 1947
   AIHM Papers, File No. 162, NMML

   In the opinion of the All India Committee of Hindu Mahasabha, the plan adumbrated in H.M.G.’s 3rd June ’47 statement, instead of improving the feelings between the Hindus and the Muslims will only embitter them.

   The recent happenings in the several parts of India have made it abundantly clear that the abnormal ratio of the Muslims particularly in the Police Department was, in no small measure, responsible for its failure to cope with Muslim goondaism and to afford adequate protection to the Hindus and Sikhs.

   The Mahasabha believes that unless and until the said ratio is immediately brought down to the level of the Muslim population the life, property or honour of no Hindu and Sikh even in Hindu majority provinces will be safe in its hands.

   The Mahasabha further believes that it is the birth-rights of every man and woman, and also the constitutional rights of every voter, male or female, to bear and use such arms as will enable him or her to protect his or her bearth [sic] and home.
From accounts received from all the affected areas the Mahasabha has every reason to say that the untold misery caused to the Hindus and Sikhs was due more to the wide smuggling of unlicensed arms by the Muslim goondas than to any valour on their part. In the Mahasabha’s opinion the misery could have been avoided, at least considerably minimized, if the provincial Governments concerned had but promptly issued arms to the Hindus and Sikhs in their provinces, the misery was entirely the triumph of unlicensed arms over an unarmed population.

The Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, calls upon all the Provincial Hindu Sabhas to take note of the situation and to take immediate steps for asking, and if need be for compelling by all legitimate means the Provincial Governments, especially of the Hindu-majority provinces:

1. to bring down at once the proportion of the Muslims in Government employment, and particularly in the Police and allied Departments to their population basis;
2. to arm immediately all the Hindus and Sikhs with such weapons of offence and defence, as will afford adequate protection of them;
3. to start as early as possible Hindus and Sikhs militia in their provinces, and to train it in all the arts and weapons of war;
4. to make the youth, both male and female, militaryminded [sic] by making military education compulsory to them; and,
5. thereby to stabilize the public peace and order of their provinces.

3. Patel Rules Out a Hindu State

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to B.M. Birla, 10 June 1947

Dear Brij Mohan,

Thank you for your letter of 5 June 1947.

I also feel happy that the announcement of 3 June at least settles things one way or the other. There is no further uncertainty.

I quite agree that Bengal leadership is very problematic, but that is a question largely for Bengalis to solve.

I do not think it will be possible to consider Hindustan as a Hindu State with Hinduism as the State religion. We must not forget that there are other minorities whose protection is our primary responsibility. The State must exist for all, irrespective of caste or creed.

Yours sincerely,

Vallabhbhai Patel

4. Objectionable Speeches in Bangalore

Note by the Minister of Education and Public Health at Bangalore, 17 June 1947

General and Revenue Secretariat, Confidential Branch, Collection No. 62 of 46, Year 1947–48; CB-27-47-1, Karnataka State Archives

Subject: Notice to be taken of the conduct of Mr. Abdul Wahab, Deputy Director for High School Education in respect of objectionable observations made by him in the course of certain speeches made by him in February 1947.
On 1st March 1947, the Inspector General of Police brought to the notice of Government that there was a clash between the Hindu and Muslim boys in the Malleswaram High School, Bangalore, over the singing of the ‘Vande Mataram’ song by the Hindu boys on the 28th February 1947 when Mr. Abdul Wahab, Deputy Director of Public Instruction visited the school and tried to explain to the boys why the Muslim boys objected to the singing of the ‘Vande Mataram’ song and made a reference to the Channapatna and Benares incidents and that the situation was brought under control with the arrival of timely police help and through the intervention of some of the influential citizens, namely, Messrs. Krishnaswami Pillay and H.R. Abdul Gaffar. The Director of Public Instruction was thereupon asked in Government letter No. E. 6634/Edn. 125-46-2 dated 11th March 1947 to obtain the explanation of Mr. Wahab and submit a detailed report in the matter. Again on 13th March 1947, leading articles having prominently appeared in the ‘Indian Express’ and ‘Daily News’ under caption ‘Mysore Deputy Director of Public Instruction justifies Pakistan’ and ‘Mysore officer’s zeal for speech’ alleging therein that Mr. Wahab had made provoking and uncalled for references to religion, politics, Vande Mataram and Pakistan and many other controversial issues in the course of his presidential address at a meeting held at Tumkur on the 6th March, 1947 under the auspices of the Government High School Union on the occasion of the Prophet’s Birthday celebration, the attention of the Director of Public Instruction was invited to these allegations and asked, in Government letter No. E.6775 dated 18th March 1947, to obtain the explanation of Mr. Wahab and submit a report early in the matter.

The Director of Public Instruction has submitted on 18th April 1947 two reports – one relating to the incident at Malleswaram and the other regarding the Tumkur incident in which he has dealt with all the allegations in detail.

The following is his report regarding the Malleswaram incident:

‘The Headmaster, Government High School, Malleswaram had reported on 11-2-1947 that there had been a strained atmosphere among the students of his High School for the past few days regarding the prayer conducted in the school. It was also reported that such prayer had been going on peacefully for the past four years without any objection from any quarter. The prayer included the ‘Vande Mataram’ song. Now that the Muslim students of the school had taken objection to the singing of this song, the Headmaster in consultation with his assistants decided to drop the song in question. But the Headmaster, finding that his persuasion was of no avail, called for a meeting of all teachers and the student representatives of both the communities on 10-2-1947 when the question was discussed and finally it was suggested that a few verses from ‘Bhagavad Gita’ and the ‘Holy Quran’ may be recited otherwise the prayer was to be dropped.

But on 11-2-1947 contrary to agreement arrived at the previous day, the Hindu boys of the school sang ‘Janagana Mana’ followed by ‘Vande Mataram’, whereupon the Muslim students separated themselves and sang ‘Hindustan Hamara’ ending with ‘Pakistan Zindabad’ and ‘Allo Ho Akbar’. The latter counter prayer seems to have been taken to since a few days which resulted in the situation becoming worse.

The Headmaster also added that it may be that some outside influence was brought to bear on the boys and that he was trying to find out if it was so and submit a further report in the matter.

The Headmaster in his further report dated 17th February 1947 states that the District Educational Officer visited the school on 12th February 1947 and advised the student...
representatives regarding prayers and since then the situation had eased and no untoward event had taken place. The prayers were going on as before and the Muslim boys who had stayed away from the classes for a day or two were since attending and they had discontinued their prayers. The Headmaster hoped that by a little patience everything would go on peacefully.

Mr. Abdul Wahab, Deputy Director for High School and Special Education, of his own accord, visited the school on 28-2-1947. He got the boys assembled and addressed them.

In the beginning he made an appeal to the loftier sentiments of the pupils and exhorted them to forget their differences, accept a prayer which would not wound the feelings of any one and live like brothers. But latterly specially when explaining why Muslims are opposed to the singing of Vande Mataram, he hurt, in a brutal manner, the feelings of the Hindus and held up their alleged worship of the earth to ridicule in unseemly language which is not expected of a teacher and an officer. A Muslim teacher, Mr. H. Abdul Rahim, corroborates to some extent what others state, ‘To you earth is a Goddess but to them it is nothing but earth which they trample upon and even commit nuisance’. A Muslim can give his reasons for not participating in Vande Mataram; it is not open to him when doing so to hold up the song to ridicule in such an unbecoming manner. Moreover, Mr. Wahab was talking to the boys not as a Muslim but as a responsible officer of the Department. Earth may be impure to some, to most of us it is sacred, for in the bosom of the Earth, the bones of our ancestors are resting and it is there that our bones also will one day find rest. View points may differ, it is incumbent on us shouldering responsibility to be chary of what we say and present things without insulting the feelings of those whose beliefs and views may be different to ours. It is not necessary to examine the interpretation given to the song, Vande Mataram, by Mr. Abdul Wahab. There are certain other statements made which were rather provoking....

In his explanation Ex. I, Mr. Wahab says that he went to the school because several times some of the Muslim students reported to him the tension between them and the Hindu boys had come to the breaking point and unless immediately checked a bad clash was sure to occur, as they were being deliberately insulted. His other reason for going was that Nagaraja Rao, Drill Instructor, was mobbed by all the Hindu students....

Regarding Mr. Wahab’s speech at Tumkur, the Director of Public Instruction has furnished his report after a thorough and careful examination of all relevant witnesses (especially teachers present on the occasion) and after giving full scope to Mr. Wahab to explain himself. The Director of Public Instruction states that it is established beyond doubt that Mr. Wahab made reference in his speech to the following matters:—

1. Christianity started rightly with one God but developed belief in a Trinity;
2. Hinduism has deteriorated so much that the present generation is unworthy of that great religion;
3. Contrary to the teaching of Sri Shankaracharya and Sri Ramanujacharya, Hindus indulge in idol worship;
4. Muslims do not believe in the Christian principle of showing the other cheek when hit on one cheek but in striking two blows where one is given;
5. Muslims are opposed to ‘Vande Mataram’ because in that song homage is paid to mother earth which is vile and dirty;
6. The demand for Pakistan is only like a junior brother asking for his share of property on attaining majority.
He further reports that Mr. Wahab has not contradicted the press reports, that there is remarkable corroboration with regard to the main points between the evidence of the teachers examined and the speech taken down by Mr. Gundu Rao, Correspondent of the Indian Express who attended the Prophet’s Day and that the explanation of Mr. Wahab is mostly evasive and unsatisfactory. He concludes his report by the following observations:

‘It is my considered opinion that Mr. Wahab has offended the rules governing conduct of public servants and the punishment which meets the ends of the case may be meted out.

‘It is as improper as it is unfortunate that a highly placed officer of the Department, coming only next to the Head in rank, status and power should indulge, throwing prudence to the winds and in utter disregard of the feelings of the audience, in remarks so very derogatory to two Great religions and make a statement which implies a justification of Pakistan—a major political issue which has absolutely no bearing on Mysore State. Just the other day Viscount Montgomery was rebuked. The Prime Minister, Mr. C.R. Attlee commented in the House of Commons, ‘It is entirely undesirable that any one holding such a position should make a political speech. I have spoken to him and pointed out the danger of making speeches which might be misinterpreted.’ And this rebuke was administered, in the Mother of Parliaments for a speech which was likely to be misunderstood as a political speech, to a hero of the Great War, an idol of the British Nation, a Field Marshal and Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces. There cannot be two opinions about Mr. Wahab’s speech under reference, the painful reflections alleged are established beyond doubt, the incidental reference to a political demand and its justification by implication is more than admitted, and the danger of such a speech at a juncture, when the gulf between communities is widening, when every effort is needed to bring about amity, understanding and goodwill, is manifest; it is setting mischief afoot.

As the Government is aware, the previous record of Mr. Wahab is not happy. The Confidential Reports are unfavourable. He has asked for trouble wherever he has worked. He easily creates situations. He created one such situation in Mandya which would have ended in serious communal fracas but for the interference of the superior officers. There is no knowing when he will land himself and the department in difficulties. It was expected that he would, under the re-organisation being attached to the office without an independent existence, be safer. He has belied this hope. It was not within his competence to go to High School, Malleswaram, yet he went, the unhappy aftermath is well known to Government. The address at Tumkur caused quite a rage in and outside the State.

Mr. Wahab is the Senior Deputy Director. He was confirmed as Deputy Director on 13th May 1946. He is drawing Rs.500/- in the grade Rs. 500-50/-750. There is a higher grade of Rs.700-50-800 vacant from 1st August 1946 and I have not so far recommended Mr. Wahab for it. It is my considered opinion that he does not deserve it, and he should be passed over. His increments also should be withheld for a period of two years.’

The matter was considered at a meeting of the Council held on 13th June 1947 and it was resolved as follows:—

‘The proposal of the Director of Public Instruction is accepted’.

I solicit the gracious approval of His Highness to the resolution of the Council.

Bangalore
17th June 1947

Sd/-
Minister for Education and Public Health
5. A Critique of Gandhian Ideas

Letter from S.D. Sharma to M.K. Gandhi, 18 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. CL-8/1946, NMML

YOUR INCONSISTENCIES!

To Mahatma Gandhi Ji, New Delhi

Sir,

It pains me, as it may pain some if not all of your audience, the number of inconsistencies found in your day to day bearing. It is neither logic nor diplomacy. On the other hand, it has encouraged rank communalism of League type, therefore while penning these, my request to you is to stop this practice altogether, for now, the country is divided, thanks to your activities. Further preaching will lead to further communalism and bickerings. As to the topics:

Ram Raj—a hoax. Your preachings of Ram Raj brought communalistic vision to the Leaguers who dreaded that you were out to establish Hindu Raj. Rama was not god, nor an ideal king. If Hanuman of Sri Pattabhi Sitarammayya’s Province would have not helped Rama, Sita would have remained lost and untraced for ever. Self-negation may be anything, Rama sent Sita to [the] jungle, for a hearsay, when pregnant. Ravana’s treatment was gentle—kept her away, from himself and the town, under guard, of course.

Ram and Rahim—not One. Again, your comparing Ram with Rahim is never intelligent. Rama was banished or he invited banishment. He was not happy—nor were his people. Sita committed Suttee, Rama drowned in Saqu. Moral is self-sacrifice and for this spirit of sacrifice the Hindus have suffered long and are still suffering!

Rahim means merciful. But where is the mercy shown by followers of Rahim. Hindus as followers of Ram have suffered and Muslims as non-followers of Rahim have enjoyed most.

Politics versus Religion. You please either be a religious teacher or a political guru. You cannot be both—coupling two is like V.D. in the house of D.G. It has brought communalism to politics, and made politicos, communalist, and the Faqir of Ipi is now also talking politics. See which side the camel sits!

Bihar saved Bengal. The atrocities committed at Calcutta and in Bengal were checked and stopped by Bihar. But, by your useless tours of Noakhali and then outmoded preaching in Bihar, found its vent in Punjab, Delhi and U.P., and the proof is that trouble is still continuing in Calcutta and Bengal as elsewhere. Your remedy is obsolete. Love may be employed by religion, but it is different in politics.

HINDI, Urdu and Hindustani. At the outset, you took up the question of Hindi as Lingua Franca of India, and Dakshin Hindi Prachar Sabha was founded. Then you proposed Urdu to be taught side by side with Hindi in Madras, a thing which even the Muslims could not do in the Presidency in centuries. As exponent of Urdu I am satisfied where I am, but why there should be insistence from above. Now, your theme is Hindustani—another corruption and communalism, but then why with two scripts. Why not simplified Hindi only. You wanted to placate Muslims who could never be, but by this you are cutting at the root of Hindu culture! This is called—Come on ox, kill me!

Koran. What right [do] you have to recite [the] Koran in a temple dedicated to [a] Hindu god? Are you not satisfied with teaching of fanatic Mullahs that you now want to bring this disease to the temple also. You fail to imagine how many temples have been burnt and defiled by the preachings of Mullahs.
When you have objection to the reading of English in the future, who are you to ordain the reading of Arabic in Hindu temple. English is useful as a common language in every day’s topic and aspect, and yet for a long time to come, it shall remain the Indian and International Language, because not only Govt. but Congress members also cannot express fully and adequately except in English. Besides English is [a] diplomatic and scientific language.

Arabic is not [the] language of the Indian people as a whole. Even the majority of Muslims do not know it, and a few Koran Hafiz (memorisers) themselves do not know the meaning of what they enchant, because of the fact that reading of Koran with meaning or understanding is strictly forbidden, so that one may not know the defects or immoral pieces it contains, and for this its Urdu version (which is common to understand) is not available. If an Urdu text is read in a gathering, nobody would object to it, but your allowing the reading of Arabic in [a] temple, is certainly objectionable on moral and ethical grounds. It does not show your spirit of toleration, but rather tyranny which you want to perpetuate and practice even at prayers.

Pandit Arya Muni, the noted Arabic Scholar and Pt. Lakhram, ‘Arya Musafir’ did not study Arabic in vain. They made deep researches in the Arabic region to find out the truth. And Swami Sharaddhanand, Ram Chandra, Arya Vir and Rajpal died at the hands of assassins because of it.

14th Chapter—Satyarath Prakash—‘Truth enlightened’! The researches by men of learning found vent in the 14th Chapter of Satyarath Prakash and it was a hint by Swami Dayanand to Muslim community to purge Koran of the obscene graphs. It is for this reason that while yet nobody paid any need to the corresponding verses in the Koran, a mere commentary, as 14th Chapter is, remains proscribed in Sind. And it is a fact that there are certain sects among Muslims, such as Al-Hadis, Ahmediyas (of Qadian) who do not believe in Koran as such. And do you know that Puran and Kuran are synonymous terms!

From this it will be seen that you are undoing the work of Great Dayanand who is the father of modern Nationalism and who brought Vedas back to the land of their Birth—Bharat or Arya Varat.

I do hope that after this generalisation, you would not try to get Arabic verses read in the prayers. Why not a Hindi or Urdu version of what is said or meant.

I have to protest for your not allowing the Aryas to start Satyagraha in Sind and now with the establishment of Pakistan, the fraud on Satyarath Prakash shall continue in Sind for ever, and the people groping in the dark for enlightenment for your unjust lead!

Would you, as a search for truth, call a committee of Arabic scholars to comment on the corresponding verse of the Koran and then urge for the removal of ban on Satyarath Prakash or as a counter measure advise Hindustan Legislatures to proscribe the relative versus (sic) of the Koran till for the time the Sind Govt. is set right.

Caste System. The Law Giver, Mannu, the Father of Man, is responsible for the caste system which has worked well for upwards of 2,00,00,00,000 years since the very birth of the present Universe. The caste was based on work or profession—not on birth. Balmiki became Brahmin by learning. This system has sustained Arya Varat for these long years. Without it, where are Rome, Babylon, Egypt and Greece. By abolishing castes, you wanted to bring corruption to the society. It is moral thinking and cleanliness and knowledge which uplifts a man. Was not Dr. Ambedkar, Principal of the Bombay Law College. It is his wide knowledge and learning. Who could lower him in respect and esteem. By abolishing castes, the morale of the society would do deep down and it will reflect the chastity of the women. Conditions prevailing in Europe and America, is an apt illustration!
Harijan Fund. ‘Khuda ne us qaum ki halat nahi badli, no [sic] ho khiyal jisko halat apne badalne ka.’—Zamindar.

While no accounts are given of the accumulations made in the name ‘Harijan’ it is really tyranny to ask people in distress to contribute towards this fund. It is the work of the people concerned to change their shape, as the above couplet says, and this gives credit to the League that without spreading their hands for alms, and within the short period of nine months’ muddling, they got Dominion. If at all money is required for this fund, it should come from Ahmedabad mill-owners, and if they can set apart 1 anna per rupee, it would accumulate to a great figure in no time. I pity the poor people who give up their rings or pins for object[s] which they don’t understand and then where this wealth goes!

God or Mamon. [sic] It must offend Him when His name is dragged in for the action of man. Besides man could have defended better than merely relying upon God! Gone are the days when people used to believe in His so called miracles.

Besides telling the people who are themselves believer[s] in God, is just like showing [a] lamp to the Sun. You could have reserved your discourse on God for those who indulge in loot, murder and arson and massacre of the innocent, and whom even God cannot avenge!

‘Ai ‘Zafar’ admi na usko janeiga, jisko aish men yad-i-Khuda na rahi aur taish men khauf-i-Khuda na raha.’—ex-King of Delhi. It is good and it is admirable.

And the fact is that it is the believer who suffers. Noakhali, Rawalpindi and Amritsar is the proof. Non-believers have prospered. See the Mountbatten Award or Plan!

Churchill also believes in God, but his god is Gun, with which he protects his home and the Empire. I, a believer, have no gun, therefore, my God also does not help me!

Max Muller once said—‘Every Hindu is a born philosopher.’ According to Shastras also, there are or were 33 crores Devotas or high souls inhabiting Arya Varat. Their number is still about the same, and they are philosophers still, but crippled by God or gods and goddesses too. My belief may be comparatively less, but neither you and nor the absolute Hermits sitting dharna in Himalayas could bring God here and now even for a moment, to save His devotees from butchery and distress!

In ancient times, as the Puranas say, God came to save Darupdi from nakedness and made piles after piles of dhoties and sarees, though there were no textile mills in the country, and now tens of thousands of Darupdis are in utter shame and nakedness but not a tint or shadow of God manifests Himself though there are hundreds of textile mills in India.

At other times, God came to save an elephant from a crocodile, and sometime in the shape of a bore [sic] beast Harnaksha etc. etc.

From this, I conclude that there is no God, but a name to bluff and conjure with, otherwise there is no better time than present for Him to manifest.

But, if there is one, he is comfortably resting in Heavens with his pretty wives—Lakshmi and Saraswati—away from the hum and din of man, and he is equally afraid of the British Make god of the Gun, and has therefore decided to remain in perpetual hiding, and He may be smiling at the audacity of the enlightened in bringing His name again and again to befoul the people.

It follows, therefore, the less you preach His bunkum, the better for Hindus and the mankind. It is no use to preach to believers. Your place lies with un-believers.

I am so much sensitive about the correctness of my assertions that you cannot answer any single of my arguments narrated above. And if it is not so, I am ready to discuss any point.
And it is for you to give up the dual role of preaching religion and politics. In this there
will be neither God-realization nor it will lead to Independence of India!

Yours sincerely,

18th June, 1947

S. D. Sharma,
Post Box 640,
Calcutta.

Copy to:
Sri Acharya Kriplani,
New Delhi.

6. Kripalani Asked to Clarify His Position
Extract from a letter from Sadiq Ali to J.B. Kripalani, 24 June 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 244, NMML

My Dear Dada,

I have had occasion to listen to the reactions of some friends to your concluding speech at
the last A.I.C.C. meeting. There is some perturbation among them as also perhaps some
misunderstanding. They contrast it with your speech at Meerut wherein you proclaimed your
full adherence to Gandhiji’s ideas. You have in the Delhi Speech expressed your disagreement
with Gandhiji on the communal problem. This disagreement is interpreted as parting company
with Gandhiji, loss of faith in non-violence and so forth. You are the last of the apostles to
forsake Gandhiji. I think this impression will do harm unless it is corrected by you.

I myself felt on reading the speech after it was delivered that there was undue emphasis on
your disagreement with Gandhiji or at any rate the language in which the disagreement was
expressed was a little too strong. The reporting also has been defective. I am the more anxious
that you should clarify your position because to-day a congressman is free to say what he likes
on the communal problem, make the most communal speech and preach violence and be
lionised and there is no check from any quarter except Gandhiji who wields no official authority.
It would be highly undesirable if your speech—the portion relating to your disagreement with
Gandhiji—is given the interpretation which you do not want it to bear.

Shankarraoji has suggested to me that I should undertake a tour of the provinces—those in
the Hindustan Area. I have myself been considering the matter for some time but I have not
been able to arrive at any clear decision. I should much like to undertake this tour provided
I am clear in my mind as to what we expect the Congress organisation to do, the programme
it should place before itself and the fundamental outlook it should bring itself to bear on the
problems before us. I am clear in my mind that the Congress organisation has to go on living
for many years yet but the outlook and the programme are the rub. You will please let me have
your guidance so that I may be able to decide whether it is worth while going out on tour. I
definitely dislike a mere inspection tour. That does not enthuse me. ...
7. Non-violent Methods No Longer Viable

Extract from a letter from J.B. Kripalani to Sadiq Ali, 26 June 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 244, NMML

My dear Sadik,

Thanks for your letter of the 24th June. You have referred to my speech and the misapprehension about it among my friends. My speech of which I had given an advance copy both to the Associated Press and the United Press, is crystal clear. You remember that your former General Secretary, who is not capable of understanding any complex idea went to Gandhiji and represented to him that I had made what she considered a bad speech from the communal view point. When I heard this I sent a copy of my speech to Bapu. There it was discussed thread-bare in my presence. Bapuji did not find any fault with it except that he said that he had found a method of non-violently solving the communal problem, which I did not understand. I asked him if it was not a fact that in non-cooperation he had kept before us a method which could be followed by an average citizen who was willing to carry out orders and that he had prescribed some mechanical action as in war. In war every soldier is not brave nor is every soldier prepared to lay down his life. But whether he is brave or cowardly a soldier is prepared to carry out orders mechanically. A general may want a soldier to carry out orders intelligently. But he would be a foolish general who would refuse such soldiers as carry out orders mechanically, for they form the bulk of the army. Gandhiji too, like a good general, accepted Satyagrahis for whom non-violence was a matter of policy but who were willing to carry out mechanically the programmes fixed for them, for instance, disobeying certain laws, courting jails, receiving lathi blows and sometimes putting themselves out for bullet shots. When I pointed out to Gandhiji the mechanical aspect of a Satyagrahi, he admitted the truth of my contention and said that Satyagrah as it had worked in India under him heretofore was more passive resistance than real Satyagrah. What, however, he wanted for the solution of the communal problem was the real Satyagrah, that is, Satyagrah of the brave, and that in the solution of the communal problem merely mechanical passive resistance will not do. He further told me that he had achieved some success in Noakhali and Behar. As illustrative of success he gave me the changed attitude of certain Muslims in Noakhali. Among them is the Superintendent of Police there. When I referred this matter to Sucheta, she said that no such conversions had been made and that the individuals whom Bapu had named were polite to him but they carried on their communal activities as usual. However, I could not clearly understand Bapu’s method and I do not suppose anybody can claim to understand it excepting my bright successor in office.

I do not know whether you have a copy of my speech. If you have you will find that I have said that I still consider Gandhiji’s judgment as to the division of the country eminently sound. But I do not clearly see the method by which he proposes to check communal frenzy by means of Satyagrah. Remember when we resisted the British Government we were resisting a ruling minority, which needed our cooperation in all directions. If in any item we non-cooperated the Government was paralysed in that direction. But wherever communal frenzy has started it has worked against the minorities. The aggressor has been the majority community. Supposing the minorities non-cooperated under such circumstances they will simply be committing suicide. The majority does not need their cooperation and the minority may be starved out by the majority. In the case of the British it was the other way about. If we had so determined we could have starved out the Englishman completely.
I, as a believer in non-violence, do not think that a non-violent solution of the communal problem cannot be found. My contention is that it has not yet been found. What Bapu has been doing in Noakhali and Behar is experimental. Any way, what has been done may be followed by individuals but not by the masses. The non-cooperation we organised against the British Government could be followed by the masses.

You must also remember that communal frenzy is periodical. Governments have to function from day-to-day. Therefore, it is easy to checkmate the latter by means of non-cooperation. But you cannot checkmate frenzy. First of all it has no continuous functioning and then you do not know how it is going to manifest itself. You are, therefore, always taken unawares. A Satyagrahi reaches the trouble point only after the trouble is over. Then also the few Satyagrahis who may arrive afterwards may not be touched. Sucheta and myself went to Noakhali long before Bapu. We had not the protection of his personality and name. Yet we were not touched though we went undefended. But supposing, with all our non-violence, we had been the residents of Noakhali at the time the riots took place, I am sure we both would have suffered the same fate as thousands of Noakhali Hindus did. In Behar too any Satyagrahi Musalman or Hindu would have been done to death when the riots were going on. After the riots were over, he as a well-known individual may not be touched. But this is no guarantee for the members of the minority community at the time of the frenzy.

I must not carry on this discussion further here. You may again ask your friends to read my speech a little more carefully and if they do so they will not think that I have lost faith in non-violence. Of course, I have talked of the communal problem being tackled hereafter on the high level of diplomacy as between two nations. Commerce between nations, when differences arise, ultimately leads to armed conflict. That is, of course, inevitable today. I was speaking for an India that has armies and proposes to keep them and even to enhance their strength and efficiency. When a Satyagrahi talks on behalf of government he also thinks in terms of the apparatus that governments have decided to use on emergency. The governments have decided that they have an army and they are going to keep it and to use it. If it is to be kept and used we have to find a method that will be least harmful for using it. I cannot talk of non-violence in connection with the governmental action. That would not be facing facts but remaining on the chilly Himalayan heights, walled up by one’s convictions.

About your tour programme, what can I say? The Congress policies have not been worked out. They have to be worked out. Of course the constructive programme is there. It leads us towards our political and economic goal of an equalitarian society. Beyond this I can make no suggestion.

8. Hindus Train in Militarization and Arms Technique
   Letter from Working President, Darbhanga District Hindusabha, to V.G. Deshpande, 30 June 1947
   AIHM Papers, File No. M-18, NMML
   (Office of the Darbhanga District Hindusabha)
   Laheriasarai

My dear Deshpandeji,

I congratulate you on the bold stand you have been taking over the defence of Hindu rights and believe under your able leadership the Hindu youths will come forward to establish Akhand
Bharat. Bankruptcy of Congress statesmanship has ended in vivisection of our motherland. Indeed it is deplorable. Perhaps you remember that you sent Mr. Harkishen Verma here a few years back & he trained some persons in use of arms. We again want two persons of his style, the Hindus in spirit to take up militarisation works here. If he be alive please try to find him out. In case he be not able, please send two other persons. At least one true Maharatta soldier with a knowledge of Hindi can serve our purpose here. We are ready to send money in advance for journey expenses and are also ready to pay the monthly salary you fix.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely

Sd/-
Working President

9. Present Mood Will Not Stay

Interview between M.K. Gandhi and Arthur Moore, ex-Editor of The Statesman, 10 July 1947

CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 310–11

It does not look like success so far. But there must be some result.

GANDHIJI: I have no doubt about it.

It depends upon you, Gandhiji. You are the biggest force.

I am a spent bullet.

Oh, no; you are not. Whatever progress India has made is because of you. Now is the time. What can be done?

That is the grace of God. I am only an instrument. Without His will not even a leaf will move. Then who am I? An insignificant being. Pray that Indians may become wise.

Your word counts. Just now Hindus are worked up ... It is that feeling that one wants to allay.

I am doing my utmost. Personally I do not think this mood will stay.

Mr. Moore thought Sardar Patel's attitude to be bellicose. Gandhiji corrected him:

You do not know the Sardar. He is not vindictive or communal. But he does not share my belief that non-violence can conquer everything. He used to be a whole-hogger once. He is so no more.

The Sardar is the most popular leader. Perhaps that explains it.

No, the Sardar is the strong man. He will not let any difficulty baffle him. That is the explanation.

There is a growing feeling of retaliation in the people’s minds. It is bad.

I do not think this feeling will stay. If it does, it will mean goodbye to freedom. India will commit suicide.

The Sardar and some Congressmen feel that the area ceded to Pakistan has to be taken back. It irritates the Muslims.

There you are greatly mistaken. Personally I feel Pakistan has come to stay. They realize it. On that basis friendship is possible?

Pakistan has come but how friendship can be achieved I do not know.

I feel heart unity is more important than political boundaries.

I grant that any day. I am working at it against heavy odds.
But you are not a spent force Gandhiji. Things have to get worse before they get better. It is darkest before dawn.

10. **Gandhi Reiterates His Pledge to ‘Do or Die’**
   M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 11 July 1947
   *CWMG*, Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 318

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

A co-worker writes from Noakhali: ‘When you came to Noakhali you talked so much about doing or dying. Now if you do not come here before the 15th of August, you will repent.’

I admit that if I do not go to Noakhali before August 15, I shall repent. Why am I in Delhi? I ought to be either in Bihar or in Noakhali. I am restless here. I was not so in Noakhali. I walked long distances every day, visited ever new villages and met an immense number of people both Hindus and Muslims. I did some work in Noakhali, also in Bihar. There is a fire raging inside me. That fire will not rage after I go to Noakhali. I ask you to pray that God may quickly send me to Noakhali.

I have not forgotten my pledge to do or die. From Noakhali I went to Bihar, for whereas in Noakhali only a few hundred people had died, in Bihar thousands were killed. So for me Noakhali and Bihar were alike. From there Jawaharlal summoned me here. Kripalani also sent me a wire calling me here, but what have I achieved here? Of course many people retort, What could I achieve in Noakhali? If there is a settlement concerning the whole of India, there will automatically be a settlement concerning Noakhali. But I proceed the other way. I had learnt when still a child the formula. As in the microcosm so in the macrocosm. My untutored and rustic mother also taught me to begin with myself and not to bother about the world. There is God to look after the world. I must therefore keep the pledge I made in Noakhali.

11. **Has the Congress Policy Changed?**
   M.K. Gandhi’s letter to S.K. Patil, 12 July 1947
   *CWMG*, Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 319

You are enunciating the doctrine of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. Only you will wait till the 15th August. Both these statements will conform with the Congress policy. Has the Congress policy changed? Congressmen have changed I know but I am not aware of any change in the Congress constitution.

Secondly, if Congress policy or practice changed who compels you to wait till 15th August? Who will be responsible for the incalculable harm that will have overtaken the people of India as well as Pakistan in the meantime? Who can control the people if they go mad and launch on a course of retaliation?
12. Muslim Officials Distrusted in C.P. and Berar

Extract from a letter from Frederick Bourne to Louis Mountbatten, 12 July 1947
*T.O.P.*, Vol. XII, p. 125

GOVERNOR'S CAMP,
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

There is not much happening on the surface, as the Chief Secretary’s report shows. The casualties as a result of the quarrels mentioned in paragraph 2 of his report were all Muslims, and though these quarrels were personal and not communal in origin, the fact that there were no repercussions in a place like Jubbulpore supports my view that any apprehensions of Muslims resorting to direct action in this Province are entirely baseless. The danger, if any, is the other way round, and I have recently seen reports of most offensive speeches made by Hindu Socialist and Mahasabha speakers. The Ministry, however, are perfectly confident of their power to restrain Hindu violence but regard every Muslim as a Pakistani. This has led them to transfer all senior Muslim officers in the Civil Service and Police from Berar (and even European officers except the Commissioner), and they are now trying to transfer nearly all, if not all, Muslim Inspectors and a large number of Muslim Sub-Inspectors of Police. This manifestation of their distrust of Muslim officers is, I think, most unfortunate and, actually, entirely unjustified by past history. It is true that the Muslim element in the Police is very much higher than strict attention to communal statistics in the Province warrants, but the Police force as a whole has worked with the greatest loyalty to the present Government and I do not remember to have heard of a single case where a Police officer can be shown to have been diverted from his duty by communal considerations. There is, however, a lot of talk particularly in Mahasabha circles of the need for reduction in the Muslim element of all Services and as a result, I suppose, of pressure of this nature the Premier has expressed the intention of dispensing with the services of all Muslims recruited to the Special Armed Force or the District Police on a temporary basis who are not residents of this Province.

13. Plans to Sabotage Lines of Communication

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Louis Mountbatten, 13 July 1947
*SPC*, Vol. IV, p. 138

New Delhi

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am enclosing a copy of the letter which I have received from Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, Congress member of the Partition Council of the Punjab, regarding communications in the Punjab. I have already referred separately to the danger of sabotage in the telephone system etc. This letter corroborates the apprehensions that I entertained. I hope it will be possible to do something to prevent the dangers mentioned therein.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel
ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM LETTER FROM GOPICHAND BHARGAVA, LAHORE, TO SARDAR PATEL, NEW DELHI, DATED 12 JUNE 1947

...The possibility of sabotage in the case of telephone exchanges is by no means unreal. Infliction of damage is comparatively easy, repairs both difficult and lengthy, replacement almost impossible. Cutting telegraphs lines is also a real danger. The possibility of interfering with railway tracks cannot be ruled out. I would therefore suggest that the Muslim staff in the telephone and telegraph exchanges in the East Punjab be transferred and they be replaced by non-Muslims. This transfer ought to be made on or before 1 August at the latest.

14. Reorganize Hindu Sabha to Defend India

Letter from R.R. Lal to V.G. Deshpande, 13 July 1947
AIHM Papers, File No. C-160, NMML

Dear Mr Deshmukh,

As Musalmans have got Pakistan and left the Hindustan for Hindoos we have to defend it. The Congress have proved its inability to protect the Hindoos and their rights either they are incapacible or dazzled with recently got power and are heading towards self destruction.

To enable Hindoos to protect the country the Hindoo Sabha should be reorganised. Selfish men of week [sic] character and greedy of wealth and power should not be taken in the inner executive circle. They may remain members.

The members should not be allowed to be members of any other party as they usually drift to the powerful side.

The Caste system should be abolished by force if necessary, for everyone to have faith in the organisation & have no fear of supremacy of a particular caste.

A very active propaganda should be done to open branches of this organisation in every Village, Mohalla, District & Province who should:

1. Enlist members
2. hold weekly or daily meetings
3. arrange to give physical training and teach use of arms to its members.
4. arrange to teach the members to be good citizens & have high character.
5. All Hindoo Schools & Colleges should get affiliated to one of the branches of this organisation and follow the spirit of the Sabha.
6. The lower formations should give periodical reports to higher formations, which ultimately should be consolidated in the Centre.
7. Strong disciplinary action to be taken against those who sacrifice the interest of society for either their selfish ends or foolishly.
8. Records of members should be catalogued at the Centre, Province, District & Village or Mohalla about the date of his enrolment, monetary condition, any deed done worth taking notice etc.
9. Members should take a pledge in public meetings that ‘they will remain faithful to Hindoo society will try by all means in their power to eradicate Caste system will sacrifice everything to save the life and honour of a Hindoo and will not be a member of any other organisation as long as they are in Hindoo Mahasabha and will not absent from Sabha meetings ... unless it becomes unavoidable’ or something like this. Pledge taken in public has more effect.

Those who don’t want to expose themselves as members of Sabha should be given secrecy. Their reasons for doing so might be that they are living in Pakistan, Muslim Mohallas and doing some Confidential works & their full protection should be arranged.

Don’t try to take the country back. Let it advance to modern or even ultra modern status in dress, language, culture, living and other improvements for the sake of progress of India.

And then we can displace the present organisation in power who are fool enough to invite their own enemies to share the Government.

I am a Govt. Servant, have large family to support and are not known to society at large but will like to do whatever I can. The address given above is my permanent address and not that of service.

Yours sincerely
Sd/- R.R. Lal

15. Objectionable Speech Made by Abdul Wahab

Order from Secretary to Government (Education Department) to Director of Public Instruction, 15 July 1947
General and Revenue Secretariat, Confidential Branch, Collection No. 62 of 46, Year 1947-48, CB 27-47-1, Karnataka State Archives

ORDER No. 155-6/ CB 27-47-1

Dated, Bangalore, 15/7/47

Owing to the provocative speeches delivered by Mr. Abdul Wahab in the Govt. High School at Tumkur on 21st Febry. 1947 in connection with the ‘Prophet’s Day’ and subsequently at the Government High School at Malleswaram on 28th Febry. 1947 and the consequent wide spread comments and criticisms both in the Press and by the Public, the Director of Public Instruction was requested to make enquiries and submit a report to Govt. with the explanation of Mr. Abdul Wahab in this behalf.

2. The Director of Public Instruction who conducted the enquiry, seeing that the first explanation of Mr. Abdul Wahab was too general, called upon Mr. Wahab to offer his explanation on the following points to which, as was evident from the enquiry held, Mr. Wahab had referred to in his speeches:—

1. Christianity started rightly with one God but developed belief in a Trinity.
2. Hinduism has deteriorated so much that the present generation is unworthy of that great religion.
3. Contrary to the teachings of Sri Shankaracharya and Sri Ramanujacharya, Hindus indulge in idol worship.
4. Muslims do not believe in the Christian principle of showing the other cheek when hit on one cheek but in striking two blows where one is given.

5. Muslims are opposed to ‘Vande Mataram’ because in that song homage is paid to mother earth which is vile and dirty.

6. The demand for Pakistan is only like a junior brother asking for his share of property on attaining majority.

(3) After considering the explanation offered by Mr. Abdul Wahab on the above points, the Director of Public Instruction reports that it is established beyond doubt that Mr. Wahab did touch in his speech on points 1 to 5 and is of opinion that his appeal for good will and peace was entirely lost in the unprovoked, unjustified and irresponsible attacks and that his speech deserves to be noticed. With regard to item 6, the Director of Public Instruction states that Mr. Wahab admitted having made reference to Pakistan and opines that it was improper and unfortunate that an officer, coming only next to the Head of the Deptt. in rank should indulge in remarks so very derogatory to two great religions and make dangerous statements on political issues of a highly controversial character and makes the following observations:—

‘The previous record of Mr. Wahab is not happy. The confidential reports are unfavourable. He has created troubles wherever he worked. He easily creates situations. He created one such situation in Mandya which would have ended in serious communal fracas but for the interference of the superior officers. There is no knowing when he will land himself and the department in difficulties. It was expected that he would, under the re-organisation being attached to the office without an independent existence, be safer. He has belied this hope. It was not within his competence to go to High School, Malleswaram, yet he went, the unhappy aftermath is well known to Government. The address at Tumkur caused quite a rage in and outside the State.

Mr. Wahab is the Senior Deputy Director. He was confirmed as Deputy Director on 13th May 1946. He is drawing Rs. 500/- in the grade Rs. 500-50/2-750. There is a higher grade of Rs. 700-50-800 vacant from 1st August 1946 and I have not so far recommended Mr. Wahab for it. It is my considered opinion that he does not deserve it, and he should be passed over. His increments also should be with-held for a period of two years’.

(5) Agreeing with the Director of Public Instruction, Government direct that the further promotion of Mr. Abdul Wahab be stopped, and that his increment in the grade of Rs. 500-50/2-750 be with-held for a period of two years.

Sd/-
Secretary to Government
Education Department

To
The Director of Public Instruction
The Comptroller to Government
Copy to the Conf. Reports File
of Mr. Abdul Wahab.
16. Need for a Balanced View on Issue of Cow Slaughter

Extract from a letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Rajendra Prasad, 7 August 1947


My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have just received your letter of today's date.

2. I have also received a large number of telegrams and post cards about stopping cow slaughter, though they are far fewer than the number received by you. I have met the deputation led by Maharaj Partap Singh and had a long talk with them.

3. Nobody can possibly doubt the widespread Hindu sentiment in favour of cow protection. At the same time there is something slightly spurious about the present agitation. Indeed the number of telegrams and post cards, though impressive, is itself a sign of artificiality to some extent. Dalmia's money is flowing and Dalmia is not exactly a desirable person.

4. The fact, however, remains that there is very strong Hindu feeling in this matter. There is also the additional fact that for economic reasons certain steps must be taken for stopping the slaughter of milch cows and of trying to improve the breed and condition of cattle.

5. This question should in any event be considered in its larger context of general planning. It is possible to take some preliminary measures even before any larger scheme is passed. But I think that it is quite out of the question for us to talk about stopping cow slaughter generally without the fullest examination of its political and economic effects. I am convinced that if we did so suddenly it would result in great injury to cattle in India. Our better breeds will be swamped out of existence and there would be a general degradation.

6. Every important question runs into another and the two cannot be separated if we have a balanced view. I remember that one sub-committee of the National Planning Committee reported strongly in favour of adding to the pasture lands for cattle. Another sub-committee dealing with a slightly different problem recommended equally strongly the use of the present pasture lands for food production and stated that to continue these pasture lands was injurious to the nation. This shows how one has to weigh every aspect before deciding one course of action. For my part I am convinced that any precipitate action might lead to very unhappy results, even from the point of view of cow protection.

7. I do not think we can ignore the political aspect. India, in spite of its overwhelming Hindu population, is a composite country from the religious and other points of view. It is a vital problem for us to solve as to whether we are to function fundamentally in regard to our general policy as such a composite country, or to function as a Hindu country rather ignoring the viewpoints of other groups. It is inevitable that the majority Hindu sentiment will affect our activities in a hundred ways. Nevertheless it does make a difference whether we try to think of India as a composite country or as a Hindu country. It should be remembered that the stoppage of cow slaughter means stopping non-Hindus from doing something which they might do. For economic reasons steps can always be taken because they are justified on economic grounds. But if any such step is taken purely on grounds of Hindu sentiment, it means that the governance of India is going to be carried on in a particular way, which thus far we have not done.

8. You know how strong an advocate of cow protection Bapu is. Nevertheless, so far as I am aware, he is opposed to any compulsory stoppage of cow slaughter. His chief reason, I believe, is that we must not function as a Hindu State but as a composite State in which Hindus, no doubt, predominate.
9. This question, therefore, raises rather vital issues in regard to our approach to almost all our problems. As you know, there is a very strong Hindu reviver feeling in the country at the present moment. I am greatly distressed by it because it represents the narrowest communalism. It is the exact replica of the narrow Muslim communalism which we have tried to combat for so long. I fear that this narrow sectarian outlook will do grave injury not only to nationalism as such but also to the high ideals for which Indian and Hindu culture has stood through the ages. We are facing a crisis of the spirit in India today and a false step may have far reaching consequences.

10. I have felt often enough during the past few weeks, and have stated as much at our party meetings in the Constituent Assembly and elsewhere, that I find myself in total disagreement with this reviver feeling, and in view of this difference of opinion I am a poor representative of many of our people today. I felt honestly that it might be better for a truer representative to take my place. That would do away with the unnaturalness and artificiality of the present position.

11. These general considerations are very important and will have to be decided by us or others. On that decision depends our entire future policy, domestic, national and international. India is on the verge of great happenings and is going to step out boldly as a free country. What that step should be is a highly important matter and it will be watched all over the world.

12. But apart from these considerations, I just do not see what we can do in regard to the stoppage of cow slaughter within the next week or so. Any step that we might take may for the moment please many people, it will be resented by some at least. It will also give rise to the feeling that we do not act deliberately and after full thought but are rushed into action by any organised attempt to influence us regardless of the merits of the question....

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. Bihar Hindu Sabha’s Allegations of Congress Being Anti-Hindu
Letter from Rajendra Prasad to Sri Krishna Sinha, 11 August 1947
R.P. Papers, File No. 24-C/46-7, Col. I.S. No. 143
1, Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi

My dear Sri Babu,

Nawal Prasad Kishore is here and I had a long talk with him about the situation in Bihar. He tells me that under the Public Safety Act, there are about 1000 persons, all of them Hindus, who are detained in the districts of Patna, Gaya and Monghyr. There are probably some cases, in Saran and Bhagalpur also. All these men have been detained without trial under the Public Safety Act, which is being used against the Hindus and not against any other. The detainees are not given even notice at the time of arrest and for days if not weeks after arrest. In some cases, the High Court has passed severe strictures about this practice. You may be aware that in the case of police constables the High Court passed rather strong remarks. I do not know what has necessitated the arrest and detention of such large number of persons in these districts without trial and why the Act should operate only against the Hindus and not against others. The detainees are not given even notice at the time of arrest and for days if not weeks after arrest. In some cases, the High Court has passed severe strictures about this practice. You may be aware that in the case of police constables the High Court passed rather strong remarks. I do not know what has necessitated the arrest and detention of such large number of persons in these districts without trial and why the Act should operate only against the Hindus and not against others. He tells me that even people from whose houses arms and ammunitions including fire-arms have been recovered have not been detained if they happen to be non-Hindus.
He tells me that there is illicit smuggling of arms on a very extensive scale by Muslims in the province although in some places a few houses have been searched and arms have been recovered, the vigilance of government has not secured the detection of such _______ and retention of illegal arms in by far the ______ priority of cases. He also suspects that any _______ which reaches the Government or the police _______ of such arms is conveyed persons in _______ to the party storing them before any _______ by the police or any other Government member, you told me when you were here, these things happened in some places and actions were taken but that, Nawal Babu tells me, is inadequate considering the extent in which the illicit storing of arms is going on. He fears that Hindus are in real danger on account of this and the Government is not active enough to prevent this.

He also informs me that there is an order under section 144 preventing meetings and processions throughout the province which is renewed from time to time as a notice expires after the lapse of 60 days. Hindu Sabhaites cannot get permission to hold any meeting or take out even religious processions and thus all their activities have been curbed throughout the province. Congressmen and others do hold meetings and take out processions but whether they do it with or without permission, he does not know. In any case, the Hindu Sabha finds it impossible to hold any meeting or to take out processions. He also informs me that reservation of seats in services and in educational institutions like the Engineering College on the old scale still prevail and the Government have done nothing to revise the old scale and fix the reservation at the population ratio as has been done by Pakistan Government in Sind and even by the Congress Government in the United Provinces. As a practical illustration of this he says that in the Engineering College, 28% Muslim students were admitted in preference to qualified Hindu candidates. Muslims are also holding key positions in many districts and sub-divisions with the result that the Hindus have lost confidence that they will get Government support and Government aid if any trouble arises. For example, he mentions Dinapore Subdivision and Patna City Subdivision where the sub-Divisional Officers are Muslim and Bihar sub-Division where the Police Deputy Superintendent is a Muslim. The Patna City Superintendent is also a Muslim who, he says, made himself notorious in 1942 Movement.

I am also informed by him that there are about 15,000 persons, who have criminal cases against them in the district of Patna in connection with the incidents of October last and similarly about 5000 in Monghyr and an equal number in Gaya and some in Saran and Bhagalpur. Of these about 5000 are in jails. In many cases the police report was that the case against a particular accused was false or that the case could not stand or there was no evidence, but even in such cases subsequently charge-sheets were submitted at the instance of one Mr. Tauhid, who has been authorised to review and revise investigations. The result is that nearly 80% of the cases in which the charge sheet should not have been submitted, it has been submitted. All these people will be let off in trial as there is absolutely no evidence against them but in the meantime, harassment on a vast scale of these people, most of whom are Harijans, is taking place. Many of these have no means of defending themselves. On account of the action taken against Mr. Patnaik, a Deputy Magistrate under suspension, against whom one of the charges is that he revised the bail order or he granted bail in some case against police advice, other Magistrates have been demoralised and in many cases where bail has been granted the accused are called upon to show cause why the bail should not be cancelled and the bail bonds are actually cancelled. On the whole the picture given has been one in which the Hindus are at a great disadvantage on account of the action or inaction of the Government and under these
provocations they are thinking of starting Satyagrah. Babu Krishnavallabh Sahay asked Nawal Babu to see him and to postpone the Satyagrah pending discussion with the Prime Minister at Patna on the 1st August 1947. Nawal Babu saw the Prime Minister and it was arranged that he would go and meet him again at Ranchi along with some others...

Mr. Khemka was arrested and the talk had accordingly to be abandoned. The Government has issued a communiqué stating that the warrant against Mr. Khemka under which he has been arrested, was issued on the 16th July 1947 and that there was no request that warrant be cancelled. Nawal Babu complains that he was not aware that warrant had been issued and it was for the Government to have ordered suspend [sic] of the warrant or to have informed him that the warrant could not be suspended pending the proposed conversation. Government have declared that they are prepared to consider any representation which the Hindu Sabha may make but, he says, he is not prepared to make any representation on this basis as the condition is humiliating.

I was not aware up till now that there are about 1000 people in detention without trial and that these are almost all Hindus. We have always held that detention without trial is a most oppressive measure which no Government should adopt except in a very exceptional circumstance. I do not know what the circumstances are and why you resorted to such a large scale arrest under a law which is of the most exceptional character. I also do not know if it is a fact that it is operating only against the Hindus. If there are reasons of safety which require resorting to these laws, one cannot imagine that it could be meant for only one community who have been responsible for the apprehended disorder, specially when it is said that even persons from whose houses arms have been recovered have not been dealt with under this act while others against whom no tangible proof has been found have been arrested. In any case there is no reason why their detention should be for an indefinite period and why the people should be arrested without the formalities of law being complied with. If resort to this law is necessary, the formality mentioned should in each and every case be strictly observed and each case should be capable of being justified on its merit. There must be some responsible officer of a high grade who could review and examine these cases of detention at frequent intervals and order release as soon as the apprehended danger necessitating their detention under this act passes.

I am passing on all these informations to you as I thought I should let you know what is brought to my notice. I am told by Nawal Babu that he has communicated all these to you. I shall be obliged if you could let me have your comments on these points. We are passing through a very critical time and we cannot be too cautious or too vigilant in our dealings with the public at large and it would be a most dangerous thing if the notion goes abroad that our Government is taking resort to measures which we have condemned all our lives.

Yours sincerely

Sd/-

The Hon’ble Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha,
Prime Minister
Ranchi/Patna

1 Text incomplete as document is partially destroyed.
18. ‘Fight at A.I. Hindu Convention: Mr. Savarkar Criticizes Congress Policy’

*The Tribune*, 11 August 1947

New Delhi, Aug. 10.—A five-minute fist fight developed amongst a group of young men dispersing after the opening session of the All-India Hindu Convention, which began here last evening under the presidentship of Mr. V.D. Savarkar.

After a number of Hindu Sabha leaders from various provinces had addressed the gathering, criticising the Congress leadership which, they alleged, had succumbed to the partitioning of the country, Mr. Savarkar wound up the proceedings on the following note:—‘If the Hindus do not organise and assert themselves and realise the grave danger that lies ahead and work to get the severed areas back there will be numerous other Pakistans in our midst in the next few years.’

A group of young men present at the meeting were heard to critically remark as the meeting dispersed that Mr. Savarkar’s speech was radical. This provoked some others. Heated arguments ensued between the two groups, leading to a fist fight.

Leaders of the Convention came out and spoke to both the groups and pacified them in a short while.

Hindu Mahasabha leaders from various provinces attended the convention. Those who addressed the convention included Mr. V.D. Savarkar, Dr. Debendra Nath Mukhopadhyay, the Raja of Mandi, Rani Phool Kumari of Sherkot, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Goswami and Mr. M.C. Sharma.

The Maharaja of Alwar, who was to have inaugurated the convention, could not be present owing to his pre-occupation with the affairs of State, but had sent a message which was read out.

In the absence of Dr. N. B. Khare, who was to have presided, Mr. V. D. Savarkar took the chair.

Nearly a dozen speakers addressed the convention, demanding that free India should declare itself a Hindu State and work for Hindu ideals. Unless this was done, it was pointed out, there was grave danger to the peace in the country. The speakers blamed the Congress leadership which they stated had bungled in following the policy of appeasing the Muslims which had culminated in the country being partitioned.

The Raja of Mandi who also spoke, expressed the hope that the severed units would again become a part of India. To this end every one must make sacrifices. He for one would be prepared to follow the lead of the convention.

**Work for Re-union**

Mr. Savarkar appealed to the Hindus, irrespective of party affiliations, to unite, look ahead and be ready to face the dangers of partition. The country had for a long time been shifted about and the Hindus would stand to lose further if they did not realise the dangers ahead. They should work actively from now on for the re-union of the seceded areas.

**Spate of Pakistans**

Mr. Savarkar recalled that the Muslims had already begun to make further claims for ‘a Moplastan, a Meostan and other stans. They are also claiming separate districts for themselves in the Hindustan provinces. The Muslim Princes are also threatening to establish Pakistans in their own territories. If these threats are not met there will be at least 14 more Pakistans in the country in the next few years.’
Mr. Savarkar criticised the Congress acceptance of the principle of self-determination for parts of provinces and said even Sir Stafford Cripps had urged this only in respect of provinces as a whole. No part of the country as such could claim the right of self-determination. It is a right which should be exercised by the country as a whole.

Mr. Savarkar said the Congress had stated they accepted partition only to avoid more bloodshed. It was a wrong policy so long as Pakistan remained. There was also the danger of further bloodshed. The only remedy lay in negativing the decision to partition the country.

To this end Hindus all over India must work. The convention was not a Hindu Mahasabha affair, but should be joined by Hindus of all shades of opinion. It would be no use by their merely passing resolutions. What was needed was action. Their motto should be ‘as we never accepted the rule of the British we will never accept the existence of Pakistan,’ he said amidst cheers.

Mr. Narayan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the leaders to the convention.—A.P.I.

19. Students Must Act to Build a Better New India
M.K. Gandhi’s talk with students at Calcutta, 15 August 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXIX, p. 47

Gandhiji explained in detail why the fighting must stop now. We had two States now, each of which was to have both Hindu and Muslim citizens. If that were so, it meant an end of the two-nation theory. Students ought to think and think well. They should do no wrong. It was wrong to molest an Indian citizen merely because he professed a different religion. Students should do everything to build up a new State of India which would be everybody’s pride. With regard to the demonstration of fraternization he said:

I am not lifted off my feet by these demonstrations of joy.
Chapter 35. Communalism: Provinces

A. Bengal

1. Report from Bengal

   Extract from the fortnightly report on Bengal for the second half of June 1947, 3 July 1947
   Home Poll (I), File No. 18/6/47, NAI

...II. Communal

11. Coinciding with the decision of the Assembly members to partition the Province, the communal situation deteriorated considerably in Calcutta and has revealed tendencies which must be regarded with unease. The deterioration in the situation in Calcutta must be held to be due at least partly to the exasperation of certain sections of the Muslims at the decision to partition—a decision which may be expected to leave Calcutta in West Bengal. It is unquestioned that the recrudescence of trouble this fortnight was due to a series of attacks by the Muslims on the Hindus. Unfortunately responsibility for the waxing and waning of the present series of disturbances has not been brought home to particular individuals but the manner in which the disturbances are moving from one part of the city to another unquestionably seems, to those responsible for controlling the situation, to point to some system of control. Recently, in particular, following active and concerted police action in the centre of the city, the manner in which incidents of stabbing and bomb-throwing have again begun to be reported from the suburbs points to a definite plan.

   The statistics for the period which show that, as a result of 193 incidents 41 persons have been killed and 170 injured and 1,433 arrests have been made (as compared with 58 incidents, 15 killed, 44 injured and 949 arrests during the last period), confirm the view that the situation has taken a turn for the worst.

12. In Howrah, on the other hand, throughout almost the entire period there was a very definite improvement in the situation and, in fact, until the 26th no incident had been reported at all. This record was, however, marred towards the end of the period by two incidents in quick succession—the killing by gunfire of a head constable and the wounding of another policeman—outrages which have resulted in the immediate imposition of collective fines totalling rupees half a lakh and a rigid curfew.

13. Elsewhere in Bengal, apart from the Chittagong Division and except for one isolated incident at Dacca, the period has been quiet. The incident that occurred at Dacca on the 29th is an example of the ease with which communal disturbances can break out and an indication of the explosive character of the communal situation in the Province. On this occasion brickbats
were thrown by Hindu boys at Muslim boys during a football match and subsequently a mosque was raided, the Quoran and other holy books were torn up and a Muslim was murdered. The Dacca Defence Scheme has been put into operation; everything is quiet at the time of drafting this report. In the Chittagong Division trouble centred round the affected police-stations of Noakhali and Tippera districts where conditions are by no means normal yet. In one of the affected thanas in Noakhali, in fact, notices were served on certain Hindus stating that their houses would be burnt and their cattle slaughtered. A further consignment of knives has also been intercepted, addressed to a Hindu Bank. In Tippera instances of Hindu oppression continue and in one or two places Hindu religious music has been prohibited by the Muslims...

2. ‘Majority in One Section Is Minority in Another’
Amrita Bazar Patrika, 4 July 1947

Sj. Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President, B.P.C.C., has issued the following statement:

We are passing through rapid changes; these are so rapid that we have not the leisure to think them. India is divided; Bengal is partitioned; Dominion Status with all the facilities offered by the Westminster Statute is coming within 45 days; a new constitution for a completely free India is being framed; and we hope in about a year’s time we shall be completely free. In ordinary times, any one of these changes would have moved us to the very depth of our heart. But now, we behave as if we do not realise the enormity of these changes.

But one change has really upset at least a portion of our people. The partition of Bengal has created a situation for which many of us were not prepared. The minorities of both the sections now feel rather out of element in the new situation. Particularly the Hindu and other minority communities of East Bengal are feeling absolutely forlorn and helpless. I can only assure them that they have not been forsaken, nor have they any reason to feel so helpless. I like to say that the majority of one section cannot simply afford to be unjust to their minority without doing harm to their own community in the other section. We should not forget that the majority of one section is the minority in another section. On behalf of the Congress of Bengal, I wish to convey to the minorities of both the sections the message of reassurance, of succour and comfort, of hope and courage. Congress and Congressmen of Bengal are pledged to stand by them.

The present Ministry in Bengal is going to be extended. Another Congress nominee will be added to the present Cabinet to look after the interests of West Bengal. They have been termed ‘Shadow Ministers without portfolio.’ I knew this is not what we really wanted and what the situation requires. But this is the minimum on which we could have agreed. The Congress is pledged to the doctrine of non-coercion. Moreover, in dealing with one’s own countrymen, the policy of proceeding on agreement should have the first preference. So I hope, my countrymen will take this expanded Cabinet in a spirit of goodwill and accommodation.

BOUNDARY PROBLEM
We have started with a notional division of Bengal; a Boundary Commission has been set up ... the boundary. I know ... very much agitated over this question. We have been receiving frantic representations from many areas so that they may be included in Western Bengal. Such frantic attempts have been mostly out of panic and distrust. This is not a healthy sign for a nation
or even for a community. We should remember, after all Bengal is one and shall remain one in spite of this administrative division, which, we hope, will be annulled in a few years. Neither should we distrust our neighbours nor should we be afraid of them. I know no boundary line will satisfy public demand. So, I would ask my countrymen to be calm and to take courage. ‘After me, the deluge’ seems to be the mentality prevailing. This is not gratifying or ennobling; rather it is undignified for a nation or a community.

A consultative Boundary Committee has been set up on behalf of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. I know this Committee is doing all that is possible for it. All Congress Committees and Congressmen should contact this Committee. Rashtrapati Acharya Kripalani has also set up a Co-ordinating Boundary Committee to co-ordinate the activities of all other Committees set up by different parties and groups. This Co-ordinating Committee will make up the final case and present that before the Boundary Commission. I hope my countrymen will take with good grace the final decision of this Committee.

Before concluding, I like to remind my countrymen that we are on the threshold of liberty. Liberty has its charms as well as responsibilities. Whether in East Bengal or in West Bengal, we are soon going to be free—free from foreign domination. We should rejoice for that and at the same time, we should prepare ourselves for the new task and new responsibilities. Petty squabbles and strifes should not make us blind and deaf to the dire reality.

3. ‘Shadow over Bengal’

Editorial in *Dawn*, 11 July 1947

Those who had hoped that the partition of Bengal and, later, the installation in office of a parallel Hindu Ministry having virtual jurisdiction over that part of the province which has been notionally allotted to Hindustan, would ease the communal tension in Calcutta have been disappointed. Instead of tension becoming less it has become more. There has been grave recrudescence of shooting, killing and other acts of communal violence on a much larger scale than during the past three or four months. The immediate cause for renewed lawlessness was the murder of a Muslim officer in charge of a Police Station at his post of duty by desperadoes armed with a sten gun. This dastardly act was a pointer to the preparation which political goondas of a particular community had made and the length to which they had been emboldened to go, presumably as a result of the coming into partial power of the Congress.

That the Muslims should have mustered strong for the funeral procession of the murdered officer was only natural and they performed no more than a religious rite. It was stupid of the Calcutta Police authorities to attempt to disperse the procession by force. Had they not done so and had not communal hooligans thrown bombs and other missiles on peaceful mourners, trouble would have been averted. But, Calcutta’s British Commissioner of Police who has always been a misfit in this post of responsibility and who evidently is no friend of the Muslims (and that is putting it mildly), thought otherwise. So did the followers of the shadow Premier Dr. P. C. Ghosh. They are, therefore, responsible for the widespread acts of violence witnessed on that day. Since then Calcutta’s peace continues to remain gravely disturbed, its business and traffic are again largely suspended, and hooligans are reported to be active day and night. On Wednesday evening one such armed gang is reported to have driven in a jeep into the heart of an important residential locality exclusively inhabited by the opposite community and opened fire indiscriminately. For this daring act we can find no other explanation except...
this that the presence of Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh and his newly elevated colleagues in the Bengal Secretariat has given certain persons a sense of immunity.

Some of the executive orders recently passed at the instance of this so-called ‘Shadow Ministry’ are definitely calculated to encourage the wrong-doers of a particular community. A high placed Muslim officer of the Calcutta Police has been removed from his post and placed on comparatively unimportant duty elsewhere. Another Muslim Deputy Commissioner of Police in charge of the city’s Police Headquarters has been rendered ineffective by importing from outside a non-Muslim officer and placing the control of the entire city in his hands. Collective fines imposed on certain non-Muslim localities have been suspended.

Is this way in which the new Hindu Ministry is going to rule Calcutta and Western Bengal? Are these first acts of theirs an earnest of the policy they propose to adopt towards the Muslim minority of Calcutta and that part of the province which will come completely under their sway on the 15th of August? If so, the inference clearly is that the Congress Ministry is determined to suppress and terrorize the minority in every possible way. We consider it our duty to warn all concerned against such a development, because that way lies a terrible risk. We imagine that Bengal’s Shadow Ministry of today which will become tomorrow the full-fledged Government of Western Bengal in a matter of five weeks from now are not unaware of that risk. Are they prepared to take it?

4. Communal Tension Continues in Calcutta
Letter from K.C. Neogy to Vallabhbhai Patel, 13 July 1947
SPC, Vol. V, pp. 63–4

My dear Sardarji,

On arrival in Calcutta I find that the communal situation is still causing anxiety. Prafulla Ghosh does not appear to have asserted himself sufficiently. Unless and until there is a complete overhauling of the police organisation in Calcutta the troubles will not cease; they may even increase. The recent outbreak on 7 July was the direct result of the funeral procession of a Muslim police officer who was shot dead the previous day. This procession was fully authorised by the police in spite of the general prohibition against processions under Section 144. The Commissioner of Police and all other police officers, together with a strong force of police constables, formed the procession which was conducted through certain notorious areas. Muslim hooligans, fully armed, were allowed to join the procession and they took to looting and assaulting and murdering people, virtually in the presence of the policemen. The only action taken against them at a late stage was the application of tear gas. But meanwhile the Muslim policemen had actually fired at innocent Hindus returning from their offices in buses and tram cars.

In strange contrast to the above procession, no police official was allowed even to the funeral of a Hindu police officer who was murdered the other day. I enclose a cutting from a newspaper which brings out the contrast between the official policies on the two occasions. May I suggest that you may get a report from the Governor of Bengal as to why in the case of the Hindu police officer they went to the length of prohibiting individual police officers from attending the funeral whereas in the other case the Police Commissioner himself led the procession?
The Governor is a tool in the hands of the [H.S.] Suhrawardy Ministry, and Prafulla Ghosh is least fitted for the office for which he has been selected, particularly because of lack of personality and firmness. Moreover, the West Bengal shadow Cabinet does not exercise any real authority. It is for you to decide what steps should be taken in the circumstances.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

K. C. Neogy

ENCLOSURE

The cremation of the assistant sub-inspector of Calcutta police, attached to Watgunge P.S. who had been fatally stabbed on Friday night, took place at Keoratala burning ghat yesterday (Saturday).

The body was carried in a lorry under police escort from the morgue to the burning ghat where the last rites were performed. No procession was allowed. Even some police officers, who had come from different thanas to offer their last respects to the deceased, were not allowed to enter the precincts of the burning ghat.

The officers then decided to present themselves individually at Keoratala burning ghat to pay their last respects to the deceased. But to their utter surprise even this modest request was not acceded.

Hindustan Standard
13 July 1947.

5. Need for Adequate Non-Muslim Forces in Bengal
Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Baldev Singh, 14 July 1947

P.N. Chopra (Ed.), The Collected Works of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Vol. XII, p. 130

New Delhi

My dear Sardar Baldev Singh,

I am sending you herewith an extract of a letter which the Congress President has received from Shri Prafulla Chandra Ghosh.

I do not know what the disposition of troops in Calcutta is! But you know the difficulties due to majority Muslim police of Calcutta and I feel that prima facie there is a good case for adequate non-Muslim military forces in that city.

I should like to know what can be done to meet the request of Shri Prafulla Chandra Ghosh.

Yours sincerely,

Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

Extract from Dr. P. C. Ghosh’s letter dated 13.7.1947 to the then Congress President, Acharya Kripalani.

‘I think there is possibility of very serious trouble in Calcutta on the 15th August and subsequent days when we assume full responsibility. Muslims are resenting this partition of Bengal very much. I cannot depend merely on the Police Force that we have in Calcutta. So I want at least a full Indian Brigade with an Indian Brigadier General to be stationed in
Calcutta as early as possible and I would like to have a person as the Commander who will work completely in co-operation with us. We may have to take very drastic steps. Please discuss this matter fully with Jawaharlalji, Sardar and Rajendra Babu. Consider this matter as very urgent. I want to have the brigade by the 25th July at the latest and I want only Hindu soldiers. I cannot depend on the loyalty of the Muslim soldiers. I have been receiving reports that the members of the public on both sides are armed with various kinds of dangerous weapons. So in order to avoid chaos and confusion in Calcutta, this step is very essential. If you think that to discuss all these matters I should go to Delhi for a day, I shall, of course, go.'

6. Gandhi Appeals for Communal Harmony
M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 15 July 1947
\textit{CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 343–4}

Brothers and sisters,

The other day I spoke of the temples in Tamil Nadu and Malabar that had been thrown open to Harijans and I especially mentioned the Rameswaram temple. It is a huge temple and there is a lot of superstition concerning it. Some thought that the entry of Harijans would pollute the temple. I have received a letter today complaining that I had not mentioned the Tirupati temple in Andhra Desh which is also a great and ancient temple. The correspondent asks me to rectify the omission and thus give satisfaction to the people of Andhra. I know the glory of this temple but I make no difference between Tamil Nadu and Andhra. Today the atmosphere is such that everyone wants separation.

Some friends from Bengal have been to see me. They say that with the division of Bengal Hindus in East Bengal are haunted by the fear that the Hindus of West Bengal will forget them. If that happens I shall be pained. It will be very bad if Hindus thus forget Hindus and Muslims forget Muslims. Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians all are Indians. Religion is a private matter. If I wish to worship God, what power on earth can stop me from doing so? But if Mussalmans, Parsis, Hindus and Christians all consider themselves separate, what is left of India? I admit that it was hardly necessary to divide Bengal. I have lived among Bengali Muslims. I have walked with them in Noakhali. I found only love in their hearts. Why should Hindus have harboured fear of Muslims? The madness that had seized them would not have lasted for ever. In my view no harm will come to the Hindus of East Bengal. But many things have happened which we did not want to happen. Bengal has been partitioned. And India and Pakistan are separate countries. But we should proceed forward from what has happened and later put it right. Hindus and Muslims of East and West Bengal have always lived together and speak the same language. If the Hindus of East Bengal treat the Muslims there as friends, would the Muslims still want to kill them? When not a single Hindu considers Muslims his enemies, all will be friends.

They also asked me if the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee will be dissolved since it too has been divided into two. In my view the division of Bengal does not apply to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. It should continue in its present form. It is outside Government laws. If it divides itself, then I will say that West Bengal has broken faith. The structure of the Congress today is such that at the very bottom there are village Congress Committees, Mandal Congress Committees, District Congress Committees, then Provincial and at the very top the All-India Congress Committee. Thus there will be Congress Committees in East Bengal as
well as in West Bengal. Both will then constitute the B.P.C.C. The Congress belongs to all, to Muslims, Christians, Parsis and others. It is not going to change its character in the days to come. The Bengali friends also wonder whether East Bengal has been so impoverished that it must have even its ministers from West Bengal. But they should welcome this. For this will make for cohesion between East and West Bengal. East Bengal no doubt has an overwhelming majority of Muslims. But why should we assume that all Muslims are bad? So many Muslims were slaughtered in Bihar and yet I can say that the millions of Hindus in Bihar are not bad. It is wrong to condemn the whole community for the fault of a few individuals. It only goes to show that we ourselves are not clean, that we are cowards, that we have not the courage of non-violence, for the courage of non-violence is the courage to die, never the courage to kill. There are vast armies in the world but considering the population of the world, they are only a handful. But we have got into the way of never being able to see straight. Whenever there is some incident somewhere we at once ask for the army to be sent. In Noakhali, Bihar, the Punjab and the N.W.F.P., wherever there were riots there was only one demand: that the army be sent for their protection. Why should people who ought to be brave want this?

7. Report from Bengal

Extracts from the fortnightly report on Bengal for the first half of July 1947, 16 July 1947
Home Poll (I), File No. 18/7/47, NAI

...II. Communal

13. In the districts there has been an almost complete lack of serious incidents but in Calcutta and Howrah the situation degenerated very considerably during the middle part of the period and for two or three days starting from the 7th the general feeling of tension and unease was greater in Calcutta than it had been for many months.

14. In Calcutta, in fact, the communal situation dominated events and required the constant attention of Hon'ble Ministers. The period began well but unfortunately started to deteriorate from the day the Hindu Ministers assumed office. Though it has throughout been impossible to allocate responsibility for the periodical waves of murderous killing that have been a feature in Calcutta for so many months, yet, in the opinion of those responsible for law and order in the city it is felt that the assumption of office by the Hindu Ministers gave an entirely unwarranted feeling of confidence to the disorderly elements in the Hindu ranks.

The fortnight has been outstanding for the systematic and widespread use of bombs, automatic weapons and Sten guns. These latter weapons of offence have now become a definite menace to the city and their employment has undoubtedly opened a new phase in communal strife. This weapon was used in a particularly dastardly fashion on the evening of the 4th, resulting in the death of two Muslims and injury to seventeen others, including a number of children—an incident which caused a definite sensation in the city. It was quickly followed by the shooting, also with a Sten gun, of a Muslim Inspector of Police in charge of one of the police-stations. This incident, which took place on the night of the 6th, was the signal for a rapid degeneration in the situation, and by 6 p.m. on the following day there had been 23 deaths—7 Muslims and 16 Hindus—and 138 injuries—91 Hindus and 47 Muslims. It was most unfortunate that the deteriorating situation on this day was complicated by the action of irresponsible Muslim elements from the northern part of the city taking control of the funeral bier of the dead Inspector of Police and carrying it through the northern part of
the city—action which still further exacerbated communal feeling. As a result of this action the military had to be called on to assist the police in dispersing the unruly mob and firing had to be resorted to on several occasions. Towards the end of the period under report the situation somewhat improved. The statistics for the period, 230 incidents, 50 killed and 246 injured, compare unfavourably with the figures in the last report.

The seriousness of the problem that faces the police of Calcutta as the date of partition of the Province draws near cannot be overestimated.

15. In Howrah the situation, which was deteriorating towards the end of the last fortnight, continued to deteriorate at the beginning of the present period....

16. Elsewhere in the Province, except in North Bengal and Noakhali, the situation does not call for any comment. In North Bengal though the communal situation has generally remained quiet, a number of incidents have been reported from several districts which are held to show a rising tide of intolerance and aggressiveness by a section of the Muslim population in those districts which are expected to be included in East Bengal: from Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Pabna and Bogra come reports of interference with Hindu religious ceremonies by the Muslims. In Noakhali the communal situation is unchanged and in a particular area has shown signs of deterioration. A number of incidents of oppression of the Hindus are reported—the burning of Hindu homesteads, the seizing of cocoanuts from Hindu houses and the cutting of paddy belonging to Hindus....

8. Safeguard Position of Calcutta

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 21 July 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 19, NMML

17 York Road, New Delhi.

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

You will remember that I mentioned to you in the course of a recent interview that Dr. P. C. Ghosh, the prospective Prime Minister of West Bengal, had written to me about Calcutta. From information received by him and his colleagues in the Cabinet it appeared that there was grave danger of disturbances in Calcutta when the report of the Boundary Commission comes out. Dr. Ghosh has come up to Delhi for a day and I have had a long talk with him.

2. He gave me some account of the difficulties he was facing both on the Muslim and the Hindu side. There was considerable tension and excitement between them and a general expectation of and preparation for conflict in Calcutta. Meanwhile, while there is a kind of shadow Cabinet for West Bengal, in effect the administrative machinery for the whole of Bengal is continuing as previously under the charge of the old Muslim League Ministers. Some changes and transfers have, however, been made.

3. In about three weeks' time the full separation of Bengal will have to take place. Presumably the Boundary Commission will have given its award by then. We can hardly wait till then to begin the process of separation. It is clear that the city of Calcutta will fall in West Bengal. It is desirable, therefore, that the new arrangements at the Centre should be applied to Bengal also immediately. Some adjustments may be made later on after the Boundary Commission has reported. But in the main the division of administrative functions should take place now.

It was decided some time ago that the procedure adopted in Bengal shall be similar to that
adopted at the Centre. At the Centre the process of separation of those who have opted for Pakistan has already taken place or is taking place, and the Pakistan Departments are being run separately preparatory to their departure for Karachi. In accordance with this, a like procedure should be adopted in Bengal and those who have opted for Pakistan or East Bengal should henceforward be in charge only of the East Bengal area, and West Bengal, including Calcutta, should be in charge of the Ministers for that area. It is obviously necessary that officers who have chosen Pakistan for their future activities should have nothing further to do with West Bengal area. Their continued retention in West Bengal and Calcutta only leads to friction and to charges and counter-charges being made against one another. So also officers in East Bengal who have opted for West Bengal should hand over charge and be sent to West Bengal. If no immediate appointment can be made of these people, they might even be given two or three weeks’ leave. The point is that each set of officers should function entirely separately and should not come into each other’s way.

4. In regard to Calcutta very early steps have to be taken to make these transfers and to take all precautions to prevent any serious disturbances. At the present moment Calcutta has, I believe, seven battalions, some British and some Indian. Among these are Punjabi Musalmans and Gurkhas. The Punjabi Musalmans are unfortunately bitterly anti-Hindu and the Gurkhas are anti-Muslim. There have been serious complaints about the behaviour of the PMs. In any event there is no reason to retain these PMs in Calcutta in future. They can be transferred to East Bengal or some other place in Pakistan.

5. The position appears to be that unless full precautions are taken previously, even an attempt to transfer these PMs might give rise to trouble. Therefore it seems necessary that sufficient Indian troops should be sent to Calcutta first and then the PMs should be transferred. I understand from Dr. Ghosh, and he tells me that the Governor agrees with him in this matter, that seven battalions in all are necessary in Calcutta. That would probably mean sending three or four additional Indian battalions to Calcutta as the British troops are likely to be withdrawn and the PMs will be transferred. If this is to be done, it has to be done immediately so that the additional troops might be in Calcutta by the 3rd August. The PMs could be withdrawn and transferred then. I understand from Dr. Ghosh that the Governor agrees with these proposals. Dr. Ghosh suggests that an Indian Brigadier be placed in command of the troops in Calcutta.

6. In the event of the situation deteriorating in Calcutta, there will be immediate repercussions in other parts of Bengal, notably East Bengal. The tragic events that happened in Noakhali late last year followed Calcutta happenings. Calcutta thus becomes the key to the situation and has to be fully protected from the possibility of any disturbance. There should also be no dual authority in Calcutta or elsewhere in Bengal as this leads to continuous difficulties and a lack of decision at a critical moment. Hence the necessity for separating administratively and otherwise East and West Bengal, subject to subsequent decisions of the Boundary Commission. Dr. Ghosh was of the opinion that by the 3rd August many of these processes should be completed so that the new order has begun to function when the Boundary Commission’s report comes out. Of course, whatever may be done will not be treated as a precedent by the Boundary Commission whose final award will have to be given effect to.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru.
9. ‘East Bengal Hindus Must Not Leave Their Land of Birth’

Extracts from a report in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 27 July 1947

**Mr. N.R. Sarker’s Hope for Better Future: League Urged to Implement Assurance**

‘Hindus must determine to live in East Bengal, the land of their birth, as loyal and dutiful citizens contributing their share to the improvement of the new State. In short, forgetting the recent past, they have to try and see whether it is possible to live once again side by side with the Muslims peacefully and amicably as their ancestors have done over many generations.

‘If Hindus, on their part, try to create this atmosphere of hope and trust, I earnestly believe that a response, a change of attitude, would come from the Muslims’ side too.

‘It seems to me to be an imperative duty of Muslim leaders in East Bengal now to exert themselves to create a public opinion among their own community in favour of the assurances given to the minorities in Mr. Jinnah’s recent pronouncements,’ thus observes Mr. N.R. Sarker in the course of a statement exhaustively dealing with the hard realities facing the East Bengal Hindus and their duties in the present juncture.

Mr. Sarker says:

I have been receiving anxious enquiries from different parts of East Bengal seeking opinion as to what the future may hold for the East Bengal Hindus and advice as to what they should do now. I have therefore felt called upon to say something in this regard through the medium of the Press. I must state at the outset that almost all these enquiries inevitably reveal a justifiable sense of peril and anxiety regarding the future position of the East Bengal Hindus in Pakistan. Hindus in this part of Bengal are labouring under the notion rightly or wrongly, that the elemental security of life and property is not assured to them in the future East Bengal State. They also do not feel sure about their economic security or their honour. Last, but not the least, they are afraid of their cultural and religious life being lost and merged into the culture and religion of the majority community.

I do not for a moment deny that in view of the happenings of the past these fears can[not] be dismissed as altogether groundless. But however dark the past may have been, I feel there is good reason to hope that the future would not be so dismal. I believe the situation has to some extent altered or at least is likely to alter in the near future. The issue which gave rise to all the bitterness between Hindus and Muslims so long has been decided and set at rest now.

**BASIS OF ANTAGONISM GONE**

Pakistan no longer hangs in the balance, it is an accomplished fact; and the bone of contention having now disappeared, the past antagonism and bitterness have no ‘raison de'être’ now, or at any rate have lost their emotional background. Besides, one should also consider in this context that Mr. Jinnah, the Governor-General-Designate of the Pakistan Dominion, has in a very welcome speech assured full protection to the minorities in Pakistan and of their rights to life, property and their own culture and religion. At a time when the Pakistan Dominion is about to take its place among the States of the world, it would be hardly reasonable to suppose that its leader has given these assurances without really meaning them. This, happily, is also strengthened and confirmed by a statement issued by the Central Partition Council assuring on behalf of both Dominion Governments of fair treatment of minorities and exercise of liberties such as freedom of speech, association, worship and the protection of their language and culture. It has also to be remembered in this connection that in the new situation, with the responsibilities of a new State to shoulder, Muslims would have to switch over their energies
and attention to works of a constructive nature, if they are to make their State a stable one and to secure prestige and position for it in the comity of nations. In fact, the tasks that await them are stupendous, and they cannot afford to fritter their energies in barren disputes with another community at such a juncture; on the contrary, they are more than likely to seek the co-operation and help of Hindus in building up a strong edifice for their State.

**Migration No Panacea**

For the works of construction huge loans would have to be raised and even for the day-to-day administration ways and means funds have to be found; but unless the Pakistan State can maintain law and order and a stable government, it can never hope to have the credit which is so essential for it now, and in the absence of such credit, it can little expect to get either from inside or from outside the financial support it will so sorely need. To this vital consideration, the State can never be blind.

Another consideration is pertinent in this context. I have absolutely no doubt that in West Bengal and in the Indian Union the Muslims would get a fair deal, and this cannot but react favourably on the Hindu minorities in Pakistan. I find that some, particularly people in the towns of East Bengal, are thinking of migration as a way out of the dangers and difficulties they apprehend. Migration would generally be possible only for the well-to-do, who can afford the high cost of migration. With the migration of the well-to-do, however the poorer classes are left without the help and support of the more resourceful and influential section of the people and thus become worse off. Besides, those who migrate have of ... also. Although Hindus in West Bengal will at all times feel an affinity for their brethren in East Bengal, it has to be remembered that in West Bengal they would have their own problems to rack their brains about, and administering the West Bengal State will by no means be an easy task and their resources will also be limited. Therefore, it would be unnatural to expect the West Bengal Government to make any direct or material help in the day-to-day life of the 10 million Hindus in East Bengal.

Even so, should a situation arise in which the direct help and support of either West Bengal or of the Union Government or of both would be needed by the minority in East Bengal, I have not the least doubt that such assistance and succour will readily be given in such critical times....

10. **Report from Bengal**

   Extract from the fortnightly report on Bengal for the second half of July 1947, 2 August 1947

   Home Poll (I), File No. 18/7/47, NAI

**...II. Communal**

12. The communal situation has undoubtedly been influenced by the imminence of the transfer of power and the partition of the Province. A number of communal incidents have taken place in Midnapore which were, potentially, of great danger to the general peace of the Province. In Calcutta and Howrah, the situation had, if anything, worsened by the end of the period and throughout continued to show that the two major communities were alive to the possibility of pitched battles being fought in the not very distant future.

13. The Calcutta situation has been marked by suspicion and distrust and, on the Muslim side, by very definite apprehension as to their fate after the 15th. At the close of the period
the prospects for the future must be regarded as ominous. The continued and widespread use of automatic weapons and the throwing of bombs, both against the police as well as against members of the other community, have become a still more marked feature of the situation. Typical of the latest phase of communal hooliganism—a phase which was initiated by the Hindus earlier in the month, was an attack on a bus on the evening of the 30th, an attack which resulted in the slaughter of 7 Hindus, including the Sikh driver, by a Muslim miscreant armed with a Sten gun. The bare statistics for the period 166 incidents, 33 killed, and 180 injured are indicative of a situation which is outstandingly depressing. The situation is particularly unsatisfactory due to the fact that those responsible for the maintenance of law and order are not receiving any co-operation worth the name from any section of the public. In particular neither side has made the slightest attempt to produce any evidence on the basis of which the police might take anticipatory action.

14. In Howrah the situation which opened fairly satisfactorily degenerated to a marked degree towards the latter part of the period. Of the 95 incidents for the period 56 occurred within the last 4 days. The total number of deaths and injuries for the period, 17 and 98, respectively, are revealing. As in Calcutta the aggression has been taken, generally speaking, by the Hindus and those who are responsible for law and order are confident that in this town a section of the Hindu populace must definitely be held responsible for the continuance of the organised communal disturbances.

15. Apart from Calcutta and Howrah, Kharagpur in the Midnapore district was the only other centre of serious communal conflict....

16. Elsewhere in the Province there has been no outward manifestation of communal hatred. A mass rally of Muslim National Guards took place on July the 14th at Feni in the district of Noakhali when 3,000 guards paraded the streets, including the main Hindu quarter of the town, armed with lathis, ramdoas, swords and wooden guns. After the parade a meeting was held at which reference was made to the work done by the guards during the Sylhet referendum and the audience was warned that they must remain prepared to sacrifice their lives for the cause of Pakistan.

11. Gandhi Invited to Come to Noakhali

M.K. Gandhi's discussion with Mohammad Usman and others, 10 August 1947

*CW MG*, Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 21–2

August 10, 1947.

Mohammad Usman again came. A large Muslim deputation accompanied him. They entreated Gandhiji to stay on in Calcutta even if it were only for two more days:

We Muslims have as much claim upon you as the Hindus. For you yourself have said you are as much of Muslims as of Hindus.

Gandhiji: I am willing, but then you have to guarantee the peace of Noakhali. If I do not go to Noakhali before the 15th on the strength of your guarantee and things go wrong there, my life will become forfeit; you will have to face a fast unto death on my part.

According to the source the Muslim friends hesitated but ultimately gave the required guarantee on their and Muslim League's behalf. They promised to dispatch wires to the local League leaders in Noakhali and undertook to send emissaries to help maintain peace in Noakhali. Vide also the following item.
Gandhiji told them that though he was anxious to reach Noakhali as soon as possible, in deference to their wishes he could postpone going from the 11th August to the 13th.

12. Prolong Your Stay in Calcutta
M.K. Gandhi’s interview with H.S. Suhrawardy, 11 August 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXIX, p. 28
August 11, 1947
Gandhiji: Do you want to suggest I should not leave on Wednesday and pass the whole of my time in bringing peace to Calcutta?
Suhrawardy: Yes.
[Gandhiji]: I stayed (for these two days in Calcutta) very much against my will. But Usman Saheb overpowered me. He made a successful appeal to my heart. He asked me to see things with my own eyes and do something to allay the present communal feelings. I would remain if you and I are prepared to live together. This is my second offer to you. We shall have to work till every Hindu and Mussalman in Calcutta safely returns to the place where he was before. We shall continue in our effort till our last breath.
I do not want you to come to a decision immediately. You should go back home and consult your daughter; for the implication of what I mean is that the old Suhrawardy will have to die and accept the garb of a mendicant (fakir).

13. ‘Woes of Calcutta’
Editorial in Dawn, 11 August 1947
Mob fury in Calcutta continues unabated as the Congress Ministry is about to enter upon full responsibility in Western Bengal. Reports of brutal outrages are pouring in every day; gun duels between desperadoes and armed police are a daily occurrence; holding up of railway trains and indiscriminate shooting of passengers are not rare, and throwing bombs and hand-grenades at passing buses and trams is the order of the day in that vast, densely populated city. No longer are crude and improvised weapons used by the murderous hooligans. They have managed to get hold of deadly, modern weapons like Bren and Sten guns in large numbers and arms and ammunition in large quantities. Besides, their armoury is full of revolvers, pistols, bombs and hand-grenades which would suffice even a battalion in action. They are, moreover, well-equipped with jeeps and other vehicles to ply their reign of terror. All these subtle and refined methods of organized terrorism unmistakably point to the conclusion that the educated middle-class people rather than the ordinary riff-raffs are deeply involved in it.
Mr. Gandhi who stayed in Calcutta for a day on his way to Noakhali was grieved at what he described as the ‘woes of Calcutta.’ He made certain observations thereon in his post-prayer speech which leaves no doubt as to who are directly responsible for this interminable orgy of violence in that city. Mr. Gandhi said that some of his Muslim friends and even some Hindus had complained to him that the Hindus seemed to have gone mad. Not that, he added, the Muslims had become wiser, but now that the Muslim police and officials were almost withdrawn and replaced by Hindus, the Hindus had begun to believe that they were now free to do what they liked as the Muslims are reported to have done under the League Ministry. Mr. Gandhi went on to say that he was not going to examine what was done under the League Ministry.
His purpose was to know what his co-worker Dr. Ghosh’s Ministry was doing. Was it true, he asked, the Muslims were living in terror? If it were all true, it was a serious reflection on the Congress Ministry, he observed. We have quoted Mr. Gandhi almost word for word as put out by a news agency in our anxiety not to be accused of distorting or mutilating the text of his speech.

It would appear from Mr. Gandhi’s speech that the majority community is solely responsible for creating this reign of terror in Calcutta and the Congress Ministry finds itself unequal to the task of quelling it. That the minority community, whatever role they might have played in the past, has nothing to do whatever with the present outbreak will be convincingly borne out by the conduct of the majority in the entire Dominion of Pakistan. To give a concrete example, let us take the case of Dacca, which was the scene of some of the worst outrages, not long ago. Everything has been quiet and normal in the capital of Eastern Pakistan for a long time now. Such is the case with Rawalpindi in Western Pakistan. As a matter of fact, the whole of the Dominion is singularly free from communal clashes. This is because Muslims by temperament and tradition cannot and dare not act contrary to their leaders’ wishes. So, when the call came to them from their leaders headed by Qaed-e-Azam Jinnah to stop this fratricidal war, they promptly and spontaneously responded to it. The prevalence of peace and harmony in Pakistan bears eloquent testimony to the Muslim leaders’ ability to control their followers.

Now that the League Ministry, the alleged villain of the piece and its much-maligned Punjabi Muslim policemen, who had been frequently accused of taking an active part in the fray are no longer in Calcutta why should the disgraceful spectacle of what Mr. Gandhi characterises as ‘hot goondaism’ should still be witnessed in that city? The answer to the query has been furnished by Mr. Gandhi’s informants who seem to think that the Hindus have gone mad in that city. Their uncontrollable frenzy furnishes a sad commentary on the impotency of the Congress Ministry.

We hope and trust Mr. Gandhi is appalled by the seriousness of the situation in Calcutta in so far as it affects the existence of the minority community there. If so, let him dispassionately examine this picture with that of Noakhali whither he is going. Is the minority there in such terrible plight as in Calcutta? There is nothing to prove that. In these circumstances, we suggest that no useful purpose will be served by his visit to Noakhali. Calcutta, on the other hand, wants him, and he himself admits that he has been asked ‘to pour a pot of water over the raging fire that was burning in Calcutta’ and that he would ‘love to give his life if thereby he could contribute to the quenching of mob fury.’ Whether or not he can quench it, it is at least well worth trying.

14. Gandhiji to Tour Riot Areas in Calcutta

_The Hindustan Times_, 11 August 1947

CALCUTTA, Aug. 10.—Mahatma Gandhi has postponed his departure to Noakhali for a short while acceding to the request of some Muslim friends who wanted him to visit the riot-affected areas.

Announcing this at his post-prayer speech today, Gandhiji said that he had decided to see whether he could contribute his share towards efforts for the return of sanity to the premier city of India.
He would, however, be in Noakhali before August 15 on which date he had promised to be in Pakistan.

Gandhiji said that all his life he had served both the communities without reserve. If he found today, when they were at the threshold of freedom, that the communities had gone mad, then the utmost that he could do was to place his life in the hands of God because he would not like to live to see such madness.

This reference was interpreted in some Ashram circles as hinting at the possibility of a fast by Mahatma Gandhi.

He had seen the Ministers during the day. He would try to see the places where destruction was said to have been wrought by Hindus. He had also learnt that there were parts of Calcutta which were inaccessible to Hindus though they used to occupy many houses there. Similarly was the case with Hindu localities. His head hung in shame to listen to this recital of man’s barbarism. He would love to go to those places and see for himself how much truth there was in this recital.

Charges Against Police

He was told there was not more than 23 per cent Muslims in Calcutta. It was unthinkable that such a minority could coerce the majority without countenance from or incompetence of authority. He was also told that the Muslim police and officers were alleged to have done what the Hindu police and officers were reported to be doing now that the Congress was in power. They were reported to have become partial in their administration of justice. If this wretched spirit of communalism had entered the police force the prospect was bleak indeed. He hoped the police would realize the dignity of their profession.

A deputation of Muslim leaders of Calcutta including Mr. S.M. Osman, former Mayor of Calcutta, met Mahatma Gandhi at Sodepur and discussed with him the communal situation in Calcutta. They placed before him a memorandum detailing their grievances and pressed him to visit some of the affected areas before he leaves for Noakhali.

Later, the Council of West Bengal Ministers headed by Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Chief Minister of West Bengal, called on Gandhiji and apprised him of the steps so far taken by West Bengal Government to quell the disturbances. The discussion lasted two hours. Mr. Annade Prosad Choudhury, Political Secretary to the Chief Minister, was present. Dr. Ghosh is likely to meet Gandhiji again tomorrow.

15. Gandhi’s Views on Celebrations on 15 August

Extracts from speech at a prayer meeting in Calcutta, 12 August 1947

CWMG, Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 29–31

Gandhiji said that the 15th instant was to be a landmark in India’s history. It was a day when India would be declared free of the foreign yoke. It was to be an independent nation. He had explained how the day was to be observed, but he was probably alone in the view. Already there was an announcement that the Muslims of Calcutta were to observe it as a day of mourning. He hoped that it was not true. No man could be compelled to observe the day in a particular manner. It was to be a perfectly voluntary act. He would ask his Muslim countrymen not to mourn over the freedom. The present distemper was to go. What were the Hindus in Pakistan to do? They should salute the Pakistan Flag if it meant the freedom and equality of all in every respect, irrespective of caste, colour or creed. He had heard further that on that
day the Indians in the French and Portuguese possessions were to declare their freedom from France and Portugal respectively.

That, he said, would be a thoughtless act. It would be a sign perhaps of arrogance. The British were retiring, not the French and the Portuguese....

During the afternoon, Mr. Usman, the ex-Mayor of Calcutta, had arrived with Shaheed Saheb’s message stating that the latter had accepted Gandhiji’s proposal without reservation. It was now time, therefore, for the two friends to choose quarters in the midst of the worst-affected areas and see what could be done by joint effort.

Gandhiji said that he was warned that Shaheed Saheb was not to be relied upon. The same thing was said about him (Gandhiji) also. He was described as the worst enemy of Islam. He was supposed to be a consummate hypocrite. God alone knew men’s hearts. He asserted that he spoke and acted as he believed. He had known Shaheed Saheb since the days of the Faridpore Conference, to which the late Deshbandhu had taken him. Nobody had any right to prejudge anybody. He would trust as he expected to be trusted. Both would live under the same roof, and have no secrets from each other. They would together see all the visitors. People should have the courage to speak out the truth under all circumstances and in the presence of those against whom it had to be said.

Gandhiji finally referred to what the common citizens could do in order to help the cause. They were to bless them on the mission on which they were embarking.

_Harijan, 24-8-1947._

16. ‘Stop Communal Warfare’

_Amrita Bazar Patrika, 13 August 1947_

‘A supreme effort must be made to stop the communal warfare in Calcutta, and success will never be achieved unless the public conscience is stirred, and the members of the public are determined to co-operate with each other. Heaven knows when reason will dawn upon the public and the people in Calcutta will be able to resume their normal avocations,’ says Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy in the course of a statement.

‘I want to sound another warning which I have sounded before and which seems to have fallen on deaf ears [sic]. If you do not stop these disorders and riots, you will be surrendering Calcutta very soon to a lawless element that will, for its very livelihood and because it has tasted easy money and easy blood turn upon the sober elements of society and blackmail them for its own livelihood. We must bring back Calcutta to its former position and establish peace, security and prosperity here. For this purpose all elements, particularly the young men of both the communities either along with or without their leaders must get together and form themselves into a band intent on eradicating the poison from society by all possible means. Much remains to be done to rehabilitate the people of Calcutta and bring confidence amongst the Hindus and Muslims. The people must go back to where they were before. As a preliminary to that the majority community of each locality must guarantee the peace and security of the minorities returning to them. I hope that the peace committee which has been reorganized will take all necessary steps to bring this about because herein appears to lie the solution. Let it be clearly understood that all the people must bend themselves to the task earnestly and sincerely. There is no time to lose if Calcutta, if Hindus and Muslims, if Pakistan and Hindusthan have to be saved.’
Mr. Suhrawardy in his statement says, ‘There can be no greater falsehood uttered than that the Hindus were massacred under the League Ministry.’ Stating that the Police and hospital figures prove that dishonours are even, he says ‘I do not place all these facts in defence of my Ministry because that time is past but I do so in order to place the truth before the public, because I feel that if false notions gain currency there will be no peace whatsoever in Calcutta.’

17. Gandhi and Suhrawardy to Stay Together in Riot-Affected Area
Letter from M.K. Gandhi to Vallabhbhai Patel, 13 August 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 35–6

CALCUTTA

CHI. VALLABHBHAI,

I am stuck here and now I am going to take a big risk. Suhrawardy and I are going to stay together in a turbulent area from today. Let us see what happens. Keep a watch. I will keep on writing.

Kak (Kashmir) seems to have left.

I came to know about Subhas Bose from your letter. I find it difficult to believe all these reports.

I had also written to Sarat Babu about Rajaji, just as you did, but have not heard from him so far. Nor has he called on me so far this time.

I don’t believe that Kripalani would have said what he is reported to have said. I did not like Liaquat Ali’s statement. The atmosphere is poisoned. It is difficult to say who is on whose side.

I understand about the Khaksars. I considered it my dharma to treat them in such a way that they will have no opportunity to say anything against us and I have acted accordingly. I deal with the others in the same way.

All this work is difficult and the difficulties go on increasing. On top of it there is a natural calamity. What are we going to do if the rains fail? Many surely will have to die.

The problem of the Princes is so complicated that you alone can deal with it. But who can deal with your health?

Blessings from
BAPU

18. Gandhi Reassures Hindus
M.K. Gandhi’s discussion with representatives of demonstrators at Hydari Mansion, Calcutta, 13 August 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 33–4

Presently the representatives of the demonstrators were ushered in to meet Gandhiji. One of them began:

Last year when Direct Action was launched on the Hindus on August 16, you did not come to our rescue. Now that there has been just a little trouble in the Muslim quarters, you have come running to their succour. We don’t want you here.

GANDHIJI: Much water has flown under the bridge since August 1946. What the Muslims did then was utterly wrong. But what is the use of avenging the year 1946 on 1947? I was on my
way to Noakhali where your own kith and kin desired my presence. But I now see that I shall have to serve Noakhali only from here. You must understand that I have come here to serve not only Muslims but Hindus, Muslims and all alike. Those who are indulging in brutalities are bringing disgrace upon themselves and the religion they represent. I am going to put myself under your protection. You are welcome to turn against me and play the opposite role if you so choose. I have nearly reached the end of my life’s journey. I have not much farther to go. But let me tell you that if you again go mad, I will not be a living witness to it. I have given the same ultimatum to the Muslims of Noakhali also; I have earned the right. Before there is another outbreak of Muslim madness in Noakhali, they will find me dead. Why cannot you see that by taking this step I have put the burden of the peace of Noakhali on the shoulders of Shaheed Suhrawardy and his friends—including men like Mian Ghulam Sarwar and the rest? This is no small gain.

We do not want your sermons on ahimsa. You go away from here. We won’t allow the Muslims to live here.

This means that you do not want my services. If you will cooperate with me and allow me to carry on my work, it will enable the Hindus to return and to live in all the places from where they have been driven out. On the other hand, it will profit you nothing to remember old wrongs and nurse old enmities.

An eighteen-year-old youngster interposed:

History shows that Hindus and Muslims can never be friends. Anyway, ever since I was born I have seen them only fighting each other.

GANDHIJI: Well, I have seen more of history than anyone of you, and I tell you that I have known Hindu boys who called Muslims ‘uncle’. Hindus and Muslims used to participate in each other’s festivals and other auspicious occasions. You want to force me to leave this place but you should know that I have never submitted to force. It is contrary to my nature. You can obstruct my work, even kill me. I won’t invoke the help of the police. You can prevent me from leaving this house, but what is the use of your dubbing me an enemy of the Hindus? I will not accept the label. To make me quit, you have to convince me that I have made a mistake in coming here.

Thus it went on till eight o’clock. At last Gandhiji said:

I put it to you, young men, how can I, who am a Hindu by birth, a Hindu by creed and a Hindu of Hindus in my way of living, be an ‘enemy’ of Hindus? Does this not show narrow intolerance on your part?

His words had a profound effect. Slowly and imperceptibly the opposition began to soften. Still they were not completely converted. One of them said: ‘Perhaps we should now go.’ Gandhiji replied: Yes, you must go. It is already late. Come again in the morning when you have thought things over.

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1 According to the source, ‘an old abandoned Muslim house in an indescribably filthy locality, had hastily been cleaned up for Gandhiji’s residence. It was ... open on all sides .... An excited crowd of young men stood at the gate as Gandhiji’s car arrived. They shouted: “Why have you come here? You did not come when we were in trouble. Now that the Muslims have complained all this fuss is being made over it. Why did you not go to places from where Hindus have fled?” ... The situation threatened to take an ugly turn. Gandhiji sent some of his men outside to expostulate with the demonstrators and tell them to send in their representatives to meet him.’
19. Gandhi and Suhrawardy’s Stay in Beliaghata Only First Step to Communal Harmony

M.K. Gandhi’s discussion with representatives of demonstrators, 14 August 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXIX, p. 42

Gandhiji pointed out to them that united action on the part of Suhrawardy and himself in Beliaghata was only the first step. If and when the Hindus of Beliaghata invited their Muslim neighbours to return, they would next move to a predominantly Muslim area, where they would stay till the Hindus were invited to return and so on till each community had invited its neighbours to return to their former houses all over Calcutta. This time the young men were completely won over.

20. ‘Gandhiji and Suhrawardy on Joint Peace Mission in Calcutta’

Dawn, 14 August 1947

Calcutta, Tuesday.—Mr. Gandhi and Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy will embark on a joint peace mission tomorrow.

Mr. Suhrawardy, Prime Minister, Bengal, came yesterday from Delhi and rushed to Mr. Gandhi’s camp at Sodepur. As he arrived there, he told Mr. Gandhi that he was only for 15 hours in Delhi and had flown back to Calcutta on hearing the news that Mr. Gandhi was leaving for Noakhali. Mr. Gandhi asked the Prime Minister if the latter wanted to stop him from going to Noakhali. Mr. Suhrawardy said that he would. He also wanted Mr. Gandhi to help restoring peace in the city of Calcutta.

It is learnt that Mr. Gandhi had during his previous visit here held out a proposal to Mr. Suhrawardy of embarking on a joint peace mission. The talks last night were on that line and Mr. Gandhi asked Mr. Suhrawardy to come with him and settle down in one of the disturbed areas of Calcutta and work for restoration of peace between the communities. The understanding was that the risk involved in the work would be personal, both for Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Suhrawardy, who was also asked by the former to ask advice of his daughter and old father in this respect.

Today just before evening prayer, Mr. Gandhi received an answer from Mr. Suhrawardy which was carried to Sodepur Ashram by Mr. S. M. Osman, ex-Mayor of Calcutta Corporation. Mr. Suhrawardy had accepted the proposal in unqualified language.

SELECTION OF LOCALITY

Immediately on receipt of Mr. Suhrawardy’s answer, Mr. Kshitish Das Gupta, brother of Mr. Satish Das Gupta of Khadi Pratishthan, and Mr. Osman accompanied by Mr. Arun Das Gupta set out for the selection of a locality where Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Suhrawardy would establish themselves.

A vacant house in a locality ‘somewhere’ in the city from where a large number of families had evacuated has been selected, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Suhrawardy will be shifting to the ... tomorrow in the afternoon. They will stay on together there and work jointly for restoration of peace.

‘We have got to change the psychology of the citizens,’ said Mr. Suhrawardy to the API as he came out of Mr. Gandhi’s room tonight when he had a prolonged and hearty talk with him again. He added: ‘I cannot think of any other way—some thing has got to be done.’
was asked by Press correspondents if he would change his European style dress while working with Mr. Gandhi to which he replied: ‘No, I think I wouldn’t.’

Mr. Suhrawardy will come to Sodepur Ashram tomorrow and will start along with Mr. Gandhi for the house in one of the areas worst affected by disturbances.

It is learnt that Mr. Gandhi’s party will include Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, who is acting as his secretary, his grand-daughter, Miss Manu Gandhi and his grand-daughter-in-law, Mrs. Ava Gandhi.—API

21. Hindu-Muslim Unity of Calcutta Can Inspire Rest of India

_Harijan_, 15 August 1947

_CWMG_, Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 47–8

Gandhiji congratulated Calcutta on Hindus and Muslims meeting together in perfect friendliness. Muslims shouted the same slogans of joy as the Hindus. They flew the tricolour without the slightest hesitation. What was more, the Hindus were admitted to mosques and Muslims were admitted to the Hindu mandirs. This news reminded him of the Khilafat days when Hindus and Muslims fraternized with one another. If this exhibition was from the heart and was not a momentary impulse, it was better than the Khilafat days. The simple reason was that they had both drunk the poison cup of disturbances. The nectar of friendliness should, therefore, taste sweeter than before. He was however sorry to hear that in a certain part the poor Muslims experienced molestation. He hoped that Calcutta including Howrah will be entirely free from the communal virus for ever. Then indeed they need have no fear about East Bengal and the rest of India. He was sorry, therefore, to hear that madness still raged in Lahore. He could hope and feel sure that the noble example of Calcutta, if it was sincere, would affect the Punjab and the other parts of India. He then referred to Chittagong. Rain was no respecter of persons. It engulfed both Muslims and Hindus. It was the duty of the whole of Bengal to feel one with the sufferers of Chittagong.

He then referred to the fact that the people realizing that India was free, took possession of the Government House and in affection besieged their new Governor Rajaji. He would be glad if it meant only a token of the people’s power. But he would be sick and sorry if the people thought that they could do what they liked with the Government and other property. That would be criminal lawlessness. He hoped, therefore, that they had of their own accord vacated the Governor’s palace as readily as they had occupied it. He would warn the people that now that they were free, they would use the freedom with wise restraint. They should know that they were to treat the Europeans who stayed in India with the same regard as they would expect for themselves. They must know that they were masters of no one but of themselves. They must not compel anyone to do anything against his will.

22. City Police Communeralized in Calcutta

Telegram from N.C. Chatterjee, President, Hindu Mahasabha, to Vallabhbhai Patel, undated

_SPC_, Vol. V, p. 56

POSITION CALCUTTA CITY SIMPLY INTOLERABLE. CITY POLICE COMMUNALIZED. DEPUTY COMMISSIONERS OF NORTH AND SOUTH
DISTRICTS ARE MUSLIMS. MUSLIM NATIONAL GUARDS PERMITTED TO POLICE THE MAIN THOROUGHFARES CAUSING GREAT APPREHENSIONS. HINDUS IN VARIOUS AREAS BEING PERSECUTED AND TORTURED. MUSLIM HOOLIGANS NOT BEING ARRESTED NOR PROPERLY DEALT WITH. MILITARY NOT YET CALLED OUT. SITUATION DETERIORATING. PRESS GAGGED AND NEWS NOT REFLECTING REAL SITUATION. UNLESS CENTRE INTERVENES AND TAKES IMMEDIATE STEPS APPREHEND SERIOUS DISTURBANCES THROUGHOUT BENGAL, ESPECIALLY IN EASTERN DISTRICTS.

N. C. Chatterjee,
President, Hindu Mahasabha.

B. Bihar

1. Inquiry Commission Will Spell Renewal of Communal Violence
   Letter from Louis Mountbatten to M.A. Jinnah, 9 July 1947
   T.O.P., Vol. XII, p. 33

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Governor of Bihar has reported to me that his Ministry is under considerable pressure to set up an inquiry committee into the Bihar riots of last November; and he has suggested to me that such a committee would not be in the best interests of the local Muslim minority.

2. I should, therefore, like to enlist your good offices in persuading the Bihar Muslim League not to press this demand. I am sure a committee of inquiry at this late stage, and in view of the present political developments would be bound to cause more injury to Muslims of that province.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

2. Gandhi’s Tour in Bihar
   Extracts from Mridula Sarabhai’s eyewitness account based on her diary, 12 July 1947
   Gandhi in Bihar 1946–47 (translation from Gujarati by C.N. Patel; edited by Aparna Basu, 2005)

With Gandhi in Bihar: A Personal Account/Experience 1946–1947

Gandhiji had gone to Bihar for only seven or ten days. Muslim League leaders and workers had been sending him reports in Noakhali about the conditions in Bihar; that though five months had elapsed since the riots, the atmosphere was as tense as a live volcano, that ruined dwellings still stood in the same conditions as reminders of man’s beastliness, the plight of the refugees was getting worse day by day, the Hindus were daily becoming more aggressive and everywhere lawlessness prevailed.

Gandhiji could not believe that all these reports were true. He arrived in Bihar hoping that, as happened with the Pirpur Report of 1939–40, most of the complaints would prove to be exaggerated and that, after the rehabilitation programme launched by the Bihar Cabinet, which
consisted of his trusted co-workers, there would be nothing more for him to do. But after a few
hours in Patna on the day of his arrival, March 5, he said in his very first prayer-speech in the
evening, attended by a hundred thousand people: 'I decided to come here without a moment’s
thought immediately I got a letter from Dr Syed Mahmud asking me to come. Muslim League
men had been telling me of “the shame of Bihar”, but their reports had no effect on me. But
how could I ignore Mahmud saheb’s summons? He asked me to come and see for myself
how the people of Bihar who professed to follow me had gone mad. I felt that even if after
this I did not go to Bihar I would be able to accomplish nothing in Noakhali. Arriving here, I
saw that we had indeed committed a great sin. It is now our duty to atone for that sin. Those
who have perpetrated these crimes have harmed the country. People who believe that Bihar
has saved India have lost their head. This is the way of obstructing the country’s freedom, not
of hastening it. But if we sincerely atone for our sin, we will raise Bihar very high. I had said
in Noakhali that I would ‘do or die’ there. That applies to Bihar, too. If our thoughts are not
good, our actions, too, will not be good. When the test comes we yield to our evil thoughts
and do evil deeds.’

Kathiawar was his province of birth. South Africa and Bihar were his first laboratories for
carrying out the experiment of Satyagraha. After that, first Gujarat and then the whole of India
became the fields of his public service. Gandhiji has thus identified himself with different places
and regions. Enlarging the ordinary villager’s idea of the country as restricted to his family,
and at the most to his village, so as to embrace society at large, one’s province and then India
as a whole, Gandhiji had taught the people through his life the lesson of patriotic duty as true
Indians. He therefore said in the prayer-speech:

‘Bihar made me known to the whole of India. Before that very few in the country had even
heard of me. My coming to Champaran woke up the whole country. I felt as if the people of
Bihar and I had known each other for ages. In short, I felt as if Bihar was my own province.
Bihar showed me my way. I taught Bihar the weapon of satyagraha.’

For this reason Gandhiji’s very first speech in Bihar was of a different kind from his
speeches in Bengal. There were no entreaties, he did not plead with them, did not appeal to
their humanity beggar-like. Instead he poured out the anguish of his heart in the manner of an
army general addressing his troops. Like a besieged general exhorting his troops to do their
duty and uphold their honour even at the cost of their lives, Gandhiji called upon the people
of Bihar to shake off the power of Satanic goondaism to which they had succumbed.

Excited by the passion of the hour and carried away by the beast in man, the Hindus of
Bihar had forgotten the great ideals of Hinduism such as neighbourly duty, brotherhood,
loyalty, protecting women and children even at the cost of one’s life, respect for all religions.
Deceived by the intrigues of the country’s enemies who were using all means to weaken the
country, they had put back the clock of the country’s march to freedom. The Hindus of the
other provinces, too, in their short-sightedness welcomed the action of the Bihar Hindus
and even congratulated them on what they had done. Bihar had thus been encouraged in its
error. Some had even excited the people to do their beastly deeds in the name of ‘Congress’,
Gandhiji’, ‘Jawahar’ and the ‘Tricolour’.

Gandhiji came and told the people on the very first day that they had done wrong. There
was pin-drop silence in the audience. Thought it was dark, in the dim light of Kitson lamps
one could feel the people waking up from a delusion. The pain and anguish of heart-searching
were clearly visible on their faces.
The people who came for Gandhiji’s darshan, for the blessing of his presence, during the first ten days felt in the same way. Their talks with him reflected the pain and the bitterness which filled their hearts, and occasionally their distrust and anger, too. The Hindus came for his darshan but since Gandhiji could spare no time for them and they had nothing particular to tell him, they saw him from a distance and went away. They all felt like a child who, not knowing the difference between right and wrong, may have done something bad in imitation of somebody and is taken aback when scolded for it.

Within a day or two Bapu fully sized up the situation in Bihar. He realized that it was going to be a difficult task. Everybody had been infected by the communal virus in some measure. The fact that no further incidents took place after the November massacre, was because the people had love and respect for ‘Mahatmaji’. Outwardly, there was peace, but people were uneasy in their hearts. Distrust, fear and fanaticism were driving the two communities apart. The common people had fallen victim to politicians and were being used by them as pawns in their wicked schemes.

On the other side, the Provincial Government was unable to implement its rehabilitation programmes expeditiously. After a visit to two ruined villages, Gandhiji therefore said in his prayer-speech on 13 March:

‘One of your Ministers, Anugrahbabu, is sitting here. I want to ask him why there is all this delay in atoning for the sin which the people have committed. Why are the villages still deserted? You will tell me that this is the job of the Government. But why should you expect the Government to do it? Did you take the Government’s permission for destroying that village? It is for you the people to take up the job and do it. You should clear away the debris. The Government will thank you for such help. It will give experts to guide you how to clear the villages. Men, women, and children, all should join in this work. You should help the Government and the Government will help you.’

Looking at the working of the Provisional Congress Committee Gandhiji found the same state of affairs there as everywhere else. Internal weakness, complacency, and other similar factors had reduced its capacity for effective work. Allegations were also being made about the attitude of Congressmen during the riots. Where they had worked as true soldiers of the nation, they had been able to turn back the rioters and preserve peace. But where they kept to their homes, showed themselves weak and failed to do their duty out of fear of the mobs or where they themselves joined in the riots, the frenzy of beastliness crossed all bounds. Gandhiji was therefore provoked to tell the people in his very first prayer-speech: ‘I may not be able to say today that Congressmen really acted thus, but I may perhaps have to admit it by and by. When in Noakhali I first got detailed reports of the riots here and decided to go on an indefinite fast if they did not stop, I had heard even then that some Congressmen had taken part in the massacre. One cannot say today also that not a single Congressman took part in it. I had claimed on behalf of you in London [at the Round Table Conference in 1931] that the Congress served the whole country. Therefore the responsibility for every individual and every community in the country falls on the Congress. If it claims to represent all people of India, it must also bear responsibility for the sins of all.’

Congress workers were occupied with the routine business of the organization. The Peace Committee received financial and other help from the Government, but for certain reasons it had not been able to start effective work.

About a hundred and fifty thousand Bihari Muslims fled from their homes. Many had gone to relief camps in Bengal and Sind. Efforts for their rehabilitation were hampered by the
difficulties mentioned above, but the greatest obstacle was the policy of the Muslim League. It had been obstructing all efforts at rehabilitation until these plans accorded with their demands. The refugee camps were maintained by the money provided by the Government, but because of the latter’s lack of vigilance they had fallen into the hands of political parties. Most of them had passed under the influence of the Muslim League. Just as some Christian missionaries abuse the relief work they do in times of calamity and try to increase the number of their followers with orphans, so these refugee camps had become propaganda centers of political parties.

In short, whereas the question of rehabilitation should have received top priority from the Government, the Congress and the people, and should have been completed within three or four months, it was still, five months after the tragedy, a very emotional issue preventing the restoration of normal life in Bihar.

The eleven days from 5th to 16th March were very difficult. The agony in Bapu’s heart sometimes alarmed us. He was passing through an experience which he had never even imagined might be his lot. He was being tested. We anxiously watched what way he would find out of the agonizing situation.

Gandhiji was camping in Dr Syed Mahmud’s residence on the banks of Mother Ganga. A continuous stream of visitors and pious darshan-seekers kept flowing daily from morning till evening. Poor and rich, sanatanis and fanatics, friends and enemies, jostled with one another in this crowd. It was not easy to turn anyone away without causing him or her pain. But everybody co-operated and it was therefore possible to satisfy all.

Here Muslims were the complainants, as in Noakhali it was the Hindus. In permitting visitors, therefore, they were given priority. Muslim League followers who called talked about their grievances in the same manner as the Hindus of Noakhali. The latter demanded special Hindu police, Government help in settling them in selected villages, licenses for arms and dismissal of the guilty ministry. Gandhiji refused to support these demands, which would have had the effect of creating exclusive areas of Hindu and Muslim populations in every subdivision. Here the Muslims made the same demands. How could Gandhiji support them?

Representatives of two nationalist Muslim bodies, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind and the Momin Conference, called on Gandhiji. Congress Muslims also came for guidance and to explore the possibilities of a solution. Their hearts were heavy. Their plight was extremely difficult and pitiable. Most of the victims of the riots were members of their communities. The two organizations which had openly opposed the Muslim League had been stabbed in the back. They had never imagined that the Congress Hindus of Bihar would abandon nationalism and join in spreading the communal conflagration. Some Muslim presidents and secretaries of Congress committees complained that some of their own colleagues had betrayed them at the critical hour. Let alone trying to save them, they had sometimes joined hands with the miscreants and committed the heinous sin of treachery towards their colleagues. This class of Muslims demanded that the Congress should inquire into the conduct of all those Congressmen, regardless of their status, who had succumbed to the communal poison, and take stern action against them.

I quote Gandhiji’s own words to explain what they said further: ‘The Muslim leaders say that the Muslims of Bihar have got scared of the Hindus here. The Hindus of Noakhali said the same thing about the Muslims there. We must not behave in such a manner as to fill them with fear of us. We should, rather, remove their fear with love.’

The Muslim friend also said that so long as the hearts of Hindus and Muslims were not reunited and the two communities did not become friends once again and trusted each other,
it would avail nothing even if the Government, for political reasons, resettled the Muslims by giving them new houses and lands. Hindus and Muslims had lived together in Bihar for centuries and behaved like relations, addressing one another as uncles and helping one another on occasions of marriage or death. But today they have become enemies. If this atmosphere of mutual hatred does not change, how will the Muslims be able to stay here?

The representatives of the two Muslim bodies therefore suggested further measures and said that effective steps should be taken by the Government to regain the confidence of the Muslims in its ability to maintain law and order. Perpetrators of terrible crimes were going about free and intimidating Muslims. Some guilty officers were still secure in their chairs. Action should be taken against them and sincere efforts should be made to rebuild the ruined villages and resettle the Muslims.

As I came into closer contact with these Congress and nationalist Muslims, I was impressed by one thing about them. They had lost more than the other Muslims in the communal conflagration; many of them had even lost their dear ones and their belongings. Their hearts had suffered deep wounds. Some of them felt distrustful of their colleagues, too. Some of them had become homeless and taken shelter in the refugee camps. But not many of them had turned communal. Their commitment to nationalism had not been weakened. What were they going to gain by continuing to support the cause of nationalism? The Muslim League had looked upon them as enemies of the Muslims and had been inciting the Muslim masses against them. The Hindus distrusted them and it was doubtful whether, if the Hindu masses went mad again, anybody would save them. In such circumstance, it was a marvel what deep passion of idealism kept them firm in their nationalism. Their patriotism inspired respect in us for them.

On the other hand, where were we going? We claimed to be servants of the masses. Priding ourselves on being soldiers of the nonviolent army of united India, we failed to face up to the challenge in the hour of crisis. We succumbed to the war of nerves started by the enemy. We were carried away by the poisonous tide of communal passion. The result was that, among Hindus, too, as among the Muslims, one would have to search to know who were true nationalists.

Refugee women in purdah also came to see Gandhiji. They had no interest whatever in the game of power politics, nor did they understand anything about it. Gandhiji’s name was to them like that of a hero or a legend. They knew him as a brave man who had come to save them from their sufferings. Short-sighted old women strained their eyes to look at him—eyes stricken with indescribable grief and filled with tears. One of them said in a tear-choked voice, ‘So you are that Gandhi, with whose name on their lips they killed my grandson in my lap. Tell us, what should we do? How did this happen? What harm had we done? What had we women and children done? How did our Hindu neighbours, who address our men as uncles, go so mad? Why have they ruined us?’

Such heart-rending scenes were producing a deep effect on Bapu, filling him with indescribable pain.

If the rioters had not clothed themselves in Congress dress and used Congress slogans, they would have received no support from the people. Ample evidence was coming to light to prove this. Gandhiji therefore started teaching the people in his prayer-speeches to discriminate between right and wrong. On 7 March, he said at the prayer meeting: ‘I have heard that here the Hindus try to frighten every Muslim that they see. They shout at him Jai Hind and Vande Mataram. Shouting slogans is good, but we should not shout them in order to harass or intimidate anybody. We should take care to avoid doing that. We have committed a great sin.
We should not now shout those slogans so as to suggest that we think that what we have done is right and that we take pride in it. The Hindus of Noakhali used to be frightened by Muslims shouting *Allah-o-Akbar*, though that only means that ‘God is great’ and there is no reason for one to be frightened by it. But these days slogans are being misused, leading to mischief. Thus a thing good in itself becomes bad. *Jai Hind* does not mean: ‘Glory to Hindus’ and ‘Down with Muslims’. But that is what today the Muslims understand the phrase to mean because we have used the slogan to intimidate and frighten them. When we hear such slogans being shouted by others, we think that they are preparing to attack us. Hearing them, we too start getting ready to fight. If we go on fighting among ourselves in this way and retaliate for the atrocities at one place by similar atrocities elsewhere, the thing will not stop even after rivers of blood have flowed. If even a lone Muslim child is found among Hindus, and the latter take care of it with love, bathe it and dress it like their own child and make it feel completely at home, only then will the Muslims feel that the Hindus have again become their friends.

‘I have also been told that people attacked Muslims and killed them shouting *Victory to Mahatma* as they did so. I do not believe myself to be a Mahatma, but even if I am one I cannot understand how people who call me so dragged in my name while doing such wicked deeds. Those who shouted “We will avenge Noakhali in Bihar” do not know the right manner of retaliation. Is it manhood to retaliate against inhumanity with inhumanity? On the contrary, we should reply to beastliness with love.’

Bihar has a special place in Bapu’s heart. The simple-minded masses of Bihar, too, on their part, love and revere him. Anything put before them in the name of Gandhiji and Jawaharlal immediately touches their sense of loyalty and arouses in them a strong desire to do their duty. Evidence of this was provided by what Muslim League leaders said to Bapu. He referred to it in his prayer-speech and said: ‘Even the League people believe that if Jawaharlal had not come their plight would have been worse. They even add that they are ready to tell the whole world that some Hindu Congressmen saved their lives even at the risk of their own.’

As the real picture of Bihar became clearer in Gandhiji’s mind, the prayer-speeches reflected the knowledge he was gaining. As an experienced physician carefully observes and treats a patient suffering from a serious illness, so Gandhiji went on advising remedies for the people’s thoughtlessness, hard-heartedness and cowardice. He urged them to behave decently not out of fear of the law but as a matter of simple human duty. He also advised the Hindus to be patient with the Muslims who might indulge in provocative behaviour. For a sign of real change of heart, Gandhiji called upon the people to return looted goods and abducted girls and women, advised those who were absconding because of fear of punishment for their crimes to surrender to the police or to come to him and confess their crimes, and asked the people to search out the culprits and hand them over to the police. He stressed the necessity of a change of attitude. As a sign of it he started asking the people in every prayer-meeting to contribute liberally to a Muslim Relief Fund which he started. After the prayer he would himself go round to collect contributions. The light and happiness which shone in the eyes of all, old and young, at the touch of his hands, again and again gave one a glimpse of the mysterious magnetic power of Gandhiji. The jostling in the audience and people falling over one another at the time of collecting contributions sometimes filled Gandhiji with childlike joy.

Efforts were thus begun to remove fear from the hearts of Muslims and win their trust. Simultaneously Gandhiji began an inquiry to find out the forces which had misled the simple-minded Biharis to abandon their nationalism and had excited their passions. Addressing the
prayer-meeting on 6 March he said: ‘I wish to reach the perpetrators of these wicked deeds. They are illiterate. They do not know what appears in newspapers. To reach them I will have to visit them in their homes. I have decided to go from home to home and deliver my message to them all.’

Complaints started being received that goods were being stolen from deserted houses. Gandhiji said: ‘I hear the same thing here that I did in Noakhali. There should be no competition in goondaism.’

The prayer-speeches had a miraculous effect on the masses, but the educated classes remained unresponsive. However, direct proof was available on 13th March of a change in the atmosphere. The residents of a village called Sipara wrote a letter apologizing for what they had done and assured Gandhiji that they would try and persuade the Muslims of the village who had fled to return to their homes.

Encouraged by this, Bapu suggested to Muslims who came for advice to return to their homes, and told the prayer-meeting: ‘On your behalf I have asked the Muslims to return. I have assured them that no Hindu will abuse or assault them or even entertain such intentions. Bihar must give an object-lesson in ahimsa to the other provinces. You should not imitate Bengal or the Punjab. Rather you should transform the atmosphere that they might imitate you.’ Gandhiji aroused the people to a sense of their responsibility, warning them at the same time: ‘If you betray my faith in you and a single Muslim is assaulted, Bihar and India will lose Gandhi.’

All came to Bapu for comfort in their sufferings. They returned with their hearts lightened and filled with new hope, as after a bath in the purifying waters of Mother Ganga. Bapu also is a human being. When once asked whose help and support he sought in moments of suffering and distress, he said: ‘I seek refuge with my Rama. He guides me.’ What a big share Mother Ganga must also have had in guiding him on this occasion!

12 March 1930—the historic day of the Dandi March. After seventeen years, on the same day Gandhiji began a tour of the Bihar villages. To awaken and organize the people for the fight for freedom Gandhiji undertook the Dandi March. He toured the Noakhali village on foot to instill courage into terrified hearts. He walked in Orissa during his Harijan tour to atone for the inhuman treatment of Harijans by caste Hindus. Why should he not, then, undertake a walking tour of the Bihar villages, too? Did he not wish to give his message to the people who had taken part in the riots but who did not read newspapers? How else could he atone for the barbarities perpetrated by the Hindus?...

We therefore appealed to him to undertake one or two tours only by car and train. If there was no tangible improvement after that and Bihar did not wake up from its ignorance, a walking tour might be undertaken as a last resort. We argued with Bapu in this fashion. Fortunately, he yielded to our arguments, though reluctantly....

We had one more painful experience. Almost everywhere we hear serious allegations against some Congressmen. At some places the Congressmen involved in the rioting cases are released on bail. Whether the allegations are true or not, there is no doubt that till the allegations are disapproved the Congressmen in question should retire from leadership as public workers. It was not proper for them to exploit Gandhiji’s presence. But some of them did so. They acted as leaders in making arrangements for the prayer-meetings. The late Bari Saheb was greatly upset by this and often warned them in plain language to keep away from the dais at the meetings. It was not difficult to judge after only a few hours spent with such Congressmen how much substance there must be in the allegations against them. But the ways of the police department are always inscrutable.
Workers of this type are a danger to our public life. They are capturing positions of power in public institutions, using all kinds of means for the purpose. Tested and sincere workers with idealism and integrity of character do not like to fight such self-seekers. They have been, therefore, withdrawing from public life, with the result that our public affairs are falling into the hands of a new type of exploiter. How to check this trend has become a difficult problem.

During the tours two hours in the afternoons and one hour in the evenings were reserved for visitors. Gandhiji’s method is to think out a solution after ascertaining the strength or ability of the people concerned. At every place, therefore, before the visitors saw Gandhiji I had to meet them and know from them their difficulties and problems. I had to give them Gandhiji’s answers to such of their questions Gandhiji had answered during interviews with previous visitors and took them to Gandhiji after helping them to frame the new questions which arose from our discussion. I had to ascertain what the residents of a village felt about and what they suggested for the resettlement of the Muslims of their village and even to prepare a scheme for Bapu’s approval. It was not difficult to do so, but we had also to consider how to raise a band of volunteers to implement the scheme.

Visitors were divided into four categories: Muslim refugees, representatives of Hindu and Muslim residents of a village, Congress workers, and others of doubtful reputation in the eyes of the Congress and the Government. After meeting the four categories of visitors separately a joint meeting was to be arranged and the outcome of such a meeting was to be placed before Gandhiji. Often people hesitated to come out with what they really thought or felt and, out of respect for Gandhiji, to put to him the questions which they would have liked to do. To help them to overcome their hesitation, I had to provoke them by suggesting myself the questions they might want to ask. I had to deal with these villagers as one coaxes an obstinate child to tell the truth. ‘Gandhi is inciting the Muslims and wants the Hindus to be killed. Why should we not avenge Noakhali? If he tried to restrain us, why does he not say anything to the Muslims? Why should we not reply to a sword with a sword? Don’t you want to ask these questions? They why don’t you do so? What are you afraid of? Are you afraid of the police, or the law, or of hurting Gandhiji? If so, give up such fear. You look upon Gandhiji as a father to you. He has come here to find out the truth like a father when two sons fight. If you don’t tell him the real cause of your fighting, how can a way be found? I had to make people talk by provoking them in this way. Their tongues would then loosen and a good many of them would come out with what they wanted to say.

We found no difference of opinion anywhere that the Muslims should forget what had happened and return to their villages. But how was that to be brought about. The Hindus of the villages were willing to have them back, but had cared to give no indication of sincere repentance. The Muslims were scared, and there were politicians, too, who were interested in keeping them scared. Some of those who had taken a leading part in the carnage were still moving about freely with impunity. The Government had not been able to arrest them for want of sufficient evidence, or they had taken care in advance that no evidence should be found. It was therefore difficult to arrest them under the ordinary law. The Muslims of Bihar were afraid of returning to their villages for the same reasons that the Hindus of Noakhali were afraid of returning to theirs. The indifference of the officials, lack of co-operation by the people and even sympathy among them for the mischief-mongers had completely destroyed the Muslims’ faith in the machinery of law and order. The fact that the Muslims had left their villages had also made the collection of evidence extremely difficult. Moreover, as often happens after
communal riots, there was an increasing number of false complaints. Those Hindus who had saved Muslims even at the risk of their lives had also been implicated. This had created an atmosphere of extreme bitterness.

We saw no signs of a desire for revenge in the eyes of the masses. With a few exceptions, even the village leaders seemed to be free from fanaticism. Who, then, were the people responsible for the carnage? There was no doubt at all that the brain behind the riots was from outside Bihar, but it was necessary to find out who had served as the hands and the feet. In Gujarat we have communities like Dharalas, Vaghris, Chharas and others. They are strong and brave, and if their strength is guided in the right direction they are capable of being the protectors of society rather than its enemies. Similarly, scattered all over Bihar are communities outside the rest of society and classified as 'criminal tribes' in Government records. They were exploited on this occasion. They were tempted to join merely for the sake of money. The information received during the tour supported this view. Preference was therefore given to the villages with this class of population when selecting Gandhiji's halting places and the venues of prayer meetings during the tours.

Wherever Gandhiji went, Muslim refugees who were still in Bihar returned to their homes during Gandhiji's visit to their villages. They wanted to show him the destruction of their properties. There were also at many places Muslims who had not fled. The meetings for drawing up Gandhiji's tour programmes were therefore long and required six to ten hours. It was heavy work, but it greatly benefited me personally. I got the invaluable opportunity of knowing at first hand and understanding the people's minds and observing how Gandhiji guided them in the right direction. Sometimes the meetings with the representatives of villagers were arranged in open spaces or under trees. The meetings proceeded with the crowds assembled for Gandhiji's darshan as spectators.

This sometimes reminded me of the work being done in the Constituent Assembly. I was greatly encouraged in my work by the similarity I felt between the work of the Constituent Assembly and what was being done in these village meetings and by the complementary character of the two. The Constituent Assembly was deciding in Delhi the future political setup of the country and we were deciding under the trees the form and nature of the rural society which would be the foundation of the political constitution being framed. The foundation of a constitution for united India was being eaten up by the white ants of mutual distrust, intolerance, hatred and bitterness between the communities that were taking the place of mutual trust and faith, brotherly bonds, tolerance for each other's religion and mutual goodwill which had prevailed till now. In these village meetings we were exploiting the means of guarding against such a danger.

'I wish to appeal to the people and to all whom any voice may reach to understand the aim of human life. The aim should be to serve the Creation of him Who had made us, whose grace and love sustain every breath we take—to see that Creation is not destroyed. But today in our pride we have forgotten or are forgetting this truth and are fighting, or preparing to fight, with one another. If we do not guard ourselves against this danger, you may be sure that India will never get her freedom. It will be a mistake to believe that we will be free when the British have left. If we go on fighting among ourselves, after the British have left some other power will come and take their place. It is a delusion to hope that we will be able to defend ourselves against the powers of the world with their own weapons.

'The peace imposed by the military or the police is the peace of the grave. Only when at least one party adopts the way of true bravery will real peace prevail. There is no bravery in
butchering innocent old people or women and children; on the contrary, it is cowardly to do so. Bihar has learnt the truth of this. Should we not wish that Bihar may display the true bravery of non-violence and show the whole world the right way for human beings?'

This appeal, made during the prayer-speech of 23 March, sums up the essence of Gandhi's mission in life. It gives a glimpse into the inspiration behind all his activities and struggles.

About four hundred villages of Bihar had been destroyed to a greater or lesser extent during the riots, not counting the villages which its Muslim residents had left out of fear. The villages of Andari and Gorraikhari had been completely destroyed. Very few of its residents had escaped alive. The extent of destruction in the other villages varied from village to village. It is difficult to get the true figures even now. The Patna district seems to have passed through the worst ordeals. Not only were the figures of destruction of life and property the highest in the police circle of Masaurhi, about twenty miles from Patna, but it exemplified all the methods employed by the miscreants. It seems surprising how such an exhibition of man's beastliness was possible in a district which contained the capital of the Province, Patna. There are many reasons for this, one of which is that most of the primary committees and the Congressmen of the district are comparatively weak and have little influence over the people. Moreover, some influential Congressmen of Patna took the lead in organizing a 'Noakhali Day', full advantage of which was taken by anti-national elements to mislead the people. Gandhi therefore advised against the celebration of 'Days'...

Reverting to the subject in his speeches on the 18th and the 20th, Gandhi asked the people to abandon the idea of observing a 'Punjab Day'. 'Do not', he told them 'even for a moment entertain the thought of avenging the Punjab in Bihar. As the Muslims here are scared by the talk of 'Punjab Day', so the Hindus of Noakhali are trembling at the plan of Noakhali Muslims to observe a Pakistan Day.'

About this time a kisan rally was also to be held. Gandhi had sent a message to the organizers to postpone it. The Government, too, had issued orders prohibiting the observance of 'Days'. Referring to these, Gandhi said: 'A kisan rally stands in a different category. But this is not the time for one. Everything has its time and place. This is a time for atonement. Let us, first, feel sorry for the crimes we have committed. If we realize the wrong we have done to our Muslim brethren, that itself will be atonement in some measure. If it appears afterwards that the hearts of the Hindus have been cleansed, we may then hold a kisan rally. Today when a fire is raging all around us, we should not think of any such thing. Instead of holding a rally the kisans may represent to the Government their grievances. An agitation may also be carried on in the Press. The purpose of the rally is to arouse the kisans and draw the attention of the public to their condition. This is what I have been doing for the last sixty years. That is why I can claim to advise that this is not the time for holding a rally.'

Gandhi's tour can be divided into five stages: the first of three days of the area around Patna, the second of the Masaurhi Police circle and the third of the Jahanabad circle. On these tours Gandhi's aim, besides educating public opinion, was to get a first-hand idea of the destruction during the riots and of the problems of rehabilitation. The fourth and fifth tours were only for the purpose of bringing about a change of heart among the people. During every tour Gandhi would describe in the prayer-speech on the same day the impressions he had gathered in his visits on that day.

In the villages of Kumoodar, Abdulayak, Safipur and Khusrumpur, all near Patna, there was more destruction of property and goods than of life. After visiting them, Gandhi said...
at the prayer-meeting on the 15th: ‘During the last three days I saw ruined houses, with their roofs destroyed. Much destruction has been caused. People say that among the killed were old people and women and children. Our first duty therefore is to repent for what we have done, resolve never to do such things again and to stop others from doing them. The principle that one must reform oneself before trying to reform others applies to the present case too.’

The second tour was of Masaurhi circle from 17 to 22 March. Pouring out his heart at the prayer-meetings during the tour, Gandhiji said: ‘I am touring not for pleasure, but for a practical end. I visited every place where the Hindus have inflicted some harm on their Muslim brethren. At every place I ask the Hindus to repent what they have done. In large numbers they attacked Muslims who were fewer in number and killed their women and children. This is not bravery, but cowardice. To kill the Muslims out of fear that otherwise they will kill us is also a form of cowardice. We should feel in our hearts that we have really done wrong.’...

Be Worthy of Freedom

During these tours I came to learn more about Gandhiji’s method of work. His whole life and every day of it follows a definite plan. Everything that he does has a purpose. Whether or not we agree with his aims, it is an invaluable experience in one’s life to study his method and observe him at work at first-hand. Gandhiji is not merely an explorer on the path of truth and non-violence. By his life and work he wants to teach the people how to be worthy of freedom, to infuse a new spirit into them. One feels that he is all the time moved by a sense of mission to make the weak strong. He believes that every action of a man should not only promote his own growth but should also strengthen society. ‘So long as there is even one good man in the world, it is inhabited by good people. If all the people become bad, the world will be Satan’s kingdom. But Satan has no existence in fact, for it is but another name for evil. If we think, therefore, we will realize that even if there is only one good man in the world, his dedication will save the world.’ He also said: ‘I believe in the soul. To me, therefore, brute force is short-lived, but spiritual power or soul-force is imperishable. It is better to die in the performance of one’s duty than be tempted by another’s seemingly more attractive duty.’ Gandhiji always literally follows this teaching of the Bhagvad Gita.

Collective prayer has a special place in Gandhiji’s life and method of work. It is a pleasure to observe him educating the people through the prayer-meetings. He compares the keeping of time during the Ramdhun to a drill. Before the prayer begins the people are taught how to keep time by rhythmically clapping their hands. When the noisy clapping of greeting has given place to rhythmic clapping, his face lights up with a smile of pleasure. Observing silence for two minutes with the eyes closed is a lesson in concentration of mind. And by suitably adjusting the time of prayer to the time of the evening namaz and including in it recitation from the scriptures of all religions, he educates the people in tolerance and respect for all religions. ‘We must not ridicule any religion. By doing so we invite ridicule on ours, too, and that will lead to mutual fighting. This prayer consists of recitations from scriptures of all religions. Nothing can be omitted from it. If you insist on one item being omitted the whole prayer will have to be dropped. If you do not wish to join in the prayer, you may keep silent and merely listen. If you do not understand a particular item in the prayer, do not make fun of it.’

Gandhiji thus teaches the people to respect the religious freedom of all which is included as one of the fundamental rights in our National Charter. The evening prayer commences with a Buddhist prayer in the Japanese language. A Japanese Bhikku stayed with Gandhiji
from 1935 to 1940. When the war with Japan broke out, in the atmosphere of prejudice which demanded enemies to be put under detention this Japanese Bhikku, too, was taken away by the Government from the Sevagram Ashram. Before leaving as prisoner of war, he requested Gandhiji to retain the Buddhist prayer in the ashram prayer. It is recited even today as a mark of Gandhiji’s loyalty to a co-worker. That mantra is followed by verses from the second chapter of the Gita, the Kalama from the Koran, verses from Zend-Avesta, a bhajan and then the Ramdhun. Last comes Gandhiji’s speech. Gandhiji, who in 1942 had given the people the slogan ‘Do or Die’, in Noakhali revised the Ramdhun to suit the need of the present and taught the people to sing:

Scion of the race of Raghus, King Rama, Lord of Sita,  
Rama the purifier of the fallen,  
King Rama, Guardian of people’s welfare, Lord of Sita,  
Rama the purifier of the fallen,  
King Rama, Bringer of Peace, Lord of Sita,  
Rama the purifier of the fallen,  
King Rama, rid us of fear, Lord of Sita,  
Rama the purifier of the fallen,  
Ishvar or Allah, both are your names,  
Do thou give wisdom and good sense to all.

How inspiring this Ramadhun proved to those who had been dazed with fear, I saw only when I attended a prayer-meeting during Gandhiji’s Noakhali tour. The eyes of the people in the gathering, which were lusterless before the prayer started, shone with an indescribable light when this dhun was being sung.

It was Gandhiji’s practice to investigate every complaint himself. His insistence on satisfying himself in every matter, big or small, compels everybody working with him to be continually vigilant. Ordinarily he does not tolerate even the slightest departure from the fixed programme, but he can also adjust himself to unusual circumstances by making exceptions in cases of serious complaints. A visit to Kharant was included in the programme of the Masaurhi tour. In this village all Muslim localities had been killed. But the records of the police and the investigating magistrate showed that no evidence of people having been killed could be found. When Gandhiji visited the place, the wells which had been filled up were opened and Gandhiji was shown the remains of corpses in them as proof of the killings. Gandhiji personally examined all the wells and verified the truth of the allegations. Blood-stained walls told the same tale. To investigate a complaint that the Hindus had played Holi in a mosque in Jahanabad, Gandhiji walked a distance of three miles on a narrow foot-track. That was the last day of the tour. The programme for the day was crowded and exhausting. When his attention was drawn to the fact that a visit to Jahanabad would upset the whole programme, he replied, ‘When anybody comes to me with a complaint, I must personally look into it. It will only mean that we will have to start a little earlier. This incident is an instance of religious intolerance. We must therefore go.’...
definite hour for starting, so that the period of waiting could be usefully spent. Accordingly, the hour was changed from six in the morning to two in the afternoon. This taught me one secret of Gandhiji's efficiency.

On the last day of the tour of the Jahanabad district, a middle-aged Muslim woman stopped the car as we were proceeding to a village. Crying bitterly, she asked Gandhiji to step out of the car and go and see the destruction of her home. Her entreaties were moving. It was painful to refuse her, but it was getting late and we did not wish to put more strain on Gandhiji. We therefore managed to satisfy the woman by sending another worker. But only half an hour after that, the car was again stopped as we were proceeding to a village. A Muslim zemindar told Bapu that Bapu was bound to get down and go with him and see the damage done to his property. The visit, he said, was added to the programme that morning. This was true, and since it was an oversight on our part Bapu had to get down. However, the zemindar's overbearing and inconsiderate attitude pained both Bapu and me. We felt extremely sorry for having disappointed that poor woman. Her need was greater than this zemindar's. Bapu should have gone to see her house. The mistake was mine. Without meaning it, we had done her injustice. Our very careful efforts to see that no injustice was done to a single person throughout the Bihar tour seemed to us to have been nullified by this single lapse.

The experience of the Masaurhi tour made it clear that as in Noakhali here too rehabilitation work would have to be carried out by appointing voluntary workers for every circle and village. The Noakhali experience had taught the basic principles of organizing the work. But there was one basic difference between the circumstances in Noakhali and here. Noakhali was in Bengal which was ruled by a Muslim League Ministry. There the work could be done only by patiently winning its co-operation. All these years Gandhiji had taught the people that, if the Government carried out no welfare programmes, such work should not suffer but should be carried out by the people themselves with their own resources. He had decided to follow that principle in Bengal. On the one hand he went on pleading with Bengal's Chief Minister Suhrawardy Saheb, and, on the other, in case it became necessary to undertake rehabilitation work without help from the Government, he began to prepare the workers mentally for the job. There was a difficulty even in this. Most of the Muslims of Noakhali were under the influence of the League. They had been scared away from Gandhiji by all kinds of stories circulated against him. The first task was to establish personal contact with the people, remove their fear of Gandhiji and win their trust. Only then could they be persuaded to do justice to the Hindus. It was with this aim in view that Gandhiji undertook his walking tours in Noakhali. He had visited a good many villages in the course of two months or so and convinced the people that he was not an enemy but a friend of the Muslims. The people's minds, however, were torn between conflicting impulses. On the one hand, the fanatic and reactionary elements in the Muslim League were inciting them against the Hindus and preventing them from being decent to them, and on the other they felt the attraction of Gandhiji's personality and the truth of what he said. The people were not ready to follow those better feelings of theirs and suffer for doing so. I had an opportunity twice of going to Noakhali while Bapu was touring it. The people's attitude to Gandhiji seemed to be similar to that of our own people during the days of British repression. There was no bitterness or fanatic hostility in the eyes of middle-aged Muslims. Instead, there was some curiosity about Gandhiji. Occasionally the eyes showed a feeling of silent respect. But they had not the courage to go near him. They remained indifferent. Sometimes, carried away by the prevailing atmosphere of prejudice
against Gandhiji, they even behaved irresponsibly. However, his visits to the villages were slowly but steadily changing all this.

In Bihar those in power were Gandhiji’s own men. It was a Congress Ministry, and the people doted on Gandhiji and followed the Congress. It was therefore easier here to make the experiment of rehabilitation by unofficial voluntary efforts. It had, however, to be thought out what form the experiment should take, what the spheres of voluntary and official efforts respectively should be and how the two should be co-ordinated. It was therefore decided to make the Masaurhi circle an experimental centre for this purpose. Major-General Shah Nawaz of the Indian National Army was put in charge of the experiment. Many volunteers from outside offered to join in the work, but Gandhiji replied to them: ‘It is not my method to import workers from outside for any job. It is necessary to cultivate internal strength, too. We would, therefore, find local workers such as are available. It does not matter if they are inexperienced and untrained men. We will train them. This is how I have carried on my work all these years. In South Africa, I had only local men to work with. After that I followed the same method in Champaran and elsewhere. It will be enough for me if, even though they may lack education, they are imbued with a sense of devotion to work and duty and have the spirit of service in them. It is because I adopted this method that we find today an army of thousands of workers all over the country.’

Accordingly, we started a search for local workers during the Masaurhi tour itself. It was natural to think first of the Congress organization and of Congressmen. We wanted to complete the work before the rains started. It was therefore necessary to find workers who should take up the work as a whole-time job and give all their time to it. It was necessary to suspend other Congress work and concentrate solely on this work. Alongside with this, Gandhiji was keen on finding out how such a massacre could take place in the neighbourhood of Patna, the capital of Bihar. Only Government servants living in villages, Police Patels, teachers or talatis, or Congressmen, could tell him this. In the prayer meetings a conspiracy of dead silence prevailed. Meetings of the Congressmen of the Masaurhi circle were called to consider both questions. But even after endless discussions, no ray of light was visible in the darkness of silence and indifference. There were serious allegations against some Congressmen. Some were even involved in police cases. Gandhiji therefore said in a prayer-speech: ‘The culprits should confess their guilt. They may come and tell me. I am not a police officer. Nor have I come to get you arrested. You should confess your error at least to me, and show your courage thereby. You will rise morally and spiritually by doing so.’

Both the people and Congressmen should have responded to this appeal and confessed the truth. Their silence made all of us abettors in the crimes. How could that be tolerated? However, even repeated entreaties by Gandhiji seemed to have no effect.

The very Congressmen of Masaurhi who had at first given a discouraging reply afterwards gave wonderful co-operation to Shah Nawaz. Even today they are atoning for their error by labouring hard to make the Masaurhi experiment a success.

A whole month passed after Gandhiji’s arrival in Bihar before the Bihar Provisional Congress Committee passed a resolution for inquiring into the conduct of Congressmen against whom allegations had been made. The Committee’s office-bearers approached Gandhiji for advice as to how they should proceed to conduct the inquiry. He told them that when the Government was controlled by them it would not be proper for them to appoint a special inquiry committee of their own in such cases. The secretaries should make preliminary inquiries, and if they found
substance in the allegations advise the Government to take legal action against individuals concerned. But in cases in which they feel that though the persons are guilty their guilt cannot be proved in a court of law, they should place the facts before the Committee and ask it to take necessary action. Those against whom cases are going on in courts or against whom allegations have been made should, if they are office-bearers of any Congress Committee or any other organization, voluntarily resign, or be asked to resign, their places as representatives till the cases are decided or the inquiry is over. They may continue their work as ordinary workers.

No progress, however, seems to have been made in this direction because of party politics or other persons....

When Gandhiji goes to Bihar on an important mission, it is not likely that he would not get co-operation from the people. Representatives of all parties and organizations assured him of their fullest co-operation. They told him: ‘We are keen to give any help we can in your work. You have only to order us.’ Gandhiji took full advantage of this offer. Many conferences and rallies were scheduled for the month of April. Though the Government had prohibited such rallies, the workers were in such a mood that at places the prohibitory orders were sure to be disobeyed and conflicts between the workers and Government were bound to occur. Bapu therefore invited the workers of the Socialist Party, the Forward Bloc and the Kisan Sabha to meet him and told them: ‘The mission which has brought me here needs a peaceful atmosphere. You can help me by postponing your programmes.’ All parties co-operated and helped in preserving peace.

It would be difficult to find a watchman of people’s rights as vigilant as Bapu. The lawyer defending the arrested policemen who had gone on strike came to Gandhiji and made serious allegations of illegal actions against the Government. Bapu asked him what action he had taken as a lawyer in regard to those actions of the Government. He replied: ‘It is our Government. If I take legal action, I would certainly win, but the Government would be discredited.’ Bapu lost his temper and said: ‘Would you for that reason neglect to do your duty? What difference does it make that the Government is controlled by the Congress? Should the cause of justice be allowed to suffer? Should the cause of justice be allowed to suffer? Would you let your profession be prostituted? Do your duty without fear of anybody.’

Such is Bapu, softer than a flower and yet harder then steel. What is the source of his power? He has no sanction of arms or army. But he has a power stronger than anything else which binds him in an unbreakable chain to the people and workers. What is that power? To put it in his own words: ‘Harji has tied me with a mere thread of cotton; I am His whichever way he pulls me,... I have been stabbed with the dagger of love.’

12.7.1947

3. ‘Momins Urged to Join Congress Unconditionally: Bihar Ministers’ Two Separate Moves’
Dawn, 27 July 1947

By ‘Dawn’ Patna Correspondent

PATNA, Saturday.—The two Muslim Ministers of the Bihar Congress Cabinet, namely, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Ansari and Dr. Syed Mahmud, have now initiated two separate moves for enlisting Muslim loyalty and allegiance to Hindustan State.
Mr. Ansari has issued a final directive to the Momins asking them to join the Congress unconditionally and is also inspiring such gestures that may win them over to new political ideology though, according to indications, the response is not yet very encouraging.

Another selfless guardian of Muslims’ interest is Syed Mahmud who has come out with his second frantic appeal for convening a representative conference of Muslims in minority provinces with a view to revising their policy towards the Muslim League and to chalk out a comprehensive policy for future guidance.

Muslim political circles are very cautious in their comments on such moves though they do not minimise the gravity of the problem which is confronting Muslims in minority provinces today. While maintaining that after the Qaed-e-Azam’s statement, the role of the minorities has become very clear and that they have to be loyal to the State, they point out that this does not mean that they should submerge their identity as a people and do not even ask for their ordinary civic rights.

A number of prominent Muslim publicmen commenting on the moves initiated by Congress Ministers, said, that while the political expediency demanded that a clear cut policy should be laid down forthwith for the Muslim minority by those who had guided its destiny through periods of storm and stress, [they] were not yet favourably disposed to those who had chosen to betray their people at critical times and want to win back their goodwill now through such methods so that the exploitation of men and affairs by them may continue.

They also cautioned the Congress High Command against such people their intermediate of stretching and frank direct hands of friendship [sic] towards the Muslim minority to which they were ready to respond in the interest of peace, prosperity and well being of the State.

Commenting editorially ‘Sada-i-Am’ the only spokesman of Bihar opinion said: ‘While the Muslim minority, after Qaed-e-Azam’s statement at the Press conference, is prepared to reconcile itself to its lot and to become the true citizens of Hindustan, we are pained to say that frank gestures of goodwill have not yet been made by the Congress leadership and that no tangible assurance have been given to Muslims in minority provinces who are being on the other hand threatened and openly regarded as enemies.

‘We feel that the time has come when prominent leaders of the Muslim League in Hindustan State should meet together devise and [sic] policy to save the Muslims from frustration and also from falling a pray [sic] to individual political moves.’

C. DELHI

1. Protest Day in Delhi

   Extract from the daily intelligence report from Delhi, 3 July 1947
   Home Poll (I), File No. 28/4/47, NAI

   **Intelligence Bureau (H.D.)**

   ...(3) In response to the Hindu Mahasabha appeal the Hindu shopkeepers have observed a partial hartal in the city. The hartal is not successful as most of the shops are open. The Sikh leaders have also joined hands with the Hindu Mahasabha leaders in connection with the celebration of the Protest Day initiated by the Hindu Mahasabha. The Hindu Mahasabha has also promised to extend its co-operation to Sikhs in the celebration of the Mourning Day on July 8, as announced by Sikhs.
(4) In view of the Khaksar Rally and explosion in the Sadar Bazar area, there is some uneasiness in the public. There is, however, strong Police arrangement and it is hoped that everything will pass off peacefully.

............................

For information.

Sd/-

(M.K. Sinha)
Deputy Director (A)
3.7.47

H.D. (Mr. Banerjee)

D.I.B. u.o. No. 2/MA/47-D

3 JUL 1947

2. Report from Delhi

Extract from the fortnightly report on Delhi for the first half of July 1947, 19 July 1947

Home Poll (I), File No. 18/7/41, NAI

Secret

D.O. No. F.1/47-C.

Delhi

My dear Banerjee,

This is my fortnightly report for the first half of July, 1947.

**Political and Communal.**—On July 1, 1947 a political conference presided over by Mr. Jai Parkash Narain was held at Shahdara under the aegis of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee. Mr. Jai Parkash Narain deplored the division of India and thought that India could only be reunited under a socialist economy.

The much publicised Khaksar rally held in Delhi on July 2 and 3 instead of drawing three lakhs of Khaksar volunteers as was expected was attended by only five thousand Khaksars. Accordingly as previously threatened by him, Allama Mashriqi disbanded the organisation. But his departure did not mark the end of the Khaksar activities in Delhi city. About eight hundred Khaksars were believed during the fortnight under report to have been taking shelter in various mosques with a large concentration in the mosque at Fatehpuri. The object of the Khaksars appears to be to win support for a movement aimed at preventing the hoisting of the national flag on the Red Fort on August 15, 1947. On account of their anti-Congress and anti-Muslim League propaganda the Khaksars have not been able to enlist any appreciable local support for their movement. Action is being taken against Khaksars under section 107/151, Cr. P.C. and also under section 109, Cr. P.C. and a number of arrests have been made.

On July 8, 1947 Hindus and Sikhs observed hartal in accordance with the instructions issued by Master Tara Singh and protest meetings were held in Gurdwara Sisganj and Bangla Sahib where speeches were made demanding a boundary between the eastern and western Punjab along the river Chenab.
On the whole it is reported that the communal situation has greatly improved throughout the Delhi Province....

3. Report from Delhi

Extract from the fortnightly report on Delhi for the second half of July 1947, 6 August 1947

Home Poll (I), File No. 18/7/41, NAI

SECRET

D.O. No. F.I/47-C

My dear

This is my fortnightly report for the second half of July:

Political and Communal. The declaration by some of the prominent Muslim League leaders, especially the statement made by Chaudhry Khaliqul Zaman in the Constituent Assembly regarding the attitude of the Muslims towards the national flag had a salutary effect on the Muslims generally. The views expressed by Messrs Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan regarding the policy to be adopted by the minorities both in Pakistan and in the Indian Union in the matter of their relations with the Dominion Governments have also appreciably relieved the political tension. It is noteworthy that at a recent meeting addressed by a local Muslim League leader at Meerut, an account of which appeared in the press, it was stressed that the Muslims in the Indian Union must be loyal to the Union Government and it was declared that should the Indian Union ever be attacked by Pakistan, it would be the duty of Muslim citizens of the Union to fight against Pakistan forces.

Mahasabha and Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh leaders persist in their opposition to the national flag. Hindu feeling as represented by the Mahasabha against the so-called appeasement policy of the Congress towards the Muslims is hardening.

On July 19, 1947 an All Parties Sikh Conference was held in New Delhi and resolutions were passed calling upon the Sikhs to agitate against the plan announced on June 3, 1947 and welcome the decision to organise a morcha at Nankana Sahib.

Political parties interested in the partition of the Punjab are still putting forward territorial claims and counter claims regarding a fair and equitable division of the province. The announcement of the award of the Boundary Commission is anxiously awaited by all political parties.

A special report giving a detailed account of the mopping up of Khaksars in Fatehpuri mosque on the night between July 24th/25th has already been submitted to you. Although most of the Khaksars left Delhi for their home provinces after the raid, yet some of leaders have not abandoned their efforts to keep the agitation going. It is reported that there are still some Khaksars residing in Fatehpuri mosque but they have been more or less inactive. It appears that some of the leading members of the organisation have, in spite of its official dissolution, decided to continue their activities in the Dominion of India. It is not, however, known what form the future activities of the disbanded Khaksars will take. While some leaders are putting out feelers to the Congress, others are trying to woo the Muslim League.

Hindu communal organisations have been busy planning various methods of showing their opposition to the Congress. It is possible that attempts may be made to interfere with
the celebrations on August 15, 1947; but no official decision is reported to have been taken in the matter.

The defiance of the Punjab Government’s ban on the Sikh Diwan at Nankhanna Sahib aroused some enthusiasm amongst local Sikhs and a small jatha was dispatched to Amritsar to take part in the expected morcha. Instructions were, however, received that no movement was to be launched, and consequently further preparations for raising jathas were dropped. At all Sikh meetings the demand for a just division of the Punjab, which according to the Sikhs should be by fixing the Chenab as the boundary between the two parts of the Province, was repeated.

‘Indonesia Day’ was observed by students and a public meeting was held in New Delhi which was addressed by Dr. Sultan Shariar.

An important decision has recently been taken by leaders of the Rashtriya Swayam Sawak Sangh not to support Hindu Mahasabha in any demonstration which the latter may organise in the near future as a protest against Congress policy.

Babu Paroshotam Das Tandon formally inaugurated a branch of Hind Rakshak Dal on July 23, 1947. The main object of this organisation is to overthrow the Governments of the two dominions of Pakistan and Indian Union with a view to restoring the unity of India. Only sixty members are reported to have been enrolled so far. The Delhi branch of the Forward Bloc is actively supporting the new organisation....

D. NWFP

1. Demand for Compensation by Hindus and Sikhs in NWFP

Letter from Ganesha Singh to Vallabhbhai Patel, 24 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-14/1946–7, NMML

BANNU

Hon’ble Sardar Patel Jee,

I on behalf of Hindus & Sikhs of N.W.F.P. lay the following for your immediate consideration and action please.

1. As you are aware of the minorities of this province have made such heroic sacrifices which have got no parallel in the history of India. We have suffered both at the hands of British imperialists as well Muslim League so that India may free (sic). But now at the time of India’s rejoicing we are left in the sinking boat. We have stood to our posts so that India may benefit. In case we had accepted Pakistan, three months earlier, we would not have suffered much humiliation and losses both financial as well as of life. Hundred of girls have been kidnapped, but still then we have not budged an inch from our stand and we have fought a fight that no body can deny appreciation. We had to fight marauders, Police and Political departments. What is the fruit of all this sufferings? What is the end of all this sacrifices and that has been done for us? And to all this, there is only one reply i.e., nothing. We have been ignored and being terrorized. You can very well know that it were Hindus & Sikhs who were responsible for the fall of Muslim League Ministry. They promised to give us all facilities but we declined it so that the prestige of Congress may not be lost. But now you have handed over us to the butchers, who are thirsting for our blood, and they are marking time so as to wrought us completely when they hope to get power within a month or so. You people are standing aside and asking us to stay there, but so far we do not see if you have taken any step to think for us. The nature
of Muslims of this place is not like that of other Pathans and this can be well known to you by Pandit Nehru’s visit to this province. The president and members of the League have told us that they were not offering us any facility and had rather threatened us that those who would not be staying in Pakistan after 15th will be declared as absconders and steps would be taken to forfeit their all. Our condition will be like jews in Hitlerite regime.

I had also met Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah and told us [sic] that Hindus & Sikhs of N.W.F.P. could not be represented in the Constituent Assembly as they did not have population of 10 lakhs. Secondly he told us that even no province would be allowed to interfere in the affairs of others and hence when we are not represented in Constituent Assembly our position remains that of hostages. Also now the matter is quite clear and there is no reason why should you facilitate 4 Crores of Muslims for rather 1½ lakhs of Hindus, Sikhs. You may withdraw these facilities from them and give these to us in Hindu majority provinces. The time is very short, and everything should be done before 15th August. We fear that the Bankrupt Pakistan Government will immediately issue orders that no Hindus & Sikhs can take their wealth to Hindustan Areas from Pakistan Area. In this way we will be ruined both in cash & properties. It is quite visible even to blind man that such like steps will be must taken by Muslim League [sic]. So I have got three proposals to be taken immediately.

1. The question of N.W.F.P. is different from others and hence, the Hindus & Sikhs should be immediately removed and given homes over there. In the meantime you should arrange to get the value of our properties assessed through commission and purchase in return some commodity from N.W.F.P. Government.

2. The subsidy which used to be given to the N.W.F.P. should be given to Hindus & Sikhs in return for their properties, the amount of which should be debited to N.W.F.P. Govt against our credit property.

3. The question of N.W.F.P. is very critical [sic] and it will be very difficult for us to stay in this province under the control of Pakistan Government which is certain to pressure under heavy taxes and there seems to be no guarantee of Protection of life and property from the Hostiles [sic]. Scenes of Pandit Nehru’s Visit is clear example. Hence it is requested that Hindus & Sikhs must be removed and given housing accommodation in safe area of Hindu Majority Provinces.

Moreover the present provinciers [sic] should be given compensation, just like those who have lost property and life and the Bihar Government is helping them.

Yours sincerely

Sd. Ganesha Singh, Joint Secretary,
Central Hindu Sikh Minorities Board,

Copies to:—
2. Hon’ble S. Baldev Singh.
3. Hon’ble B. Rajender Prasad.
5. Hon’ble B. Purushotam Dass Tandon.
7. Shyama Prasad Mukker Jee.
8. Acharya Kirpalani Esq.
9. Dr. Gokul Chand Narang.
10. H.E. Maharaja of Patiala.
11. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
12. Mr. Vir Sawarkir...

2. Frontier Hindu Defence Committee Appeals to Non-Muslims to Stay
Letter from Dewan Charanjit Lal to J.B. Kripalani, 30 June 1947
P.D. Tandon Papers, File No. 42, Serial No. 1619, Microfilm Acc. No. 369, NAI

Frontier Hindu Defence Committee
2, Domeli Road
Peshawar Cantt

No. F.H.D.C. AD/93
Respected Sir,

I have the honour to forward a note prepared for the Frontier Hindu Defence Committee. It is hoped that as a public-man you will kindly throw light on this urgent work and will appeal to the generous Hindu donors to help this Committee with contributions and co-operation.

Thanking you,
Yours obediently,
Sd/- Charanjit Lal
President,
Frontier Hindu Defence Committee.

ENCLOSURE-I

‘Why This Indifference?’

To-day when India has been divided into two zones and the Muslim population of the Pakistan zone is immersed in thoughts about their own welfare and their responsibility towards the Muslim population in the Hindustan zone[,] the Muslim population in both the zones is being inspired and urged to stick to their homes but contrary to this the Hindus and their respected leaders have not expressed any views on this subject. What the Hindus of the Pakistan zone ought to do? We have visited all the big towns and villages of the N.W.F.P. and the Western Punjab and have tried to acquaint ourselves with the present condition of the people. They do not understand what they should do next. They seem to think that they cannot be protected in the Pakistan zone. The cities and villages of the N.W.F.P. are being quickly evacuated. To whomsoever one may talk, he a man of great position in his society, his un-hesitating retort is that he does not know what he should do by living in the Pakistan. ‘He will have no voice’. There is not enough strength in the people to defend themselves. Wheresoever one may look the people are packing. We put this up to the political leaders whether the fate of the minorities in any land is really such as the Hindus of the Pakistan zone fear will be theirs.

Upon this land kingdoms have changed hands a hundred times and a thousand times battles have been fought, but the state of the people was never such as seems to be the state of the Hindus now. Do we need to evacuate the places of our fore-fathers in view of these
circumstances? Should we hand over our holy places to others in a instant? Even if we stay here what will be our protection? Should we believe that the Pakistan Government will take the responsibility of the protection of the Hindus or the Govt. of the Hindustan or a combined Board or Committee of the two Governments will take the responsibility of the Hindus and the Sikhs? These and other questions are being produced by the people and in the absence of any satisfying answers they are evacuating. The press and the political leaders should in our opinion thrash these questions for the public so that the inhabitants of the N.W.F.P. should derive satisfaction and courage.

We earnestly hope that if the respected leaders and the learned editors of the newspapers indicate the right way to the Hindu and Sikh population, the path of our workers will become easier. The workers of the Frontier Hindu Defence Committee are especially exhorting the Hindus and Sikhs in every town of this Province to stay in their homes. They are also making the best efforts to bring back the people who had left their homes to the province. Those who want to leave are being dissuaded. In this trying work the Committee has to spend large sums of money and it is our appeal to the Hindus to assist the Committee with greatest contributions of money.

ENCLOSURE-II

WE SHALL NOT QUIT THE FRONTIER
A CALL AND AN APPEAL

Tales of the miseries and sufferings that have been inflicted upon the minorities of the North West Frontier Province, have already spread throughout India. These barbarities have reduced the Hindu Sikh population of the province to such a helpless position that they feel themselves unable to protect their wives and children. History of no country affords any precedent of the savageness with which the innocent womenfolk of the minorities have been molested, the barbarism with which the aggressors have carried fire and sword throughout the province and the ruthlessness with which they have plundered. In fact a narration of all that was done to destroy our religion and wipe off our literature and culture is beyond words.

Terrified at such inflictions, a large number of innocent Hindu and Sikh families are wandering helplessly, in different parts of the country. Only a few families that are determined to protect their religion and to sacrifice their all rather than leave their hearths and homes, are left behind.

They intend not only to stick to their sacred places but also to bring back those brethren who were the unhappy victims of aggression, and are now roaming without any shelter. Such an intention implies the rehabilitation of thousands of families that have been rendered penniless. The task is vast and difficult and requires the help and co-operation of the whole Hindu Society. The most essential form of the help at the present hour is finance only. Provided help is forthcoming in the required measure we hope to succeed in our mission of bringing about the resettlement of every riot affected family.

President:— R.S. Dewan Charanjit Lal Advocate, 2, Domeli Road, Peshawar Cantt.
Secretary:— L. Peshawari Lal Sethi, 88, Saddar Lane, Peshawar Cantt.
Treasurer:— L. Suraj Parkash Chopra, Prop. Khyber Cycle Store, Saddar Road, Peshawar Cantt.
OTHER MEMBERS
1. L. Dina Nath Saraf, Banker and Jeweller, Ander Shehr, Peshawar City.
5. L. Gokal Chand, Cloth Merchant, Utmanzai Distt, Peshawar.
6. Dr. Pars Ram M.B.B.S., Nowshera Distt, Peshawar.
7. Seth Radha Krishen, Land Lord, Mardan.
8. Dewan Govardhan Dass, President Arya Samaj, Kohat.
9. Choudri Bhagat Singh Landlord President S.D. College Committee, Bannu.
10. Sardar Jaimal Singh, Govt. Contractor, Bannu.
12. Dr. Manohar Lall Matta, M.B.B.S., Dera Ismail Khan.

Frontier Hindu Defence Committee,
2, Deomeli Road,
Peshawar Cantt.

3. Appeal for Aid for Victims and Refugees of Communal Rioting
Letter from Peshawari Lal Sethi to P.D. Tandon, 9 July 1947
P.D. Tandon Papers, File No. 42, Serial No. 1620, Microfilm Acc. No. 369, NAI

Frontier Hindu Defence Committee
2, Domeli Road
Peshawar Cantt

No. FHDC/AL/152
Dear Brother in Faith,

We need hardly dilate upon the unprecedented tragedy inflicted in the Punjab and the N.W.F.P. on our most unfortunate Hindu and Sikh brethren by the majority community. It has outdone the much condemned Nazi atrocities. Not only they have been content with arson, loot, fire and forcible conversion but have perpetrated the most inhuman and beastly atrocities of rape and molestation of innocent Hindu and Sikh women and girls even the tiny children in their teens were not spared.

Our brethren resisted the onslaughts on their life, property and their women, valiantly which will be honoured by any community. Heroic deeds were performed by our brothers and sisters which will enrich our history and culture and will remind us of the heroic deeds performed by our ancestors in the yore.

But we could not withstand the numerical strength of the barbarism, with their cry of holy war against us, and the partiality of Police and Officials.

And most of brothers and sisters had to leave their hearths and homes in utter desperation. This work is colossal. The work before us is colossal and the problems we are to face are gigantic and tremendous. Our resources are very meager indeed to cope with the enormous work. We
are, therefore, compelled to appeal to our generous brothers for help and we are confident of your tremendous and immediate response.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/- Peshawari Lal Sethi
Secretary,
Frontier Hindu Defence Committee.

4. Spiritually and Mentally We Are One
Extract from a letter from Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan to Vallabhbhai Patel, 14 July 1947
SPC, Vol. IV, p. 265

Allah Nawaz Castle
Dera Ismail Khan
NWF Province

My dear Sardar,
Jai Hind.

It is an irony of fate that physically and politically, at present, we have been separated from the Centre, but no power on earth can separate us spiritually, mentally and nationally from you. All the forces of reaction, coupled with [undiluted] communalism, are working at a high pitch in the land of the gallant Pathans. Anyhow, for the present, our future is not at all bright. One cannot say safely what tomorrow holds for us....

With best wishes and kind regards,

Yours as ever,
Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan
Speaker, NWFP Legislative Assembly

5. Should the Minority Migrate?
Extract from a letter from Bhaskaranand to M.K. Gandhi and Members of the Constituent Assembly, 23 July 1947
P.D. Tandon Papers, File No. 42, Serial No. 1621, Microfilm Acc. No. 369, NAI

THE SPIRIT OF INDIA ECHOES FROM THE KHYBER:
THROUGH THE POLITICAL PAWNS OF THE FRONTIER

Sir,

As the major successor to the Indian Estate and legal descendents of British Sovereignty, you will please note and bestow attention on the following cardinal facts relating to that section of the people in the Frontier who having been deprived of the right of Self-determination are being forcibly alienated from their mother land:....

(4) The presence of the Congress Ministry could not guarantee us simple justice. Murderers and criminals even now enjoy greater liberty, are held in esteem and hailed as heroes by the Government Agents, whereas the victims of the crime are subjected to contumely. Prisoner
of the Civil Disobedience movements received Rs. 33/- per day as ration, the refugees were allowed as 8½ per day to quote one instance.

(5) Whatevsoever the legal constitutional position, we have come to experience that the hand of the law has not proved sufficiently strong to protect our life, our honour and our property in need even when the Provincial Government and the Central Government consisted of top men of Congress High Command....

(8) What is proper for us to do???

(1) Should we remain and those who have migrated return to this Province?

(2) Or should we all migrate permanently or say until authority which can ensure peace and justice is re-established?

(3) If we care to return or remain in the Province, should we accept rights and duties of citizenship?

(4) Or should we elect to be aliens?....

(14) We suggest that—

The new Sovereign State of India should not countenance any arrangement, treaty or agreement or enter into any relationship while the wounds in the Punjab and the Frontier are still lying open and are gaping. Full compensation and trial of culprits by an impartial tribunal consisting of minority members must be condition precedent to any mutual relationship. This demand is not made in a spirit of revenge. The mind of an average Muslim is incapable of reacting to leniency and generosity. Its sense of justice is awakened by measure for measure. Ask any Pathan here and he will readily bear us out....

(23) A tug of war was on in the political arena of India for the last quarter of a century. The Congress with its non-violence pulled from one side and the League-Imperialist-Princely clique from the other. Who can say that the Congress has scored all its points? It would be superarrogance to claim that what India has got is solely due to our national effort and sacrifices. It is not. At best the national effort can secure credit for about four annas in the rupee, but of the remaining four annas are to Britain's own military and economic weakness, but the major share of eight annas must go to the international pressure exerted by the Jap German challenge culminating in War, and standing Russian challenge since. Both the Indian Union and Pakistan are gift horses and one does not look too much in the face of the gift horse.

(24) It would be blinding oneself to assume that the unholy triple alliance of the anti national forces is at an end. What has actually happened is that instead of Imperialism being in the forefront as hitherto, it is League-Imperialist babe Pakistan that will be in the forefront. What power imperialism has shed has been assumed by the seceding of Pakistani Princes and the Pakistan State. The new alliance after the shuffle is more ominous than the former.

(25) Under the circumstances will the Congress go on riding the gift horse and blowing its monotonous trumpet of 'non-violence' while trampling upon those who are anti Imperialist as Congress itself? Let us pause for a self-search in the way of the Mahatma:

(26) The cult or creed of Non-violence as perceived and preached by Mahatma Gandhi has served its purpose or perhaps it is as much true to say it has not. It has served in the sense that it impresses the Western World as somethings orientally strange, precious or perverse. It glorified cowardice of average Hindu and made him look a miniature Buddha in the eyes of those who never tried to scan him closer. Nevertheless this did not produce an amount of important sympathy or interest in India's struggle. It has failed because it produced no effect at all on those whom Gandhi wanted to convert. To the people Gandhi is a perfect hypocrite.
He is stooping to conquer. His democracy is dictatorship. His humility is arrogance. Naturally therefore, they interpreted his non-violence as an invitation to violence. To the cowardly Hindus it furnished an authoritative code of conduct. That answers for violent outbursts on the one side and non-violent flights on the other....

Sd/- Bhaskaranand
Shri Ramakrishna Mission,
Ibetson Road
New Delhi

6. Criticism of Gandhi’s ‘Pro-Muslim’ Stand
Letter from Suraj Prakash to M.K. Gandhi, undated
P.D.Tandon Papers, File No. 42, Serial No. 1618, Microfilm Acc. No. 369, NAI

Shriman Mahatma Gandhi Ji,
Birla House,
New Delhi.

Respected Sir,

I am one of those sufferers from N.W.F.P. who have been deprived of their belongings, having met the worst fate at the hands of the Muslim marauders of Pakistan. I therefore hope that you will excuse me if not-with-standing the fact of being a devotee of your goodself. I am compelled to place before you some bitter facts. Although this sad retrospect may not have a healthy impression on you yet I venture to point out that the world wonders as to how the benign personality of Mahatma Gandhi has so far failed to judge the Muslim mentality. Ali Brothers, the greatest exponents of the Khilafat movement deserted you after serving their own ends. Even Doctor Ansari could not be relied upon. Mr. Abdul Qayum, the present Pakistan Minister betrayed the Congress when he was Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly. Suspicions are being entertained about Mr. Asaf Ali, the Indian Ambassador in America. Lastly Khan Brothers who were bragging much of the so-called Pathnistan [sic] have fled from the field. Abdul Ghafar Khan, the Sarhadi Gandhi has to all intents and purposes proved a staunch Muslim. He has always been keeping you in dark about the serious situations in the Frontier Province where most of the treacherous Pathans have wrought havoc on the Hindus and the Sikhs.

The Muslims have always been opportunists and best diplomats; but the Hindus and especially their Mahatmas are naturally devoid of diplomacy, so essential a thing to run Governments in the present age. The bitter truth spoken by the Mahatma often conveys with it things worse than evil. Your words ‘Muslim League is undoubtedly the biggest Muslim Organisation in India’ gave an impetus to the Muslim League activities and subversities [sic] and your frequent visits to Mr. Jinnah brought the Pakistan movement to a firm footing, as by your statement the Britishers were convinced that only the Muslim League could deliver goods on behalf of the Muslims in India. The Muslim League propagandists were able to incite the Pathans in the Frontier Province by quoting your words about the atrocities of the Hindus on the Muslims in Behar and this re-action brought about the destruction of the minorities in N.W.F.P. and later on in the West Punjab.
I should apologise when I say that your doctrine of Ahimsa with all its merits has remained unable to save so many precious lives and the chastity of so many young Devis who were kidnapped and dishonoured by the Muslim mobs in nearly all the flourishing cities of the ... Punjab.

At the time when the Muslims in Pakistan have slaughtered the Hindus and Sikhs like goats and committed senseless acts of barbarity and misbehaviour we can expect from the Hindus & Sikhs nothing except the worst retaliation. The hostility between the Hindus and the Muslims shows no signs of dying out in the near future. At sight, they both rush at each other’s throats and kill men, women & children ruthlessly. Even the refugee trains have not been spared of cruel attacks. So under the present circumstances the best remedy to bring about peace in the Dominions of India and Pakistan would be none other than the complete exchange of populations. This will surely bring harmony in the Dominions of India & Pakistan. There is another way of ending this mischievous state of affairs that war may be declared against Pakistan to save the honour of our holy mothers and sisters. I know that the latter suggestion is the last thing for the Indian Government to resort but your benign goodself may be well sure that we don’t want war. The majority of the refugees and evacuees from N.W.F.P. and the Punjab who have been deprived of their hearths and homes want to settle in peace somewhere in India or East Punjab and this can be only possible if the Musalmans are wholly shifted to Pakistan.

Hoping that my letter will receive your kind consideration.

Yours obediently,

Sd/- Suraj Parkash

A distress[ed] & homeless refugee from N.W.F.P.

Copy forwarded to:—
The Hon’ble Purushotam Das Tandon
Speaker, U.P. Assembly
Lucknow.

E. PUNJAB

1. ‘We Should Put an End to Arson & Murder—Punjab Leaders’
   Unanimous Decision’

   _The Tribune, 24 June 1947_

LAHORE, June 23—After a joint meeting of the leaders of the Muslim League, Congress and Panthic Parties held this evening at the residence of Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, the following Press Note has been issued to the press:—

‘Before the leaders of the parties met the Governor today, a meeting of the party leaders was held at Lahore and was resumed again later on at night. Among those who attended these meetings were Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, Khan of Mamdot, Sardar Swaran Singh, Mian Mamtaz Mohammad Daultana, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Chaudhri Lahri Singh, Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, Dewan Chaman Lal, Seth Sudharshan, Sardar Dalip Singh and Rana Nasrullah Khan. The serious situation in the Punjab was surveyed by the leaders who came to the unanimous decision that no stone should be left unturned to bring the situation to normality, to put an end to arson and murder and to restore an atmosphere of friendship and amity in all the disturbed
areas of the province. To this end concrete proposals were discussed and approved designed for
the purpose of bringing all the communities together and of restoring peace. A most genuine
desire was expressed by all present to put an end to the disorders and lawlessness prevailing
in certain parts of the province and a grim determination was in evidence to see that this
objective is realized. The steps that are about to be taken by the leaders to restore peace can
only succeed if there is complete co-operation from all quarters and an appeal has been made
by the leaders to the public and the press for fullest co-operation and support in implementing
the decisions arrived at'.—United Press.

2. Jinnah and Nehru Demand Ruthless Suppression of Riots

Telegram from Louis Mountbatten to Evan Jenkins, 24 June 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 126, NMML

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 1569-S. I talked with Jinnah last night and he begged me to be utterly ruthless in suppressing
trouble in Lahore and Amritsar. He said: 'I don't care whether you shoot Moslems or not, it
has got to be stopped'.

2. Today Nehru came to see me and talked in the same strain. He has suggested that what
is required is a fresh approach to the problem, which although somewhat unorthodox and
without precedent, might have excellent psychological effect. He suggests—
(i) That martial law should be declared forthwith in Lahore, Amritsar and any other area
you think fit;
(ii) That the whole operation should be handed over to the military, all police being
withdrawn ostensibly for rest and recuperation;
(iii) That the troops should be empowered to be utterly ruthless and to shoot at sight.

3. I entirely agree with Indian leaders that something must be done, and, subject to your
comments, I propose to raise it at Cabinet tomorrow morning and to issue announcement of
what has been decided with their full backing.

4. Request your comments, in consultation with Military Commander.

3. Communal Carnage Must End

M.K. Gandhi's speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 25 June 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 208–9

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,
The refugees from N.W.F.P. and the Punjab I met in Hardwar told me that Hindus residing in
Kabul are obliged to wear turbans of a particular colour to make them easily distinguishable. In
this connection the Afghan Consul has today issued a long statement contradicting the report.
He says that there is no such thing in Kabul. He says that the Hindus even have temples in
Kabul and they have the right to build temples there. If that is so we can feel proud.

The carnage in Lahore, Amritsar and Gurgaon is a matter of shame for all the three
communities—Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. This carnage should be stopped by whatever
means and people should be brought together. I saw in the newspapers today that yesterday
in Lahore there was a conference of the representatives of the three communities at Nawab
Mamdot’s house which lasted till midnight and at which it was agreed that the rioting should be stopped. This is good news. After all, is Pakistan to be raised over the ashes of Lahore and Amritsar? And these are no small townships. They have taken generations to build. Amritsar moreover has the Golden Temple of the Sikhs. It is a matter of grief that man can thus forget his humanity and become Satan. These leaders will meet again tomorrow, and if they are successful it will not be necessary for martial law to be imposed in these cities. These leaders therefore deserve our thanks.

I find myself in a dilemma. I feel the urge sometimes to go to Bihar, sometimes to Noakhali. In Noakhali my work was just started and it has given much comfort to the Hindus. I must go to Bihar too. I had intended to be here eight days but I have already been here a month. Where am I to go and what am I to do? I am perplexed. For a devotee of God it is good in a way. A devotee should think only of today and not of tomorrow for tomorrow is in God’s hands. There are some who jibe at me for my tall talk about ahimsa and ask why I do not visit Amritsar or Gurgaon. But what shall I gain by going there? I want that you should see me as I am. I have never been a prey to misgivings. But today there is so much confusion in the world and India that it is difficult to see things clearly. The Gita says that one must attend to one’s present duty. There is large-scale rioting going on in several places and I cannot make up my mind which one to go to. God gives me no guidance here. I ask friends. When the heart is besieged by doubt the best thing is to wait in patience. Throwing a stone may further spoil things. Nawab Mamdot says that the minorities will be given fair treatment in Pakistan. Why should I distrust him? If Hindus can live in Afghanistan as citizens, why should they not in Pakistan?

4. ‘The New Punjab’
Editorial in Dawn, 25 June 1947

The decision of the Eastern Punjab Section of the Provincial Legislative Assembly in favour of secession and participation in the Hindustan Constituent Assembly was but a natural consequence of the June 3 Plan. The last Premier of the United Punjab, rather sensitively though sedately summed up the new reality in the words: ‘The land of the Five Rivers, as we know it, is today no more a political entity.’ However much the Muslims might dislike the idea of having to part company with their friends of the Eastern Punjab, we do not think any cloud of gloom should envelop the Muslim mind when the coming morrow promises the dawn of a new day of freedom. If partition of their province was the price which Muslims had to pay for it, it is well and good that it has been paid and without any regrets.

The immense responsibility of building a new State, worthy of their great historical past in this sub-continent, now devolves on the Muslims and it would require every ounce of their energy, all their talent and resources for the accomplishment of this task. The emergence of the new Punjab—the most important province of Western Pakistan—without the recalcitrant elements who would not have helped but hindered its progress is not an unmixed loss to the Muslims. The sacrifice of some territory at the altar of the jingoistic greed of the caste Hindus and the caprice of the Sikhs, born of intellectual and political subservience to the former, has indirectly contributed to the unification of Pakistan and resolved the conflicting factors that would have retarded progress—the constructive efforts of Muslims to build and the obstruction of a big minority unwilling to co-operate.
Now that the partition of the province is an accomplished fact the procedure provided in HMG’s Plan for the demarcation of the boundaries and for the division of assets and liabilities would begin. The present tentative boundary will have to be readjusted and it may be hoped that this task will be accomplished by the Boundary Commission in an equitable manner having regard to the fact that the seceding areas are not unjustly allowed to appropriate more than what is their due. The other day in these columns we commented on the injudicious manner in which the Punjab Governor appointed ‘Committees of Experts’ charged with the task of collecting factual data with regard to financial and other assets and liabilities, institutions and installations and services and records and in which the Muslims have been deprived of their just and proportionate representation. Although these Committees are not entitled to take any decision they are entrusted with a very important function and any irregularities they might commit will unnecessarily delay, if not defeat the ends of justice. We wish to reiterate what we said previously with all the emphasis we can command that the Muslims cannot view with equanimity a situation in which a Governor totally hostile to their just aspirations is allowed to prejudice and jeopardize their entire future. The Governor-General owes it to the Muslims to vindicate the impartiality assumed in the Plan and to satisfy them that considerations of prestige would not stand in the way of the dictates of justice. And the first requisite to attain this laudable object is that Sir Evan Jenkins must relinquish office.

It appears pertinent in this context to refer to the position of the Sikhs as it has emerged after the partition. The complex of ‘Muslim domination,’ we presume, now no more remains an impediment in the way of their leaders doing a little bit of thinking on their own. Our previous counsels to the Sikhs may now help them to take stock of the situation afresh and see where they stand. A Congress contemporary of Delhi has come out with a piece of advice to the Sikhs which we quote below and of which we make a present to the Sikh leaders.

‘We wish to say a word to the brave Sikhs. They never wanted separate electorates or weightage. They were forced into it by the communal attitude of the Muslims. Now that the Eastern Punjab has been rescued from the grip of communalists they will do well to resume their nationalist role and give up the claim of Sikhs being a political entity.’ So far as we can guess the exhortation to the Sikhs that they should abandon their ‘political entity,’ after partition of the Punjab has been effected with their help, is a none-too happy augury for the new life the Sikhs are going to start with their ‘allies’. At least the Muslims never demanded that the Sikhs should forego claiming separate entity for themselves as a condition for co-operation. Frantic efforts are now being made to create a new province by merging East Punjab in UP’s Western districts. The meeting of the Congress MLAs of these districts which has been called on July 3, is expected to discuss the creation of a ‘frontier province’ including the 12 seceding districts of the Punjab. Sikh leadership would do well to consider the prospect of their being reduced to the position of an ineffective minority of about 4 per cent in the new provincial entity. Will Sikh leadership watch quietly this move developing into a reality, thus marring all their chances of redeeming the situation when occasion arose?
5. Failure to Control the Communal Situation

Extract from a letter from Evan Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten, 25 June 1947

Government House, Lahore

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

There have been various developments here which I think I should report to Your Excellency without waiting for my fortnightly letter.

2. Lahore and Amritsar, which have never really settled down since the first week in March, flared up again about the middle of June. It is necessary to be quite clear about the nature of this trouble and the causes of the deterioration and of our failure to control it.

3. During the first week in March we had, in Lahore, Amritsar, Rawalpindi, Multan and Jullundur communal riots of the usual kind—a series of incidents in which hostile crowds clash with one another or with the police or troops. Such riots are commonly followed by several days of stabbing, which is gradually brought under control.

In Rawalpindi and Multan affairs followed the normal course.

In Lahore and Amritsar, on the other hand, people seem to have discovered during the actual riots how easy it is to burn the average building in an Indian city. The expected stabbing campaign began; but it was accompanied by an entirely new campaign of incendiarism. I have no doubt whatever that the Muslim League approved, and in some degree directed, the burning. Most of it was done by Muslims....

The Hindus and Sikhs had been practicing with bombs for some time, but had done little damage except to themselves. Suddenly on 10th June they began to use bombs offensively and with success in Lahore:

(1) On 10th June a bomb (probably a Mills) was thrown into a cart carrying Muslim passengers. The thrower is believed to have been a Sikh on a bicycle. Two Muslims were killed and five injured.

(2) On 15th June a bomb (possibly a booby-trap) exploded in a bathroom drain at a private hospital outside the Shahalmi Gate of the city. When a police party went to investigate and a considerable crowd had been collected in the courtyard some person unknown lobbed a bomb (probably home-made) over the wall killing one and wounding forty-three.

(3) On the night of 16th/17th June a bomb was thrown on to the roof of a Muslim house in the city where several persons were sleeping, killing one and injuring five. The house concerned stands among a number of much higher Hindu houses. The thrower and make of the bomb are unknown.

(4) On the morning of 19th June a bomb was thrown at a party of Muslim labourers going to work along Brandreth Road, killing one and injuring eleven. The thrower is unknown and was probably in, or on the roof of, a house. The bomb appears to have been a Mills.

(5) On the 20th June a bomb exploded in a truck carrying Hindu labourers, injuring sixteen. It is not known whether the bomb was thrown into the truck, or placed in it, or was being carried by one of the passengers.
(6) On 21st June two bombs were thrown in the Sabzi Mandi killing nine and injuring thirty-eight....

5. Our failure to control the situation is due mainly to the following causes:

(a) The nature of the trouble is such that decisive action by the Police and Troops is impossible. The Brandreth Road outrage [No. (4) in paragraph 3] is fairly typical. Someone who had a Mills bomb and was probably in, or on the roof of, a house adjoining the street threw it at a party of working men against whom, presumably, he had no personal grudge at all. Two police pickets came up on hearing the explosion and searched the neighbouring houses. They detained (I think) about 20 people; but there was nothing to connect any of them immediately with the outrage. It is not possible in such a case to shoot the people who are detained—nearly all of them are almost certainly innocent, and it is quite possible that the guilty man or men have already escaped. Outrages of this kind can be dealt with only by patient investigation; we have recently overhauled and improved our intelligence and investigation system, and hope for early results.

(b) I have no doubt that the Political Parties approve and in some measure direct the outrages. I do not mean that Jinnah, Nehru and Patel—or even Mamdot and Sachar personally abet murder and/or arson. But somewhere connected with the party organisations here there are people who control the campaign and are given the money to do so. Fire raisers actually caught include an Indian Christian (at Rs. 15) and three Purbia Hindus (salary not stated) who had been engaged to burn Hindu property. Evidence is accumulating that on the Hindu side the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh are the organisers. This body has highly respectable gentlemen at its head; but it makes and uses bombs, and acquires and distributes arms and ammunition. It has close contacts with the Congress. At my instance, and after a lot of havering [sic] Mamdot, Sachar and Swaran Singh have promised to co-operate in stopping the trouble. So far they have not gone beyond pious statements. What is needed is direct and private pressure on the party underworld and a stoppage of funds.

(c) Justice is far too slow. We have caught some murderers and fire-raisers, but have not hanged one yet. I am considering fresh legislation on which I am addressing Your Excellency. Moreover, in spite of their clamour for Martial Law and ‘stern measures’ the communities—particularly the Hindus—are resentful of any arrests and detentions under section 3 of the Punjab Public Safety Act, 1947, and the High Court have virtually demolished the section. Many goondas whom we had picked up have been released, and the destruction of the Mozang bazar coincided with one of these jail deliveries. In many respects the High Court are right, for the Section has been used with inadequate attention to detail; but the results of the Habeas Corpus hearings have been disastrous for Lahore.

(d) The Services are now beginning to disintegrate. It is impossible to blink [sic] the fact that the outlook of a Muslim magistrate or policeman is different from that of a Hindu magistrate or policeman. Many of the stories of partiality are inventions; it has been the deliberate policy of the parties here to smash the Services, and they have in some measure succeeded. A Muslim officer who sets out to do his job, quickly finds that whatever he does he will be vilified by the Congress press. The converse applies to Hindu and Sikh officers. If a man is driven to take sides, he naturally sides with his own
community, and there has been partiality. There has also been some negligence and indiscipline. In Amritsar certain sections of the Police became scandalously corrupt. We pulled them out, whereupon fifty eight resigned and ostentatiously placed their services at the disposal of the Muslim League. We are now working with imperfect and unreliable instruments; but it is the Political Leaders who wished them to be unreliable, and on the whole I am surprised that the Services have stood up so long and so well to the incessant communal attack.

6. As to the remedy, I do not think Martial Law would make any great difference. My judgement may be wrong; but talk of ‘utter ruthlessness’ and ‘shooting down the offenders’ seems to me misconceived in a situation in which the offenders are seldom seen. The Political Leaders do not, I suppose, really mean that we should shoot the residents of any area in which an outrage occurs, or the people who happen to be standing by at the time at which an outrage is committed. The real remedies are, I believe, (a) a genuine effort by the Party Leaders to stop the trouble not by peace appeals, but by pressure on their own goondas; (b) better intelligence and more co-ordinated investigation; and (c) speedier justice especially where offenders are caught red-handed. I gave Your Excellency my general views, in which the Lahore Commander concurred, in reply to a Secraphone Message yesterday, 24th June....

8. There are signs of dissension within the Muslim League. Jinnah has apparently made it known that Pakistan must be a militant one-party State. He will nominate the Provincial Ministries; the Provincial Legislatures will meet once a year to pass the budget, but there will be no contested elections or other political activities likely to spot the party. The average Leaguer in the Punjab is an old Unionist, and thought Pakistan would give him some political influence and pickings. Firoz (who belongs to the Shahpur District) has taken advantage of the prevailing uneasiness to obtain the signatures of 53 out of the 60 Muslim members for the Western Punjab appointing him to be their leader. He has had his differences with Jinnah and now proposes to confront him with this paper and demand his rights—perhaps the Premiership. Mamdot belongs to the Eastern Punjab and sits for an Eastern Constituency; he is not universally liked. Khizar tells me that with free elections the League would split within four or five months—there are too many personal animosities and economic differences within it. I doubt if Firoz will win; he is not sufficiently determined. But his move is interesting....

10. Outside Lahore and Amritsar and Gurgaon (where things seem slightly better) the Punjab is reasonably quiet.

Yours sincerely,
E.M. Jenkins

6. ‘Patel Urges Strong Measures—Viceroy Apprised of Tragic Events in Lahore’

Extracts from a report in The Tribune, 26 June 1947

New Delhi, June 25.—In view of the fact that there will be no regular meetings of the Interim Cabinet after the present Government of India is transformed into a care-taker Government, the Congress, Sikh and Hindu leaders are pressing for an early decision on the measures which must be taken to meet the situation in Lahore which has been literally turned into an inferno.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Home Member seems to have apprised Lord Mountbatten of the sequence of tragic events culminating in the widespread fires.
Thousands of refugees have reached Delhi from Lahore and all of them tell piteous tales of terrible sufferings. The Punjab Congress and Sikh leaders met the Congress President Kripalani and others and narrated the harrowing accounts of blazes consuming the walled city. They invoke the Viceroy’s assertion that no lawlessness would be tolerated after the June 3 plan was announced.

Our own Lahore correspondent writes:

An all-out combined effort by the leaders of communities and the authorities to restore peace in Lahore and other parts of the province is being made in right earnest....

7. Deteriorating Communal Situation in Punjab

Extracts from a letter from Evan Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten, 30 June 1947
Lionel Carter (Ed.), Punjab Politics, Vol. V, pp. 110-16

Secret

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I sent Your Excellency a supplementary letter on 25th June mainly about our troubles in Lahore and Amritsar. I will now complete the account of Punjab affairs for the second half of the month....

3. Outside Lahore and Amritsar our main anxiety is still Gurgaon. The latest reports show that raiding has stopped but there is still much looting in the abandoned villages. Refugees are reported to be entering the southern part of the district in considerable numbers from the Bharatpur State. The reports are conflicting and I have called for more precise information.

Your Excellency probably saw reports in the newspapers about a Meo raid on a village named Tikli, not very far from Gurgaon. It was alleged that a platoon of the Punjab Additional Police stationed in the village sided with the raiders, fired on the villagers and took part in the burning and looting of the village. Baldev Singh visited Tikli and sponsored some rather aggressive communal propaganda about the raiding. I appointed an inquiry committee consisting of Eustace, the Commissioner of Ambala, Sant Prakash Singh, the D.I.G. of Police, Ambala Range, and Lieut.-Col. Isaac, the Commanding Officer of the 2nd/6th Rajputana Rifles. This committee has submitted a unanimous report to the effect that the allegations against the Police are untrue and that in fact the Sub-Inspector in-charge of the platoon handled his men correctly and did all he could do repel the raiders....

4. There have been a few incidents including some stabbings and one shooting at Jullundur and Kartarpur—a small town in the Jullundur District. Some cases of arson have been reported from the remoter parts of the Hoshiarpur District but do not seem to be serious. The remaining 24 districts of the Punjab are reasonably quiet at the moment.

5. The new Security Committee has held three meetings on 27th, 28th and 30th June. There was no meeting on 29th as two of the Party Leaders, Sachar and Swaran Singh, were away. The Party Leaders have, I think, really tried to restore peace. How far the improvement in Lahore and Amritsar is due to them I cannot yet say. There is usually a lull after the more savage outbursts of trouble in these cities and our new police methods are beginning to bear fruit. Before long we shall have a great deal of information about the activities of individuals and we are already beginning to pick up men who thought they were secure....
11. A good deal of party manoeuvring is going on. In my supplementary letter of 25th June I gave you some account of Firoz’s recent move to secure the leadership of the Western Punjab. Khizar, who sees me frequently mainly in connection with his private affairs, gave me an amusing account of Firoz’s experiences in Delhi. He was to have gone to Delhi with a deputation consisting of himself, Mamdot and Daultana. Mamdot and Daultana dropped out and two lesser men, Daud Ghaznavi and Karamat Ali, were substituted for them. Firoz traveled by air and his colleagues were to travel by train. They did not, in fact, turn up and when Firoz asked to see Jinnah he was told that he had better wait for his colleagues to arrive. After a couple of days it was clear that they were not coming and Firoz then had a private talk with Jinnah. It seems that Jinnah was very affable and confined himself to central matters and high policy; he said he had not yet considered the future of the Pakistan provinces. Firoz then returned to Lahore having accomplished nothing. He does not intend to take a line of his own in the Constituent Assembly elections and I should say that the party machine is already working against him. As I said before, I doubt if he will stand up to Jinnah and it may be some time before we know who will be the Muslim Leader in the Western Punjab. Firoz will certainly not be accepted without a regular party election; spontaneous signatures are not enough. At the same time I rather doubt whether all is well inside the Muslim League—there are probably now at least three sections of the party jockeying for position.

12. The Congress men are also an unhappy crew. Gopi Chand Bhargava is to be the leader in the Eastern Punjab and Sachar has been left in-charge of the Western Punjab. They have long been rivals within the party and it is possible that now that they are both leaders they may get on better. But Gopi Chand will have an extremely difficult time with the Jats of the Ambala Division who are Jats first and Congress men afterwards.

13. The Sikhs are still unhappy and continue to threaten direct action if they do not like the Boundary Commission’s report. Their real trouble is, I believe, that there are two strong factions in the Akali party proper, and that from the party point of view neither faction can afford to be reasonable. If Kartar Singh were to accept the partition (which, after all, he asked for) with a good grace, Udham Singh Nagoke would attack him savagely for letting the Sikhs down. Conversely, if Udham Singh took a reasonable line, Kartar Singh would attack him. Swaran Singh keeps on bringing up the problem of the boundary and saying that the partition proceedings cannot go far until the boundary is settled. I still think that the Sikhs may try to force us to go slow.

14. During two of our recent talks Khizar has raised the question of victimisation. He says that there is a very real danger that the new Governments will lose no time in dealing with persons whom they consider hostile, such as rural notables and village officials who have supported the administration in the past. I fear that Khizar may be right. At the back of his mind, or perhaps at the front of it, he is thinking of himself and it is commonly said that the Muslim League will murder him or at least ruin him as soon as they are in power. Jinnah is an extremely vindictive person. Khizar’s concrete suggestion was that at some stage Your Excellency might extract from the Party Leaders an assurance that they would not victimise their political enemies. The Services here are certainly afraid of victimisation and our local politicians are ignorant enough for anything....

Yours sincerely,
E.M. Jenkins
My dear Sir Evan,

It is already too well known to Your Excellency that as a result of the joint efforts by the Muslim and non-Muslim leaders an appeal for peace was made to the people of the Punjab calling upon them to stop internecine hostilities immediately, since definite decision had been taken that India was to be divided into Pakistan and Hindustan. The result of the peace appeal has been most salutary and remarkable. During the last few days there has been a marked decrease in cases of arson, stabbing and bomb throwing. You, no doubt, know that I, on behalf of the Muslim League, undertook full responsibility for safeguarding the life and property of non-Muslims and gave assurance that so far as Muslims were concerned, they would preserve peace and would do their utmost to restore law and order. After the peace appeal many of my colleagues and I myself have gone round the city of Lahore and have exhorted the people fully to respect the pledge which I had given on their behalf.

2. After all this, it was most astonishing and shocking for me to learn that a 72 hour curfew had been clamped down on the Muslim *abadi* of Misri Shah, where for a long while there has been no communal incidents of any kind. I understand that a huge Military and Police force has been collected there in order to carry out intensive searches in the locality. You will remember that I protested to you yesterday and today against this unwarranted attack upon a peaceful and law abiding Muslim locality.

3. Throughout the recent riots in Lahore the remarkable thing has been that provocation has always come from the side of the non-Muslims. It has been the Hindus and Sikhs who have taken the initiative in starting the trouble. The Muslims have never been the aggressors, and have only tried to defend themselves against bombs, firearms and hand-grenades. In the peaceful atmosphere created by our peace appeal, when the Muslims were doing their best to create an atmosphere of amity and concord, it is understandable why punitive and repressive measures should be started against the Mussalmans of Lahore. Not only vigorous and merciless curfew is being imposed on Muslim *mohallas* and *abadis* without any warning and without any previous provision for their food, sanitation, and drinking water, but large scale arrests continue to be made of Muslims all over the city. All this is happening when it is well known that it is not the Muslims who are the aggressors. I have no doubt that it is not a secret for you that very high people among the Hindus and Sikhs are seriously involved in the conspiracy which had led to the orgy of bomb-throwing and bloodshed in Lahore and other cities of the Punjab. According to my information, there is proof that the recent raids on Rajgarh, Singhpura and Sabzi Mandi in Lahore City, and Rasulpura and Bohl villages in the Amritsar District, and the atrocities in Gurgaon district were the result of premeditated and well-organised plans. In spite of this it is not the non-Muslims but the Muslims who are being crushed by the repressive and oppressive machinery of your administration. I understand that a Special Staff has been brought into existence under the immediate supervision of the D.I.G. (CID) in the Mental Hospital Lahore. In this Special Staff there is a huge preponderance of non-Muslim personnel, who are, according to my information, using the cruelest methods of torture to extort false statements, from the Mussalmans who are arrested and taken there.
4. I have already protested before you that the action which has been taken by the administration after our peace appeal is calculated to disturb the peaceful atmosphere which we were trying to build and will lead to distrust among the Muslim public against their leadership. It is noteworthy that no searches have so far taken place in those localities where explosives, hand-grenades and firearms have been freely used by Hindus and Sikhs against Muslims and no non-Muslims have been taken into custody for intensive interrogation by the Special Staff from any of these localities, nor, as far as I know, has any action been taken to bring to the book the real offenders among the non-Muslims who organised the raids on Rajgargh, Singhpura, Sabzi Mandi in Lahore and Rasulpura and Bohl villages in Amritsar District. All these things lead me to the conclusion that the hand of co-operation which I, on behalf of the Mussalmans of the Punjab, extended for the restoration of peace, is being spurned and we are being forced into a position of non-co-operation. Before, however, we finally decide to sever our connection, I should like to impress upon you the desirability of immediate action on the following points:

(i) There are at the moment three non-official members of the Security Council of whom there is only one Muslim and two non-Muslims. Keeping in view the principle of parity, which has been uniformly observed in the matter of partition work and all other measures, both at the Centre and in the Punjab, it is essential that there must be two representatives of the Muslims on the Security Council.

(ii) All repressive and oppressive administrative measures must cease forthwith.

(iii) If any such measures are really necessary, they should be adopted only after consultation with the Security Council.

(iv) There should be complete parity of Muslim and non-Muslim officers in the Special Staff which has been brought into existence and which is working at the Mental Hospital.

Yours sincerely,
Iftikhar Husain Khan

9. Sabotage by Muslims Feared

Note by Evan Jenkins of his interview with Gopi Chand Bhargava, 12 July 1947

Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava saw me after the Partition Committee meeting this morning. He said that although the Party Leaders had made effective speeches at Gujranwala, the situation there was bad. The D.C. felt that nobody cared now about his orders, and though he and the Superintendent of Police were getting on very well together, they might be unable to control the situation. He added that Mr. Midha believed that he was to be transferred. I said that there was no question of transferring Mr. Midha—he may of course come into the ‘general post’ in connection with partition.

2. Proceeding Dr. Gopi Chand referred to the outrage in the Railway Workshops on 10th July, and said that non-Muslims were no longer going to work. He believed that if Lahore were allotted to the East by the Boundary Commission, there might be sabotage by the Muslims. The general situation was deplorable with a universal feeling of insecurity. He suggested:

(i) that we should avoid indiscriminate arrests.

(ii) that Railway Stations should be specially guarded in view of the large number of persons leaving danger spots, such as Gujranwala, Lahore and Amritsar, with their property and valuables.
Under (i) he mentioned a certain Dr. Panna Lal, who, he said, was perfectly respectable and had been arrested for alleged arson.

Under (ii) he suggested that the Railway Stations should be picketed by troops.

3. Dr. Gopi Chand is still worried about the state of the Police in East Punjab when the new Government takes over. I said that I was discussing this with I.G.

4. I.G. might let me know what he thinks about Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava’s suggestions. In the course of the conversation I made it clear that the next few weeks would inevitably be uneasy and that it was impossible for me to give undertakings of any value about the conduct of the two new governments to people who were seriously frightened. We could only do our best to maintain order and give the new Governments the best possible start.

E.M.J.

10. Report from Punjab

Extract from the fortnightly report for Punjab for the first half of July 1947, July 1947 Home Poll (I), File No. 18/7/47, NAI

...Communal—The joint peace appeal has had a good effect and the situation in Lahore and Amritsar cities has improved. The apprehensions of the minorities in the Western Punjab and Lahore have not abated in any marked degree however, and there has been a very large transfer of assets through the banks from the west and the exodus of the Hindu and Sikh communities, particularly the former, from Lahore City has been considerable. Migration from the Western districts has not been so noticeable and there appears to be considerable divergence of opinion on the necessity for leaving. Tension outside Lahore and Amritsar has been rising again and there have been disturbances in Gujranwala city where, from the 30th of June, there were several incidents culminating on the 5th of July in a large number of cases of arson and two major clashes. The infection has also been in evidence in the rural area of Amritsar, and numerous cases of murder, mainly of Muslims, have given rise to the belief that, despite the exhortations of local Sikh peace committees, Sikh jathas have been ordered to carry on communal warfare. Further east in the Hoshiarpur district, incendiarism in the Amb and Una Police Station jurisdictions has increased and communal incidents took place throughout the district. The Rohtak district has been affected by events in Gurgaon district and the situation in Sonepat Sub-Division caused anxiety. In Gurgaon district itself major conflict has ceased but Hindus from the district, believed to number about 4,000, were responsible for a recent raid on a Muslim village in Bulendshahr district U.P. Meanwhile the potential danger of the situation there has been increased by the influx of a very large number of Meo refugees from Bharatpur State and it can only be described as tense but controlled. The district authorities fear that the departure of the army would very likely be the signal for further serious trouble....
11. Sikh Mobilization amid Mounting Communal Tension

Extracts from a letter from Evan Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten, 30 July 1947

Government House, Lahore

Secret
No. 698

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Since my last fortnightly letter was written on 14th July, there has been no improvement in the communal situation at Lahore and little improvement at Amritsar. The incident of 10th July at the North-Western Railway Workshops at Lahore led to further trouble, as such incidents always do. There have been daily fires, stabbings and bomb explosions. Between 19th and 22nd July there were no less than six serious bomb explosions in Lahore and its suburbs.

In Amritsar there have been a number of bomb outrages—the worst occurred on 28th July when 48 persons were injured in an explosion outside the Sessions Court.

2. Outside Lahore and Amritsar, the situation in the Amritsar and Gurdaspur villages, along the Jullundur-Hoshiarpur border, and along the Ferozepore-Lahore border gives cause for considerable anxiety. In Amritsar there has been a string of rural outrages, some of them serious. Muslims have been murdered in various ways. There have been several bomb explosions, and a train has been fired on. In Gurdaspur attempts have been made to raid Muslim villages, and a train has been held up. There have been two or three village raids in Hoshiarpur, and the neighbouring Jullundur villages are involved. Casualties have been fairly heavy. A regular communal riot has occurred at Garhshankar, a small town in the Hoshiarpur district, with a certain amount of burning. Various villages in the Lahore district are disturbed, and it is possible that trouble may spread via Kasur into the Ferozepore district, where too various outrages have been reported. The aggressors in all these rural areas seem to be the Sikhs. I have the impression that they have made certain preparations, some of which are now being disclosed prematurely. Bombs are widely owned and are being widely used, and many people are in possession of firearms. A few days ago there was a big explosion in one of the buildings attached to the Tarn Taran Gurdwara. A stock of bombs must have gone up—the estimates of their number vary from 6 or 7 to 150—and during the subsequent search gelignite, some parts of bomb cases and two revolvers were recovered.

In various other parts of the Punjab tension is high and there have been incidents. Gurgaon remains generally quiet owing to the presence of troops.

3. The Sikhs decided during the fortnight to hold a big meeting at Nankana Sahib in the Sheikhupura District on 27th July to air their views about the boundary between West and East Punjab. As this was frankly a political gathering, I decided that the general prohibition on meetings (other than religious meetings) in the Shiekhupura District must be enforced. A considerable body of Police and troops was employed; all ordinary approaches to Nankana Sahib were guarded by an inner and an outer cordon; wide publicity was given to the fact that the meeting was illegal; bus services were suspended; and the sale of railway tickets to a number of stations, including Nankana Sahib, was suspended. Nankana Sahib is a country town with a fairly large Sikh population, and a good many Sikhs had collected in the Gurdwara some days before 27th July. There was therefore a fairly large gathering on that date—as always estimates
of its size vary, but the best opinion seems to be that from 1,500 to 2,000 outsiders attended. Speeches are alleged to have been made inside the Gurdwara and for some time on 27th it seemed that we were in for a civil disobedience movement. The Sikhs in Amritsar had already begun to defy the ban on processions as a protest against the banning of the Nankana Sahib meeting, and the leaders present at Nankana Sahib were obviously upset. Late in the evening they informed the authorities that they would disperse quietly, and the Deputy Commissioner said that in that case he would not interfere with access to the Gurdwara from 28th morning. During the night of 27/28th July Giani Kartar Singh turned up at Nankana Sahib, apparently in disguise, and repudiated the local understanding. On hearing of this I sent the Commissioner and the Deputy Inspector General of Police to Nankana Sahib on 28th morning in expectation of serious trouble. Fortunately the Sikhs present at the Gurdwara dispersed peacefully during the day, and it was possible yesterday to withdraw both cordons of Police and troops. On the whole I think we achieved our objective, which was to prevent a gigantic rural gathering and to make it clear to the Sikhs that mass demonstrations about the boundary are not considered a good thing. The Sikhs intend to organise an all-Punjab hartal for 5th August. They are very puzzled and unhappy, and do not quite know what to do....

Yours sincerely,
E.M. Jenkins

12. ‘More Troops for Lahore’

Extracts from a report in The Tribune, 3 August 1947

LAHORE. Aug. 1—The statement issued by the Central Partition Committee, including representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League, as also Sardar Baldev Singh, with the full approval of Lord Mountbatten with regard to the posting of military with effect from today for the purpose of maintaining law and order is being interpreted in official circles differently than it was interpreted in the non-official circles. It is maintained that the statement implied no taking over by the military from the civil authorities. What it meant was that more troops will be stationed in the districts to be available to meet with any situation.

Accordingly, said Mr. J.C.W. Eustace, District Magistrate, Lahore to the ‘Tribune’ representative, there has been much larger number of troops than there had been ever before, in Lahore and Lahore district like the other 11 districts which were described as the disputed districts. In Lahore, the number of troops has been increased very largely and they are available with effect from today to meet with any situation that might arise. The correct interpretation of the statement according to the officials, was that with effect from August 1st larger number of troops will be available in these 12 districts than there were ever before and this had been complied with by reinforcement of additional troops in Lahore and other places.

Secondly, it was desired that the troops in these 12 districts should be under one command for which purpose the special command was created in order that the troops may receive their orders immediately and their movements may be directed and controlled very quickly and easily. This object has been achieved by the creation of a special central command under Major-General Rees....

Representations were, however, made to Dr. Gopi Chand today by a very large number of people regarding the desirability of having military posted. It is learnt that he has written to Sir Evan Jenkins drawing his attention to the immediate desirability of posting military
for preserving law and order. He maintains that this is what he was given to understand as a member of the Partition Committee.

The decision in the matter is expected to be made very soon which would clarify the exact interpretation of the statement made by the Central Partition Committee.

13. Need for Military Pickets in Lahore

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 4 August 1947

SWJN, Vol. III, pp. 188–9

New Delhi

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I had a visit from some members of the East Punjab Ministry yesterday. They informed me that the situation in Lahore continues to be very tense and the advent of August 15th was looked upon with apprehension by many who expect a possibility of trouble then. All this is, of course, well known to you.

2. I was told that when you went to Lahore recently it was suggested to you that military pickets might be kept in the city of Lahore in addition to the police who are already there. Apparently you approved of this suggestion. But it has not yet been given effect to. The East Punjab Ministers were afraid that unless these pickets are sent there soon, there might be a considerable exodus from the city of Lahore. This might be avoided by the presence of the pickets during this critical phase.

3. I imagine there is no difficulty about this as the troops are already in Lahore and only some minor arrangements have to be made. This would certainly reassure the people in Lahore city and scotch the rumours of trouble. I hope it will be possible for this to be arranged soon.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

14. Security Measures Contemplated

Telegram from Evan Jenkins to G.E.B. Abell, 4 August 1947

T.O.P., Vol. XII, p. 527

Government House, Lahore

SECRET

My dear George,

I am sending Savage down with some papers which I think HE should see or know of. The principal character\(^1\) mentioned seems to me to be cracked. The question is whether to put him in the bag now, or chance it. Either way is bad; on the whole I would chance it.

Yours,

E.M. Jenkins

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\(^1\) Presumably a reference to Tara Singh.
15. CID Investigation Implicates Sikh Leaders

Record of an interview between Louis Mountbatten, M.A. Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Vallabhbhai Patel, and Captain Savage, 5 August 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 194, NMML

TOP SECRET

Captain Savage, who was a Police Officer employed in the Punjab C.I.D. Control, said that he had been sent down by the Governor of the Punjab to make a personal report to the Viceroy. He explained that the C.I.D. Control coordinated investigation of disturbances cases, special interrogation, and intelligence from all sources.

Captain Savage related that one of the first instigators of disturbances to be arrested had been one Pritam Singh, an ex-member of the I.N.A. He had been roped in on 4th June, in possession of a wireless transmitter. This man was well known to the Punjab C.I.D. as he had been interrogated after arrest on his return to India some years previously from Chopra's Penang spy school. He had been one of the party to be landed in Southern India by submarine. Pritam Singh had made a long statement which involved Master Tara Singh in the production of bombs, and a Sikh plan to attack certain headworks.

Captain Savage said that the next incident at which men had been arrested was an explosion in the Crown Talkies in Lahore. The main arrest in this incident was of Kuldip Singh, who had joined the R.S.S.S. in February 1947. He was a bomb maker and incendiaryist and had done a lot of successful work. He was probably involved in six bomb-throwing cases and had specialised in train wrecking. He had been arrested on 30th July.

The next man to be arrested as a result of the statement made by Kuldip Singh and his friends of the Crown Talkies and Lyallpur derailing case was Goupal Rai Khosla, a clerk in the Secretariat at Lahore. This man had made a statement which involved Master Tara Singh very deeply. He had seen Tara Singh towards the end of July and had asked for 700 Rs outstanding for the purchase of rifles and for grenades already promised by Tara Singh. He had left one Ram Lal behind with Tara Singh who had got on very intimate terms with him. Ram Lal gave Goupal a note to take to Tara Singh. This contained information concerning trains and was somewhat cryptic. He had asked Tara Singh when he saw him what it was all about, and the reply had been that it referred to the Pakistan special trains carrying staff between Delhi and Karachi. Arrangements had been made to keep Tara Singh informed by wireless of the schedules of the trains.

Captain Savage went on to say that Master Tara Singh had stated that four or five young Sikhs were planning to blow up the Pakistan Special with remote control firing apparatus and after wrecking the Special, set it on fire, and shoot the occupants. Tara Singh had also said that Mr. Jinnah should be killed during the ceremonies at Karachi on 15th August.

Captain Savage said that independent and highly reliable sources confirmed Tara Singh's frame of mind as being completely one-track on the subject of revenge on Muslims. Tara Singh was collecting arms through Sikh Army officers and dumping them in States. The Raja of Faridkot had actually given help with transport and other moral and possibly material aid also. Tara Singh was reported to believe that the India and Pakistan Governments were sure to crash immediately.

Sir George Abell gave his opinion that Master Tara Singh should most certainly be arrested. Captain Savage said that such a step would certainly create trouble in the Central Punjab.
Sardar Patel said that he placed no reliance on statements made by arrested people, particularly ex-members of the I.N.A.

Captain Savage said that so far as one could be certain in these particular cases, those interrogated had been telling the truth. However, it was very difficult to produce concrete evidence against Tara Singh; but he could be detained under Section 3 of the Punjab Safety Act.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan stated that he had given directions for all the Pakistan special trains to take every possible precaution. A report had come through that a crowd had been collecting at one station and that there was danger of attack on a particular train. He had insisted that the train should go all the same but had strengthened its military escort and arranged for the Inspector General of Police to be informed. In his opinion, the Sikhs were likely to rise in any case on the announcement of the Boundary Commission’s award.

Captain Savage gave his opinion that the Sikh Leaders had lost control of their people. However, Giani Kartar Singh was more hopeful that they would get through without major trouble.

The Viceroy, after further considering the matter, decided to recommend to the Governor of the Punjab that Master Tara Singh and the other ringleaders of this movement should be arrested at about the time of the Boundary Commission’s award. He asked Sir George Abell to draft a letter accordingly to Sir Evan Jenkins.

16. Apprehensions about Communal Situation: Activities of Sikh Leaders

Letter from Evan Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten, 9 August 1947

Top secret
No. 703

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Many thanks for Your Excellency’s telegram No. 3269-S dated 8th August 1947 about the subversive activities of Tara Singh and other Sikh leaders.

2. I have now discussed this matter both with Trivedi and with Mudie, and we are all agreed (a) that the arrest of Tara Singh and his friends now or simultaneously with the announcement of the Boundary Commission’s award could not improve and might worsen the immediate situation; and (b) that though it may be necessary for me to make the arrest after the announcement of the award and before 15th August if the Sikhs give very serious trouble, it would be far better to leave them to be dealt with by the new Governments of West Punjab and East Punjab.

3. In amplification of (a), it is clear that the village raiding which is now causing us so much concern in Amritsar and elsewhere is not specifically directed by Tara Singh and his associates, though it is undoubtedly the result of their general propaganda. Their arrests now or simultaneously with the Boundary Commission’s award would almost certainly lead to a sharp reaction among the Sikhs and would jeopardise what hopes there are that the Sikhs in West Punjab will accept the award and settle down quietly. I believe that the reports, submitted to Your Excellency on Tara Singh’s personal activities are substantially true; but I doubt if in fact his alleged plans will come to anything.
Turning to (b), if the arrests were made by the Section 93 administration, the leaders taken in West Punjab would presumably have to be confined in a Pakistan jail, and the leaders taken in East Punjab would have to be confined in an Indian jail. We have as yet no evidence to support a criminal prosecution, and it is impossible to say what the attitude of the new Governments would be. West Punjab would be anxious to detain their men, but East Punjab, relying on some Sikh support, would be greatly embarrassed and might decline to take responsibility for the detention orders. On the other hand, if the two new Governments have to take decisions of their own, they are more likely to adhere to them and to make suitable arrangements for the custody of the prisoners—a matter which may cause considerable embarrassment.

4. I have not discussed the problem with Mamdot or with any political representative of East Punjab, as in the present state of feeling the politicians would be unable to keep quiet about it; but there is no doubt at all about the views of Trivedi and Mudie. Trivedi pointed out to me that the logical alternatives were to make the arrests immediately or to await the results of the Boundary Commission’s award. Mudie concurred in this view and added that unless West Punjab could be quite certain of the ultimate attitude of East Punjab, the confinement of the Sikh leaders, not on criminal charges but under my emergency powers, might be most embarrassing and that he was not clear where I could put the leaders without causing trouble. I could hardly send them to what will in a few days be a Pakistan jail; on the other hand if I left them in East Punjab, they would be a centre of agitation.

5. I have accordingly decided to plan the arrests, but not to make them myself unless my hand is forced. The arrests may be far from easy, as the Sikh leaders travel a good deal and usually live in places like the Golden Temple where Police action causes much excitement.

6. This decision will probably be unwelcome to Jinnah, but I believe that in all the circumstances it is the right one. The whole object of our policy has been to get as smooth a change-over as we can, even at considerable risk. The two new Governments may have to fight the Sikhs, but if I start the fight now, they will inherit it, and I do not think that this would be fair to them unless the arrests before the transfer of power are quite unavoidable.

Yours sincerely,

E.M. Jenkins

17. ‘Punjab Leaders Agree upon Security Measures’

Extracts from a report in Dawn, 10 August 1947

LAHORE, Saturday.—Matters relating to the internal security of the disturbed districts of the Punjab which lie on either side of the notional boundary were discussed at a meeting held at the headquarters of the Punjab Boundary Force. Representatives of the political parties in the Western and the Eastern Punjab were present.

A Press communiqué states that Major-General I.W. Rees Commander of the Punjab Boundary Force, explained the object and composition of the Force.

He said that he would vouch for the complete impartiality of the troops under his command and that all could rest assured that the army would act in the most vigorous manner in aid of the civil authorities of both Pakistan and the Indian Union to maintain law and order in the disturbed areas. General Rees also confirmed that the troops were empowered to, and would indeed act, even when no Magistrates or police were present.
All the party leaders attending the conference assured General Rees of their whole-hearted support and co-operation, and various proposals by which assistance could be given by the Punjab Boundary Force in their difficult task were considered.

18. Governor’s Assessment of the Communal Situation and Attitudes to Partition and Freedom

Extracts from a letter from Evan Jenkins to Louis Mountbatten, 13 August 1947

Government House, Lahore
Secret
No. 704

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

The communal disturbances have naturally over-shadowed everything else during the first half of August. For some days Lahore City remained reasonably quiet, but Amritsar City showed no improvement, and there were serious incidents in the cities of Gujranwala and Lyallpur. In the meantime the violent Sikh agitation gained ground in the rural areas of Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Jullundur and Hoshiarpur, and there were isolated outrages in Ludhiana, Lahore and Ferozepore.

2. I have submitted daily reports on the situation. They are almost certainly incomplete because raids and murders are now so frequent that it is difficult to keep track of them all, and the regrouping of the services as a preliminary to the transfer of power has not improved our organisation for the collection and analysis of reports. During the past week the Amritsar district, including even the main roads, has become generally unsafe. There have been several attacks on trains—the most spectacular being the derailment of one of the Pakistan Specials near Giddarbaha in the Ferozepore district. Most of the rural casualties—and they have been very heavy—have been caused by Sikhs working in fairly large bands and raiding Muslim villages or Muslim pockets in mixed villages. The Muslims in the Amritsar district have occasionally hit back, and in a village named Jalalabad near the Beas have eliminated a local Hindu minority, killing probably over 70 people. The Sikhs, as was to be expected, have behaved with extreme brutality. Parties of unescorted Muslim refugees have been attacked and butchered, and yesterday, 12th August, a harmless party of Pathan labourers moving on foot along the Grand Trunk Road near Amritsar was set upon and 30 Pathans were killed....

5. The Commander, Punjab Boundary Force, has a most difficult task. The population of the twelve districts in which he is operating is close on 14.5 million, and this population is distributed over 17,932 inhabited towns and villages. When the possibility of the enforcement of a Boundary award was first discussed, I estimated that we should need at least two Divisions of full strength and on a War footing—i.e. a minimum of about 20,000 effective fighting men. The effective strength of the P.B.F. is at present about 7,500, or including static troops and training centres about 9,000. Now that the Police are definitely unreliable in Lahore and Amritsar, the troops have a rapidly increasing responsibility. Neither the railways nor the main roads are safe, and the village raiding is quite impossible to control without a very great display of force. Fire power is really less important than numbers. Until 1946 I do not think that we had ever experienced in India any large communal upheaval outside the cities—the Moplah rebellion
is perhaps an exception to this general statement. The lesson of the 1947 disturbances in the Punjab is that once the interlocked communities begin to fight all over the country-side, the only remedy is to employ a very large number of troops. I should say that the Amritsar district could at the moment do with two full-strength Brigades in addition to the old Police force. It has in fact one weak Brigade, and a Police force which has largely disintegrated.

6. It is impossible to say anything definite about the future. The Sikhs probably have two objectives in mind—they wish to take revenge for the Rawalpindi massacre, and they wish to assert themselves on the boundary question. It is impossible to defend their conduct in anyway, but the Muslims have failed to understand the horror caused by the Rawalpindi affair and seem to think that by reprisals they can bring the Sikhs to a less violent frame of mind. I very much doubt this—I believe that reprisals in Lahore will lead only to further outrages by the Sikhs, and so on.

The Hindus are thoroughly terrified, and the Muslim movement from the East is balanced by a similar movement of Hindus from the West. We seem to have for the moment scotched the main Hindu-Sikh bombing conspiracy, and the Hindus are more concerned to get out of Lahore safely than with anything else.

Many of the Muslims are remarkably smug. They say that as soon as the British leave peace will be restored. It has long been rumoured that Daultana and his like intended to make as much trouble as possible during the last few weeks before the transfer of power so as to discredit the British regime. If this is so, it does not seem to have been appreciated that if all Muslim outrages stop in Lahore on the morning of 15th August, it will for practical purposes be clear that the local butchery was organised by the leaders themselves. Moreover, the disorders cannot benefit the Government of West Punjab in any way, and I should have expected the leaders to do everything possible to secure peace before the transfer of power. Some Muslims are most uneasy, and one very good Muslim Police officer has just resigned. I am told that he felt unable to serve in a completely communal regime. The Muslim League National Guards are now much in evidence in Lahore City, and the new Government may hand over certain Police duties to them. This will not please the old regular Police officers, and the less optimistic Muslims think that the leaders are no longer in control and that trouble will continue in West Punjab until the Sikhs are entirely suppressed....

9. This is, I suppose, the last letter to be sent by a British Governor of the Punjab to a British Viceroy. It takes with it my very best wishes to Your Excellency

Yours sincerely,
E.M. Jenkins

19. No Amount of Troops Can Stop the Indiscriminate Butchery

Note by Field Marshall Sir C. Auchinleck, 15 August 1947
IOR, R/3/1/171, Acc. No. 3640, NMML

SECRET

NOTE ON SITUATION IN PUNJAB BOUNDARY FORCE AREA FOR JOINT DEFENCE COUNCIL

1. I visited Lahore on the 14th August on my way back to Delhi from Karachi and discussed the situation at length with Sir Evan Jenkins and Major-General Rees, the Commander of the Punjab Boundary Force.
My conclusions are set out in the following paragraphs and represent my personal opinion based on my conversations at Lahore and intelligence reports received in the last week or ten days.

2. Amritsar and vicinity. The strife here was started by the Sikhs who have formed armed bands of considerable strength which are carrying out raids on Muslim or preponderantly Muslim villages. Three or four such raids have been occurring nightly. These bands are well organised and often include mounted men who are used as scouts to reconnoitre for a favourable opportunity.

One such band is reliably reported to have killed 200 Muslims in one village a few days ago. The connivance of subjects of Sikh states is strongly suspected.

There are also Muslim bands organised for the same purpose, but these are fewer in number, smaller in size and less well organised apparently.

The Army has had some successful encounters with some of these bands and has caused considerable casualties in some instances where bands have been caught red handed. The difficulty is always of course to catch the offenders in the act as lethal weapons cannot be used against apparently peaceful villagers unless these obstruct or themselves attack the troops as has happened in some cases.

Constant and continuous patrolling is being carried out, but the area is large and the troops are few in relation to it. There is no remedy for this, unless the troops are permanently posted in villages as armed police and this is neither practicable or desirable.

In Amritsar City the casualties (predominantly Muslim apparently) were high and largely due to the emasculation of the City Police force by the disarming by a new Superintendent of Police of the Muslim members of it. This has since been rectified and the official replaced. Several houses were burning in Amritsar City as I flew over it and four or five villages within ten or fifteen miles of the City were apparently completely destroyed by fire and still burning. The Army is occupying the City in some strength.

3. Lahore. The aggression here is chiefly by Muslims, said to be in retaliation for the massacring of Muslims in Amritsar. The most disturbing feature here is the defection of the Police, particularly the special Police, who are predominantly Muslim. There is very strong evidence that the Police are taking little notice of the orders of their officers (all the remaining European officers left yesterday) and that they have actually joined hands with the rioters in certain instances.

But for the presence of the Army there would by now be a complete holocaust in the City. Local Muslim leaders are trying to persuade the Muslim soldiers to follow the bad example of the Police—so far without apparent success.

Muslim League National Guards also appear to be acting in the furtherance of disorder.

It is estimated that as many as one tenth of the houses in Lahore City may have been destroyed by fire, or say about 15% of the total area of the City. Destruction to this extent was not readily apparent as I flew over the City but shells of burnt out houses are not always easy to distinguish in a crowded city like Lahore. A large number of houses were still burning and a thick pall of smoke hung over the City. There were also many houses on fire in the neighbouring suburbs and villages. The roads and streets were practically deserted.

The civilian casualties in the Force Area up to the 13th were estimated to be about 1500 killed and wounded, all due to communal strife. The troops in their clashes with riotous mobs are believed to have killed or wounded over 200 Muslims and non-Muslims in the proportion of 1:2.
In some instances mobs or jathas have resisted the troops and fought back. The troops have captured mortars, tommy guns and rifles, and the Sikh bands are some of them armed with light machine guns.

Ex-'I.N.A.' personnel are known to have been involved in the East Punjab and are said to have been recruited in the Police in the same area.

4. **Communications.** The usual police arrangements for the protection of the railways (village chowkidars) have completely broken down and the only safeguard now is patrolling by troops, but these are too few to provide adequate protection.

Railway personnel are afraid to leave their houses to go to work, so a breakdown or at least a severe curtailment of railway services seems inevitable unless there is an immediate cessation of communal strife. Such a breakdown will naturally restrict the mobility of the Army and its power to move reserves rapidly to danger areas and will also largely put a stop to the process of Reconstitution of the Armed Forces.

5. **Boundary Commission.** The delay in announcing the award of the Boundary Commission is having a most disturbing and harmful effect. It is realised of course that the announcement may add fresh fuel to the fire, but lacking an announcement, the wildest rumours are current, and are being spread by mischief makers of whom there is no lack.

6. **General.** The position is thoroughly bad and is getting worse, particularly as the trouble has now spread to districts Sialkot and Gujranwala, where trains have been attacked.

Large scale uncontrolled evacuation of Muslims is going on from Amritsar District.

On morning 15th August train held up three miles from Wazirabad, casualties estimated 100 killed 200 wounded by stabbing.

Train derailed at Sialkot and attacked by mob of 3000 which was dispersed by troops opening fire.

Fifteen passengers killed in another train near Wazirabad.

Trains also attacked near Rawalpindi and several killed. Train also attacked outside Lahore—nine killed.

N.W.R. has stopped running trains except Mails, Expresses and Military Mails. No Goods running as train crews not reporting for duty.

7. **Conclusion.** Two more brigades (one from India and one from Pakistan) and one mixed armoured squadron are being sent to reinforce Punjab Boundary Force, but no amount of troops can stop the indiscriminate butchery which appears to be going on on both sides.

General Rees and his Brigade Commanders are doing all they can and so far the troops have been completely impartial and extremely well disciplined, in spite of baseless and mischievous stories to the contrary which are being spread, in some cases by people in responsible positions. Such stories do the greatest possible harm and may well result in the troops ceasing to be impartial, in which event, the situation, bad as it is now, would become truly terrible.

So far as Lahore is concerned, Muslim League leaders are said to claim that after the 15th August they will be able to control the situation and stop the butchery and burning now going on. I hope that this is true and that the same may apply to the East Punjab Districts, because the Army is now stretched to its fullest extent and it is going to be most difficult, if not impossible, to find any more troops.

C. J. AUCHINLECK
F.M.
F. **SINDH**

1. Increasing Communal Sentiments in Sind

   Circular letter issued by Parsram V. Tahilramani, Sind Assembly Congress Party, 24 June 1947

   P.D. Tandon Papers, File No. 231, Serial No. 270, Microfilm Acc. No. 390, NAI No. 6

PIOUS PROFESSIONS: In the course of an interview to the United Press on Thursday last, Mr. Yousuf Abdullah Haroon, M.L.A., President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, states: ‘It is totally wrong to say that the Muslims or the Muslim League Government want to drive away Hindus or any other minorities from Sindh or cripple them economically. The Sindhi Hindu is the ‘son of the soil’ and a part and parcel of this great Province. HE HAS CONTRIBUTED NO MEAN A SHARE IN BUILDING THE PROVINCE TO ITS PRESENT POSITION and to think of driving him away from his home-land is an absurdity...’

CONTRARY PRACTICE: Fine and noble sentiments are these but as assurances they are worthless; for, in actual practice, quite the contrary appears to be the plan of action resulting in progressively increasing uneasiness and perturbation amongst the Sind Hindus. Here, very briefly, are a few of the more recent happenings and incidents that seem to belie the above professions.

1. **BEHAVE OR QUIT:** ‘...Hindus should now realise that they are in Pakistan and should they not behave they shall have to go away to stay in Hindustan’; thus, with an air of defiance, said Mr. A.K. Gabole holding so responsible a position as that of the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Karachi Municipal Corporation. This was his reaction and reply to the unanimous protests of the Congress Party and all other members of the Municipal Corporation except the Muslim League members against the unconstitutional and high handed action of the Sind Government in arbitrarily and hastily resuming a several-lakhs-worth piece of Municipal land for settling Bihar Muslims—not all of them refugees.

2. **CREATING MUSLIM POCKETS:** This plot of land was resumed by the Sind Government on the 31st ultimo without so much as a prior notice to the Chief Officer (or any other authority whatsoever) of the Karachi Municipal Corporation. The plot measures 23.5 acres and is valued, according to prices now obtaining, at over Rs. 25 lakhs. The selection of the site of the plot is open to serious objections from the viewpoint, among others, of communal concord and amity. The plot is immediately adjacent to the locality known as Jamshed Quarter where are situated a number of housing colonies comprising over 600 bungalows (wherein reside over 1200 families) a very vast majority of which belong to Hindus, a few to other minorities and but very few to Muslims.

HEEDLESS OF OPPOSITION: In the teeth of unanimous opposition to the selection of that site for that purpose, voiced in the form of a formal resolution by the representatives of all the 12 housing colonies of that locality in a meeting assembled, the Sind Govt. have started and are continuing with unseemly and inexplicable haste, the work of construction on that plot. The resolution, besides enumerating objections on the grounds of town planning, sanitary arrangements, transport services, prior reservation of the site for another purpose, stresses the fact that exactly opposite to the plot on the next side of the road are Hindu Mandirs and shrines where Aratis and prayers are conducted daily to the accompaniment of bells and
gongs to which the proposed Muslim settlers may, on pain of dire consequences, in course of time, object.

3. FASCIST TACTICS: Besides ignoring the above resolution, the Fascist League Government have chosen to disregard the resolution of the Municipal Corporation as well which was passed on the 10th instant and which reads, inter alia, as follows:—‘...The action of the Government is high-handed and most objectionable as, in its execution, the Government have thrown to the winds all legal stages before they resumed the land in question. ... The Corporation ... have offered to government huge alternate plots of land (on other sites) and attempted to persuade them to drop their idea of resuming the land in question IN VIEW OF PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITION OF RESIDENTS OF JAMSHED QUARTER TO PRESERVE HARMONIOUS RELATIONS AMONGST ALL COMMUNITIES.... It is regrettable that the Government attitude remains adamant and unyielding.... It leaves to the Corporation no other alternative but to....direct the Chief Officer to RESORT TO LAW .... And immediately take all legal steps ... to protect and safeguard the interests and rights of the Municipal Corporation which the Sind Government has so flagrantly violated.’

4. ABUSE OF HINDUS: Campaign of vilification and abuse of Hindus continued unabated, achievement of Pakistan notwithstanding. Here is one of the latest instances:—‘The Municipal Corporation Congress Party,’ says Dr. Popatlal A. Bhoopatkar, leader of the Party in the Karachi Municipal Corporation in the course of a statement to the Press, ‘had no other alternative left to them but to have the meeting of the Corporation held on June 17th adjourned as a protest against the abuses hurled at the Congress Party and the Hindu Community by Mr. Mirza Adam Khan in response to the generous decision of the Congress Party to grant a plot of land measuring 7180 sq. yards, on the much disputed Idgah Maidan to the Jamia Masjid Association quite free, though the market value of the land approximately comes to about Rs. 15 to 20 lakhs ... the tone and temper of some members of the Muslim League Party was surcharged with an air of indifference and defiance...it is regrettable...some members of the Muslim League get pleasure in insulting Hindu community...’

5. HARASSING HINDU VICTIMS: We have the popular saying in Hindi ‘ulta chore kotwal ko daate’, i.e., the culprit, instead of admitting guilt, turns round and starts accusing and harassing the victims or the custodian of law. Well, that is what is happening to the Hindus in Sind. Here is a recent instance: As a result of the repeated attempts on 3 successive nights at setting fire to several shops of Hindus in the town of Jacobabad referred to in the last issue of this Bulletin (dated the 17th instant), the Police, has so far arrested a Hindu, Bhai Nandomal, who is a Sherbatwala.

ADDING INSULT TO INJURY: As if to add insult to injury, the Dy. Superintendent of Police, Jacobabad, raided and searched the shops of 2 big Hindu merchants, viz. Seth Hassanand and Seth Lalchand, who are ammunition and foreign liquor merchants, but could find nothing incriminating. Subsequently he took the force of as many as 50 armed constables and surrounded and raided the whole ‘Haveli’ (i.e. a big sized residential compact block) of Seth Atmaram Assandas, but there too nothing incriminating was found, despite unre lenting search for 5 hours.

6. FLOUTING UNANIMOUS MINORITY OPINION: With one voice, almost to a man, the Hindus and other minorities in Sind condemned the highly ratograte [sic] and communal character of the Sind University Bill during its passage in the last sessions of the Sind Legislative Assembly: Even the 11 Hindus and 3 other Non-Muslims who, besides 36
Muslims, have been now persuaded to serve on the Senate of the Sind University were equally emphatic in their condemnation of that bill. They, after the passing of the bill, were among those leading Sindhis, Educationalists and others, who strove hard to co-operate with the Sind Government in establishing a really good Sind University and, to that end, endeavoured to arrive at a compromise with the Government with a view to having the minimum necessary amendments to the University Act effected.

INTIMIDATION AND COERCION: But the Government, seemingly amenable, were in reality adamant and eventually, under a reported directive from Mr. Jinnah, turned down all appeals and negotiations for an honourable settlement and asked for acceptance of (which really means surrender to) the Sind University Act as it stood. Stunned and chagrined by the almost unanimous resistance to such surrender on the part of Sind Hindus, the Government crossing all bounds of decency and decorum, have resorted to intimidation and coercion. Pir Illahibux, the Minister for Education, has threatened the following consequences to the managements of these schools and colleges who declined to affiliate with the Sind University.

(a) Stopping of Government grants-in-aid;
(b) Resumption of plots on which school buildings stand where such plots have been granted by the Government;
(c) Withdrawal of scholarships and stipends from students attending such schools and colleges;

and last though not the least
(d) Non-recognition, for purpose of employment in Sind Government services, of degree or diploma obtained by students of such schools and colleges from their universities.

The above is an illustrative, not an exhaustive list of the many forms of harassment and persecution which the Hindus and other minorities in Sind are suffering at the hands of the Muslim League Government. Can Mr. Yousaf Haroon validly claim that the practice of the Muslim League Government conforms to his and other prominent Leaguers’ professions?

2. Need for Migration of Hindus into Sind
Letter from Tarachand Gajra to P.D. Tandon, June 1947
P.D. Tandon Papers, File No. 231, Serial No. 299, Microfilm Acc. No. 390, NAI

Revered Tandonji,

I trust you remember the talk that I had with you at the house of Lalla Jagannath Tandon in regard to the ban of the Satyarath Parkash. I trust you also remember that I had some talk with you regarding a Sindhi dictionary.

The short time that I spent in your company was a source of great inspiration and help to me. Your suggestions considerably helped me in offering the Satyagrah to remove the ban on Satyarath Parkash.

I have been reading with deep interest your statements regarding the present political situation. These statements of yours embolden me to write this letter to you. I am confident you would give it your most careful consideration. During the last fifteen years I have been asking the Sind Hindus to arrange to get the Hindu Kisans from the Hindu majority provinces and thus not only increase the percentage of their population but also make themselves physically
and morally stronger. These people from Ganges valley will surely be stronger than Sind Hindus physically and have greater faith in Hindu religion and ideals.

If my suggestions had been adopted, if ten lakh more Hindus had come to Sind, or if about a crore of good Hindus had pushed forward towards the western frontier of India we would have successfully defeated Mr. Jinnah and his nefarious designs. Even now it is not too late to work upon this suggestion. During next 2 months we can slowly encourage people to immigrate into Sind. The United Province people, seen in almost every part of Sind may be induced to bring their families to Sind and settle down here. Sadhus may also be asked to do the same. Those, who come, can easily get good economic facilities here. There is also need of great number of Gurwalies to serve as watchmen.

I would request you to be so good as to use your influence with the U.P. people to come over to Sind. To accelerate this immigration we can have a big holy mella at Sukkur or some other prominent place during the week beginning with Shramani and ending with Krishna Ashtmi. You may kindly, if possible, let me have your views on this subject.

Yours respectfully,
Sd/-
(Tarachand D. Gajra)

G. UNITED PROVINCES

1. Congress Policy of Appeasing Muslims Criticized
   Letter from Manmohan to Gobind Ballabh Pant, 23 June 1947
   P.D. Tandon Papers, File No. 231, Serial No. 259, Microfilm Acc. No. 390, NAI

Dear Mr. Pant,

It is a shocking surprise to witness the administrative defects in U.P. and other Congress provinces, most of which are attributable to the Congress tendency to placate the Muslims. Congress leaders including those in highest positions are brought up in such a way that it appears that their chief consideration is to please the Muslims. Any organisation or steps for the protection of Hindus had never received encouragement at the hands of the Congress leaders lest such encouragement might offend the Muslims, who, on the other hand, openly arrange to assault the Hindus, loot their property, and rape their women folk. This lack of organisation among the Hindus even for defensive purposes is due to the Congress policy to placate the Muslims in general and particularly a few Nationalist Muslims, who, in fact, are of no affective value for the unification of India. Their presence in the Congress especially at this stage will not be conducive to the healthy growth of non-Muslim organisation to meet the aggressive policy of the Leaguers. Most of the Nationalist Muslims, in a way are spies of the Muslim Leaguers. Their propaganda that they would work for the re-unification of India is not to be taken seriously. They will not as they have acted in the past, even worse, to keep the Hindus unprepared. It is foolish to sacrifice the Hindus for those handful of so called Nationalist Muslims, who have not dared to face the situation in the country to prove its own policy.
Among many administrative defects in the Congress provinces the most glaring is the ‘Home and Political Department’ in U.P. It has stunned even the foreigners to know that about 75% of the U.P. police are Muslims, an indication of the extent to which the Congress leaders have gone to please the Muslims at the expense of the Hindus. It is a foolish policy involving so much risk that no country in the world would indulge. It is all the more serious when it is a known fact that the Hindus including their women folk are suffering at the hands of the Muslim Police in Bengal, Punjab, Sind and even in the N.W.F.P. It is downright inefficiency of Congress leaders involving serious criminal negligence, which, in other countries would have been an undeniable cause to demand an open trial of yourself, the Home Member and others who encouraged it with sure conviction and death penalty. There are many unharmful ways of placating the Muslims, but there is no necessity of staffing the police, the defence, the transport, and other key departments with Muslims. Urgent remedy is called for, and none of the half-way, indecisive soft-hearted methods will meet the requirements.

In the manning and management of all departments in the Muslim League provinces the League leaders deserve congratulations for their efficiency, forethought and systematic planning. No doubt, they have gone too far in many respects deserving all kinds of criticism from the minorities, but in so far as the staffing of the key departments, they have done their duty for the efficient administration of their provinces with no loop-hole for any cause of trouble from the minorities. Hindus in the Congress provinces demand the same arrangements at least in the key departments of their provinces. If it is beyond the administrative ability of the Congress leaders to produce such schemes, it can at least be copied to the extent necessary for the effective defence of the Hindu community and the provinces.

Muslims in general are aggressive bullies, who have acquired a superiority complex over the Hindus due to their past victories, and the latter’s (Hindus) cowardly behavior partly attributable to lack of organisation, lack of encouragement, and the appeasing non-violence policy of the Congress. No amount of appeasement will turn the Muslims to be friendly to the Hindus, a characteristic of the Leaguers which the Congress knowingly try to forget when adopting their policy. This policy of one sided cowardly appeasement will only encourage the Muslims, especially the Leaguers to believe their superiority, and feel that Hindus can be ignored and humiliated. My experience in many countries show that Muslims can be brought to the right senses only when they know that the opponents are equally determined and brave enough to fight. It is only by giving repeated smashing defeats that the Leaguers can be brought to sensible-complex conducive to friendly actions. The present Congress policy and inefficiency in administration will only discourage the Hindus and encourage the Muslims to realize their ambition to capture the whole of India; at least the whole of Bengal, Punjab, Assam, and a corridor through to Bengal. Muslim Leaguers have now acquired such confidence through the weakness and inefficiency of the Hindu leaders that they now act without any regard for Hindu public opinion. Systematic attempts are being made to undermine and eliminate the Hindus from all walks of life, and to strangulate them in every way in Muslim league provinces, all due to the acquired belief that there will be no retaliation in Hindu majority provinces as is evident from the submissive appeasement policy of Hindu leaders.

The present situation in the country shows clearly the efficiency of Muslim leaders. They plan and chalk out their programme implementing it with a high degree of thoroughness, whereas Hindu leaders only ability is to give speeches, pass resolutions giving false hopes
of security without any organisation. It is no use to say that Muslims’ attack is pre-arranged; Hindus should have been organized at least for defence through some agency.

The following suggestions are given for immediate consideration and necessary action if Congress wish to retain their present position as representatives of true India:—

1. Remove all Muslims from the key posts of all departments, necessarily the Police, defence, transport, and staff the remaining personnel according to the percentage of the communities giving reasonable weightage where necessary. Arrangements for water-supply and civil supply department requires serious consideration.

2. To reduce the Muslim personnel in the Muslim over-staffed departments such as U.P. police etc., remove all temporary hands and recruit the Hindus encouraging even the Punjab Refugees. Retire the old Muslims of 25 years service and over, and remove all incompetent hands. Where necessary, open centres to train up the required staff to replace the excess Muslims.

3. Encourage the Hindu organisations whose policy is to arrange for the protection of the non-Muslims.

4. Encourage the opening of centres in villages and towns for the physical training of the non-Muslims.

5. Conduct regular lectures on bravery and patriotism in villages and towns. Also explain to all the people about the dangers ahead, and the Government’s expectation from the people.

6. Issue arm licences to the Hindus allotting to each group of villagers and section of town sufficient guns and rifles for effective defence. Hindus are never aggressive.

7. To conduct practical training courses for the efficient handling of fire arms.

8. There should be well organised intelligence service, manned by Hindus, spread all over India, even in Pakistan and other pan Islamic states to forestall all activities and schemes harmful to the Hindus and the Indian Union.

Yours sincerely,
Manmohan

Copy to P.D. Tandon Esq. for information. The situation in India calls for urgent action as the Muslim Leaguers are preparing to realise their original ambition. This letter is sent to the Premier as a note of warning, and it is hoped that the arrangements will be made for successful administration of the country and the protection of the non-Muslims. In case of attacks by Pakistan, almost all Muslims in the Indian Union will act as fifth columnist.

2. Report from UP

Extract from the fortnightly report on UP for the first half of June 1947, 25 June 1947
Home Poll (I), File No. 18/6/47, NAI

Dear Banerjee,

I am desired to send the following report for the first half of June, 1947.

Political—...Muslim League activities appear to be turning to devising ways and means for making Muslims ‘safe’ in the Hindu-majority provinces. In furtherance of this object the President of the U.P. Muslim League, Mr. Mohammad Ismail Khan, has set up a committee to
report on the formation of a Muslim homeland in this province. The object of the suggested plan appears to be to carve out a compact block of Muslim areas comprising Rohilkhand and Meerut divisions and the adjoining tracts. The Muslim League Socialist Party has issued a manifesto advocating the propagation of a real democratic spirit amongst the Muslims to strengthen the foundations of Pakistan and the formation of a middle Pakistan connecting the eastern and western parts. The Cawnpore Muslim League proposes to send volunteers to the N.W.F. Province and Sylhet to do propaganda for Pakistan. Enrolment of Muslim National Guards is going on as usual notably in the bigger cities. The relations between the Muslim Leaguers and the Khaksars are strained at several places and the latter have shown resentment at the secession plan.

The Hindu Sabha and other Hindu institutions are intensifying the move for the allocation of Government posts, particularly in the Police department, on population basis. At meetings held at Lucknow, Bareilly, Bijnor, Meerut and other places resolutions to this effect were passed, and leaflets on the same theme have come to notice in Benares. Mahant Digvijay Nath of the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha with other workers collected funds from the Lucknow public for the proposed satyagraha campaign to be started by the Mahasabha. Agitation is also gaining ground for the exemption of Hindus from the punitive police tax at Allahabad. The R.S.S. Sangh carried on routine activities in the bigger towns....

3. A Report on Riots in Aligarh

Extracts from a letter from the President, City Congress Committee, Aligarh, to the President, AICC, Allahabad, 18 July 1947

AICC Papers, File: G-18, KWI (Pt II)/1947–8, NMML

City Congress Committee, Aligarh

Dear Sir,

The report into the communal riots at Aligarh on 16th July 1947 and thereafter by the Committee appointed by the President of the City Congress Committee at Aligarh, is attached herewith for your information and necessary action.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/-
President,

City Congress Committee,

Aligarh.

Encl:

Report.

We have enquired into the sad happenings during the Communal riots at Aligarh on the 16th of July 1947 and thereafter and beg to report as under:—

... It is striking that the trouble on the 16th July started on the same date and practically at the same time in different localities and the aggressor in every case was the same community. The local police of the different police out posts was not only a silent spectator but is mostly accused of actively participating in the fray and siding with the aggressors. It clearly shows that the whole thing was premeditated and pre-arranged. During the course of our enquiries
we have met quite a good number of people including non-League Muslims and they are all unanimous that the police if it wanted could have nipped the trouble in the bud and accuse them of indifference and at places of active help to the aggressors. They have displayed both inefficiency and corruption and are guilty of complete disregard of duty.

Inspite of all the efforts of the Congress workers and particularly the nationalist Muslims to the contrary, the Muslim League propaganda of hatred and communal frenzy which has been carried on all long [sic] from different platforms both political and communal has brought about this abnormal tension. In Aligarh, the center of the Muslim University, an avowed strong hold of League propaganda especially during the election campaign, the virus of communal hatred is more deep rooted being more thoroughly and consistently preached. The weak and lax policy of appeasement displayed by the Govt. in the last Kalyanganj riot has not only dissatisfied the public but has given the Leaguers a great flip and has encouraged them to try their methods once again.

As is quite obvious to the Govt., most of the responsible Govt. Officials here have their leanings towards the Muslim League, the S.P. and D.M. both are English men, in common with all other Europeans have little regard for efficient administration; leaving as they are they do not seem to have any interest left and if any thing they have a soft heart for the Leaguers their past associates in the policy of divide and rule. Under these conditions i.e. Non Indian as heads, most of the officials and police leagues and the seat of the Muslim University, it is really a great credit to the efforts of the congress workers both hindus and muslims that they could put off the evil day so long. False notions of prestige should not stand in the way of doing the right thing, especially of a Govt. responsible to the people and depending for its very existence on the Good will of the public.

A thorough and prompt enquiry into the conduct of officials and especially of the police be made and exemplary punishment awarded to those who are found either lacking in their duties or corrupt. Particularly to be taken note of are the two incidents one at Jaiganj where the police are reported to be present at a muslim house from where missiles were being thrown at Hindu houses and the shot fired by Mr. A.W. Khan on a solitary Hindu in Mohalla Katra.

All the officials against whom the public have complaint and into whose conduct enquiries are made be replaced by other reliable officers which will not only facilitate an impartial enquiry but will restore confidence in the public as well.

There is a general complaint that the police refused to register reports by one community. In this connection we can not fail to note that the kotwali is situated in a purely muslim locality and is inaccessible without passing through muslim areas which generally in times of riots are regarded as danger zones. The kotwali should either be removed to a more central and safer place or at least arrangements be made for the registration of reports at the city Congress Committee office which is very central and easily accessible place and is in the main market where the Hindu-muslim question does not arise. It is also in front of the Aligarh gate police station....

If the Government fails to take prompt and strong measures even this time and keeps on to the policy of drift and appeasement displayed during the last riots we are strongly of the opinion that they will be playing into the hands of communal organisations like the Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha, which exist every where and are always prompt in taking advantage
of our shortcomings and would alienate the sympathies and support of all fair minded and nationalists both Hindus and Musalmans.

Aligarh-Dated 18/7/47.

Sd. Shri Chand Singhal M.L.A.
Sd. Banwari Lal Mital.
Sd. Trilokinath.
Sd. Madan Lal Hiteshi, Secy: City Congress Committee. Members of the enquiry committee appointed by the President City Congress Committee, Aligarh.

True copy.
Sd/-
Secretary, City Congress Committee, Aligarh.

4. Report from UP

Extract from the fortnightly report on UP for the second half of June 1947, 19 July 1947 Home Poll (I), File No. 18/6/47, NAI

...2. Political.—Opinions on the June 3 plan have developed on the lines of the initial reactions. Except for a few dissentients, the consensus of opinion has been that the plan, though not an unmixed blessing, was the inevitable result of the impact of circumstances.

The Muslim League has been engaged in its usual and routine activities. The Khaksars were denounced for attempting to disturb the meeting of the League at Delhi. Appeals were made for the enlistment of volunteers for the Muslim National Guards. An Urdu leaflet ‘Pakistan Chalo’ was issued by Mr. Intizar Husain Khan, General Secretary, East Indian Railway-men’s Muslim Association. It exhorts the Railway employees to offer their services to the Pakistan Government. At Bareilly, subscriptions were raised for financing propaganda in the Frontier Province in connexion with the referendum.

The open session of the Bundelkhand Jamait-ul-Ulema Conference held at Jhansi on June 21 and 22 under the Presidency of Maulana Hifzur Rahman criticized the June 3 plan on the ground that it destroyed the political unity of the Muslims of India by dividing them into three areas.

The Hindu Sabha is trying to exploit the situation by voicing opposition to the division of the Punjab and Bengal. The demand for the reduction of the Muslim ratio in the Provincial police and other Government services is being repeated. Insistence is laid on the introduction of Hindi as the court language, compulsory military training and the repeal of the Arms Act....

3. Communal.—The danger spots are now reported to be the rural areas in some districts where the tendency is to give a communal colour even to private feuds and factious feelings. Regrettable disturbances occurred in the rural area of the Budaun district in which Muslims are reported to have suffered loss of life and property. The trouble had its origin on June 14 in a suspicion that the Muslims of a certain village had enticed away a Hindu girl. The Hindus collected in large numbers to effect recovery of the suspected girl and a clash ensued resulting in injuries to both parties. This was followed by further rioting in two more villages in which attacks were made by mobs armed with lathis, spears and fire-arms. Later, a third village was
similarly attacked. Following this rioting in the rural area, two Hindus were stabbed in Budaun city on June 18. The local police and the magistracy reached the spot promptly and military aid was also sent immediately on receipt of the news. This brought the situation under control. Repercussions were felt in neighbouring districts where special police precautions had to be taken. Isolated incidents also occurred in some districts, but serious trouble in each case was averted by the timely intervention of the authorities....

5. Prohibition of Cow Slaughter: Hindus Must First Do Their Duty

Letter from J.B. Kripalani to Shri Hanuman Prasad Poddar, 25 July 1947
AICC Papers, File: G-18 KW-I (Pt-II)/1947–8, NMML

Shri Hanuman Prasad Poddar,
Editor, ‘Kalyan’,
Gorakhpur.

Dear friend,

Your telegram of the 23rd instant. Before the question of prohibition of cow slaughter by legislation can be considered the Hindu community has got to do its duty in the matter. I can say from observation and experience that most of the cows slaughtered, whether in the camps or elsewhere, are sold to the butchers in the cantonments or the cantonment authorities by Hindus themselves. As long as Hindus sell the cow for profit knowing that the animal will be slaughtered they have no right to ask for the legislation you suggest. Before we ask the legislature to do something for us we should be prepared to do that thing ourselves so far as it lies in our power. Before, therefore, advising the legislature what to do or not to do the well-wishers of the cow must approach the Hindu community to do the right thing by the animal they consider sacred.

I would also draw your attention to the condition of the cows as they are kept by the Indians, especially the Hindus. I do not know whether it is more cruel to slaughter a cow or to starve it. If you have any chance of looking at the English, American or Australian cows, you will realise that these countries practice cow protection better than the Hindus. If the cow is to be protected it must be done systematically and scientifically. There are in India today States where slaughter of cow is prohibited by legislation. This has not, however, made the cow to prosper in such States. The disease is fundamental and you are suggesting a superficial remedy which does not go to the root of the problem.

As I wanted to explain my position at length I have not utilised your reply-paid telegraph form which I am returning herewith.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
J.B.K.

Rppd Acharya J.B. Kripalani, member
Consebmly New Delhi
Kindly wire whether you favour prohibition cow slaughter in Indian Union by legislation.
6. Report from UP

Extract from the fortnightly report on UP for the first half of July 1947, 29 July 1947

Home Poll (I), File No. 18/7/47, NAI

Political...In a number of districts Congressmen were engaged in preaching communal harmony.

About 60 leading Muslim Leaguers held a meeting at Lucknow on July 5, to consider the future League policy in the province. Divergent views were expressed. One section appeared to favour full co-operation with the majority party but another section opposed it as it might be regarded as surrender. Definite decisions were not reached. The Council of the Provincial Muslim League met at Lucknow on July ... at which elections were held. These elections ... some division in the ranks of the League and rival factions are reported to be intriguing against each other. At Agra, a post-prayer meeting, pleasure was expressed at Mr. Jinnah’s selection for the Governor-Generalship of Pakistan and collections for the Pakistan fund were also made.

At Cawnpore, the Muslim League workers held a private meeting and decided to arrange for the legal defence of all Muslims involved in communal cases and to advise their co-religionists to avoid communal riots in the city. Maulana Hasrat Mohani of Cawnpore is reported to be organizing a socialist party by uniting all left wing parties to work against the Congress and the partition of the country. The Khaksars are somewhat confused over the reported departure of Allama Mashriqi, on a pilgrimage to Mecca after the alleged disbanding of his organization.

The Hindu Mahasabha leaders are exploiting the inevitable upsurge of Hindu feeling and are preparing for Direct Action to be launched in August. Mahant Digvijay Nath has been particularly active. Professor V.G. Deshpande of the All India Hindu Mahasabha speaking at meetings at Benares, Ghazipur and Ballia exhorted the Hindus to protect their co-religionists and to organize themselves. The Sabha organized a ‘Black Flag Day’ and hartals in the principal cities of the province, except Benares. Attendance at the meetings was thin in most places, except Allahabad where about 5,000 persons were present. The hartals were only partial. The Jats held a District Jat Conference at Kheragarh (Agra) on June 29 and 30 under the presidentship of Chaudhri Raghubir Singh, Revenue Minister of Bharatpur. The Maharaja of Jodhpur was criticized for discharging Jats from the military and the police, and the Maharaja of Bharatpur was requested to accept the leadership of the Jat community. The Sikhs observed the anti-Pakistan Day on July 8 by holding Diwans in Gurdwaras and hartals and public meetings in several cities. The biggest of these meetings were held at Agra (5,000) and Aligarh (2,500)....

3. Communal.—Excitement continued during the fortnight and disturbances and affrays took place in more than one district. The places affected were Ghaziabad (Meerut), Mathura, Aligarh, Meerut and Bulandshahr. Both communities were involved in the disturbances and suffered loss of life. Mathura and Bulandshahr districts were the worst sufferers and continue to be the source of anxiety. In these districts there is widespread uneasiness and distrust. At Agra the number of Muslim refugees increased and this enhanced communal tension as refugees usually give lurid accounts of real or imaginary sufferings. The Meos of Bharatpur were again active on the Mathura border, but troops have been on the watch. At Cawnpore, a clash was averted by the police when both Hindus and Muslims claimed a grave as that of a member of their own community. The local police and the magistracy were on the alert everywhere....
7. ‘U.P. Government Round Up Hindu Mahasabha Leaders’

Extract from a report in *The Statesman*, 2 August 1947

**Lucknow, Aug 1.—** A general round-up of the members of the Council of Action of the U.P. Hindu Mahasabha was ordered by the U.P. Government last night on the final breakdown of the negotiations between the Government and Mahasabha leaders over their ten demands.

Seventy arrests have been made so far. Last night the police rounded up 50 leaders and workers, including Mr. Bishen Chand Seth, General Secretary of the U.P. Hindu Mahasabha, the Raja of Jagmanpur, Kunwar Guru Narain, Mr. Ranjit Singh and other members of the Council of Action. According to reports received in Lucknow the round-up has been extended to the districts.

Nevertheless the Mahasabha direct action movement against the U.P. Government began in Lucknow this morning when a batch of 20 volunteers shouting Mahasabha and anti-Congress slogans courted arrest. When they attempted to hoist the Mahasabha flag in Amin-ud-Dowlah Park they were taken into custody. One of those arrested was Mahant Digvijainath, the first dictator of the movement.

The police have taken precautions to maintain peace in Lucknow and other important cities and the Government have promulgated an Ordinance amending the U.P. Maintenance of Public Order Act of 1947. Police pickets have been posted in front of Ministers’ bungalow and Government buildings.

**Government’s Explanation**

The U.P. Government in a Press Note explain their attitude to the Mahasabha’s direct action movement and the measures taken by them to avoid a conflict.

Such a conflict, they say, would be suicidal in any case and particularly deplorable at the present critical juncture when the transfer of power is taking place and ‘we are getting the opportunity to mould the destinies of the country according to our own cultural tradition.’....

**Mahasabha’s Demands**

Interviewed after his meeting with the Premier, the Mahant said he was not satisfied with the trend of the discussion he had with Pandit Pant. He added there was no other course left for the Mahasabha than to launch its direct action movement to vindicate the honour of Hindus.

The Mahant also addressed a public meeting last night and explained the direct action programme.

The Mahasabha’s demands include:

1. The proportion of Muslims in all Governments, especially the Police Department, should be fixed on the population basis;
2. Hindus alone should be recruited in the armed police and the proposed Home Guard organization in order to bring the ratio to the proper figure;
3. Hindi should be made the official language in courts, police, and other Governmental departments;
4. The Arms Act should be suitably amended so that all members of the Legislative Assembly may keep guns;
5. The post of Home Minister should be given to a Hindu member of the Ministry;
(6) The U.P. Government must take immediate steps to make adequate arrangements for the Frontier and Punjab refugees;

(7) The ban on Government servants taking part in the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak should be lifted forthwith.—API.

**Mr. Bhopatkar’s Call to Hindus & Sikhs**

Poona, July 31.—Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement today warns Hindus and Sikhs against joining in the Aug 15 celebrations and says that the day should be observed more ‘in a spirit of heart-searching and repentance than of jubilation.’

He adds: ‘True it is that on Aug 15 the Hindustan Union will attain the status of a Dominion and will thereby be freed of the British domination to a large extent. But such a status was rejected by all the political parties in 1942 when it has not been marred by any untoward incidents.

‘But strangely enough, the Congress has accepted it in 1947, even though it is besmeared with the blood of the innocent and disfigured by the dishonour of Hindu and Sikh womanhood. Further the Congress has obtained it at the frightful cost of the mutilation of Mother Hind. Moreover, the orgy of plunder, arson, murder, conversion and so forth is proceeding with unabated virulence.

Concluding Mr. Bhopatkar urges Hindus and Sikhs ‘to boycott all the celebrations whether public or private, in protest against this humbug, hoist the Bhagwa, their national flag, over their houses, and holding public meetings, solemnly declare their firm determination to unify the motherland and to make her one, undivided whole as of old and to continue their struggle for independence and for full and complete independence and for all that it signifies and implies.—API.

8. ‘Sabha Agitation Is Against Masses’

Newspaper report of Govind Ballabh Pant’s speech at a public meeting

*National Herald, 4 August 1947*

The Premier strongly criticised the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha at this transitory and critical period when the country was getting freedom from foreign domination after a tremendous struggle and great deal of sacrifice. There could be no greater occasion for rejoicings than the present one when the country was breaking chains of thraldom and entering a new era of independence. All this was the result of the wise and able guidance of our leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and many others, he added.

He pointed out that the critics of these leaders were blind to the realities and were trying to mislead the people by raising the bogey of ‘religion in danger’. He paid eloquent tributes to Mahatma Gandhi and said that he was mainly responsible for protecting Indian culture and making efforts for prevention of cow-slaughter by forming a cow-protection association. It was he who fought for the removal of untouchability and staked his life to prevent separate electorates when they were introduced by the British for untouchables. The British Government yielded, and the decision to divide the Hindus had to be changed. Where were these Hindu Sabha leaders at the time when British imperialists were trying to crush Hindu culture and the freedom movement of the country?, he asked.
BEWARE OF DISSEMBLERS

Proceeding, Pandit Pant warned the audience to beware of the dissemblers who had always been helping the British to stay in India and were an obstruction in the way of struggle for freedom. These very leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha did not raise any voice against the Britishers who caused cow-slaughter to feed the British army in India. Now when the Britishers were quitting the country, their sense of devotion towards the cow had been suddenly aroused. That was nothing but hypocrisy. He said that in 1942 when the call for ‘Quit India’ was given by Mahatma Gandhi, the Mahasabha leaders joined hands with the British Government and placed obstacles in the progress of the country towards the goal of freedom.

Continuing, he said: ‘The new era is coming. We will be free on August 15. Though our pleasure is not unmixed with the pain of partition, yet it is a great event in history. We have got complete freedom and that is an occasion for our rejoicing. Anyone who holds demonstrations against these rejoicings and displays black flags on that historic day is a traitor and his face will be blackened by the act.

‘I have full confidence that there will be no man in Cawnpore belonging to this category. You have to celebrate the day in a befitting manner. Now the distinction between the ruler and the ruled has disappeared and those who rule will be your representatives. There will be equal rights for all citizens. No injustice will be done to anyone. Hindu religion is based on justice and equality. On grounds of religion, nobody will be allowed to suffer. We have to end the fratricidal fights going on in the Punjab, Bengal and the North-West Frontier Province.’

Premier Pant also referred to the Government decision of removing weightage to the minorities and said that orders had been issued regarding the use of Hindi in police and other Government departments. He also said that the Government had done all they could and were still endeavouring to better the lot of peasants and labourers.

ZAMINDARS HELPLESS

Pandit Pant added that the rajas, maharajas, mahants and ranis, who flourished under the British Raj, were now finding themselves helpless as their zamindari was soon going to be abolished. They could not ask the people to oppose the abolition of zamindari. They were, therefore, trying to mislead them in the name of religion and were resorting to direct action. The demands of the Hindu Sabhaites were preposterous. Hindu Sabhaites want a monster grandson before the birth of a son, which is an impossibility.

Pandit Pant appealed to the audience not to give any quarter to those who threaten to resort to direct action. He was confident that if they acted justly, they would unite again and there would soon be one and indivisible India.

Concluding, he replied to those who criticised the appointment by the Congress of Lord Mountbatten as Governor-General of India and said that by appointing Lord Mountbatten, the Congress had shown wisdom and statesmanship. It had been amply demonstrated to the world that those who hitherto ruled over us were now employed by us.—A.P.I.
9. Legislative Prohibition Needed to Stop Cow-Slaughter
Letter from Hanuman Prasad Poddar to J.B. Kripalani, 5 August 1947
AICC Papers, File: G-18 KW-I(III)/1947-8, NMML
The Gita Press,
Gorakhpur, U.P.
Gita Press Road
Also at 30, Banstolla Gulli, Calcutta

Dear Friend,

I am very grateful to you for your kind letter of the 25th July. It was so good of you to have written at length to me in reply to my telegram enquiring your views on prohibition of cow-slaughter in the future Indian Union by legislation. It was all the more kind of you to have written so promptly in the midst of your more pressing duties at a time when the country is entering a new phase of her life.

I fully agree with you that it is we Hindus who are directly or indirectly responsible for sending the cows to the slaughter-house and I also admit that the cow is generally ill-treated and ill-fed by us. But to me this is all the more reason why we should resort to legislation for stopping the evil. Had we taken care of our own cattle-wealth and if our masses realized the disastrous consequences of cow-slaughter to the nation, the need for such a legislation would not have arisen at all. It is only where the cooperation of the masses is not forthcoming in an adequate degree that the help of legislation is sought by the enlightened public for uprooting an evil.

It is an admitted fact that the indiscriminate slaughter of cows and bullocks practiced on a large scale in recent years has been mainly responsible for the dearth of milk and milk products and the paucity of good bullocks and this is telling very badly on our national health and agriculture. Now that the British are quitting our land and we are soon going to have a national government of our own, it cannot be too ambitious on our part to expect that the abolition of this practice will claim their foremost attention. It is with this pious hope that the elite of the country are flooding Dr. Rajendra Prasad and even Mahatma Gandhi with telegrams and letters in this connection and it is with this hope that I have sent telegrams to all members of the Constituent Assembly and members of provincial legislature with a view to ascertaining their views on the question.

Although it is true that the Hindus are generally guilty of maltreating the cow, it is not so much their callous disregard as their grinding poverty which is responsible for their neglect of the animal. Against this we should not forget that it is the Hindus who are annually spending crores of rupees for the uplift and protection of the cows and maintaining hundreds of Gaushalas all over the country and thus preventing to a considerable extent the exodus of these animals to the slaughter-house. Besides, the protection of the cow is as much the concern of the Hindus as of the other communities. Her milk and milk products are equally consumed by all and the produce of agriculture is commonly shared by the whole nation. Hence the protection and preservation of this useful animal becomes the sacred duty of all our countrymen and not of this community or that. The question should not be given a communal colouring simply because the Hindus are more keen about the abolition of cow-slaughter.

The necessity of stopping cow-slaughter by law has been realized even by other Asiatic countries such as China and Burma. So far as our information goes, cow-slaughter is forbidden
by law in China and the advisability of introducing a similar law is being seriously considered by the Burmese Government who have already imposed a restriction on it.

The opinion of experts like Sir Datar Singh, Cattle Adviser to the Government of India, and scholars like Dr. Satish Chandra Dasgupta, who have made a life-long study of this problem, are also in favour of such prohibition. Even Mahatma Gandhi was till recently in favour of such a measure. You will remember only last year a conference was held under the presidency of Dr. Rajendra Prasad at Wardha, in which it was resolved that the slaughter of all useful cattle should be banned. You must be aware that Mahatma Gandhi was present in that meeting and it was with his concurrence that the above resolution was passed. Once such a measure has been adopted by the Parliament of the future Indian Union, they can also devise means of putting a stop to their maltreatment at the hands of the general public.

Knowing as I do that you have always been a stalwart champion of just and noble causes, I hope you will also advocate the cause of cow-protection which is of such vital importance to the nation and see that cow-slaughter is entirely stopped by the first Parliament of the great Indian Union.

Thanking you once again for your kindness, and with respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hanuman Prasad Poddar
Chapter 36. Minority Groups and Displaced Populations

1. All India Gurkha League Meets: We Must Stand United

Note by Central Intelligence Officer on a meeting of the All India Gurkha League in Kalimpong, 4 June 1947
Home Poll (I), File No. 64/1947, NAI

Intelligence Bureau
(Home Department)

In continuation of this Bureau’s u.o.No. 32/DG/46, dated the 7th April, 1947, regarding the All-India Gurkha League, a copy of a note on a recent meeting of the League in Kalimpong, received from the Central Intelligence Officer, Shillong, is forwarded herewith.

2. In forwarding this note, the Central Intelligence Officer, Shillong, has made the following comments about this meeting:

‘I think it is very important to note this new and intriguing departure in that ex-Army personnel are now joining the League in large numbers. The AIGL have managed to draw them into their fold on grounds of Government’s delay with regard to postwar resettlement plans. At a meeting on the 15th May to celebrate the 4th Anniversary of the founding of the AIGL the arrangements made in Kalimpong for feeding and housing these ex-soldiers were very remarkable.

Another most interesting feature of that meeting was that practically all the leading Marwari merchants were invited and given seats in front. Not only did they turn up but they waited two hours for the President and the Working President to arrive and on their arrival got up and greeted them with folded hands. This has been considered a tremendous victory for Dambir Singh and his League.

It will also be of note that nothing was said against the Ranas of Nepal in this meeting.’

Sd/- (L.P. Biggie)

Asstt. Director (J)
(E.A. Deptt.)

Separately. (H.D.)
(D.D. of I)
(D.I.B.u.o.No. 32/DG/46, dated 4 JUN 1947)

Note on a Recent Meeting of the A.I.G.L. in Kalimpong

On 17.5.47 at 11.30 A.M. a huge procession was taken out by the AIGL, starting from the Town Hall in Kalimpong. The procession was led by 50 girl students who styled themselves
as Rani of Jhansi Regiment. They were followed by 220 ex-soldiers in Khaki uniform and 100 local students in white shirts and slacks who called themselves the Amar Singh Regt. and Balbhadra Regt. and after them 300 school children of the Town School, 200 female and 200 children labourers of Wool Godown.

At 2.30 P.M. all the above people including the public numbering more than two thousand assembled on the Mela ground. Pratap Kumai, local President of AIGL was elected Chairman of the meeting. After a Nepali national song sung by the students, the speechmaking commenced. The first speaker was Dambarsingh Gurung, President. He was heavily garlanded by girl students. The gist of his speech is as follows:

He said he was very pleased to find such a huge gathering which he had never seen before and thanked them all heartily for their attendance. He said that India is going to get swaraj very shortly. The Britishers are quitting India by June 1948 and the Nepalis must prepare from now on to face the situation. He had learnt through experience that Nepalis could not get anything from Bengalis. ‘The Britishers have treated us like animals but the Bengalis are worse than Britishers. The Bengalis will be our administrators and will try to keep us down all the time. Look how all Government posts have been occupied by these Bengalis although we have got now so many graduates, who can easily replace them. Although we have suffered enough under the British Imperialism but I can see from now that we will suffer more under Bengalis. The next are Marwaris who are still worse than Bengalis. If swaraj comes we will be under Bengal or Bengalis. So we are trying to amalgamate Darjeeling District with Assam. The reason is we are three lakhs in this district and there are ten lakhs in Assam. In Assam there are many people like us who are called Garos, Nagas, Khasis, Lushais, etc. Our population will be thus fifteen to sixteen lakhs and we will get at least 15 to 16 seats in the Legislative Assembly who will represent our grievances. We cannot compete with the Bengalis in education, but Assam is far behind Bengal and we may be able to keep pace with Assam. If this district is not amalgamated with Assam, then we demand that Darjeeling District should be kept under a local Council. The members of this committee should be our people. There should be enough safeguard in the Khas Mehal lands otherwise the rich Marwaris and Bengalis will buy all the lands and we will be in no man’s land. What is our fate I cannot say, so all of you must prepare to face anything and prepare to lay down even your life. I am ready to die for the cause of our people but I will kill ten enemies before I die.’ (There was a thunderous clap of hands from the spectators).

The second speaker was C.H. Wangdi. He started by saying that he was speaking on behalf of Sikkimese, Bhutanese and Tibetans. He thanked the AIGL for giving him this opportunity to speak. He was very surprised to find such a vast crowd of people attending the AIGL meeting. ‘We the Tibetans, Sikkimese and Bhutanese must join hands with the AIGL otherwise we will suffer.’ He said that the Tibetans, Sikkimese and Bhutanese have not got any organisation like AIGL, so he was trying to form an Association and he requested all Bhutias to come and attend a meeting at Kyongsa Gompa which he was going to call very shortly. He further said that the day before there had been an auction of a Government building where poor Tibetan beggars were living. There was no one to raise any objection to this auction. ‘If we have got any association or league like AIGL we could have objected the auction at once.’

However he is trying to stop this and the Bhutia public must help him in his endeavour. (A separate note on C.H. Wangdi is enclosed).

After Wangdi, the name of Mrs. D. Mohan as representative of the Lepcha Association was announced by the Chairman but she did not turn up. The next speaker was Miss Sun Keshri
Pradhan, a local school-mistress (daughter of K.D. Pradhan, the adviser of AIGL). She said that there should be mass education amongst the Nepali women and what is the duty of Nepali women if there is any oppression. She said, our brothers are sharpening their kukris and women also should keep ready the khurpas (a kind of sickle). After Miss Pradhan finished her speech, Ramakrishna Sharma spoke. He defined the meaning of Nepali and Gurkha and the use of the Nepali language as lingua franca of the district. Then Narbahadur Gurung, President of the AIGL Labour Union spoke about the present strike at the Wool Godown. He compared the wages paid by Marwaris and Tibetan merchants to the labourers. The Marwaris are paying 12 annas for opening a bale of wool whereas Tibetans are paying rupee one and so forth.

P.B. Pradhan, ex-Jemadar of the RIASC addressed the ex-service men. He said that those in the Army are taught to respect and honour the Union Jack. ‘As we are no longer in the Army now, we must pay the same respect to AIGL flag. Before we joined the Army we were promised lots of tempting things and while in the Army we were promised many other things by the British Government. Now we are discharged from the Army but where are those tempting things which the British Government have promised us? We heard that in Darjeeling District rupees three lakhs have been granted for our benefit and 500 acres of land allotted to us but where are these monies and lands? We must try to find this out and we must demand from the British Government jobs and lands to settle down before the Britishers leave India. The AIGL have promised to help us so we must attend the call of AIGL at any time.’

The last man to speak was P. Kumai, the Chairman. He thanked those who had joined the procession and especially the vast huge crowd. He said that Randhir Subba, the Working President of AIGL and Miss Tara Dan (a woman worker of AIGL) had gone to Jalpaiguri to attend the North Bengal Conference on behalf of the AIGL.

2. Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan Formed

Letter from C.E. Gibbon to M.A. Jinnah, 4 June 1947

Jinnah Papers, Vol. II, pp. 36–40

15 JAIL ROAD, LAHORE,

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please accept my heartiest congratulations on your success.

A large number of friends and I listened in to the broadcasts. Except for the interruption of a fan, the reception here was good, and your talk [was] appreciative [sic for appreciated].

I enclose a copy of a statement I intend releasing to the press tomorrow, in respect of the formation of the Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan, and have advised the Association’s representatives at Karachi, Quetta, Peshawar and Rawalpindi to contact your provincial and town executives and establish friendly relations.

I would request you to reciprocate.

With my best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

C. E. GIBBON

MLA (Punjab)
Enclosure

PRESS NOTE

15 JAIL ROAD, LAHORE,

Mr. C.E. Gibbon, MLA (Punjab), in a statement to the press announces the formation of the Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan, with its headquarters at Lahore, and Provincial Councils at Karachi, Quetta and Peshawar.

Mr. Gibbon says, ‘The bitterly resented “political directives” and interference in provincial affairs by the Governing Body of the All India Anglo-Indian Association at Delhi, has given rise to the demand by an overwhelming majority of Anglo-Indians domiciled in the Punjab, Sind, N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan for the immediate disestablishment of the All India Anglo-Indian Association in these Provinces, and for the formation of a new organisation which would be free to pursue policies in keeping with the wishes of the community in a free and democratic State.

In response to this demand, I am pleased to announce the formation of the Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan with its headquarters at No. 15, Jail Road, Lahore, and Provincial Councils at Karachi, Quetta and Peshawar.

The Association, which is a non-political body, will sponsor the following schemes for the benefit of its members—Death Benefit, Life Insurance, Co-operative Enterprises, Commercial and Technical Education Relief, Colonisation and, in co-operation with the Government by law established, a Nurses’ Bureau and an Employment Exchange.

The political interests will be served by a Parliamentary Board consisting of representatives of the four Provinces.’

C. E. GIBBON
MLA (Punjab)

3. Arrangements for Migration of People from Pakistan Areas to Hindustan

Resolution proposed for by the All India Congress Committee, 5 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-56(Pt-2)/1947, NMML

FACILITIES FOR MIGRATION FROM PAKISTAN

This meeting of the All India Congress Committee urges upon the Hindusthan Government to make suitable arrangements and to render all possible help to all persons who want to migrate from Pakistan areas to Hindusthan.

Swami Krishnanand
(Member from Sind)

4. ‘No Legal Means to Protect Minorities: Mountbatten’

Extract from a report in Dawn, 6 June 1947

The following is the concluding portion of the Viceroy’s clarification of the new India plan at a Press conference, the main part of which appeared in our yesterday’s issue....
He had been asked, the Viceroy went on, what provision His Majesty’s Government would make for the protection of minorities. The HMG Plan had not referred to this point. The British Government’s decision to quit was not insincere. Since this was so they had no legal means to enforce any protection for the minorities. But he had talked to the leaders of the country and was absolutely certain that so long as they were in power, ‘they personally mean to look after the interests of the minorities as a matter of conscience, honour and fairplay.’

While he was still here, his services would also be available for this purpose. He had the greatest faith in the future of India and he believed that the minorities were going to have ‘a decent chance and fairplay’...

5. Protection of the Hindu Minority in East Bengal
   Letter from N.C. Datta to S.P. Mookerjee, 6 June 1947
   S.P. Mookerjee Papers, Subject File No. 32, Instalment I, NMML

   N. C. DATTA
   MG. DIRECTOR
   THE COMILLA BANKING CORPN. LTD, COMILLA

   Dear Dr. Mookejee,

   It appears from H. M. G declaration that Bengal is going to be partitioned, and this is mainly due to your efforts for which I congratulate you.

   I know your time is very valuable. So, I am writing this short letter to you, which will receive your attention and to which, I hope, you will send a reply.

   I am anxious to know what steps you are going to take to give protection to the Hindus of East Bengal—their life and property etc.

   What provision for protection you are providing in the Constitution and do you think that the interest of Hindus of East Bengal will be really protected.

   I think you realise your responsibility now more than ever to render all help to the Hindus of East Bengal, who have to undergo great sacrifices for the good of the people of West Bengal.

   I hope you will have time to go through my letter and send a reply to me.

   Thanking you,

   Yours truly,
   Sd/- N. C. Datta

6. Measures for Evacuation of Refugees
   Letter from Baldev Singh to Evan Jenkins, 7 June 1947

   Defence Department, New Delhi

   My dear Sir Evan,

   I have received several requests for military escort for evacuation of small pockets of Hindu and Muslim areas in Gurgaon where the inhabitants are predominantly members of the opposite community. The situation in Gurgaon is still very serious and these people have been placed in a desperate position. Everything must therefore be done to evacuate them. This should
normally be done through the Deputy Commissioner but his attitude to such representations has been cold and unhelpful.

Previously the Armed Forces sent to assist him were probably not adequate but we are now establishing another Brigade Headquarters at Gurgaon to command troops operating in that area, an arrangement which will be of great help to the civil authorities. Another Battalion, 3/15 Punjab Regiment, has already moved into the Gurgaon area. It should therefore be possible now for the Deputy Commissioner to help in the matter.

I cannot, however, ask the relief workers to go to him again, as, having had an experience of his behaviour during my visit to Gurgaon, I am not sure if he would approach the problem in a co-operative spirit, unless there are instructions to him from you. I would, therefore, be glad if you will take some action on this and if you let me know that civil authorities will encourage evacuation where small pockets of either community are in imminent danger, I will ask the relief workers to contact the Deputy Commissioner or make independent arrangements for provision of escorts.

Yours sincerely,

BALDEV SINGH

7. ‘Twenty Per Cent Anglo-Indians Will Live in Pakistan—Anthony’s Verdict Incorrect’

_Dawn, 9 June 1947_

New Delhi, Sunday—‘Mr. Frank Anthony, MLA (Central) continues to issue misleading statements about the future policy of Anglo-Indians in the two countries into which India is being divided. He has stated in a Press statement that about 99.9 per cent of Anglo-Indians will be in Hindustan. This is absolutely incorrect,’ says Mr. C. E. Gibbon, MLA, (Punjab) and founder of the Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan, who arrived here this morning from Lahore, in a statement to OPI.

I have worked out figures on the 1941 Census Report, and even on the basis of the present notional division, about 20 per cent of Anglo-Indians are in the Pakistan territory. Moreover, in his statement he speaks of Anglo-Indians as having ‘Indian nationality.’ Nationality, in the legal sense, goes with one’s Country.

Mr Anthony does not seem to have realised that there will be no India in future. Its place will be taken by two countries and Anglo-Indians will necessarily take their nationality from the country in which they are domiciled. The time has come when the All India Association should confine its activities to Hindustan. Anglo-Indians, in the future Pakistan State, must necessarily identify themselves with the national life of their country, and the less Mr Anthony meddles with them the better.

‘He has also suggested that Anglo-Indians will have to depend on the Congress in order to secure representation in Pakistan. This is fantastic. The Congress or the Hindus, will not have a large enough quota in Pakistan out of which to elect Anglo-Indians or Christians. For their representation these small minorities in Pakistan will naturally have to depend on the Muslim majority. And there is not the least justification for claiming that in Pakistan the Anglo-Indians will form part of the ‘General.’

‘He is doing no service to the community by sabotaging co-operation between Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians. Pakistan Christians—Indian, Anglo-Indian and European have
been functioning in the Punjab Legislative Assembly as one team, helping and supporting each other since 1938. It is because of this cohesion that they have exercised influence quite out of proportion to their numbers.

‘I can assure Mr Anthony that Pakistani Christians have commonsense enough to resist his advice that Anglo-Indians should join hands with Indian Christians, only as far as religion is concerned. We have much more in common, and intend to take full advantage of it, while maintaining our separate communal entities.’

**Anglo-Indians Want to Live as Separate Unit**

New Delhi, Saturday—Measures to ensure the future integrity and security of the Anglo-Indian community both in Hindustan and Pakistan are being adopted by the All India Anglo-Indian Association. These measures are intended to preserve the community as a separate autonomous cultural unit with programmes for employment and economic uplift.

Mr. Frank Anthony, President-in-Chief, All India Anglo-Indian Association, today said: ‘We intend quite rightly to cling tenaciously to our culture, communal way of life and English which is our mother tongue, while giving of our best to India.

We will join hands with the Indian Christians only as far as religion is concerned. Personally I feel that the Anglo-Indians will play an important part.

The Anglo-Indians through the Anglo-Indian Association are more organised than any other community in India. It has 100 branches and won every seat in every legislature throughout the country in the last election.’

Referring to the position of Anglo-Indians in Hindustan and Pakistan, Mr. Anthony said: ‘99.9 per cent of the Anglo-Indians will fall in Hindustan. I have every reason to believe that the Congress which will decide the position of the community through the Constituent Assembly will be generous to the Anglo-Indians and will allow us to retain our political and economic rights. Anglo-Indians in Pakistan will be classified under general seats and...have to depend on Congress votes for representation.’

Mr Anthony is leaving tonight for Lahore where he will make efforts to bring about unity among the Anglo-Indians in Northern India.—A.P.I.

8. **Appeal for Protection of Minorities in Pakistan**

Letter from S.L. Chawla to S.P. Mookerjee, 11 June 1947

S.P. Mookerjee Papers, Subject File No. 95, Instalments II to IV, Part I, NMML

Jhang
(Western Punjab)

My most respected Leader,

The decision of the British Government to create a Pakistan State has thrown about 170–80 lacs of Hindus under the slavery of the most cruel un-civilised people. We welcome it for the reasons that at-least there will be Hindu state from Amritsar to Calcutta and from Himalaya to Raskumari but at the same time we approach you and the other leaders through you not to ignore and overlook your brothers whom you have been compelled to leave at the mercy of others. We expect that the constituent Assembly of Hindustan will certainly make a provision by which the life honour and property of the Hindus and Sikhs of Pakistan shall be protected. If
possible the Leaders should also form some committees to arrange for the transfer of population as well as property. We Hindus of this place who own agricultural as well as non-agricultural property are prepared to get it exchanged with the property of Muslims of those areas and I hope through your efforts, arrangements suitable to us and to Muslims of those areas will be made and information to that effect shall be given to us. You probably do not know that there is private and confidential propaganda set afloat in these areas that no Muslim should buy the property of the non-Muslims. With the result that the value of the property of non-Muslim is nil now-a-days. We do not know what else is in store for us. You will kindly also get arrangements made so that the lawyers who have been left in the Pakistan area be allowed to start their practise in the different High Courts of the Hindustan area. In case you or your staff is able to find out if any Hindu state is prepared to welcome non Muslims of Pakistan area and if it is prepared to sell lands on reasonable price and on instalment systems. And also if it will allow lawyers of this place to practise there. I hope you would for the benefit of your forsaken brothers give us all this information and do your best for us.

Yours most obediently,
Sd/- Sant Lai Chawla
B.A. LL.B.Advocate,
Jhang

9. Future of Jain Community in Divided Punjab
Letter from Shiromani Committee Jain Baradari to Vallabhbhai Patel, 13 June 1947
SPC, Vol. V, p. 286

Shiromani Committee Jain Baradari
Rawalpindi

[Revered Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,]
Jai Hind.

The above committee have decided to negotiate with you on the subject referred below, and I on behalf of it with due respect and honour beg to communicate extract of the proceeding of a meeting held to consider the welfare of this community under the new developments [that have] taken place.

During the last few months of communal disturbances in the province and in Rawalpindi particularly, we faced and stood in accordance [with] your advice communicated to us from time to time through the Press and wireless. Now when division of India and the province is accepted by all parties and [when] we will cut off from Hindustan to Pakistan, where it will be impossible to remain, we therefore seek your kind advice and hope to be favoured per return [with] help and guidance.

Thanking you in anticipation and awaiting favourably,

I beg to remain,
Yours faithfully,
for Secretary
10. ‘Position of East Bengal Hindus under Pakistan Government’
   Article by N.R. Sarker in Amrita Bazar Patrika, 13 June 1947

I have been receiving letters from East Bengal Hindus as to what may be their position and duty in the new situation when a Pakistan State in East Bengal seems to be a certainty. The letters almost invariably disclose some amount of panic in view of the past happenings in various parts of East Bengal. In the context of the unfortunate incidents of the recent past, a sense of insecurity among the minority community, which the East Bengal Hindus are, is only natural. But are the communal disturbances and the lawlessness still likely to continue? Prophecies in such a matter would be somewhat hazardous to make. One can, however, scan the concrete facts of the present situation and the possibilities of the situation as it is likely to develop in the near future and form some idea as to the probable trends regarding the communal situation and order or absence of it in the public life in the days ahead of us; and such an analysis leads me to believe that communal outbursts such as we have experienced in the past are very unlikely in the future. The Muslim community is likely hereafter to throw in its weight more and more for settled and ordered development of the new State.

**Task of Building Anew**

The virtual grant of Pakistan must assuage Muslim feelings to a very large extent. They have practically gained what they had been agitating for and their leaders also admit this. Hereafter, there could be very little case for continuing agitation. In fact, if Pakistan is to be of any significance in the life of Muslims, Muslims will find that they have to shift the emphasis now from agitation to works of construction. Except district administration, the Eastern Pakistan State will have to build everything anew. Industries have to be established, ports have to be developed and there will be a host of other things which will [require] the serious and immediate attention of the Pakistan administration. A *sine qua non* of all such constructive work is the goodwill of all sections of people and the existence of law, order and peace in the country. The experience of the last ten years of administration will, I hope, bring to the Muslims a growing realisation of the fact that prosperity cannot be achieved overnight merely by passing laws ... taking communal measures of distraction or distribution of patronage.

Besides, even as regards man-power for the administrative services, industries, trade, commerce, etc. Muslims are very soon likely to find within their own community they do not have all the talents and ability that the tremendous tasks of the ... are bound to require. Naturally therefore, any developmental or constructive work of the magnitude which would be required will have to fully harness all the combined resources in men and material to this great task. I feel, therefore, that they cannot but seek the co-operation of the Hindu community in these tasks. Considering all these, I do not think that the Hindus of East Bengal should take too gloomy a view of things or be unduly apprehensive about their future and security in the Pakistan State.

**Duty of Hindus**

One of the first duties of Hindus now is, I think, to ensure that the best type of persons are sent to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly to represent them. This is essential because when the constitution is framed, the Hindus, as a minority community, must have due safeguards in the constitution to protect their vital interests. Hindus should,
therefore, appeal to the Congress to see to it that the very best men of their community are chosen for election to the Constituent Assembly of the Pakistan States.

It would not be profitable in any way now to rake up the past, however painful its memories may be. As I have said, the chances are that Muslims themselves begin a new chapter now with a different approach to things. Hindu leaders should, therefore, forgetting the past, try to associate with Muslim leaders wherever possible and thus help create a new atmosphere in place of the distrust and difference which have unfortunately existed so long. Since we Hindus of East Bengal must live in East Bengal, it is best for us to take a realistic view of things and to make our own contribution, so far as we get a chance for this, towards ensuring the prosperity and good government of the State where we and our future generations will have to live and move.

If the hopes expressed above do not materialise and if any untoward situation detrimental to the interests of Hindus develops, the Hindus need not altogether despair of getting aid in their distress from Hindus in the Hindusthan area, so far as the latter may help them in such an eventuality. The internal strength of the Hindus of East Bengal is not also so insignificant as to be of no avail in safeguarding their legitimate interests and rights and if further this strength is augmented by co-operative efforts both among Hindus and between Hindus and Muslims it might not be unnatural to expect that Hindus in East Bengal would be enabled to pull their full weight in the future East Bengal State. Hindu leaders elsewhere in India are even now giving their anxious thoughts to this question and they will not forget or neglect their brethren here in East Bengal in times of need.

11. Fate of Hindus in East Bengal

Letter from S.P. Mookerjee to N.C. Datta, 14 June 1947
S.P. Mookerjee Papers, Subject File No. 32, Instalment I, NMML

Dear Mr. Datta,

I received your letter on my return from Delhi day before yesterday. The points you have raised must be considered by the Constituent Assembly and also the new West Bengal Government. The Congress party dominates over both these bodies and I hope that it will not hesitate to give the right lead. Much will depend on the demands which you formulate from East Bengal. The requirement may vary from area to area. I have a feeling that the Moslem League is bound to negotiate for the purpose of protecting the Moslem minorities in Hindusthan. We should then be able to put forward our demands for the protection of Hindu minorities. Why should you not take the lead and prepare a scheme for the protection of the legitimate rights of Hindus in Comilla district in the educational, economic and other spheres? I have been repeatedly making suggestions to various district leaders but somehow satisfactory progress has not yet been achieved. I hope you will be able to give a lead from Comilla.

Yours sincerely

12. ‘Minorities in Pakistan to Be Treated Fairly’

_Dawn, 14 June 1947_

Lahore, Friday—Dewara [sic] Bahadur S.P. Singh, Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, and Mr. C.E. Gibbon, Anglo-Indian member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, who recently
met Mr. Jinnah and other top-ranking League leaders in Delhi, said in an interview with Globe yesterday that they had received an assurance from the League President that the minorities would not only be treated fairly but handsomely.

Mr. Jinnah told them he would secure the services of the best available citizens of Pakistan irrespective of cast [sic], creed or community.

Dewan Bahadur Singha complained to the League leaders that with their three seats out of 10 general seats, it would not be possible for Christians to return a member to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, and as Muslims could only elect Muslims, it was not possible for the League to give any share out of the Muslim quota.

The Christians, he revealed, had therefore, requested the Viceroy to amend the arrangements so that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, when formed, may be able to co-opt one member each from such communities as are represented in the Provincial Assembly but fail to be elected to the Constituent Assembly.

Asked why he had resigned from the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, Mr. Gibbon replied: ‘As a potential citizen of Pakistan State, it is not proper for me to continue to be a member of the Hindustan Constituent Assembly to which I was elected by a general constituency of the Central Provinces.

‘My recent talks with Mr. Jinnah and other top-ranking leaders of the Muslim majority provinces leave me with no doubt that the Anglo-Indian minority in Pakistan, along with other minorities, will be given every opportunity to promote their political and cultural rights and interests.

‘I have no fear regarding the future of my community in Pakistan, provided, of course, we play the game and render unto the State what is the State’s.’

Mr. Gibbon felt so sure of the Anglo-Indians future in Pakistan that he did not hesitate to advise the Anglo-Indians of Hindustan who, for one reason or another, had decided to quit India, to change their plan and come to Pakistan ‘where, I am assured they would be happy and contented.

Mr. Gibbon was disappointed in the new plan which, according to neither any Anglo-Indian nor any Christian, was likely to get a seat in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. This, he said, was neither the fault of Congress nor the League, but was the result of the shortsightedness of the framers of the scheme.

‘Be that as it may,’ Mr. Gibbon confidently remarked, ‘I have been assured by Mr. Jinnah that the Anglo-Indian community will certainly be represented on all or any of the committees set up by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, where it is necessary for our community to express its views freely.’—Globe

13. ‘Minority M.L.A.s from Pakistan: Convention to Be Held’

The Tribune, 16 June 1947

New Delhi, June 15—A convention of all members of the Legislatures and of the Constituent Assembly belonging to the minority community and coming from the Pakistan areas will be held in Delhi as soon as partition has been effected to decide their future course of action. The question as to the formation of a separate popular political organisation for the minorities, if thought advisable, will also be discussed, it is understood.
This decision was taken at an informal conference of the A.I.C.C. members from East Bengal, Western Punjab and Sind held this morning at the Constitution House.

The leaders had a free and frank exchange of opinion and agreed that as soon as partition was effected the Convention should be held.

The Conference appointed a Contact Committee, consisting of Mr. Choithram Gidwani (Sind) as convenor and Prof. Rajkumar Chakravarty and Mr. Dev Raj Sethi, M.L.A. (Punjab) as members to settle the preliminaries of the Conference.

The Contact Committee met Acharya Kripalani immediately after the Conference and discussed the situation with him. The Congress President is reported to have told them that there would be no division of the Provincial Congress Committees as a result of the partition and that the Congress organisation would function even in the partitioned areas as before.—United Press.

14. Minorities in Future Pakistan ‘Should Stick to Their Homes’
Press Statement issued by J.B. Kripalani, 18 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-47 (Part I)/1946, NMML

Acharya J.B. Kripalani, the Congress President has issued the following statement to the Press:—

Representatives of minorities from East Bengal, West Punjab and Sind have approached me for advice as to what they should do when the territories they live in become part of an independent State of Pakistan. Most of them fear that their lives, honour and property which are unsafe now would become even more unsafe then. I do not share that fear. On the contrary I hope that once the State or Pakistan is established its government or governments would have enough sense of reality not to discredit themselves by unfair treatment of the minorities.

Up till now the Muslim League felt that it was in its interest to create an atmosphere of conflict and strife. Henceforth it would obviously be in its interest to create order, for the spirit of lawlessness roused against the minorities would sooner or later be turned against its own governments. Moreover ill-treatment of the minorities, either direct by government action or indirect by encouragement of mob passion, is bound to bring the State of Pakistan into disrepute and ultimately into conflict with the Indian Union. I have no doubt that it would not be in the interest of Pakistan to invite needless conflict.

I would therefore ask the minorities in the future Pakistan not to get unduly nervous or panicky and not to be in a hurry to emigrate. They should stick to their homes, lands and professions to which they have as much right as the members of the majority community. They should wait and watch and not lose faith in their own strength, in the potential sanity of the Pakistan Government and in the ultimate unity of India which can never be permanently destroyed.

It is in the obvious interest of the majority to win the affection and confidence of the minorities as it is in the interest of the minorities to give their cooperation to the majority, provided such cooperation is invited on just and honourable terms. Now that the Muslim League will assume the full responsibility of Government, I hope its leadership will with equal willingness accept the full obligations of such responsibility.

As regards the minorities in the Indian Union, Muslim or other, I assure them that they have nothing to fear. They will be justly and fairly treated. The Congress is a national organisation and will not tolerate special privileges or disabilities on communal or religious ground. It stands
for justice and equal opportunities for all the people, irrespective of religion, caste, class or sex. As long as Congress has any influence with the Government and people of the Indian Union, no member of any minority community need fear discriminatory treatment.

15. ‘Minorities’ Fears Must Be Dispelled’
   Editorial in *The Tribune*, 19 June 1947

Now that the partition of India has practically become an accomplished fact, the members of the minority communities, who will have to live in the new State of Pakistan, are feeling nervous about their future. No clear picture of what the Pakistan state will be like—whether or not it will be a secular state in which the minority communities will have a fair deal and enjoy the right of citizenship like Muslims—has yet been given by responsible Muslim League leaders. Their reticence on this important point, especially when the minds of the members of the minorities are assailed by doubts and misgivings, has added to the already existing nervousness and confusion. So far as the Hindu majority provinces are concerned—there will be over three crores of Mussalmans in those provinces—the leaders of the Congress, particularly Mahatma Gandhi, have made it abundantly clear that the minority community need not entertain any apprehension regarding their future and that the constitution of a sovereign Muslim state of Pakistan will not make any difference whatsoever in their political or social status in Hindustan. In his post-prayer speech a couple of days ago, Mahatma Gandhi declared in unequivocal terms that ‘no matter what was done in the Pakistan provinces the Union provinces would be strictly just and fair in their treatment of their Muslim brethren.’ ‘Pakistan’, he added, ‘should make no difference in their regard for the Muslim as well as other minorities.’ Mr. Jinnah may claim that Hindus and Mussalmans are two nations—on that basis the country is being vivisected. But the supreme anxiety of the Congress leaders appears to be to falsify that preposterous claim; and the one way in which they think they can falsify that claim is to treat Hindus and Mussalmans in Hindustan on terms of perfect equality. Their sole aim is so to work the newly-won independence as to bring about the fusion of the two parts of India at the earliest possible time. That the two parts should re-unite is the ardent desire of all patriotic Indians whose faith in the indivisibility of their country remains unshaken in spite of its division under the Mountbatten plan. But the ultimate re-union of the two parts depends to a great extent on the attitude that the Mussalmans in Pakistan will take up.

While Congress leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi, have made their position unequivocally clear and while they have re-affirmed their undiminished faith in the essential unity of India, Mr. M. A. Jinnah and other Muslim League leaders have so far avoided any public reference to the question of the treatment of the minorities in the future state of Pakistan; and this in spite of the Mahatma’s repeatedly laying especial stress on that point. ‘Now that the Qaid-e-Azam had got what he wanted’ said Mahatma Gandhi on June 7, ‘it was up to him to give the world the shape of Pakistan and make it attractive in word and action. Was it not up to him to invite all non-Muslims and show them that they would be as happy as Muslims of Pakistan?’ Again on June 11, the Mahatma said, ‘The Qaid-e-Azam should lay all his cards on the table, so that the world can see what he means by Muslim majority rule—otherwise described as Pakistan.’ To a deputation of the non-Muslims of Campbellpore, Mahatma Gandhi said that they should have no fear about their safety in Pakistan. But at the same time he admitted that Mr. Jinnah and other Muslim League leaders, and not he, were competent to give ‘convincing
assurances to all the frightened non-Muslims and dispel their fears.' No such assurances have yet been forthcoming.

It was expected that the acceptance of the Mountbatten plan by the Congress, the Muslim League and the Sikhs would usher in an era of communal peace. Unfortunately that expectation has not been realised. On the other hand in some places the situation has further deteriorated. This fact coupled with the manner in which the minorities in the two League provinces of Bengal and Sind have been treated during all these months, has added to the nervousness of the Hindus living in the Pakistan area. Will those hooligans and goondas, who are charged with committing heinous offences against their neighbours of the minority communities, be set free? Will they be hailed as martyrs in the cause of Islam? Will the members of the minority communities be treated as aliens in the land of their birth or will they enjoy political, economic and social rights that will be enjoyed by the Mussalmans? Will their religious, cultural and linguistic rights be safeguarded statutorily? Will there be no discrimination against them on the score of the faith they profess? Will the Pakistan state be a secular state and will religion as such have nothing to do with it? These are some of the questions which have caused fears and apprehensions in the minds of Hindus and Sikhs. These fears and apprehensions can be dispelled only if straight and satisfactory replies to these and other similar questions are forthcoming from responsible Muslim League leaders.

16. ‘Responsibility of West Bengal Government’
   
   Amrita Bazar Patrika, 21 June 1947

In a statement issued immediately following the Bengal partition decision, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, said:

The inevitable has happened. Partition of Bengal was the only means by which Hindus could save their culture, their lives, properties and honour and retain their connection with the Indian Union. The task of rebuilding both parts of Bengal will be indeed stupendous and will require the wholehearted energy and co-operation of all parties and communities irrespective of political or other differences. Bengal Hindus were being crushed out of existence on account of an unparalleled communal tyranny. They now can breathe a sigh of relief and will regard 20th of June as a day of deliverance. It is now upto them to shape their future in a worthy manner so as to serve the best interests of the common man.

One great responsibility which will face the new West Bengal Government and also the Central Government will be the protection of several millions of Hindus who against their will are being forged into Pakistan, outside the Indian Union.

A convention of East Bengal Hindus should immediately be held where matters involving their future economic, political and cultural rights, both in Pakistan and within the Indian Union, will be thrashed out so that their united demands may be placed before the Constituent Assemblies and their country. Hindus of West Bengal will be untrue to themselves if they regard partition as a mere device for their own safety irrespective of the future fate of their brothers and sisters of East Bengal. It may be that both the major communities in the two parts of Bengal will agree to protect the minorities under their respective charge, thus avoiding any grave communal disorder. We should explore the possibility of an honourable mutual agreement between two parts of Bengal irrespective of any all-India issues.
Our immediate demand is that the present Bengal Ministry must be forthwith dissolved. We call upon the Governor not to delay this decision by one single day. Apart from reports of their one-sided activities favouring their own party, they have no moral or legal right to function as a ministry, when momentous questions relating to the future administration of the two parts, particularly preparation of material for the Boundary Commission, will come up for early decision. If there is delay on account of some technical grounds for the formation of regional ministries we would prefer even Section 93 for a brief period. It is not the ministry alone which we wish to see removed at once, there must be complete overhauling of many important branches of the Bengal administration, the inefficient, corrupt and communal character of which has become a byeword in the whole of India. Let us stand united at this crisis so that all can help to raise Bengal to her former status of glory and leadership.

17. ‘Each Individual Must Judge for Himself’
Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to the Secretary, Shiromani Committee Jain Baradari,
22 June 1947
SPC, Vol. V, p. 287

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 13 June 1947. The questions which you raise are very pertinent ones in view of the division of the Punjab which, I have no doubt, will be decided upon tomorrow. I fully appreciate the sentiments and feelings of those who have suffered or witnessed the sufferings of others during the recent Punjab disturbances. Lahore and Amritsar are even now disturbed areas. Whether these disturbances will continue after partition is difficult to prophesy and still remains to be seen. Those who have got a stake in Pakistan of the future cannot leave their places unless they are prepared to face the misery and sufferings of refugees. The question is, therefore, for every individual to argue out for himself and to be prepared to face the consequences of such action as he may take. It is possible that the Pakistan Government may find the presence of Hindus and Sikhs indispensable and, therefore, now that the Muslims have secured a homeland for which they have agitated in season and out of season, they may find that it is in their interest to ensure protection and justice to the minorities. If that comes about, minorities may not have anything to fear. We may also be able to afford some protection on the basis of reciprocity in regard to treatment of minorities.

2. Each individual must, therefore, judge for himself as to how far he can feel safe where he is. If he feels that he cannot face up to the danger, he has got no alternative except to leave the place, but if he feels that he can bide his time and see how things shape themselves after Pakistan, he should stay where he is and depend on such protection as the Pakistan Government may be able to afford and we may be able to secure for him on the basis of reciprocity or such other arrangement with the Pakistan Government as may be possible.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel
BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

As you know I had been to Hardwar to see the refugees from the Punjab and N. W. F. P. There are some 32,000 refugees there from Dera Ismail Khan and other places. I had no time to enter into any discussions with the refugees but I talked to them fully. I also visited their camps. I heard many things said about the refugees. There are two kinds of people among them: there are those who are really poor and in a bad way and there are others who are well-to-do. Some of them are given to gambling, drinking and to questionable methods of making money. I must say that it does not behove them to behave thus at this time of crisis.

People have gone there driven by their misery. They have got separated from their relatives. But what can be gained from crying over it? I told them to try and forget their sorrow. By forgetting sorrow one gets rid of sorrow. They have to create joy from sorrow. A great calamity has come to pass in the shape of the division of India, but why should I cry over it?

I want to tell you and through you I want to tell them that they should forget their sorrow. These 32,000 men and women should form themselves into a co-operative organisation. They should take up work. They should not gamble and drink and smoke hemp. They should keep themselves engaged in some work or other. The Government cannot feed so many of them even if it wants to. Today everywhere the black market is rampant. Even if people are truthful they cannot get full rations for themselves. But crying and complaining will not help. People should learn to co-operate.

In that historic march in South Africa we covered twenty miles each day. We were a large crowd. All I had to give to each was an ounce of sugar and a little bread. This did not constitute enough rations for a person. It was always evening by the time we had done our twenty miles. I would notice cooking going on. I discovered that people were picking edible leaves from grass, adding salt and then cooking it. Water there always was. It made me very happy. One could always travel in such company.

The soil of Hardwar is even more fertile and various other industries can also be taken up there. If they do this they will not feel the fatigue. Those who have to live on other should so conduct themselves that they are not felt to be a burden.

Let them profit by the reported holiness of Hardwar though he was sorry to have to confess that the holy places had become dens of thieves and mendicancy had received the stamp of virtue. He had very sad memories of the Kumbha Mela of 1915 when he had the privilege of serving as a servant with his companions from South Africa in the Servants India camp. It was open to the refugees, if they would, to make the place holy by their behaviour.

I met a few sisters there who were engaged in sewing and spinning. I met a few men also who were doing something or other. It is good. They should not become beggars. They should be brave and fearless.

As I could not go everywhere myself, Dr. Sushila Nayyar went around the camps. She found the conditions there extremely insanitary. This should not be so. And it is a thing the Government will not do for us. We must ourselves keep our surroundings clean. The camps should be spread out. It is said there is danger from wild animals. But why should wild animals be feared. As man fears animals of the forest so the latter fear man. The 32,000 refugees should really not be frightened of wild animals.
They should be ashamed of fear of man or wild animals. Wild animals fled the haunts of men. Such was the universal experience. Let them recollect that Shraddhanandji founded his Gurukul on the other side of the Ganges which was infested by wild animals. Then they should remember that the police were there to afford such protection as they needed. Courage, hope, personal bravery, purity and industrious co-operation would make their life pleasant. They would then not be a burden on those among whom they lived but they would be, as they should be, like sugar to milk.

A distressing thing has come to my ears. It is from Kabul. It seems the Hindus living in Kabul are living there on sufferance. They have to wear turbans of a particular colour. It made me very sad to think that people can put up with such indignities for the sake of money. We must live there only if we can safeguard our rights, otherwise we should leave the place. This sort of thing cannot be tolerated. Then Kabul is our home territory. It is the country of the Pathans. The only difference is that on this side there is British rule while on that side there is no British rule. My fight in South Africa was over issues very much similar. It is intolerable that our people should not live as free citizens in Kabul. I am sure the report is exaggerated. I shall find out.

19. ‘Indian Christians to Vote for Pakistan Assembly’
*Dawn, 23 June 1947*

Lahore, Sunday—A directive to the Indian Christian representatives in the Punjab Assembly to vote for a new Constituent Assembly has been issued by the Executive Committee of the Indian Christians’ Association at a meeting held in Lahore today.

The Committee passed a resolution expressing the opinion that under existing circumstances the division of the country was in the best interests of the country’s progress.

The resolution adds: ‘The Punjab Christians can have no attraction for the existing Constituent Assembly in which they been studiously ignored and denied a seat even in the minor committees.’

Referring to the partition of the Punjab the resolution says: ‘While it is right and proper that respective claims should be keenly contested it is an act of lawlessness to estrange our feelings by stabbing, arson and bomb-throwing. We have enjoyed the confidence of our brothers throughout India and have no reason to fear that those of us who were given a share in the Pakistan home will be worse off than those in the Hindustan home.’—A.P.I.

20. ‘Justice and Equality to Anglo-Indians in Pakistan’
*Dawn, 23 June 1947*

Lahore, Sunday—*An assurance of justice and fairplay to the Anglo-Indian community in Pakistan was given today by Malik Firoz Khan Noon addressing the newly formed Anglo-Pakistan Association in Lahore.*

Malik Firoz Khan Noon, who was speaking at a reception arranged by the Association in honour of the members of the Punjab Muslim League High Command said: ‘You must be anxious to know what the future holds for you in your elected home of Pakistan. On behalf of the Muslim League I assure you that you will be treated on equal footing with the Muslims in every sphere of life. The job of a member of your community will be as secure in Pakistan as
that of a Muslim. You will realise that you are far better here than in Hindustan as Islam stands for justice and equality for all mankind irrespective of their race or religion.'

He congratulated the Anglo-Indian community on their ‘wise decision’ to adopt Pakistan as their home and to call themselves in future as Anglo-Pakistanis, and said: ‘Pakistan will demand only one thing from you and that is loyalty to the State. From your general conduct and character we can easily conclude that your loyalty to your homeland will remain unquestioned. I call upon you to shed all fears that may have been dinned into your ears by interested parties and treat yourselves as one of us.’

Communal Riots
Malik Firoz Khan Noon referred to the communal disturbances in the Punjab and asserted that if the non-Muslims held back their hand from trouble brewing there would be peace within 12 hours. ‘The riots, he said, are an unfortunate phase but they are not of our making. We want peace and prosperity for all, and our attitude towards minorities is writ large across the pages of world history.’

Malik Firoz Khan Noon dismissed the idea of non-Muslims migrating from the Pakistan areas, and citing a number of instances he maintained that the Hindus and Sikhs would remain stuck up in their ancestral environments. Hindus, he said, are living in Afghanistan and many other Islamic countries for the last so many centuries, if they have no fear in those lands why will they run away from Pakistan?

Mr. C.E. Gibbon, M.L.A., President of the Association in the course of his speech assured the Muslim League of the ‘whole-hearted support and cooperation of his community to the Government established by law and working in the interest of the State.’

Loyalty to State
Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha, Speaker of the Punjab Assembly and President of the Punjab Indian Christian Association speaking on behalf of his community said: ‘We have adopted Pakistan as our home because we feel that we are as great heirs to this land as any Muslim can claim to be.’

He said that it was the land of their birth and they would be second to none in their loyalty to the State.

The Khan of Mamdot, president of the Punjab Muslim League, repeated the assurances given to the Anglo-Indian community by Muslim League leaders and expressed the hope that they would share with the Muslims the responsibilities which had fallen upon their shoulders for the building up of a new State, ‘Let us all join hands,’ he said, ‘and make Pakistan an ideal State in the world, and the fruits of our efforts shall of course accrue to us.’—A.P.I.

21. Transfer of Population Suggested
Telegram from K.C. Puniani to J.B. Kripalani, 24 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-34/1947, NMML

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT
Peshawar
Deeply pained on sad incidents of murder and arson in lahore and amritsar govt. measures have failed to stop Destruction situation Deteriorating Beg to suggest transfer of population
of Muslims to Lahore and non-Muslims to Amritsar to be only tentative remedy to save further loss of life property.\(^1\)

K C Puniani

\(^1\) Original spellings retained.

22. Congress Leaders Have Betrayed the Hindu Community

Letter from C.B.L. Bhatnagar to P.D. Tandon, 27 June 1947

P.D. Tandon Papers, File No. 231, Serial No. 280, Microfilm Acc. No. 390, NAI

**HINDU PRESS AND PUBLICITY**

**AN ORGANISATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS, RELIGION AND CULTURE OF THE HINDU NATION AND FOR PROPAGATION OF THE HINDU VIEW POINT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD**

*Secretary—C. B. L. Bhatnagar*  
Co-operative Insurance Building,  
Sir Phirozeshah Mehta Road, Fort,  
BOMBAY, the 27th day of June, 1947

Dear Sir,

The Hindus...in the Muslim majority areas have been exposed to considerable danger.

In view of the attempts of some Hindus to migrate from Sind to Hindu majority areas, statements have been issued by Muslim League supporters exhorting the Muslims in Sind not to buy properties which the Hindus might contemplate selling as ultimately the said properties would by right come into the possession of the Muslims. In Karachi an Ordinance has been issued which would obtain Hindu properties and houses for the establishment of the Kingdom of Pakistan.

The Hindu minorities are in a state of panic and great danger. No word of encouragement or hope is given to them by our leaders of the Indian National Congress who have been systematically strengthening the Muslims and suppressing the Hindus throughout India. While attempts are being made to devise sanctions against Travancore State for its declaration of independence, yet no word is being said about the Hyderabad State which happens to be a Muslim State.

The Hindu leaders of the Indian National Congress have miserably betrayed the Hindu community. Hindu life and property has been allowed to be destroyed and yet not a finger was lifted to prevent the same. Whenever the Hindus tried to organise themselves Congress men and money were used to stifle them.

The Hindu cause continues to suffer by default and neglect. No newspapers are in a mood to advocate the cause of the Hindus. With the surrender of the Congress to the violence of the Muslim League, new demands everyday will be made upon the Hindu community and there will be no end of trouble. In this hour of her need, the Hindu community stands orphaned. It has neither a platform nor a press. It has neither a party nor a leadership. It has neither the courage nor the strength to fight the impending danger.
The Hindu community should demand:—

1. Withdrawal of Hindu population from the proposed Pakistan areas and adequate compensation to them for land and immovable property.
2. Withdrawal of Muslim population from the Hindu majority areas and adequate compensation to them for land and immovable property.
3. Setting apart of areas in Hindustan for settlement of the emigrants from the State of Pakistan and provision for their employment, trade or agriculture.
4. The Dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan should be set up after the Hindu population has migrated to Hindustan and the Muslim population has gone back to Pakistan.
5. After the Boundary Commission has demarcated the boundaries of Pakistan and Hindustan, Commissioners for the Exchange of Populations should be appointed in each district to facilitate the transfer of population from one area to the other.
6. No restrictions should be placed on the removal of moveable property from one area to the other.
7. That the border line between Pakistan and Hindustan should be heavily guarded on the Hindustan side and no encroachments should be allowed.
8. Since Pakistan will be a Muslim State, Hindustan should be a Hindu State in which the rights of the Parsis, Christians and other non-Muslim minorities will be adequately protected.
9. The Indian National Congress to declare itself a Hindu body by asking its Muslim members to quit or to disband itself and give place to the Hindus to look after their own interest.

The Hindu Press & Publicity is being established not only to make the above demand but it has been set up to protect the rights, interests and claims of the Hindu Community. We shall start sending Hindu News Letters to the members of the Hindu community every day containing news, views and reviews in the Hindu interest. We shall daily newspapers in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, Lahore, Karachi, Lucknow and Allahabad for the propagation of the Hindu cause. We shall by our propaganda create an awakening amongst the Hindu classes and the Hindu masses.

To achieve some of these objects we require Rs. 25000/- to instal [sic] a printing press in Bombay where we may print literature for the welfare and well-being of the Hindu Community. Permission of the Government to set up a new printing press has already been received and funds are required on the basis of shares. Since a majority of Hindu press owners do not wish to print pro-Hindu leaflets, posters, booklets or literature etc., a printing press is very necessary.

Please let us know how far you can help us and this organisation.

Yours very truly,

Sd/- C. B. L. Bhatnagar

30.6.1947

Purshottam Das Tandon Esqr.
Allahabad.
23. Non-Muslim Minorities in Sind Need Help from Congress Government
Letter from Parmanand R.F. Khilnani to J.B. Kripalani, 27 June 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 244, NMML

President,
Indian National Congress
Delhi
Karachi 2
27-6-1947

Sir,

Attached herewith is the position of Hindus and other minorities in Sind arising out of the new political changes in our country. Sind Hindus will be the greatest sufferers in the whole of India. Under the circumstances I would earnestly request you to give this matter your most serious attention and do something for us, expecting your fullest cooperation.

Thanking you in anticipation, Sir,

Expecting an early and a favourable reply.

I beg to remain Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Parmanand R.F. Khilnani
Advocate and President Arya Samaj, Karachi, ex member of the managing Committee of the Karachi Bar-Association. A senior member of the managing committee of the Karachi Hindu Maha Sabha.

Appeal No. 2

Dear

It is now certain that India is going to be divided. In that case Sind will form a part of Pakistan and will be cut off from the Union Centre. The consistent policy of the Muslim League Government of Sind of suppressing and oppressing the Hindu minority of Sind is not unknown to you. The recent legislations passed in the Sind Legislative Assembly viz. the Land-Holders Mortgages Bill, the Sind University Act, the Land Alienation Act etc. will ruin the Hindus culturally and economically the trade is also being made to pass from Hindu hands into the Muslim hands. This has happened while the Britishers have not yet quit and we are still connected with the Centre Government. The recent legislation passed in Sind and the communal policy followed in utter disregard of all sense of decency and fair play have given us a foretaste of what is in store for us when Pakistan is established and we are entirely cut off from the Union Centre. The Muslim League makes no pretence of a democratic rule in Pakistan area. They declare it openly that Pakistan State will be a Muslim Theocratic State governed by the Islamic Law in which Non-Muslims will have no place. In short absolute serfdom will be the fate of Sind Hindus in the Pakistan State.

I don’t think it will be possible for the Sind Hindus to live in Sind after June 1948 and emigration from this Province appears to me to be the only solution for us to save ourselves from complete slavery and moral degradation.

The Muslim League Government in Sind has reserved agricultural land in the Lower Sind Barrage Scheme for the Behari Muslims. It has also reserved a very large area of land in
Karachi for a big Housing Colony for Behari Muslims. A large number of Behari Muslims are unauthorizedly occupying Municipal Land in Karachi and the Muslim League Government is not taking any action against them. The Muslim League Government of Bengal is spending Rs. 45,000/- per day as the papers say, on the Muslim emigrants from Bihar.

As all the key positions in Sind services are held by Muslims only, I am afraid, if the Congress Governments in their provinces where services, specially police and Magistracy, are even up to date predominantly manned by Muslims, do not radically change their policy or threaten to do the same by withdrawing all weightages to Muslims their very existence is in peril. It is high time that the Congress Governments revised their policy of appeasement of the Muslims and adopted a bolder policy in consonance with the realities of the situation. The recent announcement that the U.P. Government has withdrawn weightages in services hitherto enjoyed by the Muslims in that Province is welcomed by the Sind Hindus and I congratulate the Government on behalf of the minorities of Sind in adopting a bold and realistic policy required by the conditions prevailing in India today. I hope that the other Congress Governments will follow the example set by the U.P. Government. If the Muslim League Government gives us fair treatment, you should also respond in your province or state, for love begets love; for the rights of the minorities should be respected by every good government.

I shall be very much obliged if you kindly announce the help that your Government is ready to give to the Non-Muslim minorities of Sind in Province of their birth or in your Province in the above connection.

Thanking you in anticipation, Sir,

Yours

24. Apprehensions among Minorities in Punjab

Letter from T.R. Bhasin to Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, 28 June 1947

S.P. Mookerjee Papers, Subject File No. 95, Part I, Instalments II to IV, NMML

28 June 1947

Respected Sir,

A Convention of the minority Communities of the Western Punjab is being convened at Rawalpindi on the 6th of July, 1947, to consider and chalk out our future course of action.

Future to us seems dark and dismal. We are on the horns of dilemma. ‘To be or not to be’ is our predicament. Our problem is most urgent and yet scant attention is being paid to it. No positive lead has come to us from any quarters and now we have decided to give a lead ourselves. The attached printed paper will inform your goodself about the lead we wish to give. But there are many difficulties in our way. People’s confidence is entirely shaken and they are loth to pin their faith in mere assurances. Panic and chaos prevails in the minds of the minorities. There is an obvious divergence between what is said by and done by the League leaders. Unplanned and thoughtless [sic] migration continues inspite of the unsympathetic attitude of the other provinces, for whose freedom the Punjab has been made to bleed. The blood-shed still continues unabated.

In such circumstances the people refuse to believe that their rights will be safeguarded in Pakistan in spite of our assurances to the contrary. Mr. Jinnah has not come out with an unequivocal assurance to the minorities and he alone is in a position to deliver goods.
What are we to do? Perhaps a message from your goodself to the minorities may give heart to them. It may provide a gleam of hope. We also want to know what the Indian Union intends to do for us.

I shall feel grateful if you send a message for the Convention at your earliest.

Yours
Sd/- T. R. Bhasin

25. ‘Think Yourself Full-Fledged Citizens of Pakistan: Sind Premier’s Appeal to Minorities.’
Dawn, 28 June 1947

KARACHI, Thursday.—‘Thank God, Pakistan is a reality and Sind has joined Pakistan today. The days are not far off, when the Musalmans may regain their lost empire in all its splendour and glory,’ said Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, in an interview to the OPI after the Sind Assembly had passed a resolution deciding to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

He added, ‘I take this opportunity to appeal to the minorities of Pakistan generally, and of Sind specially, to think of themselves as full-fledged citizens of the Pakistan State, co-operate with the majority community in building up the economy and the future structure thereof and to discard those of their leaders who for their own personal ends are exploiting the sentiments of masses and creating a bogus stunt of the minority being oppressed and suppressed by the majority.

‘Of course, now a section of the minorities in Sind is beginning to realise that their age-long policy of disrupting the Muslims and thereby ruling over them will no longer be a paying business. They are now too ready to offer their co-operation to us; but this friendly gesture must be on an All-India basis and not in Sind only. Nonetheless, I once again assure the Sind minorities that we shall not only protect, but also respect their citizenship and culture, and maintain law and order at all costs.’

The Premier paid a tribute to the far-sighted leadership of the Qaed-e-Azam, whose statesmanship had made Pakistan a reality within a short time.—OPI.

26. ‘Future of Minorities in Pakistan’
The Tribune, 29 June 1947

LUCKNOW, June 28.—‘The new Pakistan State will have to deal with several big problems in the immediate future but it appears that those in charge do not yet realise that the treatment of minorities in the new State is going to be a very important question needing careful attention. If it is mishandled there are bound to be unfortunate repercussions in the rest of India, much as one would wish to prevent them,’ said Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, a prominent Congress leader of Sind in an interview here yesterday.

He added: ‘Some of the League leaders have issued statements promising fair treatment to the minorities. Words have no value unless translated into action. It is unfortunate that the Sind Government, some of whose spokesmen have publicly invited the co-operation of minorities in the province, have forced them into a mood of non-co-operation. The whole approach of
the Government of the majority community is wrong, the result being that the minority must either agree to abject surrender or be forced to resist.'

Mr. Daulatram added that the latest news that the Sind Government was issuing orders stopping the grants to educational institutions which had not terminated their affiliation with the Bombay University showed that the Sind Government was forcing the minority community into a mood of opposition. 'As a matter of fact, the Sind Government and the League leadership ought to support the idea of a Hindu University and sanction such legislation as the Muslim community wants to carry its objective of a central Muslim University for the Muslim community of India.'

Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram concluded: 'After all Hindus and Muslims are and will be living in every district of India and it is difficult to avoid widespread repercussions of unfair conduct in any part of the country. I do not think that retaliation can be a lasting solution of the communal problem. We will get into a vicious circle and I do not know how far the minorities will ultimately gain thereby. But I certainly feel that the creation of a joint machinery to see that the minorities everywhere are dealt with fairly may be a better solution. Peaceful relations between India and Pakistan may be materially affected by the treatment meted out to respective minorities.' - A.P.I.

27. ‘Minorities’ Rights: Azad Suggests Joint Meeting’

Extract from a report in Dawn, 1 July 1947

NEW DELHI, Sunday—‘Maulana’ Abul Kalam Azad, Education Member in the Interim Government, in a statement to the Associated Press of India today, referred to the apprehension of minorities both in Hindustan and Pakistan following the acceptance of the British Plan of June 3 and suggested a joint meeting of representatives of the two Constituent Assemblies to draw up a common charter of rights of minorities in both the States.

He said ...'The wisest course today is to focus all our attention upon the future and try to build new conditions of safety, peace and progress for all the communities concerned.

'The minorities question', he said, 'required to be treated with calm and wise statesmanship. Minorities in the seceding areas are full of apprehensions for their future. The minorities in the Indian Union are also nervous as to what may happen to them. Their fears should not make them forget that the problem of minorities is not the result of division of India. Even if there had been no seceding areas there would still have been minorities in India as a whole.

'I am confident that so far as the Union of India is concerned it will treat its minorities not only with justice but with generosity. I firmly believe that the authorities in the seceding areas will adopt the same attitude towards the minorities there.

'I pray with all my heart that they will approach their problems in a spirit of realism, wisdom and statesmanship. The communal poison has clouded our vision long enough. We must now leave communal wrangles and bitterness behind and march forward to freedom, peace and democracy.' - API
28. Anguish among Punjabi Hindus

Letter from Parma Nand Trehan to Vallabhbhai Patel, 7 July 1947

SPC, Vol. V, p. 288

Anand Bhawan
Mandi Bahauddin
Gujarat Dist.

Shrijut Pujnia Sardarji,

Since the announcement of 3 June I am being put questions from all sides as to the rights of citizenship of the Hindus and Sikhs of Western Punjab, on whose sacrifice the Congress has achieved independence. No doubt the Congress has made great sacrifices but we people have suffered most. We lost our dear ones, our females suffered a lot, our houses have been burnt and several of us have become quite helpless and forlorn. The said statement has made all of us (who are left) citizens of Pakistan, and there is not a single word of sympathy from any quarter. The refugees are being asked to come back and not a word has so far been said about us, at whose cost the Indian Union has got sovereign power. We people were not even consulted as to the partition, though our representatives had gone to the Assembly [with] the pledge that they won’t agree to the partition of Punjab. The Punjab Hindu has suffered most and if this state of affairs goes on, he will become extinct. We are running from one town to another to save our lives and are leaving our hard earned immovable property to the winds.

Sardarji, I confess that it is your personality that is keeping our morale very high and we are all looking towards you. May Almighty Father be with you and bless you with all His happiness.

Your most obedient son,
Parma Nand Trehan

29. ‘One Million Mazhabi Sikhs to Support Pakistan Govt.’

Dawn, 8 July 1947

LAHORE, Monday.—An assurance to Mr. Jinnah that the one Million Mazhabi Sikhs of the Punjab will lend their full support to the Pakistan Government and will wholeheartedly cooperate with it in the fields of political and economic activity is given by Sardar Hari Singh Narbeh, President of the All-India Mazhabi Sikh Federation.

Sardar Hari Singh Narbeh, who recently met Mr. Jinnah in Delhi to discuss the status of the Mazhabi Sikhs under the Pakistan Government, in a statement to the Press today declared that the Mazhabi Sikhs possessed a separate entity and were free to make their political alignments.

The one million Mazhabi Sikhs of the Punjab, he says, have always been treated like outcasts by Master Tara Singh and his party. We were never regarded as a part of the Panth and were allotted the same status by the Akalis as was allotted to the Scheduled Castes by the Caste Hindus. In times of need and emergency, however, the Akalis would come to us for support.

With the assurances of Fair play and justice given to us by Mr. Jinnah, we believe that our future lies with the Muslims in the Pakistan areas.—API
30. Need for Systematic Mobilization of Catholics, Gurkhas, and Adibasis
Letter from Rammanohar Lohia to J.B. Kripalani, 10 July 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-31/1946-7, NMML

Dear Rashtrapati,

Permit me to write to you on the subject of such sections of our population as are claiming to be minorities and have even introduced a separatist element in their claims. In particular I wish to write about Christians, specially Catholics, Nepalis and the Adibasis. These together form nearly 10 per cent of our population. They have in various degrees all-India organisations and all-India policies. Unless we too prepare to treat this problem on the all-India level, we will probably be faced soon enough with a new and major obstacle to the building up of our nation.

I will first present to you the nature of the problem. It is possible that the cases that I have come up against may be differently interpreted. But that would not take away from the urgency or the serious character of the problem.

Such Christians as operate on the all-India level either through the Congress or their own organisations are generally protestants and although there is much to be done with regard to the mass of them, they are on the whole not very much subject to foreign influences. But the Catholics are a different story. The Catholic Church is under the control of Rome. Through the various church organisations, schools and colleges, foreign influences work subtly but very effectively and sometimes openly. In addition, the Portuguese in India through Goa exercise an effective control over the Catholics. Nevertheless a considerable number of nationalist catholics have been working in their own limited spheres and in recent months there has been an increase in their number and also their zeal. But in the absence of any systematic Congress policies and programme, encouragement is often given knowingly or unknowingly by Congressmen to the unnational and reactionary sections among the Catholics. I would here mention the case of Dr. Alban D’Souza, whom the Bombay Congress has elevated to be Catholic representative for the Constituent Assembly, Bombay Corporation and such like. Dr. D’Souza is a complete reactionary on such issues as those of Portuguese India or of the need to bring Catholics into the main stream of our national life. The acceptance by the Congress of such a man as its spokesman inevitably leads to a great deal of confusion and weakening. It may be that the internal stresses within the Congress are a reason for such selections. Perhaps any other Catholic acceptable to the masses may be more independent minded and those in control of the Bombay Congress may not feel quite safe with him. But then such considerations if at all they are present or any other are dangerous. The Congress should be prepared to lose a seat rather than to encourage reaction. And in any case there is no question of losing a seat. I know the Bombay Catholics as well as any other non-Catholic and I am perfectly sure that any of the Catholics with a record of work and sacrifice behind him would be able to beat everybody else, provided he did not have to oppose the Congress.

The Nepalis have long been a considerable element in the Indian army and no doubt they are among the bravest in the world. And yet they have until recently hardly been touched by any kind of national pride or awareness. The All-India Gurkha League which was founded
During the war had as one of its aims recruitment to the army. This organisation, in addition to the circumstances attending its birth, has chosen to play on the communal sentiment. It is trying to give the Nepalis of Darjeeling and elsewhere a separatist attitude. Its leaders, Dumber Singh Gurung, is widely known to have incited hills-men against plains-men. And yet the Bengal Congress has once again chosen him as its nominee on the Constituent Assembly. I may here add that the Darjeeling Congress Committee had recommended two names of such Nepalis as have the Congress tradition behind them. Why the Bengal Congress should still have selected Dumber Singh Gurung is unexplainable except as a measure of some kind of power politics. I am not suggesting that the Gurkha League should at once be dropped by the Congress. All that I am suggesting is that a consistent policy be worked out with regard to these all-India Nepali organisations.

The Adibasis are perhaps not yet an all-India problem. And yet there are certain common feature in the life of Adibasis in the Central Province or Bihar or even Assam which may well be seized upon by an enterprising person or organisation so as to turn them into a major problem. Already they have become a problem in Bihar. And in the Naga territory also the separatist sentiment has been allowed to grow. The provincial Congress Committees are hardly in a position to cope with this problem in any just or effective way. Energetic effort must be made to satisfy the economic, social and cultural aspirations of these Adibasis. Otherwise they are threatening to become a political problem.

In all these cases the communists have thrown in their lot with the communalists and the foreign agents whether in the missions or the British political service.

The All-India Congress Committee must set up a Special department to deal with these enormous sections of our population. This department would collect all relevant materials and be the source for nationalising publicity. It will also command all the information necessary for formulating all-India policies and be a medium for putting them through. The Congress Government or even the Government of India will hardly be competent to do all these. They may tackle the question in its economic or social aspects. But the Congress alone can deal with it in its political and cultural aspects. And even the economic and social measures to be systematic and effective will have at least in some measure to be proposed by such an A.I.C.C. department. Should you decide to set up such a department I will be able to suggest you some Catholic and Nepali and Adibasi names, of course only in the event that you have no such names in view. The head of this department must of course be a member of the Congress Working Committee. Otherwise he will neither have the status nor the qualifications for formulating any all-India policies, much less of putting them through.

In the first formulations of these all-India policies, it would be advisable to invite a representative meeting of the group for which the policy is to be formulated. Thus for instance, the head of this department may invite representatives of the Nepali National Congress, the All-India Gurkha League, the Gurkha Dhuka Nivaran Samiti and some other outstanding Nepalis in India. I[t] would be known at this first meeting as to which elements in the future will be willing to pursue a national policy and also what measure of agreement is possible. Similar meetings may be arranged for the other groups.

It may also be necessary to set up a training school for the purpose of training political and social workers for these various groups. Some of these workers may be recruited from the group among which they will be expected to work while some others not belonging to that group may select it for purely missionary reasons. It is remarkable how few non-Adibasis know any of the Adibasis' languages. I would not be surprised if there are more Europeans who know
the Naga language in comparison to other non-Naga Indians. A new beginning must be made and soon. I need hardly add that work among these various sections would be spoiled if it is undertaken only as one-way traffic. It is a two-ways activity in which the Adibasis and others may have a lot to give to the general body of Indian thought and culture.

I pray you to treat this matter as serious and urgent.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Rammanohar Lohia

Acharya J.B. Kripalani,
President,
Indian National Congress,
6, Janter Manter Road,
NEW DELHI

Copy to: i) Mahatma Gandhi,
        Bhangi Colony,
        New Delhi
ii) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
    17, York Road,
    NEW DELHI
iii) The Secretary,
     National Congress (Goa),
     Camp, Belgaum.
iv) De Mello Anslekar, Esq.,
    Sarijana Building,
    Opp. G.I.P. Ground,
    Parel, Bombay.
v) Sjt. Achaw Singh,
    c/o Subodh Hazarika,
    Uzan Bazar, Gouhati
vi) Sri Jaipal Singh,
    Member, Constituent Assembly,
    New Delhi.
vii) Dr. Juliao Menezes,
     Court House,
     Dhobi Talao, Bombay.
31. Hindu Refugees of Rawalpindi Demand Transfer to India

Letter from Refugee Brahman Committee, Wah Camp, Rawalpindi, to P.D. Tandon,
12 July 1947
P.D. Tandon Papers, File No. 231, Serial No. 330A, Microfilm Acc. No. 390, NAI

From
The Refugee Brahman Committee,
Rawalpindi District.
WAH Camp.
To
Siri, [sic] Parshotam Das Tandon
Allahbad [sic] U.P.

Sir,

A general mass meeting of the Refugee Brahmins of the Rawalpindi District was held on
the 29th June 1947 at the Refugees Camp Wah.

The agenda was the ‘Rehabilitation’ of the Refugees. The attendance was about 2,500
men and women. Representatives from every village were elected to sign this representation.

It was resolved to send copies of the following resolution to the Viceroy, the Vice President
of the Interim Government, H.E. the Governor of the Punjab, the President Indian National
Congress, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Punjab Refugee Rehabilitation
Committee etc.

THE RESOLUTION

1. The Partition Scheme though unwillingly assented to by the Congress, leaves us in the lurch
and perforce, we have to put our grievances before you.

2. The Non-Muslim population of this District has lost all faith in the majority community
for the open vandalism, murder, arson etc carried out in the name of Islam, Muslim League
and Pakistan—which they perpetrated on the peace loving non-muslim neighbours.

3. The Brahman population of the District is about thirty thousand, and out of 1173 villages
of the District, about 450 are inhabited by Hindus and Sikhs (mostly Brahmins). The latter
pay one fourth of the entire land Revenue of the District and enjoy the rights of Land-Owning
Class. Amongst the Brahmins of the District, there are 62 Lambardars and a few Inam Khores.
The Brahmans of the District are one of the Agriculturist and martial classes of the Northern
India. More than five thousand Brahmans of this District took part as Combatants in the last
Great War, and hundreds have received commissioned ranks in the Army, Navy and Air
Force. The Brahmans of the District contributed substantially towards War Loans and helped
the Government in various other Departments.

4. According to the Partition Scheme, most of our religious places of worships and pilgrimage
fall in the Indian Union—for example Hardwar, Gaya, Allahbad, Benares, Nasik, etc. where
every Hindu has to go every time to perform the obsequial ceremonies of his deceased relations,
or for performance of other religious duties, and for that purpose he may have to require
passport every time or to meet with other obstacles or hindrances which may be created by
rules and enactments of the Pakistan Government for going to Hindustan.

5. Our religious rites and customs and even scripts are different from those of the musalmans.
The circle of our social intercourse must necessarily shrink for the non-muslim population is
far migrating to Hindu Provinces and States. So the life of the Refugees here, who have already been turned out of their homes and are living in most helpless condition in another district—wherefrom the idea of going back to their villages (totally annihilated) is quite impossible, is bound to be most miserable.

6. The Congress has agreed to the Partition of the country and thus instead of freedom, we have been longing for, we are being given Pakistan and are thus being left at the mercy of the Muslim League. We do not want to remain as hostages for the muslim minority living in the Rest of India which is assured of good treatment. Due consideration may please be given to our sad plight and taking all the facts explained above into consideration we request that we may be transferred to Hindustan with our rights intact, so that we may be able to live in accordance with our Dharamshastras.

Sd/-

GENERAL SECRETARY
(Hakim Pt. Damodar Bhardwaj of Kahuta)

Dated 12.7.47

President
Bk. Bhagat Ram of Nara
Secretary
B. Prem Chand of Kountrila

Vice-President
Cashier
Subedar Jai Chand of Balahar.

LIST OF VILLAGES REPRESENTED AT THE MEETING

33. Dhand. 34. Darkali. 35. Dherian. 36. Guliana.
41. Harial. 42. Hanesar. 43. Hothla. 44. Janjur.
73. Ramial. 74. Rak. 75. Ratahi. 76. Sai.
32. Officials Should Stay Back to Ensure Fair Treatment of Minorities
Letter from Avatar Narain to J.B. Kripalani, 12 July 1947
AICC Papers, Second Instalment, Serial No. 1780, NMML

Dear Acharya Ji,

The accompanying letter has been sent by me to Dr. Gopi Chand Ji, the leader of the Congress Assembly Party in East Punjab. I will be grateful if you will kindly take up this matter. It is a question of life and death for the minorities in West Punjab.

Hoping to be excused for this trespassing on your valuable time.

Yours truly,
Sd/- Avatar Narain,
Member, New Constituent Assembly

Enclosure

Jhelum
12.7.47

Realizing full well that every minute of your valuable time is being taken by most momentous issues and urgent public questions, still I think that the question of minorities in the West Punjab is a problem of no mean importance, and as it is getting more involved every day and is baffling all solution, I beg to request you to give it your immediate attention.

As far as the minority population is concerned, you know that due to recent atrocities committed on them they have lost all faith in the present and future administration. While persuading them to stay on, always a note of warning is sounded by leaders that immediate future is fraught with danger. But inspite of all this I am confident, the panic can be removed to a very great extent, if the masses can be assured that they will get protection from the administration. This assurance can only be effective if a certain percentage of their community is left in all the services; but I am afraid what is going to happen in the next month will shatter all their hopes. To the questions which the members of minority community have been asked, one and all have returned the same reply that they don't want to serve in Pakistan; and if they are all accommodated in the East, who would be left to protect their interests? If all the posts in Executive, Judicial, Police, P. W. D., Forest, Income Tax and Railway etc are manned by Muslim, it would be putting a very great premium on our credulity, to make us think, that the minority community would get justice from such officials in their daily avocation of life. Our lands would dry up for want of proper share of canal water, our trade would come to a stand still due to marketing acts and Income Tax officials attitudes.

There is only one remedy for all this and that is that atleast one half if not more of the present personnel of the minority community in the services is made to stay here. I think, you as a leader of the Congress Party, should please invite all the heads of the different departments belonging to minority community and in consultation with them make a list of all those officials who should be asked to stay here voluntarily if possible otherwise by order, but such officials may be given the assurance that in case of unjust treatment, their cases would be sympathetically considered by your Government. If this is not done, then all the key positions and important
posts would be filled by Muslims, and the minority community would be doomed either to eternal slavery or forcible conversion.

I hope you would kindly give it your immediate attention.

33. ‘To the Minorities in Western Pakistan’

Extract from a report in Aaj, 13 July 1947

Those who think that minorities in Pakistan will get justice have a tenuous hold on reality and for this reason it is only natural and appropriate for non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan provinces to be apprehensive. It is reasonable to suppose that just as Mr. Jinnah’s violent and thuggish followers achieved a moth-eaten Pakistan by prescribing and terrorizing minorities by violating their dignity and property and by killing their women and children, they will also seek to make Pakistan a homogenous nation. Because of his intransigence, Mr. Jinnah is not willing to compromise on even a part of his demands. Therefore we believe that expecting justice for minorities in Pakistan will amount to running after a mirage. We believe that assurances of securities given by Khan of Mamdot and other League leaders to minorities in Pakistan are an empty promise. Had it not been the case, Mr. Jinnah and his followers would have taken it as a priority to assure minorities both by words and deeds. It is bizarre that the Qaed-e-Azam has not found the time to address this issue. While responding to a question in a meeting of the Muslim League Council, Mr. Jinnah did say that minorities in Pakistan will get the best treatment but no concrete measures have been taken in this direction. Even the idea of preparing a Joint Right Declaration for minorities in both India and Pakistan was not acceptable to him. A report from Karachi says that Mr. Jinnah, in response to a letter from Shri Nichaldas Bazirani, deputy leader of the Congress Party in Sind Assembly, said that ‘at present I am taken up with more important work and I don’t have the time to meet and discuss with the delegation of the Sind Minorities leaders about their problems’. When he is so authoritarian even before Pakistan has come into existence, it is not difficult to imagine what will happen there after the establishment of his dictatorship. Keeping in mind the above mentioned facts, we conclude that minorities in Pakistan will have to defend themselves by organising and empowering themselves. And frankly, they will have to be ready to offer resistance to the Pakistani government until it comes to its senses....

The huge demonstrations by the Congress Pathans in Peshawar and the Frontier Gandhi’s challenge to the Muslim League that he is ready to fight the elections at any moment show that Pakistani minorities can successfully resist their rulers if they work with some acumen. We believe that minorities in West Punjab and Sind should form an alliance with the leadership of the movement for independent Pathanistan given that both are faced with the same enemy. We believe that they should align with the Pathan organisation just as Pathans had aligned with the Congress when they needed it. This alliance of the patriotic Muslim Pathans of the Frontier Province and non-Muslim patriots will also undermine the communal basis upon which Pakistan has been founded. We believe that in this way workers, peasants and common masses will be able to end the rule of feudal rulers and the mullahs. Then neither communalism nor Pakistan will remain in the western parts of India. Therefore we want and we insist that minorities in the West Punjab and Sind should give up their policy of migration and work in accordance with our suggestion. If it so happens then the international community too will not criticise India for providing help to these minorities from outside, though it is without doubt that India will
help the Pakistani minorities when the need arises without caring for bouquets and brickbats. Therefore it is our plea and suggestion that minorities of Sind and the West Punjab should join ranks with the patriotic Pathans of the Frontier Province and therein lie their best interests.

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1 This is a translation of the original report in Hindi entitled ‘Pashchimi Pakistan ke Alpsankhyakon Se’.

34. ‘Jinnah Says Minorities Must Be Loyal to Their States’

Extract from a report in National Herald, 14 July 1947

NEW DELHI, July 13.—Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Governor-General-designate of Pakistan, at a press conference this morning assured the minorities in the Pakistan dominion that they would have protection with regard to their religion, faith, life, property and culture. They would, in all respects, be citizens of Pakistan without any discrimination and no doubt along with it they would have the obligations of citizenship. The minorities would have to be loyal to the state and owe true allegiance to the state.

The same principle, Mr. Jinnah emphasised, would apply to the minorities in India as well. One cannot have minorities disloyal to the state and sabotaging the state. Every citizen must be loyal to his state.

Mr. Jinnah sincerely hoped that the relations between Pakistan and India would be friendly and cordial. Speaking for Pakistan, he said there would be no want of goodwill.

Mr. Jinnah denied the suggestion that the Muslim League had first agreed to have a common Governor-General for India and Pakistan and later on backed out. The Governors-General of Pakistan and Hindustan had been chosen by the successor authorities, namely, the Congress and the Muslim League, and as such were the chosen of the people....

35. Safeguards for Minorities in the Two Dominions

Letter from J.W. Doherty to Louis Mountbatten and M.A. Jinnah, 14 July 1947

Governor General’s Executive Council’s Papers (1947–48), File No. 1446/54/GG/43, 1947, NAI

To His Excellency CHAPLAIN’S OFFICE, The Viceroy St. JOHN’S CHURCH Viceroy’s Camp, Vizagapatam,

Sir,

Enclosed are copies of letters sent to the Leaders of the two great Political parties in India, Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah respectively.

The idea contained therein i.e. that the Party in power should arrange (and moreover, let it be known before hand) that official representation of minorities will be provided for adequately, may commend itself to you as worthy of exploration.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- J.W. DOHERTY.
(Chaplain)
To the Hon’ble Mr. Jinnah,\(^1\)
President of the Muslim League,
New Delhi. July 14th, 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

May I offer, as a factor likely to produce harmony in India, the following idea: with the request that it be fairly and exhaustively examined?

Its adoption, I firmly believe, would impress the world as a sincere attempt at a solution of the present problem of communal tension.

“That any majority party wherever coming into power do set apart an appropriate number of its own members to represent in the Legislature the minority or minorities: and that the political success of these “seconded” members be gauged by their efforts on behalf of those whom they were appointed to serve (lawyer-like) as a kind of “advocatus absentis”.

These advocati would not cease to be ‘party’ men, but their functions would assist in preventing the development of a common evil of one-party government, i.e. a ruthless rolling on with no one to say a word to thwart them. Recent events have shown, and are showing, in various parts of the world how tyrannical a one-party Parliament (?) can be. These appointed advocati would not be an Opposition in the usual sense of the word, but they would be expected (and would be given ample opportunity) to state in accordance with the power entrusted to them by the Government the case for the respective minorities.

This system of assured representation would be simpler to operate than the ordinary Proportionate Representation method, and would be more easily understood by the Electorate. It would stimulate voting, because the ‘appointed’ representation would be governed by the number of votes recorded—not by the voting list. Its adoption would give India a leading place in World Politics: for it would be an example of democracy not surpassed by any form of government carried out by the great (or would-be great) nations of the world today.

A letter like this is being sent to the President of the other great political party in India.

Yours Sincerely,
Sd/-J.W. Doherty.
Chaplain

\(^1\) A letter with the same content was sent to Nehru as well.

36. ‘Minorities’
Editorial in *Dawn*, 15 July 1947

SPEAKING for the first time as Governor-General designate of Pakistan the Qaed-e-Azam made a remarkable and unambiguous statement of policy concerning the minorities which should put heart and cheer into them and make them feel proud to be citizens of Pakistan. As leader of the Muslim people championing the cause of national freedom he had repeatedly held forth the assurance that when Pakistan came into being, the Hindus, Sikhs and other minorities in the Muslim State would be treated not only justly but generously. Now, as the chosen head of the State he has not only reiterated that assurance but actually granted to the
minorities a charter of freedom in terms so unequivocal that there is no longer the slightest room for doubt, suspicion or fear. The Dominion of Pakistan will guarantee to the minorities the fullest possible protection with regard to their religion, faith, way of life, property and culture, and they will enjoy in all respects the same rights of citizenship as the Muslims, without any discrimination whatsoever. In their turn the minorities would naturally have to be loyal to the State and owe true allegiance to it. No minority in any country can expect better treatment or more straightforward assurances about their rights, status and privileges from the ruling majority. We would ask those Hindu leaders who have been lately indulging in a great deal of loose and irresponsible talk calculated to create among the minorities of Pakistan a sense of doubt and uncertainty about their future, to ponder over the Qaed-e-Azam’s words.

It is now the turn of the Congress who is to be the successor authority in Hindustan to declare equally unambiguously how the Muslim minority in their State is going to be treated. During the past we have heard from Congress quarters much pointless platitude on this subject but they have never laid down a concrete policy which the Muslims could accept as a genuine guarantee that their religion, faith, way of life, property and culture would also be safe in Hindustan. It is useless for the Congress to trot out in self-defence the Karachi Resolution because that has remained not only a dead-letter but its terms have been flagrantly and deliberately violated over and over again in every Congress governed province during the intervening years—years which have been so full of blood, suffering and tears for those to whom the Karachi Resolution had promised protection and fair play. Nor has the Minorities Sub-Committee of the Hindustan Constituent Assembly so far produced anything more practical or dependable.

Not to speak of the Bihar carnage, the Garhmukhteswar holocaust, the widespread aggression of the majority against the minority in Gurgaon and the neighbouring States, and the outrages which still continue to be committed in several districts of the United Provinces, the Congress Governments in U.P., C.P., Bihar and Bombay have adopted a policy of admitted discrimination against the Muslims. Even Provincial Premiers have spoken of Muslims as aliens and held forth threats of treating them as such in every walk of life and even of retaliating against them. We challenge the Congress to cite a single instance when Muslim League Ministries anywhere have ever given expression to such open hostility against the Hindu minorities in their own charge. We do not wish to deal at length with this unpleasant recent manifestation of anti-Muslim feeling in high Congress circles because we hope that the noble example set by the head of the future Pakistan State will check the growing spirit of intolerance and communalism on the other side and that the rulers of Hindustan will now realise that reciprocal fairness towards the minorities over whom they will hold sway is essential for the peace and progress of the two neighbouring sovereign States. It goes without saying that with the best will in the world and despite his hold on his people and his authority as the Governor-General, even the Qaed-e-Azam will find it difficult to prevent repercussions in Pakistan if oppression in any shape or form continues to be visited on the Muslims living beyond the frontier of Pakistan.

Of special importance is the emphasis which the Qaed-e-Azam laid on the obligations which minorities will have towards the State in which they will live as equal citizens with the rest. With perfect fairness he laid down a code of conduct for them which is applicable alike to non-Muslims in Pakistan and Muslims in Hindustan. It is necessary for both to understand the full implications of this. There are signs on all sides that an attitude of mutual hostility between Hindus and Muslims still persists although a dynamic change has come over the situation by the creation of two independent States. Both Muslims and Hindus have won their objectives, none of them in the fullest measure but each substantially. The major political
issue created by the desire of the Hindus to dominate Muslims throughout the sub-continent, including areas which were Muslim homelands, has been settled. Therefore, there is no longer any need for the continuation of the spirit of mutual hostility as between the two peoples and their respective political organisations. According to the compromise terms accepted by both sides several millions of Hindus have become nationals of Pakistan and, similarly, millions of Muslims have become nationals of Hindustan. From the moment that these two States come into being both these minorities must loyally accept their new status in their respective States. The non-Muslims in Pakistan should henceforth regard Pakistan as much as their own State as the Muslims do; Muslims in Hindustan must reorient their attitude in the same manner. It goes without saying that the rulers of Pakistan and Hindustan respectively should make it easy for this attitude to develop and for this loyalty to grow into something firm and durable, by their own treatment of the minorities. On behalf of Pakistan that assurance has been given by none else than the Qaed-e-Azam; the Muslim minority in Hindustan await now a similar assurance by a parallel authority in their own country.

37. ‘Minorities in Western Punjab Will Not Go Uncared For’
Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Parma Nand Trehan, 16 July 1947
SPC, Vol. V, p. 289

New Delhi

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 7 July 1947. You can have no idea how much worry and anxious thought have been given to the plight of refugees and to the situation in the Punjab nor of the sorrow and bitterness with which we agreed to partition. The plight of refugees and the tragedies being perpetrated on the non-Muslims in the Punjab have given me not a few sleepless nights. After a great deal of thought we all came to the conclusion that partition was the only way to save a large number of Hindus and Sikhs, though it meant separation from a considerable number of our brethren; but I can assure you that the minorities in Western Punjab will not go uncared for by their brethren on this side. You must not forget that almost an equally large number of Muslims [are] also left here and it will not be in the interests of Muslims in Pakistan to continue their present treatment of the minorities there.

As regards the rights of citizenship at present, the matter is under the consideration of the Constituent Assembly, but whatever the definition may be, you can rest assured that the Hindus and Sikhs of Pakistan cannot be considered as aliens in India.

Regarding the other matters to which you have referred, very soon we shall have a refugee officer who will look into the needs and requirements of refugees and make his recommendations as to how best they should be met.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Parma Nand Trehan, B.A., LL.B.
Anand Bhawan
Gujarat Dist.
38. Minorities Must Not Migrate

Letter from Tilak Raj Bhasin to S.P. Mookerjee forwarding the resolution passed at West Punjab Minorities Convention at Rawalpindi, 16 July 1947
S.P. Mookerjee Papers, Subject File 95, Part I, Instalments II to IV, NMML

Respected Doctor Sahib,

I am herewith sending copies of the resolution passed at the Western Punjab Minorities Convention held at Rawalpindi on the 6th of July, 1947. I am also sending another letter copies of which I have sent to the eminent Hindus and the Congress leaders. The problem discussed in the letter is real and urgent but little attention has been paid to it. The apprehension envisaged in the letter is [sic] actually been translated into action in the recrudescence of trouble in Lahore and Amritsar. I would like to know what you think about it and what should be done. Unchecked migration is going on at furious space [sic] from the Rawalpindi Division. May I hear from you soon,

With best regards,

Sd/- Tilak Raj Bhasin
Yours sincerely,

Dr. Sham Parshad Mukerjee [sic],
Constituent Assembly,
New Delhi.

P.S. I have read in today’s papers that a Hindu Convention is going to be held at Delhi which has now been postponed to 1st of August at your instance. I am deeply interested in it.

Tilak Raj Bhasin.

[Enclosure 1]
This Convention is of the considered opinion that the members of the minority communities in the towns and bigger villages should not under any circumstances migrate and turn their backs on their hearths and homes. We exhort them to remain where they are and to entertain no unnecessary fear for their future. It is hoped that their rights and privileges will be protected by the Pakistan Dominion Government. No step in this respect should be taken until and unless the minorities are convinced that the treatment accorded to them will not be fair and impartial. The Convention is also of the considered opinion that the members of minority communities living in small villages should come out of those places and manage to find accommodation in towns and bigger villages. The Convention is determined to afford them every possible facility in this respect to the greatest extent possible.

Resolution
Moved by:—Bhimsen Sachar, M.L.A.
Seconded by:—Dr. Lehna Singh M.L.A. Sec. Punjab Prov. Congress Committee
Supported by:—Tilak Raj Bhasin, Advocate

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[Enclosure 2]
In view of the fact that the division of the country is being brought about in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of Non-Muslims all over India, it is the considered opinion of this
Minority Groups and Displaced Populations

Convention that free choice should be allowed to members of the minority communities in Pakistan whether to become the citizens of Pakistan or of the union of India. As the question bristles with innumerable difficulties, it is utmost necessary that ample opportunity should be afforded to every member of the minority communities in Pakistan to give a calm and dispassionate consideration to the matter and to take his decision in the light of events that are to unfold themselves in the near future. This Convention, therefore requests the Congress and Muslim League High Commands to make a joint announcement to the effect that, simultaneously with their coming into being, the two states will enter into treaty arrangements whereby a period of 3 years shall be allowed to every member of the minority communities in Pakistan to declare if he so wishes, that he has decided to become the citizen of Union of India, and that, within two years after the aforesaid declaration on his part, he shall be allowed to wind up his affairs in Pakistan and to transfer himself and his assets to the Union of India. The Convention wishes it to be made clear beyond doubt that no bar shall be put by the Pakistan Govt on the transfer of capital and assets of any member of the minority communities in Pakistan who has expressed his wish to become the citizen of the Union of India.

The Convention further requests the members of the existing Constituent Assembly to make requisite provisions in the constitution, to be framed by them, under which members of the minority communities in Pakistan can become full-fledged citizen [sic] of the Union of India within five years after the 15th August, 1947.

The Punjab Government had opened two Refugee Camps at their own expense at Kala (Jhelum District) and Wah (Attock District). The accommodation available in each of the two camps was about 20,000 which meant a total of 40,000. The camp at Kala has been closed since middle of June and the only camp available for the refugees is the one at Wah. The total number of refugees who are in the Wah Camp at present is about 9,000 and no more. It [sic] is thus obvious that about 11,000 more can be easily accommodated in the Wah Camp. The authorities concerned have recently promulgated an order, for reasons best known to them, that no more refugees be taken into Wah Camp, notwithstanding the availability of the accommodation. This is neither fair nor proper.

The policy of the Government appears to have been since sometime to get rid of as many refugees as possible, perhaps with the idea of curtailing the expenditure. The Convention is of the considered opinion that there is no justification whatsoever for closing the doors of the Wah Refugees Camp against the members of the destitute and distressed suffering minorities who have taken shelter outside the camps in near and distant places such as religious and social institutions at Rawalpindi, Panja Sahib, Hardwar, Rikhi Kesh, [sic] Patiala, Bikaner, Kapurthala and elsewhere. Their number is very large and it is their right to come back to the Wah Camp and it is the duty of the Government not only to look after them but to provide them with necessities of life. The Convention therefore unanimously resolves that the authorities concerned should be asked to withdraw their aforesaid order and take such other step [sic] as may be found necessary to cater for the needs of the aforementioned suffering communities.

[Enclosure 3]

Gordon College Road,
Rawalpindi.

Respected Sir,

I know that what I am going to tell you will give you a rude shock, and indeed I myself have been hesitating for long to give vent to my expressions but the events are moving at such
a fast pace that I can no longer defrain [sic] from doing so. I am reminded of a well known verse by Mathew Arnold –

Well! wind-dispersed and vain the words will be,
Yet, Thyris, let me give my grief its hour.
I venture to give my grief its hour.

THE MUDDLE OF SIKH POLITICS

To any reader of newspapers it would seem apparent that Sikh Politics is in a hopeless muddle. Disconcerted and disconsolate, they are loosing [sic] their balance of mind. Little do they realise that the Sikh Akali Leaders are themselves the authors of the present Sikh predicament. They demanded partition of the Province and compelled the Congress to push it forward. The partition was conceded in the statement of H.M.G. of June the 3rd, 1947, popularly known as the Mountbatten plan. In his broadcast speech the Sikh representative S. Baldev Singh accepted it though not without demur. Thereafter when the leaders of the Political Parties were invited by Lord Mountbatten to express their acceptance or otherwise, the Sikh Leaders Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh acquiesced. Still further you may have read Master Tara Singh’s statement that the plan should not be boycotted.

On all these three occasions did it not occur to the Sikh leaders that they had been rendered ineffective [sic] being cut up into two dominions—or is it the case of getting wiser after the event. Whatever the case may be, the position of the Sikhs is morally indefensible. As a straight course of action the Sikh leaders should have refused to accept the statement of June the 3rd. If this had been done, another solution suitable to the Sikhs may have been found out. Now, after all the major political parties accepted the Mountbatten plan, and when the plan is being actually translated into action, and when in fact we are just on the verge of getting power, to repudiate the plan is not at all justified. It augurs ill.

The plea now put forward is that the sikhs [sic] agreed to the factum of partition but not the extent of it. This is least convincing. The plan incorporated in the schedule the tentative extent of partition and clearly envisaged population and contiguity as the basic criteria for the boundry [sic] commission in order to determine the demarcation. Of course the statement contained another loose expression ‘other factors’ but then how could it be assumed that such vague words would necessarily stretch the boundry [sic] as far as Chanab. The proper course for the Sikhs would have been to insist upon the elucidation of this vague terminology and should have made it as a condition precedent for the acceptance of the plan. This however was not done. It therefore defeats one’s comprehension as to on what score the Sikhs Leaders accepted the plan. I believe that in face of the constitution of a boundry commission, a judicial tribunal, no private understanding could be had. If it could be had, then why was it not done and if there is one already why this agitation over the boundry commission, which is in the main responsible for the bloodshed that is now going on.

When once it is agreed to submit the question to the arbitration of the Boundary Commission, it is but essential that the parties to the arbitration should abide by its decision, otherwise care should have been taken not to submit to the principle of arbitration. If the Sikhs are labouring under the impression that the Boundary Commission can be coerced or intimidated into or influenced by any manner with the show of force or threats, they are totally mistaken. If this were to be the case, there should have been an amphitheatre for staging political bouts, in the place of the Boundary Commission, where the strength of logic, soundness of facts and persuasive pleading are what are warranted.
Since the constitution of the Boundary Commission, the Sikh temper has been mounting up. Clear threats have been held out as a result of which counter threats have begun to be hurled. There are indications that communal trouble has again flared up. The situation that had eased a little threatens to worsen and yet the commission has not started functioning. What if the decision does not suit the Sikhs. Coming events are casting their shadows before. Lahore and Amritsar have again become battle fields.

Sikhs are being asked to migrate privately and they are doing so. There is propaganda in the press now also. Preparations are going afoot for resort to violence. It is an open secret now. An anonymous letter addressed to a Sikh gentleman somehow found its way to me which clearly and unmistakably points to such preparations and intentions. Many private letters to Sikh gentlemen here from relations and friends from outside the western Punjab endorse this. This situation in short is that we are on the brink of a volcano which is about to burst. Have you thought over this aspect as also as to how it will effect us, or what will be its repercussions. The real motive of writing this letter to you is to focus your attention on this aspect. If the trouble is started in the Eastern Punjab it is bound to have its repercussions in the Western Punjab. What will be the fate of the Hindus then in the Western Punjab? Will they not be the victims of the unscrupulous retaliation of the Muslims. There will be no British bayonet to protect. After the 15th of August the Muslims will be the absolute masters of the Western Punjab. Muslim scruples are not obscurely known to you. What will become of the Hindus then? It will avail the Hindus of the Western Punjab little if Muslims are annihilated in the Eastern Punjab. I want to ask you as to why are we marked out for being made scape goats. Have we not already suffered enough. Must we be sacrificed at the alter of Sikh Leaders caprice. Yet another complication may arise. If what is genuinely feared happened what will be the role of the Government of the Indian Union and in particular the Government of the Eastern Punjab where the Sikhs belonging to the party which is intent upon trouble, will occupy the ministerial chairs also. Will both the Governments countenance or discountenance such an eventuality. In case of countenancing it might be construed, and rightly too as an act of aggression and privily the Pakistan Government will have to enter the arena. The result will be major conflict between the two dominions in which eventuality you can well imagine the plight of the Hindus in the Western Punjab. If such a course of action is discountenanced, the Government will have to come into conflict with the Sikhs. In any event the consequences will be far too grave for the Hindus of the Western Punjab to be ignored.

There is yet time to curb this intercine strom. The evil should be nipped in the bud, by making the Sikh leaders see reason. This cry of Homeland, or an independent Sikh State or the like is a futile cry, and sooner it is abandoned the better it would be for the country as a whole. Their position is quite secured in the Indian Union.

The difficult situation which faces us at the present moment is that there is a joint Hindu Sikh Front. The Hindus have been supporting the Sikhs so far. The Hindus joined the Sikhs in staging the protest on the 8th of July, 1947. In the matter of the Boundary Commission they are collaborating. So far good. I also believe that there should be a common front. The case should be put and pleaded before the Commission as best as possible for it involves common good. But further than this, the Hindus of both of the Western Punjab and the Eastern Punjab, should pause and ponder over the grave imminence of danger. You can do so only if you think of this problem from a purely Hindu point of view. We must think as Hindus and not the hand maiden of any community.
I know I am striking a discordant note. I am conscious that it might disrupt the present union of the two communities, but then in the first instance I regard the present union as an artificial one as it abides and subsists as long as the Hindus can serve the interest of the Sikh community but soon as the Hindus would even think of running counter in their own interests this artificial chord of unity will not take a second to be snapped. I am not against this unity. I wish that it should be abiding and lasting but not at the cost of the Hindu and in the Western Punjab. Near is my shirt but nearer still is my skin.

Tremendous exodus of Hindus and Sikhs is going on unchecked inspite of all endeavours. The main cause behind this unimpeded migration is that which I have mentioned above. If what is apprehended is to happen then it is the moral duty of those who are intent upon it and of those who have joined truck with them, or those who wish to accord it moral support to first make arrangements for the transfer of the Hindu population and then resort to it or the only other alternative is to disassociate the Hindus from this move.

I wish to strike a note of caution that unless something is done in this respect, there will be a wholesale migration which will bring in its wake extreme misery. Those who cannot migrate will either be converted or anihilated [sic].

Sd/ Tilak Raj Bhasin
Mr. T.R. Bhasin, B.A. LL.B.,

39. Panic and Fear among Hindus in East Bengal
Letter from Akhil Chandra Datta to M.A. Jinnah, 17 July 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I sent you the following telegram the day before yesterday which I hereby confirm:

East Bengal Muslim mass impression and attitude that Pakistan [sic for Pakistan] has conferred right to destroy Hindu life property religion and honour of women made Hindus in East Bengal extremely nervous panicky and miserable. Many actually contemplating and preparing for leaving Pakistan. Your assurance at this juncture of protection to minorities in Pakistan accords great relief. To ensure its desired effect immediate steps should be taken for implementing and executing your assurance in everyday life in all spheres. I suggest constant tours of League Leaders exhorting Muslim mass[es] to carry out your assurance in daily life and thus inspire and restore confidence enabling Hindus to live honourably and peacefully in East Bengal Pakistan.

Allow me to repeat that the Hindus of East Bengal have become nervous and panicky. They feel that their life, property, religion and honour will not be safe under the Pakistan Govt. In fact the Hindus seem to be completely paralysed. Such apprehension may be more or less unwarranted. But there is no denying that as a matter of fact it is there, paralysing to no small extent the normal life of the Hindus in East Bengal. The East Bengal Hindus look up to you for removing this apprehension and taking immediate and effective action to instill hope and to inspire confidence. The Pakistan Govt. for their own sake should make the Hindus feel
that it will be an unmixed blessing and not a curse. They should not only meet \textit{sic for mete]} out justice without discrimination between Hindus and Muslims, but they should make the Hindus feel that they are determined to do justice.

I have a word to say to you with reference to banks in East Bengal. They are managed and controlled mostly by Hindus. All sorts of mischievous rumours are doing havoc. The bulk of the depositors are Hindus and they apprehend that their money might be lost under the new Pakistan Govt. This is no doubt fantastic nonsense. But as Managing Director of a certain bank I feel that the banks are now in a very perilous situation. While the Hindus are seeking withdrawal the Muslim contractors feel helpless without financial accommodation from the banks to execute the new contracts they are obtaining in connection with the construction of extensive buildings at Dacca and other places. There should be some pronouncement from some responsible quarter to nip this false impression in the bud. Bank is a credit institution and may be damaged beyond redemption in no time. This is only one out of many instances of irreparable mischief by unfounded panic and nervousness. This has got to be combated. All possible steps should be taken to prevent prejudice against Pakistan. In fact Pakistan Govt. is on trial. The whole world is watching the development and progress of Pakistan. It goes without saying that it is your ambition to make Pakistan to \textit{sic} command respect and confidence not only in India but in the whole world. Pakistan must not be an object of dread and fear but of hope and respect.

Yours sincerely,
A.C. DATTA
ex-Deputy President, Indian Legislative Assembly

40. Protection of Minority Rights in Sind
Letter from Nihchaldas C. Vazirani to Vallabhbhai Patel, 24 July 1947
\textit{SPC}, Vol. V, pp. 323–4

Sheikha Building
Mahatma Gandhi Road
Karachi

Dear Sardar Sahib,

My personal view is that we should feel that Sind is as good a land of ours as of Muslims and we are entitled to all privileges to which Muslims are entitled and that we should conduct ourselves as citizens entitled to equal rights.

We should however realise that in a democratic state majority voice prevails. We should start with a sincere feeling of cooperation and when, if at all, the Muslim community as such practise oppression, we should put up opposition and agitate.

I must say that so far Sind Muslims, as a community, have not oppressed Hindus. There have happened a few isolated instances and the acts and utterances of some of the Ministers are highly objectionable. Those we are exposing. But the main fact remains that no communal lawlessness has taken place anywhere in Sind, in spite of the fact that Biharis and Punjabis have done their worst to incite Sind Muslims. Owing to the Pakistan Central Government being here in Karachi, we have to be cautious of Punjabi and Bengali Muslims. We should organise ourselves, unite and face the present situation and demand and obtain adequate safeguards
for the minorities. If a sincere offer comes for co-operation in carrying on the administration of the province, we should co-operate.

Do kindly give us your clear guidance.

There are coming Pakistan celebrations. What should we do? What should be our attitude towards the Muslim League flag in case that flag is adopted as the State flag without consultation with the minority communities? Our representation to the Governor-General regarding the Land Mortgage Bill is pending. Now Jinnah would be the Governor-General. Should we go and see him? Should we represent even our other grievances to him, specially unjust treatment to minorities? In short, should we be realists and conduct ourselves with self-respect but at the same time as residents of a new State and do everything possible for the protection of minority rights?

I am.

Yours sincerely,

Nihchaldas C. Vazirani

41. ‘Pakistan Hindu Mahasabha Formed: Pindi Organisation to Protect Minorities’

The Tribune, 28 July 1947

RAWALPINDI, July 27. – A decision to constitute separate Hindu organisations in the Western Pakistan area, with its headquarters at Rawalpindi, under the name and style of the Pakistan Hindu Mahasabha was arrived at a meeting of prominent Hindu citizens of Rawalpindi, held in the residence of Mr. Prem Chand Bhasin.

After prolonged discussions, lasting a couple of hours, resolution was unanimously adopted. Stressing the imperative necessity of the formulation of a further line of action for those Hindus who had definitely decided to stick to their original hearths and homes, the resolution added that it was absolutely essential to safeguard the religious, cultural, social, political, economical, linguistic and educational rights of the Hindus in the Pakistan area.

Mr. Prem Chand Bhasin, Mr. Tilak Raj Bhasin, Advocate and Mr. Krishan Lal Chadha, editor ‘Shanti’ were provisionally elected President, secretary and propaganda secretary of the new organisation.

According to decision taken at this meeting, Mr. Prem Chand Bhasin has despatched telegrams to Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. Ghaznafar [sic] Ali Khan and others demanding inclusion of the minorities’ colour or emblem in the proposed National Flag of the Pakistan Dominion.

42. Minorities Face Difficulties in East Bengal

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Kiran Shankar Roy, 1 August 1947

New Delhi

My dear Kiran,

Your letter came some time ago. I realise all the difficulties you point out in regard to minorities in East Bengal. We shall, of course, try to do our best to help them.
I entirely agree with you that the members of the minority communities in Pakistan should not be treated as aliens in India. For the present and until such time as we have Dominion Status no question of being aliens arises for anyone. It is only after Dominion Status ends that nationality will have to be defined rather precisely. You can rest assured that we shall give every facility to minorities in Pakistan. Essentially, however, this will be a provincial matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

43. ‘Minorities’ Rights & Interests in Eastern Pakistan’
Extracts from a report in Hindustan Standard, 3 August 1947

Problems affecting the rights and interests of minorities in Eastern Pakistan were discussed at a Conference of Hindu representatives from North and East Bengal held at University Institute Hall, Calcutta, on Saturday afternoon.

A large audience was present, the hall being filled to capacity. Nearly 350 delegates from North and East Bengal attended the Conference. About a dozen speakers addressed the Conference, stressing the need of devising effective measures for protecting the rights of minorities in Eastern Pakistan....

DR. MOOKERJEE’S ADDRESS

Addressing the conference, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee said.... that it would have been a matter of great joy if India remained united, but for circumstances which need not be discussed at this stage, India had been divided and about 2 crores of Hindus and Sikhs would be forced to live in Pakistan.

Nobody knew how the final boundary of the two states of Bengal would be fixed but on a moderate estimate it could be said that about 80 lakhs of Hindus would be left in Eastern Pakistan. The question was, therefore, how would they live there and what would be their future. That was the real problem.

Dr. Mookerjee said that only paper rights would not safeguard the rights of minorities in Eastern Pakistan. They had bitter experience of a communal rule in Bengal during the regime of Muslim League Ministry. It was, therefore, not only the question of giving certain rights to minorities in Pakistan under a constitution but the thing that should be taken into consideration was how the administration would be carried on in East Bengal.

APPREHENSIONS AMONG HINDUS

Referring to certain incidents which occurred recently in East Bengal Dr. Mookerjee said that these incidents had raised apprehensions in the minds of the Hindus there. They were, therefore, panicky about their future.

It was necessary that ways and means should be devised to safeguard the rights for Hindus of East Bengal. On this issue there could be no difference amongst the various organisations and he hoped that all political organisations would unitedly work to provide for safeguarding the interest of Hindus in Eastern Pakistan.

Dr. Mookerjee said that the problems that this Conference would have to face and find out a solution were, how to repatriate those who did not want to live in Pakistan, what arrangements would be made for their accommodation in West Bengal, how the children of Hindus living in Pakistan would be educated.
Transfer of population, Dr. Mookerjee said, was a very difficult problem. Any scheme of compulsory transfer of such a large population must be carefully considered.

He had discussed the question of transfer of population with various leaders of India. It was, he said, not a question of leaving East Bengal out of fear. Not a single Hindu wanted Pakistan. Therefore, if after Pakistan had been established, any Hindu or Sikh said that it was not a question of living in one province or another, but it was a question of living in a State by adopting another nationality, then, it was the duty of the India Government to repatriate those Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan and provide them with a chance of enjoying the full freedom of India.

**QUESTION OF CITIZENSHIP**

It was, Dr. Mookerjee said, a question of great constitutional importance. If one did not want to adopt the citizenship of Pakistan why then should he be forced to live in Pakistan? Many people were already coming from East Bengal. They were mostly rich people and if this exodus continued, it would adversely affect those who had no means of coming from East Bengal and would be forced to remain there. This problem should be carefully considered and a way found out. Dr. Mookerjee said that panicky exodus would be disastrous.

**A MORAL RESPONSIBILITY**

Dr. Mookerjee then said that the Hindus of East Bengal had supported wholeheartedly the agitation for partition of Bengal. It was, therefore, a moral responsibility of West Bengal Hindus to help the Hindus of East Bengal. It must be demonstrated that although a line of demarcation had been drawn for administrative purpose there was no line of separation amongst the Hindus in general. So long as the two parts of India were not united again real independence would not be achieved.

**SJ. HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSH**

Sj. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh stressed the responsibility of West Bengal Hindus in the matter of safeguarding the rights and interests of Hindus of East Bengal.

Sj. Surya Kumar Basu (Dacca) said that there were misgivings in the minds of the Hindus of East Bengal about the administration in Eastern Pakistan, and they apprehended that there might be trouble in East Bengal after the two provinces were formed. The East Bengal Hindus had supported the partition movement for safety of West Bengal Hindus. It was now, therefore, the duty of the Hindus in West Bengal to lend their help and support to the Hindus in Eastern Pakistan.

Sj. Prakash Chandra Pakrashi (Dacca) suggested the formation of Hindu volunteer corps in East Bengal.

Sj. Laxmi Kanta Sen Gupta (Barisal) said that East Bengal Hindus should be given proper opportunity for serving the West Bengal Government.

Sj. Kshetra Nath Dalal said that the West Bengal Government should immediately acquire waste lands in West Bengal for accommodating East Bengal Hindus.

Sj. Nalini Ranjan Mitra (Noakhali) said that the Hindus of Bengal must be united to carry on a united campaign for finding out a place for themselves in Bengal. East Bengal Hindus must have adequate opportunity to take up jobs in West Bengal Government.

Dr. Fanindra Mohan Lahiri (Pabna) suggested that weightage should be given by West Bengal Government to the Hindus of East Bengal.
Sj. Ramen Sanyal (Gopalganj) said that the Fort William should be renamed as Subhas Fort which would inspire the Hindus throughout India to unite for the interests of Hindus. Hindus of East Bengal must not leave their homes.

Sj. Kumud Bandhu Roy Choudhury (Comilla) suggested that Namasudras from East Bengal should be brought to West Bengal for defence purposes as they would form the strongest militia in India.

Sj. Suresh Chandra Taluqdar also addressed the meeting.

The Conference reassembles today (Sunday) at 9.30 a.m. The Subjects Committee meeting of the delegates would be held at 8 a.m.

44. “I Believe in Action, Not in Words”: Nazim-ud-din’s Emphatic Assurance to Minorities

The Tribune, 7 August 1947

CALCUTTA, Aug. 6 – After his election as Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din said: ‘On behalf of the Muslims of Eastern Pakistan State, I can assure Dr. Ghosh and the members of the minority community living in the Eastern Pakistan State, that “Insha Allah” (God willing), we will not only give them protection but we shall be generous towards them and we shall make them feel that they are one of us. I believe more in action than in words and I hope that by our deeds we will be able to prove to the world how we treat our minorities in Eastern Pakistan State’. He thanked the members of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party for the honour they had done him by electing him their leader. ‘It is a most onerous duty,’ he added, ‘and I hope and trust I will receive assistance, help and co-operation from all sections of the people; not only from the members of the party but also from the minorities, and, on my part, I assure you that I will try to discharge my duties and responsibilities honestly, fairly and justly.’

Reciprocating the assurance to the minorities on behalf of his Government, Dr. P.C. Ghosh, speaking in Bengali, said that they were here for all the communities, Hindus Muslims and others, and he hoped that with the co-operation of Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din, his Government would see that no injustice was done to any body. There might be mistakes here and there, but they would be always ready to be corrected. Much bitterness had been created in the past, specially during the past year, and it would take some time to bury the bitterness. But he hoped that, by mutual co-operation and friendship between the two Governments, they would be able to build a united Bengal anew and also to unite the divided India. Only by doing this could Bengal come once again to the forefront of Indian politics.

Dr. Ghosh referred to the recent disturbances in Midnapore district to which he paid a visit on Sunday and said that both the communities had suffered there. He had asked officials to give all possible relief without any distinction of caste or creed. He informed the members that for the past two days there had been no incidents in the area.

He reminded the minority communities that although it was the duty of the majority community to protect them, they had also their duty towards the majority community.

Dr. Ghosh asked them to inform him if anything happened anywhere without rushing to the press so that he could take action immediately. He would do, likewise, if anything was done to Hindus in East Bengal.

Referring to Calcutta, Dr. Ghosh said that they should now try to eradicate the evils and that could be done by mutual help and co-operation. He hoped that his Muslim brothers would help him in the task and he also advised the Hindus of East Bengal to co-operate with Khwaja
Nazim-ud-Din. In this way, he said, the question of Hindu-Muslim unity could be solved. Great task lay ahead of them and by their concerted action they would be able to build up Bengal and make her prosperous.—API

45. ‘Helplessness of Minorities in Indian States’

_Dawn, 10 August 1947_

JAIPUR, Friday—August 15 will bring joy and freedom for Hindustan and Pakistan, while the fate of States’ subjects is still uncertain and gloomy’, says Allama Mohammad Abdul Hai Faiz, President, Rajputana States Muslim League, in a statement to Press.

‘The minority community in Indian States is in a state of utter helplessness. Atrocities of a very grave nature have been committed, but the Authorities do not pay any heed to the clamourings of the sufferers’, the statement adds.

‘The minority community suffered a great loss in Bharatpur and thousands have left Alwar State only to save their lives.

‘In these circumstances how can the State people celebrate August 15. I, therefore, propose that Muslims of native States generally and those of Rajputana States particularly should refrain from participating in any celebrations on August 15. Instead they should pray to God after Jumat-ul-Wida prayers to protect Muslim life and honour and bestow courage and strength on the helpless Muslims.’

46. ‘Hindus Should Not Feel Panicky’

Extracts from a report in _The Tribune, 10 August 1947_

SHIKARPUR, Aug. 9 – Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President, in the course of a speech here yesterday at a largely attended public meeting, said that the Pakistan Government cannot afford to ill-treat Hindus. He added that if 20 millions of Hindus were included in Pakistan, 45 millions of Muslims came within Hindustan. The Hindus, therefore, should not feel panicky.

The Congress, said Acharya Kripalani, would not tolerate any wrong. The good of Hindus and of Muslims, indeed of the country as a whole, lay in mutual goodwill and joint progress.

Acharya Kripalani in the course of his address stated the Congress stood for accepting June 3 arrangement, had accepted the lesser evil and acted on the principle of greatest good of the greatest numbers. Addressing himself to the Hindus Acharya Kripalani stated that Hindus should not feel panicky. Pakistan Government could not afford to ill-treat Hindus in Pakistan.

Acharya Kripalani further stated they (the Muslims) should not become proud because of the achievement of Pakistan. Pride always leads to a fall. Acharya Kripalani appealed to them that they should treat Hindus well in Pakistan; if they did not, they would suffer.

Congress, he once again emphasised, did not believe in retaliation and the Congress would not tolerate any wrong done against them in Hindustan but if Hindus in Pakistan were persecuted Congress would be thrown out of office in Hindustan. People today show us black flags and they would some day oust us from office. Then such Governments will be installed who would give tit-for-tat and then God may help what would happen. There will be rivers of blood flowing in Hindustan and Pakistan. The good of Hindus and the good of Muslims and of the whole country lay in mutual goodwill and combined progress....
47. ‘Over 1,500 Refugees in D. I. Khan Camps’
*The Hindustan Times, 11 August 1947*

**PESHAWAR, Aug 10.—**The number of refugees lodged in various centres and private houses in Dera Ismail Khan on July 31 was 1574.

Elaborate arrangements have been made for the issue of food rations to the refugees in each centre. About 90,000 yards of cloth have been distributed among the refugees and passage money to 400 families, who left for other places, has also been granted.—U.P.I.

48. ‘Equal Citizenship for All in Pakistan Promised’
*Extract from a report in The Statesman, 12 August 1947*

**KARACHI, Aug 11.—**Approval of the Pakistan national flag, which, except for a white vertical stripe, is identical in design with the Muslim League flag, unanimous election of Mr. Jinnah as President of the Constituent Assembly, reiteration by him of equality of rights for minorities, a promise by him of equal citizenship for all in Pakistan, irrespective of caste, creed or colour, and expression by him of a determination to stamp out from the Dominion black markets, jobbery and nepotism, were the features of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly’s session here today. ...

Mr. K.S. Roy, Leader of the Opposition, who has the unfortunate habit of talking in a low tone, away from the microphone, was inaudible. He said that Mr. Jinnah, who had been the creator of Pakistan, had now the chance of giving shape to his dream and of seeing it realized in his lifetime.

A frank discordant note Mr. Roy struck when he said that they were unhappy about the division of India, but he added: ‘Once this arrangement was agreed upon by the two great parties we accepted it loyally, and shall work for it loyally.’

**CO-OPERATION OF MINORITIES**

He concluded by saying: ‘You have been a great leader of India and I assure you that there will be no want of trust and co-operation on our side.’...

Mr. J.N. Mandal, who was loud in his praise of Qaid-e-Azam, promised the unstinted sincerity and faithfulness of the Scheduled Castes to the new Dominion. He admitted that the men of his community were backward educationally and in many other respects, but he emphasized that they would never be found backward in their faithfulness to the State of Pakistan.

Dressed in white silk, Begum Shah Nawaz said she wanted no more rights than those given by her religion, namely, equality for men and women.

Mr. Jinnah was visibly moved by the compliments of his colleagues. He had uttered only a few sentences when the electric current failed and his speech was imperfectly heard. He said that he hoped that with the support and cooperation of the members it would be possible to make the Constituent Assembly an example for the world.

Raising his voice, he said that the first duty of the Government was to preserve law and order for the protection, at all costs, of life property and religious belief. One of the biggest curses—‘a poison’—from which India was suffering was bribery and corruption, and it was essential that they put that down with an iron hand....

He reiterated that they were starting the State without any discrimination and no distinction between one community and another. They were starting with the fundamental principle that
they were all equal citizens of one State. He forecast that in the course of time all apprehension of the minority communities, provincialism and caste prejudice would vanish. These, he passionately added, were the biggest hindrances in the way of India attaining its freedom and but for these they would have been free long ago.

**PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH**

...‘The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing our future constitution of Pakistan and the second is to function as a full and complete sovereign body as the federal legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the federal legislature of Pakistan. Not only we but the whole world wonders at his unprecedented cyclonic revolution, which has brought about a plan of creating and establishing two independent sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent. This mighty sub-continent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic and unparalleled. And what is important is that we have achieved it peacefully.

‘In dealing with our first function of this Assembly, I cannot make any well considered pronouncement at this moment, but I can say one or two things. I would like to emphasize that you are now a sovereign legislative body. It, therefore, places on you the greatest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order so that life and property and religious belief are fully protected by the State at all cost (Loud cheers.)...

49. ‘Fundamental and Minority Rights: Committee of Sixteen Members Appointed’

Extract from a report in *Hindustan Standard*, 13 August 1947

KARACHI, AUG. 12 – The Pakistan Constituent Assembly today appointed a committee of 16 members to advise the Assembly on the fundamental rights of citizens of Pakistan and on matters relating to the minorities, with power to the President to nominate not more than seven other members who may not be members of the Assembly. The resolution which was moved by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was adopted without discussion.....

The following constitute the Fundamental and Minority Rights Committee—Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar, Dr. Mahmud Hussain, Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, Mr. M.A. Khuhro, Mr. Gazanfar Ali Khan, Mr. Prem Hari Barman, Mr. Fazlur Rahman, Mr. Birat Chandra Mandal, Mr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Mr. Abdul Kasam Khan, Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, Mr. Sheikh Karamat Ali, Mr. Rajkumar Chakravarthy and Begum Shah Nawaz.

In moving the resolution on the appointment of the Committee to advise on fundamental rights of citizens and on minorities, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that the Constituent Assembly should have the benefit of a committee which could examine these questions in details.

The appointment of the Committee and discussion by it was a more convenient procedure than that of the Constituent Assembly to sit together and examine it in detail. Powers had been given under the resolution to the President of the Constituent Assembly to nominate seven more members who need not be members of the Assembly, the object being to give representation to those minorities that were not represented in the House. He hoped that the motion would get the full support of the House.

The resolution was adopted without further discussion....
50. ‘Pakistan Your Own State’

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 13 August 1947

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose addressing the minorities in East Bengal in course of a statement says:

‘You have to accept East Bengal, now included in Pakistan, as your own state and it is to this State that you have to render allegiance. Your help and cooperation will be necessary for the building up of the new State and I trust you will not shirk your duty in this respect.’

The flag of the Pakistan Dominion has to be accepted as the national flag by all the provinces comprised in it just as the Hindusthan Dominion flag has to be accepted as the national flag by all the provinces comprised in it. When the Pakistan Dominion flag is hoisted on Government and public buildings in East Bengal, the minorities there should attend the flag hoisting functions and salute the flag. If processions are taken out in East Bengal under the direction of the Government there and the minorities are requested to join such processions, they should do so. In short, minorities in East Bengal should offer honourable and responsive co-operation to the majority community as citizens or the new East Bengal State from the day it comes into being.

‘People in East Bengal, whether they are Hindus or Muslims, or Christians or Buddhists, are nationals of East Bengal and have to conduct themselves as such. The Minorities in East Bengal have a right to demand of the majority community that they should not only be guaranteed protection but treated with justice and fairness. At the same time it is the duty of the minorities there to cultivate friendly relations with the majority community and to co-operate with them wholeheartedly in building up a new and prosperous State.

51. ‘Rajen Babu’s Assurance to Minorities’

The Tribune, 15 August 1947

NEW DELHI, Aug. 14.—An assurance to the minorities in India that they would receive fair and just treatment and that there will be no discrimination in any form against them, was given by the President of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad addressing the historic session of the House tonight on the assumption of power.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, addressing a hushed house, expressed grateful thanks to the Almighty and recalled in grateful remembrance the services of all those known and unknown, who sacrificed themselves for the attainment of independence. ‘Let us also pay our tribute of love and reverence to Mahatma Gandhi who has been our beacon-light, our guide and philosopher during the last thirty years or more’, he said.—A.P.I.

52. ‘Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in Hindustan’

An article in The Tribune, 15 August 1947

The partition of India into 2 Dominions of Pakistan and Union of India will be completed on the 15th August 1947 when two independent States will begin to function separately with very little left common except defence, currency and some assets and liabilities. The partition of these is also required to be completed before 31-3-48 after which practically nothing common will be left between the 2 dominions for administrative purposes. They would be two full-fledged independent States. The partition has been based upon and agreed to on the acceptance of the
two nation theory on religious basis. If the concept persists, Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in Hindustan, will be aliens to all intents and purposes.

In politics facts cannot be ignored. Therefore, the only course open to the two dominions is to let the process of partition reach its logical end.

The central services have been divided on the score of option exercised by the employees and the benefit of this division has been extended to servicemen in the Punjab and Bengal as well because these two provinces have like India itself been partitioned. This privilege has not been extended to unfortunate employees of the other provincial Governments. It is just possible that there may be a Muslim of U.P. who does not like to serve in U.P. because it is not a part of Pakistan and similarly a Hindu employee of the Sind Government who does not like to serve in Sind because it is not a part of Hindustan. The right to exercise the option of service in any of the two dominions should be extended to the personnel in other provinces too. The modified form may be that an employee of the provincial Government may be allowed to migrate in case the Pakistan or Union of India Government is prepared to take him. But if the dominion of his choice cannot find a place for him, he may be compensated or allowed to retire and paid gratuity or proportionate pension as the case may be. At least he should be given this much privilege on the liberation of his country.

To extend this privilege to the public at large to Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in Hindustan, the two dominions Governments should come to an agreement to facilitate the migration of Muslims into Pakistan and Hindus and non-Muslims into Hindustan within, say, a period of 10 years or even longer. During this period no restrictions should be imposed on movement of anybody and his belongings between Pakistan and Hindustan. Otherwise the problem of minorities will not only continue to defy solution but may become the cause of further estrangement between the two dominions.

Lahore.

MEHTA

53. Appeal for Material and Monetary Help from the Hindu Sikh Central Protection Board, Dera Ismail Khan

Undated
AICC Papers, File No. G-14/1946-7, NMML

What has happened with the minorities in D.I. Khan (Southern-most District in N.W.F.P.) on the 15th April, 1947, and what is still happening is known only to those who have suffered. The public outside may know only through passing references in the press. We heard of NOAKHALI tragedies and we have seen them here. Loot, arson, indiscriminate wholesale murders, kidnappings, and conversions are too numerous to be counted. Those who were masters of lakhs, owned palatial buildings and had running businesses are reduced to a pemuious state. There is no safety of honour, life and property. What led to this tragedy is an open secret and need not be disclosed here. It is an organized plan to exterminate the minorities from this Province. A large number after witnessing these blood curdling tragedies and hearing these heart rending tales of woe have left the District with no belongings and nothing to live upon, as all that they had was either looted, burnt or lost. Since forces of lawlessness and disorder have been let-loose, others are seriously thinking of leaving this Province.

Loss is estimated in crores but when the minorities migrate, and this has become necessary due to a absence of security, it will be inestimable. The relief of Rs. 100,000/- by the Govt. is
ridiculous and makes us feel that they neither sympathise nor realise the seriousness of situation. We can only fall back on the generosity and charity of our brethren in other provinces. We have to feed the poor; pay travelling expenses to the deserving; give them necessary funds to start their business; and allot part expenses to rebuild their properties if they choose to stay here, or else give them monetary help necessary for a fresh start in their new life in places quite foreign to them.

We appeal to all in the name of humanity to help this Committee with funds to meet this calamity which has fallen on the minority of this District. Apart from monetary help we appeal to those who have got industrial concerns, flourishing businesses, agricultural farms to let us know if they can absorb our refugees and give them work for which they are fit. We appeal to other Provincial Governments if they can offer lands for settling refugees as Sind Govt. did for the muslim Beharies and offer services and other possible amenities. We appeal to big Hindu States to follow the noble lead of Patiala in absorbing the refugees. In this hour of dire need we appeal to all who can help the crushed and misery stricken minorities of this District.

All remittances may kindly be made to R.B. Jesa Ram, Treasurer of the Fund and all references and correspondence concerning help addressed to Hindu Sikh Central Protection Board, DERA ISMAIL KHAN.

1. Manohar Lal Bagai Advocate,  
   President,  
   Hindu Sikh Central Protection Board  
2. Dewan Bhanju Ram M.L.A.  
3. R.B. Jeasa Ram of R.B. Jeasa Fateh Chand  
4. Raizada Khilanda Ram, of R.B. Jetha Nand  
   Khilanda Ram  
6. R.S. Malik Basant Lal.  
7. Lala Rashi Ram of Seth Ganesh Das Vishan Das  
8. R.S. Lala Das Ram Bagai Zamindar.  
9. Mr. Bhagwan Datta  
   President, City Congress Committee.  
10. L. Roushan Lal,  
    President, Bar Association.  
11. Seth Devi Das Chokra of M/s. Sukhuram Bihar Ram  
12. L. Piara Lal Bhatia, Advocate.  
13. S. Sidhu Singh Mongia.  
Chapter 37. Volunteer Organizations

1. Report from Bombay

Extract from the fortnightly report on Bombay for the second half of May 1947,
3 June 1947
Home Poll (I), File No. 18/5/47, NAI

...Note showing the development of Volunteer Organisations in Bombay Province during the month of May

(1) Rashtra Seva Dal

Membership: The total membership of the Dal is 58,902 as against 57,714 of the last month. The largest branch of the Dal is at Nasik with a total membership of 1,800.

Activity: As stated in the last note, there has been a split between the rightist and leftist (socialist) workers of the Rashtra Seva Dal and the latter have refused to hand over the organisation under Congress control as directed by the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee. They are thinking of continuing their separate organisation.

The Secretary of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee and the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Seva Dal Controlling Board, has in this connection issued a press statement on 14th May 1947, enumerating the abortive attempts so far made by the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee to bring the Rashtra Seva Dal under its control and warning the renegades that their conduct amounted to breach of Congress discipline. The Secretary has further urged all Congressmen, Congress Committees, the public and the Rashtra Seva Dal volunteers to join the Congress Seva Dal in their respective districts. However, it is doubtful how far this will have any effect on the leftists’ determination to run an independent organisation. As things stand today, the leftists (socialists) have an appreciable hold on the existing Rashtra Seva Dal and it will be very difficult for the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee and the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Seva Dal Controlling Board to run a parallel organisation in Maharashtra. The rightist and leftist workers are trying their level best to win the support of the Dal volunteers to their respective organisations. The Maharashtra Provincial Congress Seva Dal Controlling Board has appointed a new provincial chief authorising him to appoint district heads in consultation with the Controlling Board.

Congress Seva Dals in the Karnatak and Gujarat districts will, however, get appreciable response from the public due to the Congress influence there.

Taking advantage of the summer vacation, the Rashtra Seva Dal workers all over the province were busy as usual in organising training camps for Dal volunteers. Between the 19th April and 25th May four such training classes were organised at Palasderi (Kolaba), Dharwar,
Laxmeshwar (Sangli State) and Viramgam (Ahmadabad). The attendances varied between 35 and 82. The training consisted of drill, physical exercises, instructions in lathi and lezim and classes in which discourses were arranged on subjects like the constructive programme, cleanliness, discipline etc.

A Provincial Intelligence Class was held at Andheri from the 21st to 28th April and 116 selected volunteers from all over Maharashtra attended the class. The programme consisted of lectures on Agricultural Laws, Workers Movements, Dal Organisations, Current Politics, etc. and instructions in Physical Training, Drill, Games, etc.

(2) **Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh**

Membership: The total membership of the Sangh is 32,925 as against 31,844 in the last month. The membership is increasing probably due to the communal situation in the country. The largest branch of the Dal is at Nasik with a total membership of 1,400.

Activity: The Sangh workers are busy organising and conducting regional training camps for Sangh volunteers at Ahmedabad, Poona and Shahapur (Sangli State). Attendances at these camps range from 600 to 3,500. The programme includes physical exercises, Indian games, instructions in lathi and lectures on subjects like discipline, brotherhood, utility of the Sangh and other items relating to the Sangh organisation and activities.

The Officers Training Camp at Poona is the biggest of the three, as about 3,500 volunteers are attending the camp as against 800 last year. This shows that the strength of the Sangh has increased. The Chief Organiser of the Sangh, inaugurated the camp on the 25th April and in his speech attributed this large increase to Hindus having realised the situation as created by the aggression of ‘Non-Hindus’. He observed that the greater the injustice done to Hindus, the greater would be the awakening amongst them. Addressing the camp volunteers again on the 27th, 28th and 30th April he reminded the volunteers that they came from Shivaji’s race and as such they should not tolerate injustice. He extolled Germans for their sacrifice for their fatherland and asked the volunteers to emulate their example. He further cursed the present ‘selfish and hypocritic leadership in the country’ as being responsible for the proposed partitioning of India and indirectly accused Congress Governments for siding with the Muslims and for resorting to repressive measures against the Hindus. The Poona district organiser of the Sangh, addressing the volunteers on the 26th April, averred that Hindus would not be able to lead an honourable life unless the cult of violence was imbibed in them. On the 30th April, the Poona City organiser, addressed the trainees and said that systematic attacks were made against Hindus everywhere with a view to reducing their numerical strength and establishing a rule of non-Hindus in the country. He added that no Hindu could tolerate division of the country. The Hindus should oppose it tooth and nail to maintain the honour of the Hindu flag.

The Chief Organiser also visited the Shahapur Camp (800) for the Karnataka districts on the 8th May and addressing the Sangh volunteers said that it was established 20 years back to maintain the tradition and glory of the Hindu religion. He observed that Hindustan belonged to Hindus to the exclusion of other communities and that India was indivisible owing to its natural boundaries.

Routine training is being imparted to Sangh volunteers at the Ahmedabad camp (1230), and volunteers from Madras (215), Kathiawar States (200) and Baroda State (115) are attending this camp.
The routine programme of the Sangh, consisting of Drill, Physical training, Games, etc. and weekly general parades and lectures on Indian History and organisational activities of Hindus continued at various branches of the Sangh in Greater Bombay during the month. The Rashtriya Seva Sangh does not appear to have made intensive preparations against the possibility of communal riots, nor do members appear to be in possession of arms.

(3) **Muslim National Guards**

Membership: The total membership of the Guards is 11,881 as against 11,412 of the last month. The largest branch of the Guards is at Kalyan with a total membership of 700. The increase is due to the enrolment of new members in East Khandesh and Godhra districts.

Activity: The Muslim National Guards at Ahmednagar took night rounds in the Muslim locality between April 24th and 28th.

The President and the Vice-President of the Surat District Muslim League and the Salar-e-Zilla of Surat District National Guards toured in Chikli Taluka (Surat) in the first week of May and carried on propaganda about Pakistan, National Guards and unity. They received an encouraging response. The leaders, it is learnt, intend visiting the Taluka once again in the near future.

On the night of the 23rd May, 25 Muslim National Guards were detailed to escort Muslims from the various cinemas in Bombay City to their homes on account of the outbreak of communal disturbances. Next day they were detailed at the Muslim League Relief Office for duty at Memonwada Road.

The Muslim National Guards did not carry firearms during the period under report.

(4) **Khaksar Volunteer Corps**

Membership: The total membership of the Corps is 242. The largest branch of the Corps is at Poona. (80)

Activity: In response to the appeal made by Allama Mashriqui the ‘Bahadur Shah Day’ was observed on the 10th of May in Memory of the 1857 rebellion by a few Khaksars in Bombay City and Poona.

The Khaksars at Ahmednagar took night rounds between the 24th and 28th April.

(5) **Samata Sainik Dal**

Membership: The total membership of the Dal is 8,355 as against 8,875 in the last month. The decrease is due to the inactivity of the Dal in Poona where the membership has decreased by 520.

Activity: At Sholapur the Dal volunteers took prominent part in the procession organised by the Scheduled Castes Federation to celebrate the birth anniversary of Dr. Ambedkar on 23rd April 1947.

(6) **Hindu Rashtra Dal**

Membership: The total membership of the Dal is 155.

Activity: After a prolonged inactivity, about 125 members and sympathisers of the Hindu Rashtra Dal met at Dadar, Bombay, on the 9th and 10th of May under the presidency of Mr. V.D. Savarkar. This meeting was particularly held in Bombay to enable Mr. V.D. Savarkar
to attend and to give the volunteers his advice and directive with a view to revitalising the Hindu Rashtra Dal activities.

During these two days Mr. Savarkar dominated the proceedings and delivered four speeches in which he narrated the aims and objects of the Hindu Rashtra Dal, its constitution and his views on the communal riots in India and the partitioning of the Punjab and Bengal.

During the course of his speeches Mr. Savarkar is understood to have asked the volunteers to visit villages to establish mass contact and to propagate ‘Savarkar-Vad’ amongst the villagers and to inculcate in them a spirit of aggression to protect themselves from Muslim atrocities. Mr. Savarkar further told the volunteers to assist the villagers in securing arms licences within the provisions of law.

Adverting to Muslim atrocities in the Punjab, Bengal and the North West Frontier Province, Mr. Savarkar is reported to have said that they would not stop until the Hindus retaliated in the same spirit and manner. If four Hindu women were raped and four Hindu temples desecrated in the Muslim majority provinces, the same number of Muslim ladies should be raped and equal number of mosques pulled down in the Hindu majority provinces. He congratulated Kolaba and Bihar Hindus for their bravery during the communal riots there.

Further Mr. Savarkar supported the partitioning of the Punjab and Bengal and observed that it did not amount to conceding the principle of Pakistan. It aimed at creating more Hindu provinces and adding them to the existing number. Referring to the Constituent Assembly Mr. Savarkar observed that it could at best draft a constitution for Hindu provinces when the Muslim League had non-cooperated with it. He asked the Dal Volunteers to oppose the constitution if it were to prove detrimental to Hindu interests and Hindudom.

Mr. Savarkar’s speeches were delivered with the same old zeal and spirit and they made good impression on the volunteers.

(7) Lok Sena

Membership: The total membership of the Sena is 1,675.

Activity: Mr. S.G. Madane of Dhulia is endeavouring to reorganise the Lok Sena branch at Dhulia which was merged in the Rashtra Seva Dal in the month of February, 1947.

(8) Azad Hind Dal

Membership: The total membership of the Dal is 855 as against 825 in the last month. The increase is due to new enrolment of members in Dharwar and Ahmednagar districts. The largest branch of the Dal is at Thana (250).

Activity: Routine physical training exercises, Indian games, lathi, etc. are being practiced by the volunteers.

This being an organisation under the control of the All India Forward Bloc, its policy and programme is to organise itself on the lines of the Indian National Army and Sardar Sardulsingh Caveeshwar mentioned this on the 23rd May at the meeting held in Bombay City. He said he proposed to raise an army of one million soldiers to drive the British out of India if they fail to ‘quit’ by June 1948 and also to fight against the division of the country. He asserted that obtaining and using arms illegally for the Independence of the country is no crime.

At Bagalkot (Bijapur) the Dal volunteers in uniform received Pandit Sheelbhadra, Secretary of the All India Forward Bloc, on his visit to the place on 21st April 1947.
(9) **Rashtra Seva Samiti**

Membership: The total membership of the Samiti is 220, as against 170 in the last month. The increase is due to the opening of a new branch of fifty members in Satara District.

(10) **Congress Seva Dal**

Membership: There is no change in the membership of the Dal. It functions only in Bombay City.

Activity: Two summer training camps were opened at which 120 Kumarikas and Sevikas and 25 selected candidates, respectively, are receiving training. The programme of these camps consists of Hindi classes, instructions in Drill, Physical Exercises, Parades, games, First Aid and Spinning and lectures.

(11) **Hindustan National Guards**

This is a new organisation formed in pursuance of the All India Hindu Mahasabha resolution adopted at its Gorakpur Session. Rules of the organisation have been framed by the All India Hindu Mahasabha and have been published at New Delhi.

**Objects:** The objects of the organisation are:

1. To strive for complete Independence and integrity of Hindustan
2. To protect and defend the interests of Hindus by all legitimate means.
3. To maintain peace and promote harmony in all communities in Hindustan.
4. To safeguard and promote Hindu culture and religion.
5. To consolidate all classes and sections of Hindus.
6. To organise and attend congregational prayers.
7. To establish and to conduct orphanages and rescue Homes if necessary.
8. To organise ambulance and Medical Units.
9. To support Hindu arts and Industries and to prefer Hindus in all walks of life.
10. And in general to do and perform all such acts and things as may be conducive to the attainment of the above objects.

**Pledge:** The following pledge has to be taken by each volunteer before enrolment:

I.............. solemnly affirm in the name of God and Akhand Hindustan that I will protect and defend my Motherland and Hinduism by words, thoughts and actions even to the peril of my life and property and will abide by the rules and regulations of the Hindustan National Guard.

At present only one branch of the organisation has been formed and it is located at Poona. About 20 volunteers have joined the branch and are receiving training in drill. Two provincial organisers have been appointed for Maharashtra and one of them is touring in Thana District canvassing support for the Guards.

The response from the Hindu public has so far been poor. The organisation is not likely to make a headway for want of funds and as also a strong organisation of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh already exists in Maharashtra.

**N.B.:** There was no appreciable activity by the other volunteer organisations.
Statement showing the strength of the organisations during the month of May.

1. Rashtra Seva Dal 58,902
2. Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh 32,925
3. Muslim National Guards 11,881
4. Khaksars 242
5. Samata Sainik Dal 8,355
6. Hindu Rashtra Dal 155
7. Lok Sena 1,675
8. Azad Hind Dal 855
9. Red Guards 800
10. Rashtra Seva Samiti 220
11. Hindustan National Guards 20
12. Congress Seva Dal 1,500
13. Bombay National Guards 125
14. Swastik League Volunteer Corps 200
15. Arya Veer Dal 250
16. Shikh Nav Javan Dal 200

2. Report from Punjab
   Extract from the fortnightly report on Punjab for the second half of May 1947, 7 June 1947
   Home Poll (I), File No. 18/5/47, NAI

   ...3. VOLUNTEER ORGANISATIONS—(Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh).—The membership of the R.S.S.S. has again shown a marked increase and is now estimated at 56,800. The increase, of about 4,600, has been contributed by the Lahore, Jullundur and Multan divisions, while the Rawalpindi Division has reported a decrease of 400, due to migrations. Several new branches have been opened and training activity has been reported particularly from the districts of the Central Punjab.

   Evidence is increasing to show that suspicion was not unfounded and that the R.S.S.S. is a thoroughly dangerous organisation. In Lahore its members have been engaged in arson and murder and it is known that they are a part of dangerous plans of a communal kind. In Lahore, Gujranwala, Sargodha, Chiniot, Burewala, Jullundur and Ferozepore they have busied themselves in crude bomb manufacture and also probably in other places. In the Jullundur case the stronghold of the Sangh was raided and military bombs, acids, laboratory apparatus, other weapons, local locality maps and a typed two-page pamphlet entitled ‘Lessons in Wine Engineering’ were recovered. In Ferozepore, R.S.S.S workers have come to notice for attempting to purchase arms and bombs from Army officers and it has been reported that they admitted that they had no kind of license and were willing to pay more on this account. In Hoshiarpur district members of the Sangh have been trying to obtain illicit arms and bombs from hill states, and it has been brought to notice about other branches of the organisation that they have been collecting money for similar illegal purposes. These instances of Sangh misdemeanour could be multiplied from material already on record, and there is no doubt that they will be further increased as fresh reports are received of the incidents which take place in connection with the disorders. It is fair to say that the members of the Sangh have shed their practised
unobtrusiveness and that they are prepared to sacrifice their one time secrecy in order to take their place in the front ranks of militant Hinduism.

It is also worth mention that reports received have stated that the influx of R.S.S.S. workers from Delhi into Gurgaon district recently has been considerable. Workers were reported to be touring and distributing fuel, rations and clothes and secretly preparing the Hindu community for an offensive against the Muslims. They were also trying to influence prosecution witnesses with a view to destroying evidence concerning the earlier disturbances and their efforts were attended with some success. It may be premature to say that these volunteers were instrumental in igniting the blaze of communal warfare which has now swept Gurgaon district, but the possibility that they have done so cannot be rejected.

(Muslim League National Guards).—The activities of the Muslim League National Guards in Lahore and other places during the present disturbances have not been openly as unlawful as those of the R.S.S.S. but it may be expected that collaboration between the M.L.N.G. and District and City branches of the Muslim League will be as close as the R.S.S.S. and the Hindu community, and in the event of a further deterioration of the already bad communal situation, plans of action not dissimilar to those of the Hindu community may well be put into force. There are already indications that the Guards are being used as secret messengers, that their general activities are becoming less open and that in some places they are active in arming their community. It has been reported that financial aid from the Centre has been promised particularly for the western districts which are to act as recruiting grounds for the entire Province. Enrolment in the Rawalpindi and Campbellpur districts has been particularly brisk, and efforts have been made to enlist the services of ex-soldiers. The increase in membership is noticeable in practically all districts, however and it is estimated that the number of M.L.N.Gs in the Province now is in the neighbourhood of 39,000.

(Akal Fauj).—The total membership of the Akal Fauj is now estimated at about 8,500. There has been a decrease of about 650 in Rawalpindi district owing to the exodus of members following disturbances, but an increase in 11 districts, particularly Lahore and Gujranwala, totaling 1,600. The Akal Fauj, however, appears to be attracting fewer members than the Shahidi Jathas, the formation of which has been most vigorously pursued by the Akali leaders. It has now been decided that the oath of allegiance need no longer be taken at the Akal Takht but at local Singh Sabha gurdwaras and strenuous efforts are being made to raise a body of 10 to 12 Sikhs including one jathedar in every Sikh village. It is reported that Jathas now exist in practically every Sikh village in Lyallpur and Sheikhupura districts and considerable progress is also believed to have been made in the Ferozepore, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana districts. Jathas have also been formed in Sialkot, Amritsar, Lahore and Multan districts. Secret training is being imparted in gatka and sword fighting and efforts are being made to equip members with arms and to prepare them in defensive tactics. The Jagraon (Ludhiana) branch is reported to consist of three categories, the first for home defence, the second to fight elsewhere and the third, the Sirlath, to do whatever is required of it. As there are many Shahidi Jathas and as they are scattered it has not been possible to estimate their membership. What is known however makes it easy to accept that it is a big figure.

(Congress Sewa Dal).—The orders the Working Committee of the P.P.C.C. put out in the first week of May to organise a Congress Sewa Dal in compliance with Central directions have not resulted in marked activity. Enrolment of members, however, has started in Lahore,
Jullundur and Lyallpur. The lack of any fighting role for the Sewa Dals, however, is proving unpopular with the Hindu community which favour the R.S.S.S. ...

3. Khaksars Clash with the Police

Intelligence Report on the situation in Bihar on 11/6/47, 16 June 1947
Home Poll (f), File No. 28/4/1947, NAI

Intelligence Bureau (H.D.)

Extract from the Bihar situation report No. 88 dated 11.6.47

Last evening there was a clash between a police party and Khaksars in Patna. The Khaksars had announced their intention to take out a procession and to hold a meeting to observe Bahadur Shah Day. It will be remembered that the Allama had announced that this day should be observed every month on the 10th till June 1948. Earlier in the day they had been warned not to take out the procession in view of the Government ban but Mohiuddin, their local leader, had refused to listen. Police arrangements were made to prevent them coming on to the main road from their main camp but they managed to slip through side lanes in small numbers until they formed a procession of 150 to 200 on the main road. On being stopped by a police party, they charged with their belchas shouting ‘Sir Utar Lo’ and when the police lathi-charged them their leader whipped out a revolver and shot two constables hitting, one on the chest and one on the leg. The Magistrate in charge then ordered fire to be opened and one Khaksar was killed at the spot and ten injured. Two of the latter have subsequently succumbed and the condition of one more is grave. About seven police men have been injured—two gunshot and the rest belchas. All Khaksar encampments are being searched. Thirty-five have been arrested but the man leading the procession who used a revolver has not been traced.

Public reaction is one of indifference. Both Hindus and Muslims were extremely suspicious of this body and no communal after effects are noticeable so far. Muslims are not likely to agitate over this but a whispering campaign alleging that Muslims are being inhumanly dealt with has already started. Most of the injured Khaksars are up-countrymen. In view of the extreme suspicion with which these men are looked upon by all communities and the general disregard for law and order shown by them, no one would be sorry if this organisation is banned in the province.

For information.

(M.K. Sinha)
Deputy Director (A)
16.6.47
4. Report from Bombay

Extract from the fortnightly report on Bombay for the first half of June 1947, 18 June 1947

Home Poll(I), File No. 18/6/47, NAI

...Note showing the development of volunteer organizations in Bombay Province during the month of June 1947

(1) Rashtra Seva Dal

Membership.

There has been a considerable decrease in the membership of the Dal. This is due to the fact that the Dal branches in several districts have joined the Congress Seva Dal.

Activity.

The controversy between the Socialist-controlled Rashtra Seva Dal and the new Congress Seva Dal, mentioned in the last report, does not show any sign of early settlement. Both the groups are propagating their respective stands with greater rivalry. The Chief Organiser of the Rashtra Seva Dal, in reply to a press statement issued by the Secretary of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee and the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Seva Dal Controlling Board on the 14th May 1947 (mentioned in the last report), has, in an article published in ‘Janwani’ dated the 25th May 1947, justified the stand taken by him and his colleagues. He has characterised the action of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee in taking over the control of the Rashtra Seva Dal by throwing overboard their suggestions regarding the selection of the Chief Organiser and the Personnel of the Controlling Board as high-handed and undemocratic. Messrs. N.G. Gore and S.V. Mehendale also, addressing the Dal trainees in the Palasdari (Kolaba) Shibir on the 18th and 25th of May, respectively, defended the separation of the Rashtra Seva Dal from the Congress Seva Dal on the ground that they did not like their organisation being utilised by Congressmen in power for their own party ends.

As both the groups persisted in maintaining their stand, a split became inevitable and on the 7th and 8th of June, about 375 Rashtra Seva Dal workers from all over Maharashtra met at Poona under the presidentship of Mr. S.G. Ranade and finally decided to run the Rashtra Seva Dal independently, without undermining the loyalty to Congress. They also appointed a Controlling Board to control the activities of the Rashtra Seva Dal.

This controversy has affected the solidarity of the Rashtra Seva Dal, and several district organisers have resigned their organisational posts in the Rashtra Seva Dal and joined the Congress Seva Dal. This fissiparous tendency is bound to develop in course of time, as the Congress Seva Dal makes headway in other districts.

Another tendency is also discernible amongst some of the Rashtra Seva Dal Branches, especially in Sangli State, where the Dal workers do not desire to be dragged into the controversy and intend to run a separate organisation controlled by the Sangli State Subjects Conference independently both of the Rashtra Seva Dal and the Congress Seva Dal. If such separatist tendencies spread in other branches of the Rashtra Seva Dal, they will adversely affect the solidarity of the organisation.

Due to the above controversy there was very little activity of the Dal during the month.
Mr. D.R. Patil, a Rashtra Seva Dal worker in Bijapur district, is touring the district for mobilising support for the Dal.

The use of a ground at Dadar in Bombay City by the Rashtra Seva Dal and the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh has given rise to a dispute between the two organisations and the volunteers numbering about 80 from each organisation who come to the ground are spoiling for a fight.

(2) Congress Seva Dal

Membership.

Until recently an organisation by this name existed in Bombay City only with a membership of 1,500. Owing to a split between the rightist and leftist workers of the Rashtra Seva Dal, several branches of the Rashtra Seva Dal in the mofussil have seceded from the parent organisation and joined the Congress Seva Dal. The present membership of the latter organisation is 18,559.

Activity.

The resignations of the prominent Rashtra Seva Dal workers in East and West Khandesh districts and their joining the Congress Seva Dal has enabled the latter to make an appreciable progress in these two districts. Almost all the 173 branches with a total membership of 10,152 in these two districts have joined the Congress Seva Dal. The organisation is similarly making some progress in Thana district and about 26 branches with a total strength of 2,369 have so far come under the control of the Congress Seva Dal. In the remaining districts of Maharashtra, the Rashtra Seva Dal is still strong and it will be very difficult for the Congress Seva Dal workers to make any progress. In Nasik district men like Messrs. G.H. Deshpande, M.L.A., P.D. Ratanaparakhi, D.D. Mandavgane and R.V. Koranne have been appointed as Chief Organiser and Assistant Organisers respectively, but so far they do not appear to have made any progress.

The Congress Seva Dal workers being emboldened by the success in the above three districts met at Poona on the 13th and 14th of June and decided to intensify their activities in other districts and appointed Messrs. M.Y. Vaidya, K.L. Joshi and Rambhau Chaudhari as provincial organisers in Maharashtra.

The Gujarat and the Karnataka districts are practically free from the controversy between the Congress Seva Dal and the Rashtra Seva Dal, due to Congress hold there. Almost all branches of the Rashtriya Seva Dal in these districts (about 46 with a total membership of 4,238) excepting in Bijapur and Kansra districts are running under the name of Congress Seva Dal. However, some difference of opinion had arisen among the workers of the Gujarat Congress Seva Dal on the question of replacing a suitable worker in place of Mr. S.V. Inamdar, the provincial organizer, who has been appointed as the All India Chief Organiser of the Seva Dal. Mr. Jayanti Pranlal Thakore and his colleagues opposed the appointment of an outsider, Mr. Manubhai Patel, but in the end the dispute was settled on the intervention of Mr. Inamdar and Mr. Manubhai Patel was selected for the post.

On the 8th of June, Mr. Narhari Dwarkadas Parikh addressed about 50 Congress Seva Dal members at Ahmedabad. He explained to them the implications of the new British plan for the transfer of power and urged them to take to constructive work. He emphasised the need for discipline, courage and esprit de corps.

About 20 Congress Seva Dal members attended the flag salutation at Poona on the 25th of May when Mr. G.A. Deshpande who addressed them blamed the Socialists and their decision
to run an independent organisation and expressed that all should strengthen the Congress by setting aside differences of opinion in the present transitional period.

On the 28th of May, about 20 Dal workers went to Shilaj (Ahmedabad) for constructive work in villages.

A private meeting of 25 workers and heads of the Congress Seva Dal was held at Ahmedabad on the 1st of June. Messrs. S.V. Inamdar and Fulchand Ghia appealed to them to watch the situation in the city and help the citizens.

The branch of the Dal in Greater Bombay held two Summer Training Camps at which the usual routine of physical exercises, games, etc. was gone through.

(3) Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh

Membership.

The membership of the Sangh has slightly decreased.

Activity.

The chief activity of the Sangh during the month was the celebration of Shri Shivaji Maharaja’s Birthday anniversary. Several branches of the Sangh in Maharashtra districts celebrated the day by organising private rallies at which speeches were made eulogising the life work of Shivaji and exhorting the volunteers to strive for Hindu unity.

The Officers Training Camp at Poona, mentioned in the last report, terminated on the 23rd of May. The majority of speakers referred to the Muslim aggression against Hindus in Northern India and exhorted the Hindus in general and the volunteers in particular to organise to protect themselves. Rao Bahadur Narayan Bansilal, who was the chief guest on the closing day, urged the Hindus to unite and be prepared for an armed revolution against the armed aggression of the Muslims.

The majority of speakers purposely avoided direct reference either to Congress or the Muslim League although their talk centred round the Congress policy of appeasement towards Muslims and the League’s policy of aggression. The Hindu intelligentsia is not only sympathetic towards the Sangh but also hopeful that the Sangh alone may prove to be the saviour of Hindu honour in future.

A private function to mark the termination of the Sangh camp at Ahmedabad (mentioned in the last report) was organised by Mr. M.N. Bhagwat on the 1st of June. About 1,250 persons including the trainees attended. Sheth Nanjibhai Kalidas of Porbunder in his presidential speech dilated on the necessity of organising Sangh branches even in smallest villages to enlighten Hindus in their religion, culture and integrity and also to train them for self-defence.

The training camp at Shahapur (Sangli State), referred to in my last report, terminated on the 28th of May. Mr. G.B. Deshpande, a prominent Congress leader of Belgaum, who presided over the closing function observed that as a Hindu he was convinced of the principles of the Sangh. The ‘Bhagwa Zenda’ he said was the emblem of the Hindu religion under which every Hindu should rally to protect his religion and culture.

8 volunteers of the Kurla Chunabhatti Branch of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh were arrested on the 15th of June on suspicion of having been concerned in incidents of communal stabbing in the Kurla area and detained under section 2(1) (a) of the Bombay Public Security Measures Act, 1947. However there is no concrete evidence to connect them with any particular incident and they will be released shortly.
(4) Muslim National Guards

Membership.
There was an increase in the membership of the Guards due to the Muslim League propaganda.

Activity.
Muslim League propaganda for increasing the membership of the Muslim National Guards continued in several districts of the province. Messrs. Mohomedbeg H. Mirza, President, Kaira District Muslim League, M.A. Jamadar, M.L.A. (Dharwar), C.M. Malbari, Salar-e-Jilla, Dharwar District Muslim National Guards, Khalil Muzaffar of Ahmednagar and A.M. Pirzade, Salar-e-Jilla, Broach, were busy during the month canvassing support for the Guards in their respective districts. Mr. M.H. Mirza who had been indulging in rabid speeches was detained on 22nd June 1947 under the Public Security Measures Act.

Mr. Ali Bahadur Khan Hafiz of Bombay and Mr. Hashmatali, Salar, Bombay Muslim National Guards, visited Bijapur and Ahmednagar districts respectively for propaganda work. As a result of all this propaganda, the membership has increased by 239 in the districts of Broach, Thana and Belgaum.

The Ahmedabad City Muslim League has started a campaign for recruiting Muslim National Guards and about 75 persons have so far been enrolled.

Mr. Musa Isa Captain, the Propaganda Secretary of the Broach Muslim League, is touring the district with a view to acquainting the Muslim masses with the political situation in the country, the importance of Pakistan and the necessity of joining the Muslim National Guards.

It is reported that the All India Muslim National Guards organisation has sent instructions to all its branches to discontinue the collection of funds for their use as the respective Muslim Leagues have been asked to finance their activities.

Mr. Gulam Mohyuddin, the Salar-e-Zilla, Ahmedabad district, has resigned his post as they City and District branches of the Muslim National Guards have been separated and placed under the control of the respective Muslim League branches.

(5) Khaksar Volunteer Corps

Membership.
There has been no change in the total membership.

Activity.
The Poona Khaksars observed ‘Bahadurshah Day’ on the 10th of June by taking out a procession of 22 Khaksars in uniform which terminated with a meeting at the Tamboli Mosque. Mr. Ansari who addressed them stated that the 10th of each month was being observed by the Khaksars to commemorate the Mutiny of 1857 wherein Hindus and Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder for their independence. Their party, he said, stood for united India and Hindu-Muslim unity. Hence they could not accept the ‘New Plan’. He further announced that a rally of Khaksars was going to be held at the end of this month at Panipat. Allama Mashriqui expected three lakhs of Khaksars for the rally, failing which he had decided to do away with the Khaksar organisation.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

(6) Hindu Rashtra Dal

Membership.
The total membership is 150. The Dal branch at Poona which is dormant is likely to be revived shortly.

Activity.
Since the informal meeting of the sympathisers and members of the Hindu Rashtra Dal in Bombay on the 9th and 10th of May (mentioned in the last report) there has been a marked activity on the part of the local Hindu Sabhaitees to establish Hindu Rashtra Dal branches in the districts. Messrs. S.V. Modak, the newly appointed dictator of the Dal, and G.R. Panchpore are likely to start a new branch in Satara district. Mr. Bal Ingale, of Indore, a prominent Dal worker, toured in Satara, Thana, Nagar and Sholapur districts during the month and canvassed support for the Dal. He is hopeful of establishing a few branches of the Dal in these districts in the near future. The majority of the Hindu Sabhaitees in these districts are Savarkarites and as such they are inclined to back up the Dal rather than the Hindustan National Guards established by the All India Hindu Maha Sabha and this attitude is likely to have an adverse effect on the progress of the Guards in Maharashtra.

The volunteers of the Dal rendered assistance to the residents of a building in a Muslim locality in Bombay City during communal disturbances. In appreciation of this service, the residents of this building decided to open a branch of the Dal in their building with a view to training boys in the art of self-defense.

(7) Azad Hind Dal

Membership.
The total membership of the Dal is 785 as against 855 in the last month. The decrease is due to the closure of two branches in Ahmednagar district. A branch at Surat which was dormant has been revived during the month.

Activity.
The All-India Forward Bloc has issued a circular to all its provincial and district branches calling on its workers to strengthen the Dal with a view to assisting the Bloc in its task of capturing power.

It is learnt that Mr. Sumant Desai (Surat), an ex-I.N.A. man is likely to open a Dal branch at Bulsar (Surat).

Mr. M. S. Shastri, a Forward Bloc worker from the Karnataka, is reported to be touring in Bijapur district to enrol volunteers for the Azad Hind Dal, but so far he has failed to receive any appreciable response from the public.

(8) Hindustan National Guards

Membership.
There is a solitary branch of the Guards at Poona with a constant membership of 20.
Activity.

In spite of the propaganda and active help of the Maharashtra Provincial Hindu Sabha and canvassing by Messrs. R.K. Sawant and H.B. Bhide, paid propagandists appointed by the Maharashtra Provincial Hindu Sabha for the purpose, the Hindustan National Guards has failed to make any progress in Maharashtra district. This is probably due to the renewed interest taken by some of the Hindu Sabhaites in reorganising the Hindu Rashtra Dal. Already the Poona Branch of the Guards is showing signs of inactivity, as the daily attendance of volunteers has considerably gone down.

The instructors’ training class which the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha desired to open at Poona with the active assistance of the Maharashtra Militarization Board for training volunteers from different provinces had to be abandoned for want of sufficient volunteers.

N.B.—there was no appreciable activity by the other volunteers organisations.

Statement showing the strength of the organisations during the month of June 1947.

1. Rashtra Seva Dal. 41,811.
2. Congress Seva Dal. 18,559.
3. Lok Sena. 1,525.
4. Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Dal. 32,446.
5. Hindu Rashtra Dal. 150.
7. Muslim National Guards. 12,070.
11. Samata Sainik Dal. 8,407.
12. Rashtra Seva Samiti. 220.

5. Report from Sind

Extract from the fortnightly report on Sind for the first half of June 1947, 18 June 1947 Home Poll (I), File No. 18/6/47, NAI

...Note showing the development of volunteer organizations in Sind Province

1. Muslim National Guards—The main activities of this organization were the usual physical exercises and drills in military formation with ‘lathis’, and also meetings at different places at which the general trend of the speeches was communal and marked by appeals to Muslims to enrol in the Guard in large numbers because of the alleged need of an Islamic Army. Hindus were declared to be enemies of Muslims and were advised to behave like ‘true citizens’ if they did not wish to be ejected from Pakistan.
2. The following was found written in chalk on a railway compartment on the Sakrand Feeder Line (Nawabshah District) on the 5th June:

‘Pakistan Railways’.
‘Pakistan Zindabad’.
‘Muslims: What are you doing. You
‘are still sleeping. Wake up.
‘This is not the time to sleep.
‘Enrol yourselves in the Muslim
‘National Guard of Pakistan.
‘You will not get such an
‘opportunity again.’

3. According to a belated report, on the 8th May one Syed Marial Shah Bachalshah and about twelve Muslim National Guards were returning to Ratodero after attending the Dadu District League Conference. At Naundero they wanted to board a lorry which was already occupied by eleven Hindus and a Muslim boy. Syed Marial Shah ordered the occupants to leave the lorry and make way for them. Some of the passengers got down but Syed Marial Shah, finding the others reluctant to leave, ordered the Guards to take them out forcibly, remarking that Pakistan had come and there was Muslim ‘Raj’. The persons concerned alighted and travelled by the next lorry. The incident caused some panic among local Hindus. The matter is under investigation by the Police.

4. Another belated report discloses that on the 19th May Ahmed Khan Ghaznavi was accorded a warm reception by about twenty Muslim National Guards on his visit to Larkana. On the 23rd May, Ghaznavi addressed the Guards and exhorted Muslims to muster strong at National Guard parades and to be armed with ‘lathis’.

5. A few Muslim National Guards took exception to the display of a small sized photograph of Mr. Jinnah in comparison with larger ones of Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru at the Indian National Arts Exhibition at Karachi on the 28th May. Some commotion was caused, but the arrival of the police nipped the trouble in the bud.

6. Rashtrya Swayam Shewak Sangh—Members of the Sangh carried out physical exercises, drilled in military formation and discussed Sangh affairs at several towns. About three hundred and fifty members who had proceeded to Nagpur for a training course returned to Hyderabad (Sind) on the 2nd and 3rd June on the completion of the course.

7. Rashtrya Sewa Dal—Apart from the usual physical exercises and drill in military formation at various places in the Province, there is nothing of interest to report.

8. Khaksars—This body carried out its usual routine activities of offering prayers, saluting Khaksar leaders and drilling in military formation with ‘belchas’. A poster in Urdu, captioned ‘Notice of Allama Mashraqui’, from Khaksar Head Quarters Relief Camp, Bankipura, Patna, to the Bihar Government, came to notice in Karachi on the 27th May. It demands a sum of Rs. 50,000,000/- from the Bihar Government for the rehabilitation of Muslim refugees, to cover the cost of constructing fortified Muslim villages and granting compensation to Muslim riot victims at Rs. 1,000/- each. It also urges Government to grant gun licences to Muslims for self-defence, appeals to Muslims to unite and join the Khaksars or the Muslim National Guard and threatens to drive the British out by force if they do not quit by June 1948.
The following was found written on a wall of the Municipal Girls School, Ramswami, Karachi:

‘Khaksars’ great success in Bihar’.
‘Devastated houses rehabilitated’.
‘All demands conceded by the Bihar Government’.
‘Khaksar Zindabad and Delhi Challo’.

9. **Arya Vir Dal**—No special activities to report other than the usual physical exercises and drill in military formation. It was decided at an Arya Samaj meeting to revive this ‘Dal’ at places outside Karachi and a branch has been formed at Hyderabad with a membership of twelve. No office-bearers have been elected so far.

10. **Akali Regiment**—Nothing of interest. Performed the usual ‘Ghatki’ exercises.

6. **Organization of Home Guards in United Provinces**
   
   Letter from Gobind Ballabh Pant to V. Shankar, 23 June 1947
   
   
   Lucknow

   My dear Shankar,

   Many thanks for your letter of 18th. I have since seen the official communication received from the Defence Department. Their orders are not very distinct or precise, but I assume that they are willing to let us have the arms needed for the home-guards. They have further advised us to raise a larger number and to extend the period prescribed for initial training. We will give utmost consideration to their suggestions and try to adopt them.

   I am glad to know that necessary orders about the charges incurred in the transport of armed forces and the retention of armed constabulary have also been issued. I think the constabulary should be retained at least for another year.

   I understood from Mr. Kidwai that the Ranipur and Premnagar camps have been placed at our disposal for the refugees. The cost of repairs is, however, likely to be almost prohibitive. We are, however, trying to put them in order and necessary instructions have already been issued. We wanted a number of other camps situated in other places for the accommodation of home-guards and for training in social service. I know that the military camps situated at these various centres are rapidly deteriorating. They will soon become utterly useless. I do not know why the authorities should be reluctant to lend them to us. Hope you will continue your efforts.

   I shall be coming to Delhi on the 29th and hope to meet you on my arrival.

   Yours sincerely,
   
   G.B. Pant
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

7. ‘I Will Protect and Defend My Motherland’
Pledge by Paras Das Jain, a member of Hindustan National Guard, 28 June 1947
AIHM Papers, File No. C-143, NMML

उद्देश्य (OBJECTS)

1. धनुर्धारण की पूर्ण स्वाधीनता एवं समर्थन की प्रावीन से पूरा करना।
   (To strive for Complete Independence and integrity of Hindusthan)

2. सभ्य प्रकृति के बौद्ध उपायों से अपने अध्ययन के रूप से रखना।
   (To protect and defend the interests of Hindus by all legitimate means)

3. हिंदू धर्मस्वरूप और धार्मिक स्वस्थ्य की रक्षा करना।
   (To safeguard and promote Hindu culture and religion)

4. समाज हिंदू सम्प्रदाय को एकत्र करना।
   (To consolidate all classes and sections of Hindus)

5. सामुदायिक व्यवसाय का विकास करना और उनमें सम्मिलित होना।
   (To organise and attend congregational prayers)

6. आयुक्त भए-तौर पर अन्य धर्मस्वरूप और रक्षा केंद्र की स्वायत्त और संचालन करना।
   (To establish and to conduct orphanages and rescue Homes if necessary)

7. भिक्षुआ द्वारा जन सेवा विभागों का संचालन करना।
   (To organise ambulance and Medical Units)

8. क्षेत्र और शिल्प क्षेत्र में हिंदूओं को प्रोत्साहित करना और उनके क्षेत्र में हिंदूओं को प्रवर्तन करना।
   (To support Hindu arts and industries and to prefer Hindus in all walks of life)

9. उपरोक्त वस्तुओं की पूरी के लिए विद्यालय और स्थानीय समाज के उद्देश्यों को संभालना।
   (And in general to do and perform all such acts and things as may be conducive to the attainment of the above objects)

प्रतिष्ठा

जनमी जनमूम्लि में धर्म की शक्ति व्यक्ति अधिकरण करते हं तो से आजादीत भाग, बचन और धर्म से देश और हिंदू धर्म की माया से रक्षा करना और हिंदुस्थान सेना के नियमों का पालन करना है।

हलतारक

Saras Das Jain

solemnly affirm in the name of God and Akhand Hindusthan that I will protect and defend my Motherland and Hinduism by words, thoughts and actions even to the peril of my life and property and will abide by the rules and regulations of the Hindusthan National Guard.

28th June, 1947

Signature...
8. Khaksars Committed to a ‘Full-Fledged Pakistan’

Extract from a report by Deputy CIO, Delhi, on the Delhi Khaksar Camp, 2 July 1947
Home Poll (I), File No. 28/4/47, NAI

SECRET

INTELLIGENCE BUREAU
(HOME DEPARTMENT)

On July 1, 1947 a meeting attended by about 5000 Khaksars was held in the Jama Masjid beginning from 8 a.m. Mohd. Yasin, Qamar Saheb, Ahmed Shah Vakil and others addressed the meeting. Besides the Khaksars, other Muslims had also gathered on the occasion. The Khaksars dwelt on the aims and objects of the Khaksar movement and described the past sacrifices suffered by the Khaksars. They condemned the New India plan and said that they were pledged to secure a full-fledged Pakistan, with complete independence for the whole of India which should remain united. After the meeting was over a private meeting of the Salars was held, and it is reported that they decided to offer salutes at the Red Fort the same evening. The decision, however, did not materialise and it appears that the idea has been abandoned for the time being.

It is further reported that some Khaksar leaders told the crowd outside the Jama Masjid that the Khaksars would do their best to protect the Muslims in the Hindu majority provinces and fully to safeguard all their interests. They also denounced the Congress and the Muslim League for accepting a plan which meant the division of India.

More Khaksars are pouring in and the total number of Khaksars who have arrived in Delhi so far is roughly 7000 to 8000. The police is keeping vigilance for the arrival of Khaksars at all the key points. On June 30, thirteen Khaksars were arrested under Section 188, I.P.C. when a large number of belchas were recovered from their possession. The same day a cartman while coming to Delhi was waylaid by some villagers with lathis near Shahdara. Some Khaksars were seated in the cart and a number of belchas were loaded in it.

For information.

Sd/-
(M.K. Sinha)
Deputy Director (A)

H.D. (Mr. Banerjee)
D.I.B. U/o No. 2/MA/47-D

9. Influx of Khaksars Generates Communal Tension

Extract from note by D.I.G, C.I.D., Bihar, on activities of Khaksars in Bihar from January to June 1947, 3 July 1947
Home Poll (I), File No. 28/4/47, NAI

SECRET

The influx of Khaksars in the province has created panic in the minds of the Hindus. Muslims also do not like their presence here because Allama is accused of doing propaganda against the Muslim League. Two pamphlets entitled ‘Khaksar Sipahi’ and ‘Khaksar Ke Ansu’ have
been widely circulated in town and villages. They are written in objectionable language. The distribution of such pamphlets in the interior has made Hindus still more suspicious of Khaksars and reports have been received from some districts that they are suspected to be distributing arms to Muslims. The Muslim Leaguers think that Khaksars have been invited to Bihar to work against the Muslim League. But they have avoided to come in conflict with them in the hope that in the event of Allama’s demands not being conceded by Government, direct action would be taken by Khaksars—they would then extend their co-operation to them in order to bring discredit on Government. On 2/6/47 it was announced by Khaksars with the help of a loud-speaker that the demands put forth by them were conceded by Government and the Muslim sufferers should therefore put in their applications for compensation through the Khaksars’ office. The Muslims in general took little notice of this announcement and important Muslim League leaders were reported to have said that by accepting Khaksars’ demands, Government were using the Khaksars as Muslim ‘quislings’. On the same date a report was received from Muzaffarpur that relations between the Khaksars and the Muslim Leaguers in that town had become strained as a Khaksar flag was put on the local mosque. The flag was ultimately removed.

10. Report from Central Provinces and Berar

Extract from the fortnightly report on Central Provinces and Berar for the second half of June 1947, 5 July 1947
Home Poll (I), File No. 18/6/47, NAI

...5. Volunteer Organisations – Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh—This is the strongest and best organised volunteer body in the province. New branches are still being formed and membership is on the increase. Two new branches were started, one in Amraoti and the other in Bilaspur districts, while an old branch in the latter district was closed for want of support. The training of volunteers continued on familiar lines.

Muslim National Guards—Propaganda on behalf of the Muslim National Guards continued unabated. The Muslim League has officially taken up the task of strengthening the Muslim National Guards movement and a paid organiser is touring the province for the purpose of establishing more branches. A sum of Rs. 7,500/- has been allocated for this organisation by the Provincial Muslim League. A general parade of 35 Muslim National Guards in uniform (steel helmets, malacea bush shirts trousers and shoes) was held in Nagpur, the party marched up and down the public road in contravention of orders under section 144, Cr. P.C.

The Muslim National Guards at Saugor have decided to boycott the gram panchayats.

Azad Hind Dal—The Forward Bloc are rendering their assistance in organising the Dal for the purpose of winning ‘freedom’ in case the British do not fulfill their promise of quitting by June 1948 and of resisting partition of the country. The membership of the Dal in the province is estimated at 6,000.

Hindustan Red Army—The present strength of this organisation is reported to be 1,717.

Hindustani Sewa Dal—The present strength of the Dal in the province is 2,580. Marching and drilling were regularly done by the Dal at Nagpur and squad drill and physical exercises were performed at Bilaspur. The O.T.C. which was inaugurated at Nagpur on the 5th May terminated on the 5th June. In his valedictory address, Suleman Khan Pathan compared the camp to a military academy and urged the volunteers who had undergone training to popularise
the Dal in villages. It was mentioned that the principal role of the volunteers was to preserve peace.

Rashtra Dal or Veer Bajrang or Kernalbagh Akhada—The present strength of the Dal is reported to be 2,850, branches existing only in Nagpur, Amraoti and Bhandara. ...

11. Police Strength and Khaksars in Delhi

Note by Vallabhbhai Patel about his discussion with the District Magistrate & S.S.P., Delhi, 12 July 1947
File No. 28/7/47, Home Poll (I), NAI

I had a discussion with the District Magistrate and S.S.P., Delhi, regarding police strength and the danger from Khaksars in Delhi. From what the S.S.P. told me it appears that the communal composition of the rank and file of the police force in Delhi is not quite satisfactory and that the police force itself is not as adequate as it should be. I do not know what the composition is in Ajmer-Merwara but I should like to be assured that it is satisfactory there, and if not, measures are in hand to make the composition satisfactory. Apparently both Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara are the objects of attention of Khaksars.

2. I should like to have a report by the 16th July, 1947, at the latest, as to the communal composition of the police forces in Ajmer-Merwara and Delhi, the strength of the armed Police force in these areas and the communal proportion of this force and how far the local officers consider that the forces and their equipment are sufficient to meet such danger to internal security as might exist.

3. The question also arises as to what action we can take to supplement the police force at least in Delhi. The force which is readily available is the Crown Police Force at Neemuch which is well-armed, and, I understand, as a force, is well-disciplined. The States Department is conducting separately negotiations for its continuing at Neemuch at least for the time being; I have informed the Political Department that this force would be taken over by the Central Government and would be at our disposal. If any immediate assistance is necessary we could rely on this force. Secretary might get in touch with the Political Department so that the services of this force could be made available to us in an emergency or if the local officers consider that any contingent of this Unit should be posted to Delhi immediately, negotiations to this end can be taken up with the Political Department at once.

Sd/-
V.J. Patel
Home Member

Secretary, H.D.
12. Immediate Action for Externment Khaksars

Personal Secretary to Home Member to Secretary, Home Department, forwarding a note by SSP, Delhi, 14 July 1947

Home Poll (I), File No. 28/4/47, NAI

HOME DEPARTMENT

Under H.M.’s directions, the S.S.P. Delhi sent the attached note on Khaksars and on the Muslim League National Guards in Delhi. H.M. has already sent a separate note about the Police position. This note further emphasises the need for immediate action.

H.M. also considers that immediate attempts should be made to extern Khaksars, if they are not willing to leave voluntarily. For this purpose, if Military aid is required, we should obtain Ghurka [sic] or non-Muslim troops as soon as possible. Otherwise it is likely that the situation would worsen still further and there may be collaboration between Khaksars and the restive elements of the Muslim League National Guards.

Sd/-

(V. SHANKAR)
PS to HM, 14.7.1947.

Secretary H.D.

CONFIDENTIAL

A NOTE ON A POSSIBLE AGITATION TO BE FACED IN DELHI IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

1. KHAKSARS—Originally the Khaksars were opposed both to the Congress and to the Muslim League, their opposition to the League being stronger of the two. They carried out certain demonstrations and committed hooliganism on the night of the 9th June in the Imperial Hotel where a meeting of the All India Muslim League was in session. Necessary action was taken against them and they left Delhi. Subsequently, they organised and held a Rally across the Jumna in Delhi Province, in a place which was not covered by the order u/s 144 Cr. P.C. banning meetings or gatherings of 5 or more persons. About 4/5000 Khaksars assembled on the occasion. They had a four day programme in which certain items were included which violated certain other orders u/s 144 Cr. P.C. in force. The leaders were contacted and warned, and they gave an undertaking that they would abstain from taking out ‘Belchas’ and would not violate any Law or order. This undertaking they observed. Allama Mashriqi had declared that unless 300,000 (Three Hundred Thousand) Khaksars collected for this Rally, he would disband the movement. As, only 4000/5000 Khaksars had collected he disbanded it. Most of the Khaksars gradually left Delhi, but about 700/800 of the more enthusiastic ones have stayed on. During the Rally and after it they have been making propaganda that they want and will fight for the inclusion of Delhi, Ajmer and Agra in Pakistan. In the beginning their
utterances and conduct were reasonably controlled. But, gradually they became truculent and objectionable both in conduct and in speech. For the last week or so they have given their propaganda a distinct communal tint and have been making fiery speeches regarding their readiness to fight and shed blood to prevent Delhi, Ajmer and Agra going out of the hands of Pakistan. They have declared that they will resist with their blood any attempt to hoist the Congress flag on the Red Fort on the 15th August. They have also been seeking opportunities for a clash with the authorities. On the morning of the 9th July they took out a small procession in defiance of orders u/s 144 Cr. P.C. and had to be dispersed by the use of Tear Smoke. Eight were arrested. Later in the same day 4 others were arrested u/s 107/151 Cr.P.C. for acting in an objectionable and provocative manner in the City. On the 10th some Khaksars assaulted a Constable, who asked them to get off an overcrowded Bus. There are other incidents of a similar nature where Khaksars have deliberately acted in truculent and overbearing manner with the deliberate intention of picking a quarrel with the Authorities. All the outside Khaksars numbering over 700 are concentrated in Mosques where they hold their meetings and make inciting speeches, the burden of which is that the Khaksars are staying on to fight and shed their blood to prevent hoisting of the Congress flag on the Red Fort and to win Delhi, Agra and Ajmer for Pakistan. Other Muslims are urged to join them in this cause. They have also started sending out batches of 3/4 at a time in the City who do door-to-door propaganda on the same lines in the City. Action u/s 107/151 is being taken whenever they are found doing so. This change of front, i.e. previously the League was the main target but now it is the Congress and the Congress leaders, is a definite and planned move to gradually win over the local Muslim opinion. Khaksars are an unscrupulous and violent lot who are secretly armed with knives and even fire-arms as was evidenced in Patna recently, when they attacked a Police party. The seriousness is not only of the 700 or more now present in Delhi, but the fact that these will form the core for others to collect. These are being kept here so that Khaksars from other places may be exhorted to gather in Delhi again and also, so that by the 15th August local Muslim opinion may have been so won over that a large and strong support from local Muslims may be secured for their violent assault against the authorities on the 15th August. Considering, the number of illicit arms and other dangerous material, like bombs, explosive etc., secretly hidden away, any such move will be of a very dangerous character, specially if it has the support of the National Guards and local Muslims....

They [Khaksar leaders] are all staying in the Fatehpuri Mosque, Delhi City. Other secret and very reliable information shows that Khaksars are even contemplating violence against certain Congress and, possibly some League leaders. As a result of this threat, special armed guards have been provided for the protection of the threatened leaders.

The Khaksar have also attempted to force interviews with the Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in order to put up fantastic demands concerning the release of all Khaksar prisoners arrested in Lahore, Patna, Delhi etc., during the course of the last few years, compensation at the rate of Rs.20,000/- per head for the Khaksars killed by Police action, and so forth. They know that these demands cannot be accepted. Their sole object is to find some such excuse on which to start an agitation where they could also pose as being victims of repression etc., or to appear as champions and martyrs for the cause of Islam and Muslims in general.

The above information is based on different sources nad (sic) is reliable. Moreover, the fact that over 700 of them continue to stay in Delhi, far away from their homes, with no ostensible means of livelihood or no reasonable purpose, makes it quite clear that their object is to create
mischief. Their history is a long series of violence and unreliability. They will have to be dealt with very firmly. Measures are now under consideration as to how to get rid of them as quickly as possible.

2. MUSLIM NATIONAL GUARDS—The population of Delhi according to the 1941 Census is given in the statement below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>2,66,997</td>
<td>37,974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Hindus</td>
<td>2,82,093</td>
<td>1,62,439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled castes</td>
<td>68,949</td>
<td>53,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikhs</td>
<td>15,462</td>
<td>695</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be observed that the Muslim population in Delhi City is considerable. This means that the local Muslim League and its attendant National Guards have goodly strength and, if any agitation is started they can cause considerable anxiety. However, fortunately, the local League leaders, under the direction of the All India League leaders, have adopted a reasonable attitude and have had a restraining influence on the younger and more excitable elements. The National Guards, who are composed of the younger elements are restive and have been so for the past two months or more. They have been pressing for some kind of agitation but have been restrained by their leaders. Nevertheless there are discontented elements among them who might easily get out of control of the League. At present there are about 2,000 National Guards organized in Delhi. But, in view of the large Muslim population in the City this number could easily swell to 5,000 or more in case any agitation is launched. These elements are also grievously disappointed that Delhi has been excluded from Pakistan. They will, therefore, be easily persuaded to join any agitation which might be launched by any party on this issue. The Khaksars are cleverly exploiting this situation and have established contact with certain members of the National Guards. Ikram Ullah Khan S/o Allama Mashriqi has even claimed that an understanding has been arrived at between Allama Mashriqi and the League. Although, there is no corroboration of the claim, yet it indicates the way the wind is blowing. Much, of course, depends on the attitude taken by the League. If they relax their control on the unruly elements among their followers or permit negotiations between the Khaksars and the National Guards, the outcome would be serious disturbances. Delhi being the Capital of India naturally attracts all parties to concentrate against Government here.

3. In the above two paras I have tried to show briefly the situation as it exists concerning the Khaksars and National Guards. It will be necessary to be prepared to cope with it. As indicated in para 1 above measures are now being discussed how to eject the outside Khaksars from Delhi. Without the Khaksars as the nucleus of the agitation, any agitation launched by the National Guards would be on a weaker scale.

But, the most important thing is to have plenty of Force available, in the shape of Police and Military. So far as the Police is concerned the position is not so satisfactory. A large increase was long overdue and was sanctioned about 18 months back. But, due to War conditions, suitable Recruits were not forthcoming and, though the vacancies have now been almost filled up by special recruiting campaigns we have still about 500 Recruits who are non-effective and a large number who have just passed their Recruits' Course and are, therefore, nor really as effective as fully trained Policemen. Delhi Province being a small one there is no elasticity in its Police
strength. Unlike other larger Provinces, during times of trouble in the City there is no source from which extra officers and men can be drawn upon to meet with the emergency....

Sd/-
(D.C. Lal.)
Senior Supdt. of Police, Delhi
12.7.1947. SZH

13. Appeal for Truth
Letter from M.K. Gandhi to Vallabhbhai Patel, 26 July 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 431-2

CHI. VALLABHBHAI,

Two Khaksars came to see me yesterday. One of them wept bitterly. The other complained that although an official had assured them that now nothing would be done to them since they were going away, yet there was firing in the mosque the same evening, that many were killed, that an old man of seventy received seven bullets, that no one knew how many had died and how many had survived and that for three days the Khaksars were kept there without food and water, unable even to go out to answer calls of nature.

I was stunned to hear all this. I rebuked them. I said it could not be true. I said, ‘Sardar told me only today that since the Khaksars would not leave the mosque police officials had to enter the mosque, that they did so with the permission of the Imam, that the action that was taken was ordered by the Muslim officer, that no violence had been used, nothing beyond tear-gas had been fired and that no one had been killed. I therefore cannot swallow what you say.’ They answered, ‘If that is what your Sardar says, how can we hope to be believed? What use asking for justice now? One day you will know. Truth will be out.’ I said, ‘If I hear of a wrong being done I do not hide it even for the sake of my dear ones. I shall say no more. I will do my duty.’ Now if there is anything in this please let me know.

Blessings from
BAPU

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1 According to Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase, Vol. II (p. 331), in his reply dated August 11, the addressee said: ‘The whole story ... is a fabrication and no Khaksar has died ... Khaksars were plotting to stage a demonstration during ... independence day (August 15) ... not to allow the Congress flag to be flown and to create a disturbance and indulge in violence. The Commissioner (a Muslim), therefore, used tear-gas in the mosque and arrested them.... The Khaksars want Delhi and Agra to be included in Pakistan, also Ajmer.... they want to establish a front in Delhi and create disturbance.... do not want... the Commissioner... Delhi. They take sanctuary in mosques. Local Muslims are not giving them any support.’
14. Report from Delhi

Extract from the fortnightly report for Delhi for the first half of July 1947, 28 July 1947
Home Poll (1), File No. 28/4/47, NAI

SECRET

INTELLIGENCE BUREAU (H.D.)

Khaksars.

During this fortnight, interesting developments happened in Khaksar circles culminating into the dissolution of the organisation. This decision was taken by Allama Mashriqi who kept up his promise to liquidate the organisation if his target figure of assembling three lacs of Khaksars was not realised. Only five to six thousand Khaksars turned up for the much advertised Khaksar Rally in Delhi. A crowd of Khaksars is still digging themselves in various Delhi Mosques and daily make a nuisance of themselves by marching through Muslim lanes and shouting anti-Congress slogans. This programme is considered to be carried through against the wish of Allama Mashriqi. It is being given out by Khaksars that by dissolving the organisation, Mashriqi meant to save the organization from being declared as unlawful. The organisation in its new shape is supposed to have two aims for the present in what is described as its revolutionary programme. The first object is to assault the Congress and League leaders and the other to attack disloyal and treacherous Khaksars. During an unlawful procession on the 9th of July 1947, 8 Khaksars were placed in custody. The Police had to exercise tear gas to disperse them. In another meeting, a Khaksar leader asked the Khaksar remnants to stay on in Delhi in order to resist the hoisting of the Congress flag on the Red Fort. 15 Khaksars were arrested on the 12th and 13th for making nuisance in Delhi. Another batch of nine Khaksars attempted to assault the Police when they were intercepted.

For information

..............................

Sd/-
(M.K. Sinha)
Deputy Director (A)

H. D. (Mr. Banerjee)
D. I. B. u. o. No. 2/MA/47-D d/- 29 July 1947
Section IV

PRINCELY STATES

1 January 1947 to 15 August 1947
From Delhi to the fort...

On 15 July 1947, the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, was taken to the Red Fort. He was given a special position among the prisoners. His cell was adorned with simple but elegant furnishings. He was allowed to retain his crown and to use it in the mosque. The emperor was also allowed to keep his library of books written by the great Mughal poets. For the emperor, who had been a symbol of the Mughal empire, it was a bitter irony to be imprisoned in his own capital.

...to the fall of the empire.

The fall of the empire was sudden and unexpected. The British government had been preparing for it for some time, but the end came quickly. On 18 August 1947, the last Mughal emperor was released and allowed to return to his equestrian palace in Alwar. The British viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, had written a letter to the emperor expressing his hope that the Mughal empire would continue to exist in some form.

...and the promise of a new India.

The promise of a new India was fulfilled on 15 August 1947. The day was marked by celebrations and tears. The British viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, was flown to Delhi to oversee the transfer of power. The emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, was allowed to return to his equestrian palace in Alwar. The new Indian prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, declared that the Indian people had achieved their independence.

...and the uncertain future.

The uncertain future of India was marked by violence and uncertainty. The partition of the subcontinent into Pakistan and India led to the exodus of millions of people. The new nation of Pakistan was born with a sense of urgency and a desire for a unified Muslim identity. The new nation of India was born with a sense of purpose and a desire for a unified Indian identity.

...and the promise of a better tomorrow.

The promise of a better tomorrow was the driving force behind the creation of the Indian and Pakistani nations. The new nations were founded on the principles of democracy and secularism. The promise of a better tomorrow was fuelled by the hope of a brighter future for all the people of the subcontinent.

...and the challenges ahead.

The challenges ahead were immense. The new nations had to grapple with the problems of political instability, economic development, and cultural diversity. The challenges were compounded by the legacy of the past, which had left deep scars on the subcontinent.

...and the hope for the future.

The hope for the future was the driving force behind the creation of the Indian and Pakistani nations. The new nations were founded on the principles of democracy and secularism. The hope for the future was fuelled by the belief that the subcontinent could overcome its past and build a better future for all its people.
Chapter 38. Princely States, Constituent Assembly, and Accession

1. Conditional Acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan
   Resolution passed by the General Conference of the Princely Rulers of India, 29 January 1947
   R.P. Papers, File No. 11-C/46-48, NAI

   TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION PASSED AT PRINCES MEETING
   HELD ON 29-1-47

   1. This meeting reiterates the willingness of the States to render the fullest possible co-operation in framing an agreed Constitution for, and in the setting up of, the proposed Union of India in accordance with the accepted plan; and declares:

   (a) that the following fundamental propositions _inter alia_ form the basis for the States’ acceptance of the Cabinet Mission’s plan—

   (i) The entry of the States into the Union of India in accordance with the accepted plan shall be on no other basis than that of negotiation, and the final decision shall rest with each State. The proposed Union shall comprise, so far as the States are concerned, the territories of only such States or groups of States as may decide to join the Union, it being understood that their participation in the constitutional discussions in the meantime will imply no commitments in regard to their ultimate decision which can only be taken after consideration of the complete picture of the constitution.

   (ii) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded by them to the Union. Paramountcy will terminate at the close of the interim period and will not be transferred to or inherited by the new Government of India. All the rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power will return to the States. The proposed Union of India will, therefore, exercise only such functions in relation to the States in regard to union subjects as are assigned or delegated by them to the Union. Every State shall continue to retain its sovereignty and all rights and powers except to the extent that these rights and powers have been expressly delegated by it. There can be no question of any powers being vested or inherent or implied in the Union in respect of the States unless specifically agreed to by them.

   (iii) The constitution of each State, its territorial integrity, and the succession of its reigning dynasty in accordance with the custom, law and usage of the State, shall
not be interfered with by the Union or any Unit thereof, nor shall the existing boundaries of a State be altered except by its free consent and approval.

(iv) So far as the States are concerned, the Constituent Assembly is authorised only to settle the Union Constitution in accordance with the Cabinet Mission’s plan, and is not authorised to deal with questions bearing on the internal administrations or constitutions of individual States or groups or States.

(v) His Majesty’s Government have made it clear in Parliament that it is for the States to decide freely to come in or not as they choose. Moreover according to the Cabinet Mission’s Memorandum of 12th May, 1946, on States Treaties and Paramountcy ‘Political arrangements between the States on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will be brought to an end’ after the interim period. ‘The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government.....in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it.’

(b) that the States Negotiating Committee, selected by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes and set up at the request of His Excellency the Viceroy in accordance with paragraph 21 of the Cabinet Mission’s Statement of the 16th May, 1946, is the only authoritative body competent under the Cabinet Mission’s plan to conduct preliminary negotiations on behalf of the States, on such questions relating to their position in the new Indian Constitutional structure as the States might entrust to it.

(c) that while the distribution inter se of the States’ quota of seats on the Constituent Assembly is a matter for the States to consider and decide among themselves, the method of selection of the States representatives is a matter for consultation between the States Negotiating Committee and the corresponding Committee of the British India portion of the Constituent Assembly before final decision is taken by the States concerned.

2. This meeting—

(a) endorses the Press Statement issued on 10th June, 1946, by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes in consultation with the Committee of Ministers and the Constitutional Advisory Committee, in regard to the attitude of the States towards the Cabinet Mission’s plan; and

(b) supports the official statement of the views communicated by the States Delegation to the Cabinet Mission on 2nd April, 1946, which inter alia associated the States with the general desire in the country for India’s complete self-government or independence in accordance with the accepted plan.

3. This meeting resolves that, in accordance with this Resolution and the instructions and resolutions of the States’ Constitutional Advisory Committee as endorsed by Standing Committee of Princes and the Committee of Ministers, the States Negotiating Committee be authorized to confer with the corresponding Committee of the British-India portion of the Constituent Assembly, as contemplated and declared by His Majesty’s Government in Parliament, in order to negotiate (a) the terms of the States’ participation in the Constituent Assembly when it reassembles under paragraph 19(6) of the Cabinet Mission’s Statement and (b) in regard to their ultimate position in the All-India Union, provided that the results of these negotiations will be subject to the approval of the aforesaid States’ Committees and ratification by the States.
2. Chamber of Princes Represents Neither the States Nor the States’ People

Summary of discussions at the meeting of the States Peoples’ Negotiating Committee, 5 February 1947

The first meeting of the States Peoples’ Negotiating Committee took place on the 5th afternoon at about 2 P.M. at the President’s residence. All the members except Mr. S. Nijalingappa were present.

1. The representative character of the Chamber of Princes and the Negotiating Committee appointed by it: Dr Pattabhi Sitaramaya, the President, initiated a discussion on the subject.

The Princes’ Chamber as at present constituted represents only 109 States directly and 125 States indirectly through 12 representatives. Some of the bigger States, particularly Hyderabad, Kashmir, Baroda, Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and Indore have kept out of the Chamber. These seven big States are collectively entitled to 38 seats in the Constituent Assembly. In view of these facts it is not clear how far the Chamber of Princes could claim to represent all the States. Another point to be noted in this connection is that, judging from the resolution of the Constituent Assembly appointing the Negotiating Committee, it contemplates direct negotiations with States other than those connected with the Chamber. This fact also detracts considerably from the representative character of the Chamber of Princes.

2. The formation of the Negotiating Committee appointed by the Princes: To begin with, it is not clear how the Negotiating Committee appointed by the Princes could be regarded as representing all the Princes. Secondly, it must also be borne in mind that the manner in which the Princes’ Negotiating Committee has been constituted is not in conformity with the statement of Lord Pethick-Lawrence—May 17th, 1946—while explaining the Cabinet Mission’s proposal of May 16th. Lord Pethick-Lawrence, in reply to a question, made it clear that the Negotiating Committee of the States “would be formed in consultation with all the parties concerned”. Hence it is clear that the formation of the Princes’ Negotiating Committee is not in conformity with the conditions laid down by the Secretary of State for India, since the Princes’ Negotiating Committee was formed by the Viceroy with the consultation of the Princes only.

It becomes clear, therefore, that the Princes’ Negotiating Committee as at present constituted is unconstitutional in composition and as such cannot speak on behalf of the States. It cannot even speak on behalf of all the Princes, much less on behalf of the States or their people. As such it will be necessary to carry on negotiation with other Princes independently of the Princes’ Negotiating Committee. This is called for and is perfectly justified.

3. Scope of discussions between the Princes’ Negotiating Committee and the Corresponding Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly: The first point which comes within the scope of the discussions of the two Committees is the distribution of the 93 seats among the States and the method of selection of these 93 representatives for the Constituent Assembly. This poses the following questions:

(a) How to distribute the 93 seats?
(b) How the States’ representatives are to be sent to the Constituent Assembly—election, selection or nomination?

Regarding the method of distribution and selection three alternatives were suggested. It must be remembered that the Cabinet Mission have allotted 93 seats to States purely on population
basis. Nowhere has it been laid down that this representation is on the basis of one seat per million of population. Hence we may consider the following alternatives:

(i) Should these 93 seats be divided strictly according to population thereby providing individual representation wherever justifiable and collective representation wherever necessary?

(ii) Should communal basis on lines adopted in the Mission’s proposals for British India be adopted, i.e., recognition of three communities, Muslims, Sikhs and others?

(iii) The third alternative which may reconcile the above two alternatives may be to divide the representation into two big lumps, i.e., the Princes’ quota and the people’s quota. Any principle that we may adopt for the method of selection will naturally apply to both.

4. Consideration of the Chamber of Princes Resolution (29 Jan. 1947): The resolution was taken up paragraph by paragraph. The committee noted the following claims of the Chamber:

(a) That the States may negotiate individually the terms of entry into the Union;

(b) That their joining the Constituent Assembly does not commit them to join the Union.

The question of inherent powers of the Union is a matter for discussion and decision by the Constituent Assembly. Regarding the constitution of the States, their territorial integrity and succession of the reigning dynasty, our Committee did not wish to express any opinion at this stage, nor was it felt necessary at the present moment to go into the details of the internal administration or constitution of individual States being determined by the Constituent Assembly. This is a matter which can be discussed later on at the time of joining the Union. The definition and criteria of a unit can be determined only at a later stage.

Regarding point 5 in the Chamber resolution dealing with the future relationship between the States and the Union Centre there was general agreement but it was understood that the States or units would in the final analysis mean only such States as could exist in terms of the resolutions of the All-India States Peoples’ Conference.

Part B of point 5 of the resolution asserting that the Negotiating Committee appointed by the Princes is “the only authoritative body competent under the plan to conduct preliminary negotiations on behalf of the States on such questions relating to their position in the new Indian constitutional structure as the States might entrust to it” was not acceptable to the Committee, nor was the latter part of the Part (c) of the same point acceptable to the Committee. These two parts of point 5 were therefore to be challenged.

5. To sum up, the following points emerged from the discussion:

(i) That the Chamber of Princes does not represent the Princes as a whole.

(ii) That most of the bigger States have remained outside the Chamber.

(iii) That the Negotiating Committee appointed by the Princes is not in accordance with the conditions laid down by the Secretary of State in the statement of May 17, 1946. Further, that the Princes Negotiating Committee represents Princes only; it does not represent the States or the States’ people.

(iv) These facts narrow the scope of discussions between the two Negotiating Committees and make it necessary to carry on negotiation with other Princes and also with other parties.

(v) The method of distribution and the manner of selection of the States’ representatives for the Constituent Assembly have to be devised suitably.

(...
(vi) The States or units would in the final analysis mean only such States as can exist in terms of the resolutions of the All-India States Peoples’ Conference.

(vii) In the Chamber resolution certain assertions have been made which cannot be accepted by the people. These are:

(a) That the Princes Negotiating Committee is the only authoritative and competent body to negotiate on behalf of the states.

(b) That the method of selection of States’ representatives for the Constituent Assembly is a matter of consultation between the Princes Negotiating Committee and the Corresponding Committee of the Constituent Assembly.

(c) Terms to join the Constituent Assembly.

(d) Terms for joining the Federal Union ultimately.

(e) That the States Negotiating Committee be authorised to confer with the Corresponding Committee of the British India portion of the Constituent Assembly in order to negotiate—(i) the terms of States’ participation in the Constituent Assembly when it assembles under article XIX of the Cabinet Mission’s proposal and (ii) in regard to their ultimate position in the All-India Union.

8. (a) Wherever a municipality is entitled to elect more members than one, the election shall be by proportional representation by a single transferable vote,

or

(b) In the case of the Baroda City municipality the election of representatives for the electoral college shall be by proportional representation by a single transferable vote.

9. If the unit of population does not reach the fixed standard but comes up to 75% of it, such a unit will be entitled to elect one representative.

10. The grouping in the case of rural areas will, as in the case of the urban areas, be restricted district-wise.

11. The Sarsuba may be empowered to form the necessary groups for the purpose of fitting them in the scheme but keeping in mind the essentials defined above.

12. Okhamandal may be treated as a special case as shown in Statement ‘A’.

Statement ‘A’ will show a rough picture of the scheme tabulated above.

1 Statement not reproduced here.

3. Baroda Assures Cooperation to the Indian Constituent Assembly

Minutes of the meeting held by the States’ Committee of the Constituent Assembly, 7 February 1947

R.P. Papers, File No. 11-C/46-48, NAI

PRESENT:

The Hon’ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—Chairman.
The Hon’ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad,
The Hon’ble Sardar V.J. Patel.
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Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.
Mr. Shankarrao Deo,
The Hon’ble Sir N. Gopalswamy Ayyangar.

Sir B.L. Mitter, Diwan of Baroda.

In attendance:—
  Constitutional Adviser and Secretary.

To start with, it was agreed that the proceedings of this meeting should be regarded as strictly confidential as their disclosure at this stage might cause serious embarrassment to both the parties.

2. Sir B.L. Mitter stated that he had come to meet the committee not merely with full instructions from the ruler of Baroda but also with the authority of the state Praja Mandal which had fully approved of the proposals which he was placing before the committee. Both the ruler and the Praja Mandal were anxious to give the fullest cooperation to the Constituent Assembly irrespective of what the state negotiating committee did or did not do.

3. Before the actual proposals submitted by the Diwan of Baroda were discussed the chairman asked for the view of Sir B.L. Mitter on the following points:—

   (i) what is his answer to the claim which the states negotiating committee are making that they are the sole authority with whom the Constituent Assembly may negotiate and that it is inadmissible for the assembly to enter into discussions with individual states or peoples’ organisations?

   (ii) is the scope of the discussions between the states committee of the constituent assembly and the negotiating committee or individual state to be confined only to the question of the manner by which the 93 representatives shall be sent to the assembly or should the scope be wider as claimed by the states negotiating committee?

   (iii) the states negotiating committee are understood to be taking the view that before the states can make up their mind as to whether they will enter the constituent assembly they must be given assurance on the various points mentioned in the resolution adopted by the conference of rulers. What is the view of Baroda on this point?

   (iv) what is the view of Baroda on the resolution on objectives adopted by the constituent assembly?

4. Sir B.L. Mitter’s answers to the above questions were as follows:—

   (i) Sir B.L. Mitter referred to paragraph 21 of the document of the 16th May and said that that paragraph contemplated the state setting up a negotiating committee. In actual practice, however, the negotiating committee had been set up by the princes chamber which is not fully representative. He also referred to the following passage in paragraph 14:—

   ‘The precise form which their cooperation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the states. We have not therefore dealt with the states in the same detail as the provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow’.

His submission was that having regard to both the above, the constituent assembly was clearly competent to discuss the question of representation with states which did not choose to have
their views put forward through the negotiating committee. Pandit Nehru referred at this stage, to the following extracts from the press conference held by the Cabinet Mission on the 17th May 1946 which supported the views taken by Sir B.L. Mitter:

‘Question: How do you propose to constitute the Negotiations committee on behalf of the states? You have not indicated how that negotiations committee will be framed?

‘Answer: That is a matter for discussion with the states. It will presumably be for the states in the first instance to put forward a form for that negotiations committee and until that is gone into, I do not think it is for us to get any further. When you get outside what is called British India, and come to the states, you are dealing with bodies that are to a very large extent independent and it is not for us in a document to say how a negotiating committee shall be framed.

‘Question: Consultation between whom?
‘Answer: Between all the parties concerned.

‘Question: Presumably when you deal with negotiations with the states you must mean with the autocratic rulers concerned and not with the peoples of the states.

‘Answer: The whole matter has got to be considered at the time. We are not in a position to decide that in advance and that is why this is left vague....

II and III:—Referring to question (ii) and (iii) Sir B.L. Mitter stated that we are now concerned only with a preliminary and procedural matter, namely of deciding how the 93 representatives shall be sent up to the constituent assembly. It is only at a later stage when the 93 representatives have come into the Assembly that the discussion on constitutional problems can be taken up. This was quite clear from paragraph 19(vi) of the Cabinet Paper. If the claim of the states negotiating committee that various points of substance other than the manner of selecting the 93 representatives were conceded, it followed that there was very little to discuss with the 93 representatives. It was quite clear to him that constitutional problems connected with the entry of states into the Union could only be discussed with the 93 representatives and not with the Negotiating committee.

(IV) Sir B.L. Mitter states that the ruler of Baroda accepted in its entirety the resolution on objectives read with the speech of Pandit Nehru when moving it.

5. The constitutional Adviser referred to the claim of the princes that they were quite free, when the constitution had been framed to come in or not to the Union centre as they liked, Sir Gopalswami Ayyangar referred in this connection to paragraph 15(1) of the Cabinet paper which states that ‘there should be a Union of India embracing both British India and the states....’ Sir B.L. Mitter stated that from his reading of the cabinet paper and the parliamentary debates, he thought that the States did have the right to decide at the final stage whether they would come into the Union or not. So far as Baroda itself was concerned, he was quite sure that Baroda would accept the constitution framed by the constituent assembly in which Baroda was represented.

6. The concrete proposals made by Sir B.L. Mitter in his letter dated the 8th January 1947 were then taken up. The following points reemerged in the course of the discussions.

Baroda has 226 attached states of which 62 are semi-jurisdictional and the rest non-jurisdictional. In response to a circular issued by the Diwan, 28 out of the 62 semi-jurisdictional states have signified their consent to be associated with Baroda in the selection of representatives to the constituent assembly. The 28 states have a population of a little over 2 lakhs out of a total population of 6½ lakhs of all the attached states. Baroda was claiming only three states. Explaining his proposals in detail Sir B.L. Mitter said that every village in the state had a village
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panchayat of its own or shared a panchayat with certain other villages. He proposed to have 46 groups of village panchayats each group having a population of half a lakh. These groups would elect 46 persons to an electoral college. The municipalities numbering 42 altogether would elect 12 persons to the college making a total of 58. The electoral college could be elected in one month.

In answer to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya Sir B.L. Mitter stated that the panchayats were not elected by the people but nominated by the officials. He claimed that they had been in existence for 40 years. They consisted of leading villagers who were accustomed to run local administration and he thought that his proposal as a good one. In answer, however, to Sardar Patel’s question, he stated that he would have no objection to the Dhara Sabha (legislature) being used as an electoral college if the committee preferred it, the reason why he had not suggested it himself was that it represented only 8% of the total population and therefore was not as representative as the electoral college he had proposed. In answer to the chairman, Sir B.L. Mitter said that he would have no objection to all the representatives, that is to say the Diwan and two others being elected by the elected and nominated non-officials of the Dhara Sabha by means of the proportional representation system.

7. The chairman stated that it was not possible to come to a final settlement this morning in view of the discussions to be held with the states negotiating committee tomorrow and he suggested that the committee might have a further meeting with Sir B.L. Mitter after the discussion with the states negotiating committee. This was agreed to by Sir B.L. Mitter.

H.V.R. Iengar
Secretary.

To all members of the States Committee and Sir B.L. Mitter, Diwan of Baroda.

4. ‘States People Must Demand Full Representation’

*The Hindustan Times, 7 February 1947*

PATNA, Feb. 6—The hope that the States people will demand full and unfettered representation of the people in the Constituent Assembly was expressed by Mr. Jai Prakash Narain in a statement on the agreement between the States Committee of the Assembly and the Negotiating Committee of the Chamber of Princes.

He says ‘This agreement between the two committees goes against the resolution of the States People’s Conference as well as against the policy of the Congress in this regard. Both the Congress and the States People’s Conference have been insisting that all the representatives of the States to the Constituent Assembly should be elected by the people of the States and none of them should be nominees of the Princes. If the Constituent Assembly has to draft a democratic constitution the Princes or their nominees have no place in it.

‘This agreement that fifty per cent of the States representatives will be elected members becomes still the more objectionable when it is realized that most of the so-called States legislatures are wholly unrepresentative and even their elected members in many cases are little better than hand-picked nominees of the Princes. It should also be remembered that in some States such as Kashmir recent elections were boycotted by the people’s organization as a result of which the legislatures there are mere assemblies of court favourites.'
Furthermore, in the States where no legislatures exist and their number is far greater, it is not clear how the proposed electoral colleges will be constituted soon. Considering the reign of repression that has of late been instituted in the States under direct inspiration of the Viceroy’s Political Department, it is difficult to be assured that the electoral colleges will in any way be representative of the people.

People’s Right

I, therefore, hope that the forthcoming conference of the States people at Gwalior will firmly reject this agreement and demand full and unfettered representation of the people which is their natural and self-evident democratic right. I hope further that the All-India Congress Committee will instruct the Congress representatives in the Constituent Assembly not to ratify this reactionary agreement.’-A.P.I.

5. ‘Princes Should Join Constituent Assembly: Mahasabha’s Appeal’
The Tribune, 10 February 1947

NEW DELHI, Feb. 9.—The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha today passed a resolution, expressing the opinion that the Constituent Assembly, as it is, is a properly constituted legal body, with full sovereign power and authority and competent to frame the political constitution of Akhand Hindustan.

The committee felt that the Karachi resolution of the Muslim League indicates the abandonment by the League of the method of negotiation and settlement as the means of attaining the freedom of the country and marks a definite departure from the path of constitutionalism in favour of direct action.

It urged the Princes to join the Constituent Assembly giving adequate representation in the Assembly to their own people and to introduce responsible Government in their own States as speedily as possible, after reserving such dynastic and personal rights and privileges to themselves as would not be inconsistent with the operation of responsible Government.

The Working Committee appointed a committee to draft the outline of a constitution for Akhand Hindustan, broad-based on the principles of equity, democracy, justice and fair-play to all communities and interests.

The following is the full text of the resolution:

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha reiterates its opinion that the Cabinet Mission proposals, envisaging a three-tier constitution, as they did, should not have been accepted by the Congress, as any constitution framed thereon would not only be unworkable in nature, but also be a continual source of communal friction and irritation and would, in consequence, retard the progress of Akhand Hindusthan, the path of communal peace and harmony and her political and economic advance.

The Working Committee is definitely of the opinion that Akhand Hindusthan would not be able to play her proper role in the comity of nations and, particularly of the Asian nations, unless and until the Central Government is rendered strong and paramount enough to make all the provinces and states work in unison with each other. Viewed in this light, the Working Committee feels that the second objective, as stated in the objectives of the Constituent Assembly, viz., the objective of granting provincial autonomy, with all residuary powers, will
not fail to create fissiparous tendencies among the provinces, resulting in weakening the centre and thereby making the Indian Union more a shadow than a substance.

The Working Committee is of the opinion that the Constituent Assembly, as it is, is a properly constituted, legal body, with full sovereign power and authority and competent to frame the political constitution of the Akhand Hindusthan. It is definitely of the opinion that the objections recently raised by the Muslim League in its Karachi resolution indicate not only an attempt to sabotage the Constituent Assembly but holds out a threat of internecine war between the Hindus and the Muslims.

The Committee is of opinion that the Karachi resolution of the Muslim League indicates the abandonment by the League of the method of negotiation and settlement as the means of attaining the freedom of the country and marks a definite departure from the path of constitutionalism in favour of direct action which is now the only other declared method left to the League for the achievement of its political objectives.

New Menace to India’s Peace

The Committee therefore warns the people of Akhand Hindustan that the direct action movement of the Muslim League with the inevitable consequences of violence and civil war in the country is imminent and the Committee urges all sections of the people to prepare, to organise and to mobilise national resources for meeting this new menace to India’s peace and tranquility and to resist the enactment of the horrors the nation had witnessed during the last few months in various parts of the country.

The Working Committee is of the opinion that now that the Congress and other representatives have started the work of the Constituent Assembly, they should complete it irrespective of the consideration as to whether the Muslim League joins or does not join the Constituent Assembly or even if the British Government withdraws the Cabinet Mission proposals.

The Working Committee reaffirms its faith in the principles which the Hindu Mahasabha has from time to time advocated in so far as the political constitution of Akhand Hindustan is concerned, the main principles of which are: firstly the integrity and indivisibility of India, secondly of strong central government, thirdly the Constituent Assembly to frame the political constitution of such union and its federating units, fourthly adult franchise, with one man one vote and fifthly joint electorates.

The Working Committee is of the opinion that when the Constituent Assembly is defined to be a sovereign body, it is entitled to frame a constitution for Akhand Hindusthan that is necessarily within the framework of the Cabinet Mission Proposals but purely on national lines and principles as indicated above.

Appeal to Princes

Without entering into the controversies as to where the sovereignty lies, the Working Committee recommended to the Indian rulers, both in their own interests and in those of their subjects, to join the Constituent Assembly by giving adequate representation thereon to their own people. Further, it requests them to introduce responsible government as speedily as possible in their own states after reserving such dynastic and personal rights and privileges to themselves as would not be inconsistent with the operation of responsible government.

The Working Committee is of the opinion that in the present confusion of political thought and action, as regards the constitution of Akhand Hindusthan, it is necessary and desirable to
place before the country the outlines of a constitution which will be based on the Principles of equity, democracy, justice and fair-play to all the communities and interests and with this object in view, it appoints a committee consisting of the President, Mr. N.C. Chatterjee, Dr. B.S. Moonje, Mr. Panchanatham, Dr. G.C. Narang, Mr. B.G. Khaparde, and Mr. Gopi Nath Kunzru with power to co-opt and to submit the same to the Working Committee on or before the 30th of April.

The Working Committee heard a deputation from Hapur on the communal situation there and appointed Mahant Digvijayanath, Mr. Indra Prakash, the Rani of Sherkote, Pandit Mukund Malaviya and Mr. Deshpande to conduct an enquiry and report within a fortnight.

Another committee was appointed to visit places where Hindu-Muslim trouble has occurred and submit a report. It will consist of Dr. B.S. Moonje (Chairman), Mahant Digvijayanath, Mr. B.G. Khaparde, Mr. G. Salwan, Kumar Ganganand Singh and Pandit Mukund Malaviya (convener). The Committee will meet again tomorrow.—A.P.I.

6. ‘Disgraceful Wooing of Princes Continues’

Extracts from a report in People’s Age, 16 February 1947

The resolutions passed at the Princes’ meeting at New Delhi last month were a challenge to the national movement—a defiant, sneering challenge, which meant:

‘Do your worst! We shall continue to keep the States’ peoples in the living horror which they endure today—we shall continue to keep the States as bastions for our gracious masters, the British’.

Has the national movement accepted the Princes’ challenge?

MR. K.M. MUNSHI, who seems to have become the spokesman of the Congress in the Constituent Assembly on all matters relating to the States, replied to the Princes’ resolutions. But how? By denouncing them for what they are—agents of the British, enemies of the Indian freedom?

Certainly not. That would be impolite according to Mr. Munshi, for it would ‘alienate’ the Princes and lose the Congress their 93 votes in the Constituent Assembly.

No Ground For Fear

And so in a lengthy explanation, Mr. Munshi has assured Their Highnesses that ‘every’ point in Pandit Nehru’s Objectives Resolution which had upset them has flowed from the State paper of May 16 and that there can be no ground for ... ‘fear’ that anything would really be done without Their Highnesses’ sanction.

The term ‘as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly’ occurring in Pandit Nehru’s Resolution ‘can only mean: “may be determined by agreement”,’ with the Princes! (Times of India, February 2.)

The basely corrupt and autocratic regimes in the States shall not be touched. No interference in the internal affairs of the states.

This was point No. 1 asked for by the Princes in their Delhi resolution.

The Times of India correspondent in New Delhi (known for having close contacts with Sardar Patel) reports that another ‘important Congress leader’ has hastened to assure the Princes that their sole right to represent the States is in no jeopardy.
Who Said The People?

Why are you afraid of the words ‘to confer with other representatives of Indian states’ in Pandit Nehru’s Resolution? he asks. Those words were not intended to mean representatives of the Praja Mandals or the States’ Peoples’ Conference. (Times of India, January 30.)

This was point No. 2 asked for by the Princes in their resolution.

The nationalist Press has voiced similar sentiments, only adding by way of background to the above overtures, that the Princes must not ally themselves with the League.

The Bombay Chronicle, edited by the Congress Muslim leader Syed Abdulla Brelvi, complains that the Princes are ‘taking undue advantage of this uncertainty’ in the Cabinet Mission plan.

It does not, however, draw to the most natural conclusion that such uncertainties have been introduced into the state paper DELIBERATELY to provide ample power to their henchmen to bargain, or as a leader in the Times of India of February 4 says, to ‘induce fair-play, so that the 584 British bases in India are not tampered with.’

On the contrary, the Bombay Chronicle reassures the Rulers that:

‘We are not aware of any responsible people who have asked the Princes to quit....’ (February 2).

And thus at one stroke, the Chronicle brands the entire States’ peoples’ movement—and the jailed President of the All-India States’ Peoples’ Conference (Sheikh Abdulla, who raised the slogan ‘Quit Kashmir’) as irresponsible.

Even Leftist Press

Even the Leftist Free Press Journal has been taken in. In an editorial on January 31, it invites the Rulers to ‘co-operate’ and says that:

‘The Princes have not yet settled down to the tasks of effective co-operation with the Assembly. When they do, they will realise that the issues they have now raised are FULLY APPRECIATED by British India more fully in fact than by the Princes.’

The Hindustan, Hindi edition of Birla’s Hindustan Times, writes that the Princes’ resolution is an ‘expression of their extreme cautiousness’. It appeals to them not to be unreasonable and says:

‘If the Princes have accepted the Mission Plan, as they say they have, then their insistence that all (!) the parties should join in constitution-making is meaningless.’ (January 31).

More pointed appeals to the Princes and warnings ‘for their own good’ not to join hands with the obstacle-mongers, the Leaguers, have been made by the Hindi nationalist papers, Aj (Benares), Bharat (Allahabad) and Naya-Bharat (Nagpur).

This is the logical conclusion to which the compromising policy of the Congress must lead:

Give up all talks of Sovereignty and Freedom, because these things frighten the Princes!

League Press Elated

On the other hand, the League Press is elated.

The Dawn (organ of the All-India Muslim League) expressed great joy at the ‘States’ determination not to be hustled into entering the Union by accepting terms which may be imposed by the one-party Constituent Assembly, which is functioning as a packed Congress body.’
This organ of the League which claims to speak for the poor Muslims is not bothered a bit about the fate of the millions of Muslim tenants, muzaras, meos, etc., living in the inferno of feudal India, and now rising to fight against it.

It asks, ‘Will the Indian Princes agree to abdicate their rights and privileges?’ and then appealing in the name of the ‘framework of the Cabinet Mission’s Plan’, says:

‘Would it not be a sheer waste of the time and energy on the part of the Princes to start negotiations with only one British Indian Party?’

The Bombay League Daily Inquilab (Urdu) follows the Dawn’s line to its logical conclusion and shamelessly welcomes the Princes as colleagues in the battle.

‘The States have so far preserved complete neutrality (!). They have declared that they do not consent to be a stumbling block in the way of constitution-making, nor would they let any one to interfere in their internal affairs. But now they too have been compelled by the offensive of the Congress to come down in the battle-field.’

The entire League Press is full of such applause for the reactionary demands of the Princes. It is also full of offers for a joint League-Princes’ front, guaranteeing sovereignty to the Princes in return for aid against the Congress in implementing the provisions of the slave British Plan.

Betraying The People

In fact, looking at both the Congress and League Press together, one cannot help but get the impression that an undignified race is on between the Congress and the League for the favour of Their Highnesses, each side bidding high at the expense of the States’ peoples.

What is to be the policy to be adopted by the Princes is clear from the attitude taken by the London Times, organ of Their Highnesses’ masters.

In an editorial on January 31, the Times congratulates the Chamber of Princes, and especially its Chancellor, on the decisions taken at Delhi. In the tone of a master patting a good servant on the back, it continues:

‘The Chamber (of Princes) has now found itself strong enough to take a firm stand on the position that the States are free (!) agents in their dealings with British India.

Then it warns that ‘leaders of British India will be well advised to meet with open minds the Negotiating Committee of ‘the States’ because, ‘without the States, the Indian Union will be incomplete, divorced as it were, from the essential roots of India’s political traditions.’(!)

What Imperialism Wants

What the Times wants us to understand is quite clear: Either accept the conditions laid down by the Princes or the Union formed by you without them will be ‘incomplete’ and hence unacceptable to the Imperial Parliament.

The only decent, the only patriotic, reply that can be given to this insolent and unsought for advice is:

‘To hell with you and your dogs—the Indian Princes. Our people will settle the score.

But unfortunately, as we go to Press, the newspapers flash the news that as a result of the meetings between the Negotiating Committees of the Constituent Assembly and the Princes, the ‘Princes’ fears have been allayed’.

This can have only one meaning, viz., that the Congress is thinking of giving into most of the Princes’ scandalous demands.
This is the logic of the British Plan. If you want to work it, you can work it only on Britain’s terms, and Britain’s terms nullify Independence.

RAMESH SINHA

7. Demand for Greater Representation in Constituent Assembly

Telegram from Maharaja of Cochin to the President of the Constituent Assembly
Negotiating Committee, 18 February 1947
B. Shiva Rao (Ed.), Framing of India’s Constitution, Vol. I, p. 625

Understand from press reports that distribution of ninety three seats between States will be decided at a Joint Meeting of the two Negotiating Committees on March 1. Though population of this State is only 1.48 millions according to latest census from points of view of political and educational advancement and also the fact that it is one of the most important maritime States in the country, this State would urge that I should be given two instead of one seat in consambly. This is the important State where responsible Government has very materially advanced. Four of the State Ministers are elected from Legislative Council holding office at pleasure of Legislative Council and they with Diwan are working as a Joint Cabinet. Except law and order, finance, palace and devaswom all other departments are under the control of Ministers. Educationally this State has six first grade colleges, eighty-two upper secondary schools, 175 lower secondary schools, 500 primary schools and also a Government Technological Institute and forty seven industrial schools. In literacy this ranks with Travancore for the first place in the country. The state has been the first to announce that selection to consambly will entirely be by election by Legislative Council with official members abstaining from voting. In these circumstances to give two seats condoning the small deficiency to make up population of two millions will not be a disadvantage even to the Assembly as a whole. Government are deputing the Minister Sri P. Govinda Menon who is also President of the State Constitutional Advisory Committee to make personal representations in this behalf. Request that due opportunity may be given to him and his officers to make necessary representations before you. The Minister and the officers would reach Delhi on twenty-fifth February.

8. Provisional Conclusion for the Allocation of 93 Seats

Minutes of the meeting of the States Committee, 24 February 1947
AICC Papers, File No. 29/1947, NMML

PRESENT:

The Hon’ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—Chairman
The Hon’ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
The Hon’ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
The Hon’ble Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyanger
also Sir B.N. Rau, Con. Adviser and the Secretary.

The proposals for the allocation of 93 seats among the States as agreed upon by the Secretariats of the Constituent Assembly and the Chamber of Princes and the note of the Constitutional Adviser regarding the method of selection were considered and the following provisional conclusions reached:—
1. All States' representatives should, wherever possible, come in through some form of

election. In view of the composition of the States' legislatures, this would not prevent

nominees of Rulers from coming into the Constituent Assembly, but it was considered

that the principle of election should be maintained.

2. The Committee should, in its negotiations with the States, aim at two-thirds popular

representatives.

3. In the case of groups of States, the following suggestion should be put to the States

Negotiating Committee, namely, that panels of names should be obtained from the

Rulers as well as from the local States' People organisation and these panels should

be discussed either by the two committees together or by a sub-committee consisting

of two or three representatives of each committee. It was thought that this may be the

quickest and most feasible means of reaching agreement.

4. The telegram from the Maharaja of Cochin asking for two seats for his State was

considered. The general view was that it would be difficult to accede to this request.

5. The distribution of 93 representatives on the basis of communities was discussed. The

Secretary was asked to prepare statements showing which states or groups of states

may be asked to send up representatives of particular communities such as Scheduled

Castes, Christians and Muhammadans.

6. It was decided that a further meeting of the Committee should be held on the 28th of

February at 4 P.M. to consider the statements referred to in para (5) above and any

other points that might arise in the meanwhile.

H.V.R. Iengar

Secretary.

9. Dissension among the States

Records of interview between Wavell and Nawab of Bhopal and C.P. Ramaswamy

Aiyer, 3 March 1947

T.O.P., Vol. IX, p. 834

SECRET

Note of Interview with His Highness of Bhopal 3rd March, 1947

1. He said that the negotiations of the last two days with the Corresponding Committee of the

Assembly had been quite satisfactory, in that they had arrived at an arrangement about the

distribution of seats; and had on the surface presented a united front. But H.H. was obviously

very worried, and it was clear that things were not really going very smoothly in the councils

of the Princes. He said that some of the Dewans were beginning to look away from the States

at the prospect of diplomatic posts abroad, and were therefore inclined to look towards the

Congress. He also said that the Nizam had not yet shown his hand.

2. He deplored the decision of H.M.G., and was pessimistic about the general outlook for

India. He seemed to be toying with the idea of a British Dominion consisting of the north¬

western part of India including Kashmir, Bahawalpur, the Western States of Kathiawar, and

some States of Central India. He asked whether my successor would be able to tell him whether

such a policy was feasible. I could only say that my successor would obviously have discussed
these matters with H.M.G. He said that the Rajputana States seemed now definitely to have
gone over to the Congress side.

3. He said that the budget had had the force almost of an explosion inside Congress; and
that Birla, Dalmia, J.P. Srivastava and such, were meeting together to see how they could defeat
the budget proposals.

Interview with Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyer 3.3.47

Sir C.P. came immediately after the Chancellor. He confirmed the internal stresses among the
Princes, and said that Patiala and the leading Rajputana Princes had definitely gone over to the
side of the Congress and against the Chancellor. He said that a united India seemed further off
than ever, and that H.M.G.’s announcement had had a disintegrating effect. He remarked later
that if H.M.G. had concentrated first on getting the League into the Constituent Assembly, he
believed they would have succeeded as Jinnah was weakening; the announcement had hardened
his attitude; and had also aroused the ambitions of the Sikhs for a separate State of their own.

2. We then discussed the question of a Southern Indian Federation, which Sir C.P. had put
up to me a long time ago. He said that he agreed that this was an advisable solution, and said
it would have been a good first step in the process of handing over. He said that the result of
the present statement of H.M.G. would probably bring about such a Federation; but he was
worried about the defence problem. He did not see how the Indian army could hold together
without British officers, and said that from the point of view of Travancore defence agreement
with Great Britain was essential.

3. He then said that one of the chief difficulties in Southern India was the spread of
communism, especially in Madras where there was no upper middle class. I said that if the
communists were firmly handled from the start I did not believe they would be as formidable
as expected. He said that the budget had driven a wedge into Congress, and might divide them
and strengthen the hand of the communists.

4. He then asked how H.M.G. was going to give up its Paramountcy, would there be a
gradual relaxation of control or would it be done all at once at the final transfer of powers. I
said that I had recommended to H.M.G. that the relaxation of control should begin at once
and should be gradual, he said that he was quite sure that this was right.

5. He said that Nehru had been very unpleasant to him over the Thorium agreement with
Great Britain, and had implied that all the minerals ought to have been kept for India, which
had, as Sir C.P. remarked, no possible means of making use of them at present.

6. He said that H.H. of Travancore much regretted that he was unable to come to the
Investiture, and asked whether I could have the insignia sent down to him, since he would like
to receive it from me. I said I would look it up but did not know what the rules were.

10. ‘Princes Stand Condemned’

The Hindu, 3 March 1947

CAWNPORE. Mar 2,—‘The new phase of our struggle for freedom has put the problem of
the Indian States in a pivotal position’, said a resolution on Indian States moved at the second
day on the open session of the fifth conference of the Socialist Party this evening.

Renunciation of paramountcy by the British Government has created the danger of
disrupting the unity of the Indian people. The sovereign rights of the people of the Indian
States must be accepted. Any attempt to whittle down the sovereignty of the States’ people is calculated to endanger the freedom and unity of the Indian people as a whole.

The resolution demanded an immediate end of personal rule in every State and the establishment of unrestricted civil liberties and full transference of power to the people.

While it is the right of the people of every State to decide their future form of Government, the Socialist Party considers that a progressive community in the world of today must end the feudal institution of royalty and courts.

Explaining the resolution, Mr. Patwardhan, General Secretary of the Socialist Party, said that the decision of the British Government to quit India by June 1948 should not lead them to think that they had become free and independent. How could a country be free when one of its parts was under the perpetual subjection of feudal lords?

It is clear that even after the British have left this country power in Indian States will remain with the Princes.

Mrs. Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya seconding the resolution pointed out that the Princes had thrown a challenge to all nationalists, particularly to the people of Indian States.

The resolution was unanimously carried.—API.

11. Fifty Per Cent States’ Representatives Must Be Selected

Extracts from a circular letter issued by the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, 10 March 1947

AICC Papers, File No. 29/1947, NMML

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

The States Negotiating Committee of the Chamber of Princes and the States Committee of the Constituent Assembly concluded their deliberations this morning. They generally accepted the recommendations of their two Secretariats as regards the allocation of seats among the different States, and authorised the making of such minor modifications as are considered necessary by the parties concerned. They also agreed that not less than 50% of the total representatives of States shall be elected by the elected members of legislatures or, where such legislatures do not exist, of other electoral colleges. The States would endeavor to increase the quota of elected representatives to as much above 50 percent of the total number as possible.

2. It was decided to set up a committee consisting of the following members to consider the modifications referred to above and other matters of detail that might arise from time to time and to report, if necessary, to the two Negotiating committees:

1. Dr Pattabhi Sitaramryya
2. Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar
3. Sir V.T. Krishnamachari
4. Sir Sultan Ahmed
5. Sir B.N Rau
6. Mir Maqbool Mahmood
7. Mr H.V.R. Iengar.

3. The states negotiating committee will place the above conclusions before a general conference of Rulers and representatives of States for ratification at an early date.
APPENDIX B

The committee then considered the proposals in regard to the method of selection of the States representatives to the Constituent Assembly which have been provisionally agreed to by the two Negotiating Committees. It was decided to recommend the acceptance of these proposals to the States and groups of States concerned. It was noted that inter alia it had been agreed:

a) that not less than 47, and as far as possible 50 or more, out of the 93 states representatives should be returned by elected members of the states legislatures where they exist, and in other cases by electoral colleges specially set up out of popular elements in the States concerned. The elected members may be officials or non-officials.

b) that mutual adjustments may be made amongst States and groups of states inter se

i) to pool or share their allotted representation with other states or groups of States provided that the total representation of the States and or groups affected is not disturbed.

ii) in respect of the number of elected or nominated members to be returned by individual States or groups of States so long as the minimum requisite number of elected members is ensured in the total representation of the states.

Note: The Secretariat will soon be circulating to the States the detailed proposals in regard to the proposed method of selection.

12. Popular Organizations Should Have a Vital Say on Kathiawar

Letter from Balwant Rai Mehta to H.V.R. Iyengar, 13 March 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 173, NMML

You may recall my telephone talk with you with reference to the reported project of the Chamber of Princes regarding the representation of the Western India States in the Constituent Assembly. You promised to look into this matter and contact Mr. Makbool Mahmud for the purpose. I hope, you have by now had time to consider this matter in all its aspects. If you have come to any conclusion, please let me know.

I attach special importance to the move of the Chamber in the Western India States, as this is going to be a test case. Public opinion in Kathiawar is sufficiently strong, popular organisation is fairly powerful and the rulers are supposed to be enlightened. If the Chamber succeeds in depriving the people of this area of real and effective representation in the Constituent Assembly, I do not hope for anything better in the backward States (of course, groups of States) in the C.I., the Punjab, Orissa and Chhatisgarh Agencies. Hence, it is important to have an eye to the developments in the Western Indian group of States.

According to my present information, the Chamber proposes to deal with the representation of this group of States on following or similar lines:—

(1) There are 4 seats allotted to this group of 16 States. Its population is about 36,50,000 butch [sic for Cutch], Nawanagar, Junagad, Idar and Bhavnagar are the leading States and claimants for separate representation. Seats allotted on [sic for are] too few to satisfy the rival claims.

(2) It is, therefore, reported that the Chamber proposes to give the seat to Cutch. One to its historical and political importance, to Junagad as it is the premier and Muslim State in Kathiawar, to Nawanagar as a maritime State and to Dhrangadhra as a non-
maritime state. This will finish the quota which includes at least 50 p.c. reserved for popular representation.

(3) One or two of these states may be asked to send non-official representatives in order to satisfy the claim for popular representation. Cutch is being mentioned in this connection.

I would like to place the following considerations in this connection before Sir B.N. Rau and yourself, and, if you consider it useful, before the members of the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly or before the special Sub-committee appointed by the two Negotiating Committees.

(1) The allocation of seats as decided by the sub-committee and approved by the two Negotiating Committees cannot be altered unilaterally. The Chamber claims that it is entitled to make minor alterations in this scheme. Allocation of separate seats to particular states in the group without the consent of the States comprised in it, as also without the consent of the sub-committee which is supposed to watch over the interests of the people of the areas concerned, cannot, in my opinion, be considered as minor alterations.

(2) In all the important states and groups of States, the Sub-committee has agreed to give representation to the people on the basis of 50 per cent and more. The Chamber or the Rulers of Western India cannot take away this minimum representation without reference to the Negotiating Committees or the Sub-committee. This, again, is not a minor alteration.

(3) Even if individual States like Cutch are prepared to send non-officials as their representatives that would mean that the people of the other 14 or 15 States of Western India, say, about 30 lacs in population, will go without any representation at all. This will be a serious departure from the general scheme of things approved by the two Negotiating Committees.

(4) As regards the formation (of) electoral colleges for giving one representation to the people of the States belonging to a particular group, the Chamber claims that the Princes alone are authorised to decide the matter. It is true, the Negotiating Committees have left this matter to the ‘States’ to decide. I submit that the ‘States’ include the people, and therefore the latter through their popular organisations should have a vital say in the matter.

The Negotiating Committees appointed the joint Sub-committee specifically to deal with this matter. It is therefore understood that the electorates prepared by the States should command the general approval of this Sub-committee, before they are finally adopted.

(5) There are no legislatures or elected municipalities or Panchayats in the important States of Junagad, Nawanagar and many other States in Kathiawar. Wherever there are such bodies, they hardly reflect public opinion. Of all States in Kathiawar or Western India, Bhavnagar is the only State, where the legislature correctly reflects public opinion. This State, I am afraid, is not going to get recognition or representation according to the reported scheme of the Chamber. However, it is the only State on this side, which has publicly announced its intention of cooperating with the work of the Constituent Assembly.
I trust, you will carefully go through this letter and do the needful in the matter. Please let me know, if there is anything that our organisation, the Kathiawar Political Conference, or the workers of Kathiawar, can usefully do to solve this tangle.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/

Balwant Rai Mehta.

13. Declarations in Favour of Constituent Assembly a Result of Promises of Favourable Treatment from Congress

Telegram from Wavell to Frederick Pethick-Lawrence, 18 March 1947

_T.O.P.,_ Vol. IX, p. 970

_INWARD TELEGRAM_

Allotted to Political Department.

Copies to:—

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CONFIDENTIAL CODE

From Crown Representative
To Secretary of State for India
Dated New Delhi, 21.05 hours, 18th March 1947
Received 20.15 hours, 18th March 1947

No. 550-P.

Reference my telegram 412-P March 5th about issue dividing states. Without waiting for General Conference of Rulers in early April certain States have made positive declaration of their intention to join Constituent Assembly as soon as possible. These States include Bikaner, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Gwalior, Rewa, Bhavnagar, Cochin and Patiala. Baroda and Udaipur also have similar intention.

2. It would I am afraid be a mistake to think that this decision by certain states will strengthen claim of Constituent Assembly to be regarded as representative all India body. On the contrary the cleavage among States is primarily along communal lines. The States mentioned above have been given grounds to hope that by making immediate declaration of intention to join Constituent Assembly they will obtain more favourable terms from Congress controlled Hindustan than if they waited.

3. Maintenance of common front by States was important stabilising factor in all India situation. Breach of unity now exhibited will remove this factor and will also by weakening
Chamber of Princes and depriving it of its present representative status render adjustment of future relations between States and British India more complex.

14. Threat of Balkanization of India
Letter from B.L. Mitter to Jayakar, 18 March 1947
Jayakar Papers, File No. 88A, NAI
Baroda

My dear Jayakar,

Thanks for your letter of the 14th March. Regarding Constituent Assembly I am quite conscious that the Congress members are intoxicated with power and majority of them are innocent of any conception of Constitution. All they know is to repeat some phrases from the political literature of England without understanding their significance. My only concern with the Constitution Assembly will be to try to expand the Central subjects. In my conversation with several members I noticed a narrow Provincial outlook. They think that the more you weaken the centre, the brighter is the sovereignty of the Provinces. State’s wise men are the same.

Have you seen C.P. Ramaswami’s statement about Independent Travancore? Is Travancore going to have its own ambassadors in foreign countries, its own currency and postage? I am afraid India is going to be Balkanised. Today I got a letter from a friend telling me that Junagadh is going as an independent unit, to ally itself with Sind & Punjab. Bhavnagar seems to be out of everything.

I have ceased attending the Chamber of Princes’ meetings. I understand that the lure of independence is being held out to various States, with a view to keep them out of the Indian Union.

Kind regards

Yours Sincerely

B.L. Mitter

15. Chancellor of Princes Alludes to Resignation
Record of interview between Louis Mountbatten and Nawab of Bhopal, 24 March 1947
Mountbatten Papers, File No. 191, NMML

RECORD OF VICEROY’S INTERVIEWS - No. 1.

THE NAWAB OF BHOPAL

This interview lasted 1¼ hours. The Nawab of Bhopal, who is Chancellor of The Chamber of Princes, offered me personally all possible assistance. He implied that he had turned the scales in persuading Mr. Jinnah to accept the Cabinet Mission’s plan at Simla. He felt that nothing had yet happened which made the situation irrevocable, but that it was daily becoming more difficult. He passed, as third party and for what it was worth, a message to me from Mr. Jinnah declaring that nothing would induce the latter to accept any form of unified government. But he did not personally feel that this declaration was necessarily irrevocable. He said that
Mr. Jinnah had purposely refrained from issuing any statement which might be embarrassing to me—and this point was repeated later by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.

The Nawab raised the question of future political relations between the States and the United Kingdom. He mentioned the possibility of States, or groups of States, being granted Dominion status—or perhaps similar relationship with other countries, for example the United States of America. He spoke of the question of buying arms from the United Kingdom or the United States.

He showed himself bitterly regretful of the recent split among the Princes. He talked of a group of states ‘flirting with Congress’. The present, he felt was the wrong moment for such realignments. He considered that it would not be possible for him to retain the position of Chancellor much longer; he might well have to resign. He would perhaps be succeeded by the Maharajah of Patiala—whom he described as ‘a Sikh in the Congress pocket’.

The Nawab of Bhopal denied any accusation that he was throwing in his lot with the Muslim League. He asked me whether there was any possibility of British authority being extended beyond the time limit of June 1948. I replied that I envisaged no such possibility; but if all the Indian parties together asked for such an extension, I would recommend their request to His Majesty’s Government.

16. Appeal to Princes to Join Constituent Assembly

Extracts from the statement by Maharaja of Bikaner, 1 April 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

MAHARAJA OF BIKANER’S APPEAL TO THE PRINCES

The memorandum circulated by the Chancellor’s Secretariat for the meetings of the Constitutional Advisory Committee, the Standing Committee of Princes and the General Conference of Princes and Ministers as regards the statement of the British Prime Minister in Parliament on 20 February, I regret to have to say, does not deal with all the aspects of the very important questions which the Princes have to decide and fails to bring out some of the very important issues involved which I consider it my duty to my brother Princes and in the interests of our States and people to place before them through this note which I trust will receive earnest consideration.

The memorandum has in more than one place stressed the necessity for the States to maintain a solid front at this critical juncture. It is however well known that there are two sections in the Princes’ ranks who hold different views. It is not only in the interests of the States as a whole but in fairness to those who do not agree with the views expressed in the memorandum that they should make their position clear and the reasons for their holding a different view. These reasons are weighty and are mentioned below.

The Cabinet Mission Plan had been originally accepted by the Congress, the Muslim League and the States; and even though the Muslim League subsequently decided not to cooperate, it is felt that if the States also took up such an attitude it would give the impression that the States were playing into the hands of a certain political party in British India. Such an impression or suspicion would be most unfortunate and I fear is widely prevalent already both amongst the people of the States and in British India.

The States had hitherto publicly taken up the position that they were not interested in the party politics of British India but were ready to help India to attain her independence and
full stature in the comity of nations. Moreover, the Constituent Assembly is to all intents and purposes functioning as laid down in the Cabinet Mission Plan even though the Muslim League is not co-operating. It is felt that so long as the British Government did not scrap the Cabinet Mission Plan the States should continue to co-operate in constitution-making hoping that the Muslim League would come in sooner or later. Had the British Government categorically stated that the Constituent Assembly proceedings were ultra vires, then alone could the States have discontinued participation in the work of the Cabinet Mission Plan; but clearly that is not the intention of HMG.

On the other hand, in the debate in [British] Parliament when a categorical question was asked by Lord Simon as to whether the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly were not ultra vires, the Secretary of State in reply stated that HMG hoped that before the meetings of the sections took place as laid down in the Cabinet Mission Plan the Constituent Assembly would become fully representative and he therefore did not think it desirable to make any statement on the ‘hypothetical’ question asked. Even in Mr. Attlee’s statement of 20 February the possibility of a constitution worked out by a fully representative Constituent Assembly before June 1948 was not ruled out. In the circumstances it is hoped that all parties will eventually participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly at some stage and it would not be right to proceed on any other assumption.

It is the desire and hope of all that the parties concerned, including the States, should jointly frame a common constitution. The Muslim League is standing out. By the States doing likewise, does it improve the position or bring nearer the consummation of a fully representative Constituent Assembly functioning? The answer is obvious. Such a step on the part of the States would not only be putting it off but probably rendering impossible such a consummation.

Even if the Muslim League ultimately decided not to participate in constitution-making it is beyond question in the interests of the States as a whole, interspersed as they are with territories in British India, that by June 1948 a strong central government should be created which can take over power. The only safe policy for the States, therefore, is to work fully with the stabilising elements in British India to create a centre at least for as large a section of India as possible to start with, leaving it open for any other part to come in at a later time, which would safeguard both the States and British India in the vacuum that would be created by the withdrawal of the British Government and which would maintain peace, order and good government and prevent civil strife. If the States do not help in the formation of such a stable and strong central authority, the inevitable result will be the weakening of the stable elements in British India working towards a settlement and the consequent increase in the power and prestige of the left wing. If the latter comes into power the position of the States can well be imagined.

It must be the policy of the States to press for the necessary safeguards which they consider essential in the interests of the Rulers and their people and states, but it is felt that this can best be done by participating in the work of the Constituent Assembly and especially by sending States’ representatives to the various important sub-committees appointed by it, thus ensuring that their interests are duly safeguarded in the Constitution that is being framed, in which they will have a voice from the very start. It is strongly felt that by declining to participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly the States may not succeed in securing their essential safeguards, but that, if anything, they may find that in their absence, as has happened, various decisions have already been reached which it will be difficult to get altered later on.
The united front that is required to be put up by the States is therefore not by adopting a policy of ‘wait and see,’ but by fully co-operating with the Constituent Assembly, with all the benefits that will accrue from such a step.

It is not sufficient for anyone from the States merely to say, as has been done, that it is not possible for them to continue to participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly until more details are available of the final picture. This may sound reasonable enough on the face of it, but it has to be examined from a different angle and other important factors have to be taken into consideration. The States may for a time take the stand of ‘wait and see,’ but the vital question is as to what effect such a step will have both on their own people and upon British India. It is a fact which brooks no argument that it is essential for the Rulers to carry their own people with them and nothing must be done which would impair their loyalty and support. It is therefore most strongly felt that a decisive step taken now with a broad vision and in the larger interests of India is not only in the interests of the States themselves but becomes imperative. Neither can the Princes afford to lose the support of their people, nor can they ignore the resultant adverse repercussions in British India.

The Princes have in the past on more than one occasion expressed their readiness to help India to attain her full stature, and in January 1946 the Chamber of Princes passed the following formal resolution:

‘The Chamber of Princes desire to reiterate that the Indian States fully share the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature, and will make every possible contribution towards the settlement of the Indian constitutional problem.’

British India is keenly watching the attitude of the States, but it is perhaps not sufficiently appreciated, or I fear some quarters deliberately choose to ignore the fact, that the people of the States are equally keenly watching the attitude of the Princes. Let there be no mistake or illusion about this. When India is on the verge of attaining her independence, and a constitution is being worked out, is a policy of ‘wait and see,’ adopted by any section of the Princes, I respectfully ask, in conformity with their past public declarations to help India to attain her independence and full stature? If the Princes do not come forward and act in the larger interests of India but are to stand out now, are they not, instead of helping her advance, actually retarding it? How will they then be judged by the public of India, by the people of our States and by the world?

There is one other important aspect to which I must refer. The interests of the people of the States obviously lie in joining hands with British India in establishing a strong centre, and they are keenly alive to that necessity. If the Princes were to help in attaining that object then the interests of the people and the Princes would continue to remain identical. But if for any reason the Princes were to decide otherwise they would be putting themselves in opposition to the very strong wishes and interests of their people. Such a state of affairs will not only be deplorable but disastrous in the interests of the ruling dynasties as it will unnecessarily alienate the loyalty and support of the people.

Amongst the people of the Indian States there has of late been a rapid and general awakening in regard to political issues. Boundaries may separate the States from the rest of India, but the wave of nationalism which has come about throughout India has not failed to penetrate into our States and when it comes to a general all-India issue (as undoubtedly is the question of the States’ participation in the Constituent Assembly) the people of the States feel equally in regard to their own mother country—India—as we the Princes should ourselves, as true, patriotic and worthy sons of India. We would be straining their inherent and strong loyalty to
us, if at this stage we were to take a step which would undoubtedly be considered unpatriotic by our people also....

There seems to be a school of thought among the states which holds that they need not take part in the Constituent Assembly at all but can reach political agreements with the Union or Central Government when it is established. In regard to this point of view it is felt that by actively participating in the formative stage of constitution-making the States will have a direct voice and will be partners and equals in the future union or central authority, without at the same time committing themselves to joining that constitution if it is not just and fair in regard to them. If they do not enter the Constituent Assembly and later enter into political agreements with the central authority the position of those States will substantially be the same as at present in regard to the existing Government of India. Moreover, the States will have to agree to the terms laid down by such central authority and that Government is bound to have inevitably a superior controlling and supervising authority over units which enter into political arrangements with them. It is also felt that the conditions which will govern such agreements, after the central authority is once established, cannot be favourable to the States to the same extent as now when the States will have their due voice in framing the Constitution and in providing the necessary safeguards in the Constitution itself, whereas at the present stage we will be dealing with a constitution that will not have come into being and therefore can be shaped in a manner suitable to all the parties.

In any case as the Constitution Assembly is a voluntary body whose decisions will not be binding on the States until they are ratified by each State, even after full participation in the work of the Constituent Assembly, it is open to any State to enter the union that may be established as one of the units or to stand out and reach political agreements with the Union Government. Perhaps this point has not sufficiently been borne in mind or appreciated. The crux of the whole question, however, is whether the advantages if any that may be claimed in a policy of ‘wait and see’ are firstly important or real and secondly whether they are not totally outweighed by those resulting from one of co-operation, as brought out in this appeal.

It is now for the Princes to judge whether at the present crucial juncture they can afford to follow a policy of ‘wait and see,’ which I say with great reluctance can only be described as suicidal, and as forfeiting the loyalty and support of their own people. It also goes without saying that they can ill afford to antagonise British India unnecessarily without gaining any real advantage.

I desire to stress that the Princes have a golden opportunity to play a noble and decisive part in India’s advance towards independence and thus to show to our brethren and to the world that we as of old do not go back on our word. Such an opportunity may never come again, and we may ever repent not having taken advantage of it. A belated declaration of our readiness to co-operate with the Constituent Assembly will lose all its spontaneity and appeal. Our brethren in the rest of India are ready to receive us with open arms. Let the Princes of India rise to the occasion, to be hailed as co-architects of the structure of India’s independence and greatness. I therefore most emphatically and with all the earnestness at my command urge that the Princes and Ministers, who are present in Bombay at the General Conference, should take a bold and statesmanlike step and decide to continue to co-operate in framing a constitution by entering the Constitution Assembly at the earliest possible stage....
Apart from most of the large States and some other States which have made clear declarations in regard to constitutional reforms, the majority of the States, I fear, have so far not moved in the matter. Again with all the emphasis at my command I appeal to all my brother Princes to seriously take into consideration this all-important question and make a specific and categorical announcement in that regard without any further delay so as to leave no doubt whether in the minds of our own people or those in British India. India is rapidly advancing towards independence; a constitution is being framed. Is it conceivable or possible that the States which are so interspersed with the rest of India can for any length of time lag behind? Above all, can we afford any longer to delay a specific declaration that:

(a) our ultimate aim is to establish a form of Government that would be responsible to the people, and
(b) it will definitely be established within a specified period according to the conditions prevailing in each state?

By still continuing to hesitate to make a clear declaration on these important points the Princes are rapidly and unnecessarily losing the loyalty and support of their people. They are accused of making promises but not wishing to abide by them; in fact, our very word is doubted as to whether or not we intend even to associate our people to the extent declared. Let the Princes, I repeat, rise to the occasion in this regard also; much valuable time has already been lost, and can we afford to lose any more?

I am not advocating that any form of responsible government be immediately established, for no one realises better than myself that the people of most States are not ready for that step to be taken at once. Nor am I advocating that we should slavishly follow any Western or other pattern of government. Local conditions have to be taken into account, but the ultimate form of government must essentially be one that will be responsible to the people.

If a declaration to join the Constituent Assembly and an announcement in regard to constitutional reforms, as suggested above, are made by the majority of the Princes present in Bombay just now, I feel that the whole position can still be magically transformed. It will bring goodwill all around and it will make quite clear to everyone that the Indian Princes are not only working for the good of their States and for their mother country but are above all patriotic and worthy sons of India.

Bombay

17. States Assure Co-operation in Framing an Agreed Constitution
Resolution passed at the meeting of the Princes, 2 April 1947

1. This conference reiterates the support of the States to the freedom of the country, and their willingness to render the fullest possible co-operation in framing an agreed constitution and to all genuine efforts towards facilitating the transfer of power on an agreed basis. The conference reaffirms the resolution adopted by the general conference of Rulers and representatives of States on January 29, 1947.

2. It ratifies the general understanding reached between the States Negotiating Committee and the corresponding Committee set up by the Constituent Assembly in regard to the allocation of the States’ quota of seats in, and the method of selection of States’ representatives to the
Constituent Assembly, and on the fundamental points discussed at their meetings held on February 8 and 9 and on March 1 and 2, subject to the acceptance of the aforesaid understanding by the Constituent Assembly.

3. It reiterates the previous decisions of the States to adhere strictly to the Cabinet Mission’s plan, under which the representatives of such States as may so desire, may join the Constituent Assembly at the appropriate stage when that Assembly meets, in accordance with the Cabinet Mission’s plan to settle the Union Constitution, provided that such participation is preceded by acceptance by the Constituent Assembly, of the general understanding reached between the two Negotiating Committees in regard to the fundamental points and other matters referred to in the second resolution.

4. The conference is glad to note that Mr. Attlee’s statement of February 20, 1947, further confirms the declaration made by the Cabinet Mission that paramountcy will cease at the close of the interim period. This means that all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will revert to them, and they will be in a position, as independent units, to negotiate freely in regard to their future relationship with others concerned.

5. This conference reaffirms its previous recommendations in regard to internal reforms, and emphasises the urgency and importance of suitable action being taken without delay, where needed, with due regard to local conditions.

6. In view of the element of urgency introduced by Mr. Attlee’s statement of February 20, 1947, this conference authorises the Chancellor and the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes to conduct negotiations through the States Negotiating Committee or such other sub-committees as the Standing Committee may appoint, in regard to questions affecting the States in general: (a) with the Crown Representative in regard to matters relating to the lapse of paramountcy, and those arising, out of the proposed transfer of power, so far as they affect the States; (b) with the Interim Government and the competent British Indian authorities in regard to matters referred to in Paragraph 4 of the Cabinet Mission’s memorandum of May 12, 1946, on the States’ treaties and paramountcy, provided that (1) these negotiations will be conducted in accordance with the resolution adopted by the General Conference of Rulers of January 29, 1947, and the instructions and resolutions of the States Constitutional Advisory Committee as endorsed by the Standing Committee of Princes and the Committee of Ministers; (2) the results of these negotiations will be subject to the approval of the aforesaid States’ Committees and ratification by the States.

7. This Conference requests His Highness the Chancellor to address His Excellency the Crown Representative with a view to ensuring early and satisfactory settlement by His Majesty’s Government of questions relating to individual States prior to the transfer of power.

18. Propositions for Further Action

   Letter from K.M. Panikkar to Vallabhbhai Patel, 3 April 1947

   Bikaner

My dear Sardar Patel,

You would have seen from newspaper reports that the States have ratified the agreement and also allowed all those who desire to go in, to join the Constituent Assembly when the States concerned consider it appropriate. These things I would suggest to you.
(1) A resolution somewhat on the following lines:

‘The Constituent Assembly after hearing the report of the States’ Committee confirms the general agreements reached with the Negotiating Committee representing the Indian States and resolves that the proceedings are noted and recorded.’

(2) The question of representation on the Union Powers and Fundamental Rights Committee is one of great importance. I do not think the Chancellor will nominate his quota. His technical ground will be that till the agreement is accepted by the Constituent Assembly, his ‘mandate’ prevents him from doing anything. The object, of course, is to delay. In the circumstances I would recommend that after giving him a chance you should nominate to the Powers Committee three Ministers and two representatives of the people. In regard to the latter I would urge the name of Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai, President of the Travancore State Congress, and some one from the Gujarat States.

The third point relates to the attendance of those of us who have been elected. We desire to attend the next session. We can of course take our seats only after the Constituent Assembly has accepted the agreement. So are we to arrive in Delhi and be available, because if the resolution is not coming up early in the Assembly there is little that we shall have to do. About 20 representatives of the States, 3 from Baroda, 3 from Jaipur, 4 from Gwalior, 2 each from Jodhpur, Udaipur, Patiala and Rewa and one each from Bikaner and Cochin (20 in all) will be there on the first day. I am hopeful that the Southern Maratha States will also elect their representatives in time for their presence in Delhi by that time. So I suggest that the Assembly Secretariat may decide the procedure early and inform us. Also no doubt you will arrange for some suggestion being conveyed to other groups that it will be advisable to proceed with their elections.

In Bombay it was a difficult fight, but we got it through all right.

Your sincerely,

K.M. Panikkar

19. Representatives in Constituent Assembly to Be Elected by People’s Organizations

Letter from J.J.M. Nicholas-Roy to the Chairman, States Committee, 3 April 1947
AICC Papers, File No. 29/1947, NMML

With great respect, I hope this will come to you personally.

I write to you about the Assam States, namely the 25 Khasi States and the Manipur State. These are grouped together with Tripura State for the purpose of sending a representative to the Constituent Assembly to be one of the 93 members among the Indian States.

The population of all these three entitles them only to one member.

The Bengal State of Cooch Bihar is grouped with Sikkim. These will send one member to the Constituent Assembly.

The important question is—who could be a candidate and who should be the electors.

The principle adopted for big States is 50% are to be elected by the people and 50% by the rulers, but when a group of States can nominate or elect only one member as it is in the case of Khasi States, Manipur State and Tripura State, the question is—who is entitled to be a candidate and who are entitled to be electors.
Our States’ people in Assam surely want that a representative of the people should be elected by the Peoples’ Organisations. We are definitely against any attempt to make only the rulers to be electors and the candidate to be also from among the rulers.

If any compromise be necessary between the Bengal and the Assam States then Cooch Bihar State and Sikkim State may elect a ruler and let the 3 entitled namely—

The Khasi States  
Manipur State and  
Tripura State

elect a representative from among the people and not from among the rulers. This can be done by the States’ Peoples organisations.

I do earnestly request you to press this point for us when you meet the Negotiating Committee.

I shall be very grateful for your reply.

20. Princestan—Imperialism’s Nest for Tomorrow

Pamphlet by Ramesh Chandra, 10 April 1947  
ACH, CPI-99, JNU

The Indian national movement has never suffered from any illusions as to the real purpose with which the British maintained the Indian states and their Princes.

In 1930, Professor Rushbrook Williams, a prominent British spokesman on States’ questions (once Joint Director of the Indian Princes’ Special Organisation and Adviser to the Indian States’ delegation at the Round Table conference), said:

‘The Rulers of the Native States are very loyal to their British connection. Many of them owe their very existence to British justice and arms... Their affection and loyalty are important assets for British in present troubles and in the readjustments which must come....

“The situation of these feudatory States, checker-boarding all India as they do, are a great safeguard. It is like establishing a vast network of friendly fortresses in debatable territory. It would be difficult for a general rebellion against the British to sweep India because of this network of powerful, loyal Native States.

Enclave for Foreign Troops

This ‘network of friendly fortresses’ is exactly what the Congress anticipated would be brought into play to menace the freedom of India when it categorically rejected the Cripps Offer in 1942, saying:

‘The states may in many ways become barriers to the growth of Indian freedom, enclaves where foreign authority still prevails and where the possibility of maintaining foreign armed forces has been stated to be a likely contingency, and a perpetual menace to the freedom of the people of the States as well as of the rest of India.’

With regard to the Princes, the present British plan for India does not differ an iota from the Cripps offer of 1942.
Strategic Needs of the British

Professor Coupland, the architect of the British Plan, in his notorious book ‘The Constitutional Problem in India’, discusses in detail the proposal for the retention of the British Princes treaty system, after British India has come under ‘the new regime.’ He states quite frankly what this treaty system would mean in the new international conditions of today:

“The princes, it may be supposed, would be satisfied with a relatively small British ground force if a detachment of the Royal Air Force were also stationed in the States. Nor would such an arrangement seem undesirable on the British side from a purely military point of view. A group of aerodromes, occupied by British airmen, in the heart of India, would accord with the strategic needs of the British Commonwealth.”

Cabinet Mission’s Assurance

The Cabinet Mission itself was at pains to say (in its Memorandum to the Chamber of Princes, dated May 22, 1946):

‘There was no intention on the part of the Crown to initiate any change in relationship with the Crown or the rights guaranteed by their treaties and engagements without their consent.’

After the Attlee Declaration of February 20, 1947, the Nawab of Bhopal declared:

‘Once more I am glad to say that a pronouncement has been formally made that Paramountcy will disappear when great Britain withdraws itself from the Indian Administrative scene, and that the States will resume their independence.’

It was exactly this ‘independence’ of the States which was envisaged also in the Cripps Offer and in which the Congress rightly saw ‘a perpetual menace’ to the freedom of India.

Although the Cripps Offer was rejected in 1942, imperialist preparations nevertheless began for the ‘independence’ of the States and their eventual use as a ‘network of friendly fortresses’ as ‘enclaves’ for ‘foreign authority’ and ‘foreign troops.’

Full advantage was taken of the war not merely to increase the size and the efficiency of the till-now weak and slipshod State armies, but to build new aerodromes, ammunition factories, etc., in the States.

The examples of the major States of Kashmir and Hyderabad will show what exactly this war-expansion meant:

• The British had for years specially ‘leased’ from the Maharaja of Kashmir the frontier area of Gilgit, which borders on Tadjikistan in Soviet Asia. Here a special garrison of British, Indian and local troops ‘guarded’ the frontier.

During the war, however, Gilgit grew from a secluded mountain garrison to a real military base with its own aerodrome, with a first-class military road connecting it with the rest of India—a perfect springboard for an offensive against the Soviet Union.

Srinagar, Kashmir’s capital, also developed its aerodrome from a mere playground, on which the Maharaja’s joy-plane carried out its antics, into a first-rate military aerodrome, a convenient rear-base for Gilgit. AND a base to keep a grip on both the Punjab and the North West Frontier Province.
Hyderabad developed a war army of ONE LAKH. A Bren-gun factory was built in Hyderabad territory. The British leased Cantonment of Secunderabad grew bigger and bigger. New military camps and stations began to shoot up in other parts of Hyderabad. Kamareddi, sixty miles from Hyderabad on the way to Manmad, became the centre for the biggest concentration of British artillery ever seen in India.

A similar advance' was made in every one of the States, during the war. The 'contribution' made by the Princes to the war-effort was no small 'contribution'—but its real value lay not in the immediate effect it had on the outcome of the war, but on the use that could be made of this 'contribution' in the future 'Free' India.

On September 26, 1946 Commander-in-Chief Auchinleck, addressing a Conference of over twenty States' representatives and military advisers, asked them 'to convey to their Rulers his most sincere thanks for the help given by the States during the war.'

'The States', declared Auchinleck, 'never failed to respond.... They were always ready and often help was forthcoming even before it was asked.'

What greater tribute could the Princes desire!

But the war is over; the Princes' 'contribution' has been made.

And so to the post-war period—the period of the Cabinet Mission Plan.

1. Military Plans

In the very same Conference of States' military advisers mentioned above, Auchinleck got down to the present and the future double-quick, after patting the Princes on the back, for their war effort.

The agenda of the Conference was, according to reliable sources:

- The bringing up-to-date of all States forces.
- The assistance of British officers in this task.
- The building of aerodromes and gun and ammunition factories in the States.
- The question of ports for States bordering on the sea.
- Railways which could carry troops from these ports right into the interior.

Similar conferences have continued to be held, and their decisions are being rapidly implemented.

Ace British military officers are in command of the forces in most of the important States:

- A Major-General Scott led the Dogra Army which has fired and shot at the Kashmiri people all these months since the arrest of Sheikh Abdulla.
- In Hyderabad, special British officers have been training the Nizam's Army. Some of these officers have been actually directing and participating in the terror-raids on the villages of Telengana, which have been fighting so resolutely against their serf conditions during the last six months.
- In Kolhapur, where the State Army was seen in action during the recent movement, a Colonel Blythe is in command.

In every one of the States, the armies are being modernised. Important States, such as Hyderabad, are retaining their war-armies, and not demobilising them to peace-time level.
The Jami Sahib of Nawanagar has bought twenty Dakota aeroplanes ostensibly to transport fish, but quite clearly to form his own State air fleet.

But, of course, the key military task being carried out in the States is NOT the building up of the State armies.

Pandit Nehru rightly pointed out to Pressmen at the time of the July 1946 meeting of the Standing Committee of the All-India States Peoples’ Conference that:

'The fundamental problem is that of the British power supporting these States. No local State army can carry on independently against the rest of India.' (Hindu, July 11).

And the REAL British military plans for the States recognise exactly this reality. While, of course, modernising and strengthening the States' forces—for they will play a vital auxiliary role in their plans for the future—British attention is focused hard on building aerodromes, ports, railways, munition factories, bases—which can be used by BRITISH troops under special 'treaties' with the princes.

2. Aerodromes

A VAST network of aerodromes all over the States has been set up. New air services have been launched with the specific object of linking up the whole of Princistan.

In HYDERABAD, wartime temporary aerodromes are being made permanent. The DECCAN AIRWAYS, a new concern floated by the State, is running a regular service between Hyderabad and Bangalore (in Mysore State) and proposes to establish a direct line from Hyderabad to Delhi and Calcutta.

In January, Group Captain S.O. Tudor, ‘representative of the Society of British Aircraft Constructors’, visited Hyderabad to ‘see whether the British Aircraft industry could be of any help in carrying out the schemes of development of civil aviation, which the Hyderabad Government had on hand.’

The ‘sports-loving’ Maharaja of JAIPUR is organising an all-Rajputana airways to knit up all the scattered States in that vast territory into one solid phalanx—into one front against nationalist India.

Even the till-now backward State of JAISALMER is to have an aerodrome. The old, orthodox Ruler’s resistance to the proposal to have anything to do with a modern business like an aerodrome was overcome by offering him a marriage alliance with the State of Jodhpur.

It is said that the Maharaja of Bikaner who fixed up the alliance ‘explained’ to Jaisalmer that Jodhpur was fond of flying and so—an aerodrome was NECESSARY!

In KATHIAWAR also, the task of converting old aerodromes into first-class military ones and of building new aerodromes is being carried out with a vigour all its own.

In CUTCHE, there is an excellent aerodrome at Bhuj, which is connected by a regular service with Bombay and Delhi. Facilities for night-landing have been recently introduced.

JAMNAGAR is the biggest airport in Kathiawar. In October, the Air Services of India Ltd., launched a service linking Jamnagar and Porbunder with Bombay, Karachi, Ahmedabad and Delhi.

PORBUNDER and BHAVNAGAR also have first-class aerodromes.

An old and scarcely used aerodrome at RAJKOT has been rebuilt while JUNAGADH is making plans for building one in the near future. On January 20, an air service between Rajkot and Bombay, known as the Ambika Air Service, was inaugurated by the Resident.
I have already referred to KASHMIR's aerodromes in Srinagar and Gilgit. Parachute practice was carried out by British troops in the month of September at Killenmarg near the tourist resort of Gulmarg.

This is just a glimpse of some of the aerodromes and air-services which are springing up like mushrooms all over Princistan.

3. Ports, Railways

Of equal interest and importance are the schemes for the development of ports in the States. The Ports Technical Committee, set up by the Government of India, published an 80-page report on September 29, 1946. Its chief recommendations were for the development of FOUR ports: Sika, Veraval, Bhatkal, Vizagapatam.

SIKA is in the State of Jamnagar.
VERAWAL is in the State of Junagadh.
BHATKAL, at present in Bombay presidency is claimed by Mysore.
VIZAGAPATAM, at present in Madras Presidency is claimed by Hyderabad.
The Committee also called for an engineering report on the proposal to develop the port of VIZHINJAM in Travancore.

It is important to note in this connection two facts, which disclose clearly the real purpose of this sudden love for the development of our ports which the British appear to have acquired.

War Transport Officer at Head

1) The Chairman of the committee was a prominent officer of the War Transport Department of the Government of India. (the important word here is WAR).
2) One of the considerations which governed the Committee, according to its report, was, ‘The strategic importance of India in the development of world order in the Far East.’

To add to this proof of the imperialist reasons behind the frantic port-development in the Indian States, here are extracts from a private letter written on December 9, 1945 by the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar to Sir (then Mr.) Eric Conran Smith, who was then Secretary to the Government of India in the War Transport Department.

‘For some time past, I had in mind the development of our port facilities.... The paucity of modern port facilities on this side for naval and commercial purposes was greatly felt during the war and resulted in undue congestion in Bombay and Karachi.’

And so, the Jam Sahib continued, here are the plans: a report by a British engineer (by name Bennett), who made a survey; an index map showing the exact location of the site and the project, the construction of which is in the hands of another BRITISHER (by name Dunbar), just released from the Royal Engineers. And finally the Jam Sahib assured Conran Smith:

‘Responsible BRITISH firms have been consulted for the design to the jetty; and negotiations are in progress with an ENGLISH firm for its construction.’

‘In the Interests of the Empire’
A thoroughly BRITISH port!
And if that did not satisfy Conran Smith, the Jam Sahib added, so that there should be no mistake about his proposal:

'I am thoroughly convinced that this port will not only be in the interests of my State, but in the best interests of the development of Indo-British trade, and not least of all, in the interests of the Empire in times of emergency, which God forbid, may not arise.'

Apart from these ports recommended by the Ports Technical Committee for development other proposals for modernising and even acquiring ports for the States continue:

- Two ports in Bhavnagar, which under the treaty with Britain, were not to be opened up and developed, are now with the active assistance of the British, being enlarged and built up.
- Jamnagar has a naval school, started during the war, where naval cadets are being trained.
- Cochin similarly has a naval school.
- The American magazine Newsweek reported in August that the Nizam’s Government ‘have concocted a plan to acquire Goa from Portugal giving Hyderabad an outlet to the sea.’
- Hyderabad is never tired of claiming for itself the ports of Masulipatnam and Vizagapatam, while Mysore lays claim to Bhatkal....

**Highway from Karachi to Baluchistan**

Last month, an API message, declared that:

'A national highway linking Karachi with Baluchistan is being surveyed by the Military Engineers Services in co-ordination with the North Western Railway authorities. The latter are also conducting a survey for a direct Karachi-Quetta railway line.

'The military survey parties have been on their jobs for more than three months.

'Both projects when completed will materially benefit Baluchistan State, particularly Kalat and Las Bela providing that hilly country with the much-needed rail and road communications.'

When one reads this news-item in conjunction with the recent declaration of the Khan of Kalat that he will now be ‘free’ and demanding back the territory ‘leased’ by him to the British (which includes the areas round Quetta, Bostan, Nushki and Nasirabad)—then its real meaning becomes clear.

**4. Economic Bases**

BUT British imperialism is preparing to use the States not merely as their military bases, but also as their economic strongholds.

After the latest Attlee Declaration of February 20, in the debate on India in the House of Lords, the Conservative leader, Viscount Templewood, referred to the Princes (who ‘have always come to the aid of the Empire in the hour of the Empire’s need’) and complained that today their ‘liberty of action was restricted in many important sections—for instance in the matter of CUSTOMS and the amount of ARMED FORCES they might maintain.’

The Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick-Lawrence replied:
A State or a body of States, seeing that transfer of power is going to take place, may want to discuss with the British Government some variation of the present conditions (that is, the restrictions regarding customs and armed forces.—R.C.).

‘I think it is sensible and I think no exception can be taken to it.’

When further pressed by the Tories to disclose how exactly power would be transferred to the States, the Secretary of State pleaded hard that they should not embarrass him by too close a ‘cross-examination’ and trust him to do all that was necessary to safeguard the future of the Princes and the Empire.

Pethick-Lawrence begged not to be asked to say anything more as ‘India was listening to every word’ that was being spoken there!

Of the ‘restrictions’ on the maintenance of military forces, enough has already been said above.

The second key question which Lord Templewood posed was that of ‘customs’. What did it mean?

**Dumping Grounds for British Goods**

Simply this—that the States should be permitted to go out of the Indian Customs Union in order to enable Britain to dump her goods freely in the States through the rapidly developing ports!

Side by side, Britain is busy pouring capital into the States.

H. S. Malik, Prime Minister of Patiala, and leader of Indian States’ Industrial Delegation to the United Kingdom, stated:

‘What we feel is that when you get an industrialist from England or America and he has a stake in Industry here—whatever it is, 30 or 40 per cent—he will be definitely interested in the success of that industry.

‘I do not see how you can expect the whole-hearted collaboration of skilled, experienced and advanced industrialists, unless you are prepared to trust them to that extent. (Times of India, January 17, 1942).

Maqbul Mahmood, Secretary of the Chamber of Princes, in an article in the Asiatic Review wrote:

‘There is also much scope for Indo-British partnership in the industrial development of the States.’

Already this Indo-British partnership has begun on a vast scale in the States...

**Travancore’s Own Trade Commissioner**

The Travancore State has appointed its own Trade Commissioner in London. Recently the news that Travancore had sold all rights for the development of its rich thorium sands to a British firm caused countrywide consternation, owing to the importance of thorium in connection with atomic energy research. But a large proportion of Travancore’s industry is already in British hands.

Similar Indo-British deals are being sought in other States.

The British are striving hard to dig in more and more into the Indian States—to use them as dumping grounds both for their goods and their capital.
5. ‘Independence’

The latest news from London (in an IPA message March 25) revealed the following interesting facts:

- Representatives of certain Indian States in London ‘are exploring the possibilities of employing British troops in States Services’ and ‘are also contacting ranking unofficial Americans intimate with the U.S. Army Headquarters.’
- There are ‘strong rumours that Britain and America (along with Australia) would also like to make arrangements with certain Indian coast-line States with a view to future co-operation with Commonwealth defence.’

The London Daily Graphic wrote simultaneously:

‘British troops will not necessarily evacuate the whole of India in June 1948.... The Maharaja of Kashmir for instance, may decide to retain a strong British garrison in his State.’

That all these reports are not mere moonshine is apparent not only from the unchallengeable facts of British military and economic preparations in the States outlined above, but also from the rapid chorus of voices rising from the States, claiming ‘independence.’

Khan of Kalat Wants to Be ‘Free’

- The Khan of Kalat claims ‘independence.’
- The Nizam of Hyderabad’s spokesman announces that as soon as Paramountcy ends, Hyderabad will be a ‘free’ Kingdom and:

  ‘As a kingdom, Hyderabad will naturally establish relations, economic, political and cultural not only with the rest of India—**but with other foreign countries as well.**’

  In March 25, Nawab Mir Nawab Jung Bahadur was appointed Hyderabad’s first Agent-General in the United Kingdom, obviously ‘independently’ of Pandit Nehru’s Foreign Department.

  On March 26, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Diwan of Travancore claimed His State’s ‘independence’, and declared:

  ‘Regarding the question of defence of India in general and of his state in particular... he would be ready to ... a common agreement with her neighbours in India, ... he would not hesitate to reach agreements even with foreign countries, if necessary in the interests of the States’ security.’ (Free Press Journal, March 3.)

  The British and their puppet Princes are getting the last details into position before the final ‘treaties are signed’ with the ‘free’ States.

A Network of Loyal Fortresses

Princistan remains the “network of loyal fortresses”, as Rushbrook Williams called it in 1930, the ‘enclave’ for ‘foreign authority’ and ‘foreign troops’, as the Congress called it in 1942.

**From Princistan, Britain will continue to rule India militarily and economically. From Princistan, Anglo-American imperialism will continue to use Indian soil as its base to dominate Asia and to plot for its Third World War.**

Princistan is imperialism’s Nest For Tomorrow.
21. Sardar Patel Appeals to Princes to Emulate Baroda and Join Constituent Assembly

Bombay Chronicle, 16 April 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Home Member, Government of India, addressing a mammoth gathering at Bardoli this evening appealed to the Indian Princes to follow the example of the Ruler of Baroda and join the Constituent Assembly forthwith.

Sardar Patel congratulated Baroda on the lead it had given to other States and said it was time that the Rulers and the ruled understood their respective positions. Sardar Patel regretted that some Indian Princes should still be talking of direct relations with the Paramount Power and the sacred Treaties with the Emperor. ‘God who is the Rajah of Rajahs had willed that the people of India should be free by June 1948,’ he said.

He added there were some Princes who were still considering the question of joining the Constituent Assembly. He appealed to them all to join hands with those who were shaping the future of India. Those who had already expressed their desire to join the Constituent Assembly forthwith, he said, had done credit to themselves and those who were going to come at the end were not going to be credited with any service to the country’s cause. The Indian Princes, he continued, need not be afraid of the Congress. For it never wanted to destroy their dynasties or their rule. Besides, all Praja Mandals in the various States could not take up the administration of the States even if power was handed over to them immediately. He asked the Indian Princes and the people of the States to join hands to ameliorate the lot of the suffering masses. The Indian Princes, the Sardar stated, had great future in a free India. They could do great service to this country as Ambassadors in other countries and by joining India’s armed forces.

Sardar Patel said he had come to Baroda at the invitation of the Dewan. He asked the Baroda Praja Mandal to co-operate with the State authorities.

He continued: ‘India would be free within the fifteen months. With the declaration of the British to leave India, there was no more need for any fighting but constructive work. India should now prepare to enjoy her freedom. The people should realise their responsibility and work to implement all constructive schemes sponsored in the country and not indulge in mutual slaughter.’

Sardar Patel regretted that at a time when everyone in the country should co-operate, there should be mutual distrust, recrimination and slaughter. He appealed to the people to forget their differences, settle their problems amicably and peacefully.

Sardar Patel said that many people were writing to him about collection of arms and training of soldiers in some places. If there was anybody who was preparing for a return of those times when the Rulers in India fought among themselves and handed over the country to the British, he should change his ideas. ‘There will be a Central Power that would wield enough power to quell internal trouble,’ he said.
States Must Join the Constituent Assembly

Jawaharlal Nehru's speech at All India States People's Conference at Gwalior, 18 April 1947

Any Indian State which does not come into the Constituent Assembly now will be treated as a hostile State by the country. Such a State will have to bear the consequences of being so treated.

Our aim at the moment is to liberate whatever part of India we can and we shall then deal with the question of getting independence for the rest. India’s march towards freedom would brook no more obstruction.

As you know, Sheikh Abdullah was elected to preside over the session but he could not do so because he is behind prison bars. When I think of it I hang my head in shame. All I can say now is that Kashmir is like a flame in my heart. Some day it will bring forth some result.

At this critical juncture we should not lose our temper, as it would only harm our cause. Everything has to be viewed as part of a bigger whole and not individually. There are important decisions to be made. The time is past for passing resolutions and expressing views. We have to chalk out a line of action and then follow it. Mere expression of sentiments is of no use at all.

It is unfortunate that there has been bloodshed in the country during the past few months. It is our duty to end this bloodshed. But I repeat that we have to advance in spite of strife. They might block our progress but they cannot stop us altogether. But for these strifes, we could have devoted all our attention to vital questions like the removal of poverty.

I had welcomed the declaration made by the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes last year urging the States to initiate popular reforms even though they did not come up to expectations. But even these limited reforms are not put into effect. The declaration remains by and large merely a paper declaration. The Constituent Assembly is now engaged in framing a new constitution for a free India. Acceptance of the Cabinet Mission’s plan was—and still is—a step in the right direction.

Representatives of the Indian States and the Muslim League have not yet participated in the Constituent Assembly. The League has not entered the Assembly despite frequent invitations. The door is still open for the League but I want to make it clear that the Assembly will go ahead with the task of framing a constitution despite everything. Such constitution-making was necessary even previously but in the present context after the British Government’s announcement of the decision to quit India—it is all the more urgent. The Congress has made it clear that no part of India will be compelled to join the Union against its wishes and if any part of the country wants to remain out of it, it is welcome to do so. We on our part will then decide what sort of relations we shall have with them.

Rightly or wrongly some agreement has been arrived at between the Negotiating Committee of the Princes and the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly on the method of selecting the States’ representatives for the Assembly. You must bear in mind that the Constituent Assembly is part of the Cabinet Mission’s plan and has to work within its limitations. I myself wish it were possible to work on an independent plan of our own. But the question is not what is desirable or desired but what is possible and practicable under the circumstances. It is not possible to ask the Prajamandals in the various States to send up their own representatives to the Constituent Assembly, as the Assembly itself is a creature of the
British plan and is bound by its limitations. One of the limitations is that States' representatives can come into the Assembly only through the door held by the Princes.

When the agreement was reached with the Princes' Negotiating Committee it was made clear that final approval would have to come from the people of the States. It is true that certain things were accepted though we did not like them, we accepted them only because we felt it would facilitate the entry of the States into the Constituent Assembly.

The Congress has been very much opposed to a division of India but has recently on practical considerations passed a resolution demanding the division of the Punjab. It did so because there was no way out of the situation. The question here again was not of desirability but of facing realities. The same thing applies to Bengal.

We were not satisfied with the method of selecting the States' representatives but we had to concede certain points, because we knew that if the States joined the Assembly, the work would be finished more easily. I commend you to accept the agreement arrived at between the Negotiating Committees.

All the Princes do not belong to the same category. There are some who have done the right thing and have declared their willingness to come into the Constituent Assembly. They deserve to be congratulated. Others are moving slowly putting obstacles in every possible way. They are finding all manner of excuses and demanding all sorts of terms and conditions before entering the Assembly. I do not like this shopkeeper's mentality. This bargaining spirit will not do good to the princes. It is a very shortsighted policy which will result in creating enmity between them and the rest of India.

All those who do not join the Constituent Assembly now will be regarded as hostile States and they will have to bear the consequences of being so regarded. Our aim at present is to liberate as much of India as we can—half or three-fourths—and then to deal with the question of independence for the rest. I know we have had to make a lot of concessions. But sometimes one has to pay a high price in the interest of the country's larger interest.

It is the duty of the Prajamandals to demand the setting up of Constituent Assemblies in their respective States to frame their own constitutions.

The Political Department has succeeded in misleading a number of States. Speaking as a Member of the Interim Government I want to make it clear that the Interim Government is unaware of the activities of the Political Department. Officials of the Political Department act secretly and mysteriously. Judging by their activities, it seems that they are interested in dividing the country not into one or two bits but into one hundred or more bits.

The Jamsaheb of Nawanagar has just visited London. If he thinks the future plans of India are to be laid in London, he is very much mistaken.

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1 At the 20th session of the Chamber of Princes held in Delhi on 17 and 18 January 1946 the Chancellor, the Nawab of Bhopal, had made a declaration on constitutional developments in the States in a speech on a resolution reiterating that the Indian States fully shared the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature and would make every possible contribution towards the settlement of the Indian constitutional problem.

2 The Working Committee which met on 6, 7, and 8 March 1947 at Delhi welcomed the decision of a number of States to join the Constituent Assembly. It also resolved that 'any province or part of a province which accepts the constitution and desires to join the Union cannot be prevented from doing so. Thus, there must be no compulsion either way, and the people will themselves decide their future'.

3 It was agreed that 50 per cent of the representatives would be nominated by the rulers and 50 per cent elected. It was also decided that while the rulers of the States would issue formal notifications declaring the names of persons elected or nominated to the Constituent Assembly which would be communicated to the President, the Secretary of the Constituent Assembly would issue a formal invitation to the representatives to attend the session.
At a meeting of the Working Committee held on 6, 7, and 8 March 1947 at Delhi, it was resolved that the tragic events in the Punjab for six weeks—an attempt to break a popular ministry and form a new one had led to violence and agitation—demonstrated that a settlement would necessitate a division of the Punjab into two provinces.

Brojendralal Mitter, Dewan of Baroda State, prepared the ground for the States joining the Constituent Assembly. On 11 April 1947 the Maharaja of Bikaner announced that Baroda, Udaipur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Patiala, Rewa, and Bikaner had decided to send representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

Among the leading Indian States which had not yet decided to enter the Constituent Assembly by this date were Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Bhopal, and Kashmir.

23. Ideas about Possible Grant of Dominion Status to States Must Be Discouraged

Extract from a letter from Frederick Pethick-Lawrence to Louis Mountbatten, 18 April 1947


...6. You mentioned that the Nawab of Bhopal and others have raised with you the question of the future political relations between the States and the United Kingdom, mentioning the possibility of States or groups of States being granted Dominion status. This particular idea seems rather fanciful since, of course the States are not at present British territory at all and they could hardly be incorporated (apart from some organic relationship with the rest of India if that elects for Dominion status) as part of the British Empire; the most presumably that we could consider would be a special Treaty relationship. It is, however, quite clear that the only possible policy for H.M.G. to pursue at this stage is to stick to the lines of the Cabinet Mission’s Memorandum on States’ Treaties and Paramountcy which in paragraph 3 noted the desire of the Indian States to contribute to the framing of the structure of the new India and take their due place in it when it is completed. It is out of the question for us at present to do anything to encourage States to stand out completely.

7. In my letter to you of 21st March about the effect of H.M.G’s Statement of 20th February on the question of the relaxation of Paramountcy in Indian India I mentioned that we might at any time find ourselves in the difficulty that the Central Government might put effective obstacles in the way of our using force to support our intervention in a particular State. In regard to Hyderabad I developed this point further in my letter to you of 31st March about Berar. In this connection my attention has been drawn to paragraph 6 of the top secret letter of the 15th March from the Resident at Hyderabad to your Political Secretary about steps to be taken on the death of the present Nizam. The Resident suggests that he should make arrangements with the military authorities to send troops reinforcements to the State troops if the Hyderabad Government so request and the circumstances seem to require it. This seems to me to be precisely the type of case in which you might possibly encounter difficulties with the Central Government and I have no doubt that when plans are being made in Hyderabad and elsewhere, this danger will be borne in mind.
24. Help Our Mother Country to Attain Our Freedom
Maharaja of Bikaner’s press statement, 24 April 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

I do not wish to enter into a controversy with Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan as regards his statement which appeared in the papers but with regard to his reference to the States which have succumbed to the ‘Congress pressure’ to join the Constituent Assembly. I can say that so far as the Bikaner State is concerned and also the other States which have decided to participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly we decided to do so certainly not due to any pressure from any one much less the Congress, but because we considered it to be in our own best interests as well as in the greater interests of India. Apart from this we were prompted entirely by motives of patriotism towards our mother country to do all we could to assist her at this critical moment when far-reaching decisions have to be promptly taken affecting both British India and the States. Moreover the machinery provided under the Cabinet Mission Plan had been accepted by the States from the very beginning and they had offered their cooperation and support in the work of the Constituent Assembly.

2. I may also mention that it is not correct to say that only ‘handful’ of Indian States have decided to join the Constituent Assembly. The States which have decided to do so represent some of the most important States in India and have a population of not less than thirty millions out of ninety-three millions.

3. Speaking from first hand knowledge I can say that—whether in contacts with Rulers or with States representatives in the sub-committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly—we have not been faced with any hostility or coercion but have found a spirit of complete friendliness and understanding, sympathy and fair play as befitting true Indians working together as brothers for a common goal.

4. I am therefore sorry that Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan should have chosen to champion our cause without knowing our true feelings and I hope that the remaining States will not be misled by the advice given to await the outcome of the present talks between the Indian political parties but will decide to join the Constituent Assembly straightaway and thus help our mother country to attain her freedom as the States have publicly declared it to be their intention to do and avoid being called hostile to India’s real interests or otherwise be misunderstood as being unpatriotic.

25. Representation of States in the Constituent Assembly
Report of the States Committee of the Constituent Assembly, 24 April 1947
IOR L/P&J/10/100, Acc. No. 3638, NAI

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

CONFIDENTIAL

Report of the committee appointed to negotiate with the States Negotiating Committee

By a resolution of the Constituent Assembly passed on the 21st December 1946, the following members, viz.

(1) The Hon’ble Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru
(2) The Hon’ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
were appointed as a Committee to confer with the Negotiating Committee set up by the Chamber of Princes, and with other representatives of Indian States, for the purpose of

(a) fixing the distribution of the seats in the Assembly not exceeding 93 in number, which in the Cabinet Mission’s Statement of May 16, 1946, are reserved for Indian States,
(b) fixing the method by which the representatives of the States should be returned to the Assembly,

and thereafter to report the result of such negotiations. By a further resolution passed on the 21st January 1947, we were empowered to confer with such persons as we thought fit, for examining the special problems of Bhutan and Sikkim, and to report to the Assembly the result of such examination. This report deals only with the negotiations conducted by us in pursuance of the resolution of the 21st December.

2. The first series of our joint meetings with the States Negotiating Committee were held on the 8th and 9th February, 1947. The discussion largely centred on the scope of subjects to be negotiated between the two committees. It was urged by the States Negotiating Committee that there had been no decision yet on the part of the States to enter the Constituent Assembly, and that it would not be possible for them to decide this issue till they received satisfactory assurances on a number of points mentioned in the resolution adopted on the 29th January, 1947, by the General Conference of Rulers (Appendix A). On the other hand, we pointed out that most of those points could only be discussed by a fully constituted Constituent Assembly including the representatives of the States; they were in any case clearly beyond our competence as a Committee, our own functions being limited to the matters laid down in the resolution of the Constituent Assembly passed on the 21st December, 1946. But while we were not prepared as a committee to discuss matters going beyond our mandate, we raised no objection to discussing, in a friendly and informal manner as individuals, certain difficulties, and to removing certain misapprehensions which seemed to be causing concern to the Princes. The more important of the points cleared up in the course of these discussions were summarised by Pandit Nehru as follows:—

‘The first thing to be clear about is to proceed with the full acceptance of the Cabinet Mission’s Statement. Apart from the legality of that statement, one thing also seems to me obvious, namely, that the scheme is essentially a voluntary one, where no compulsion, except, as I said, compulsion of events, is indicated. No doubt, so far as we are concerned, we accept it as a voluntary scheme where people may join as individuals, as groups, or Rulers or otherwise. We are not trying to force any to join if they do not want to. It is a matter for negotiation throughout....

‘Now, to go back, apart from the acceptance of the scheme which is basic, some points were raised yesterday. One was about the monarchical form of Government. That question has not arisen at all in the Constituent Assembly nor, so far as we can see, does it arise at all from the Statement. But it has been repeatedly stated on our behalf in the Constituent Assembly as outside that we have no objection to it, we accept that, and we do not want to come in the way of the monarchical form of Government at all. This has been made perfectly clear.
Princely States, Constituent Assembly, and Accession

‘Another point that we raised in our discussion yesterday was about some apprehension about territorial readjustments. I tried to point out that the Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly had no reference in the minds of those who framed the Resolution or who proposed it there, to any change regarding the States. It has no relation to the States. It was an indication that there will be provision made in the constitution or in the process of re-grouping units, etc., where some changes may have to be made. It had no reference to changing boundaries. I can concede territorial boundaries being changed for economic reasons, for facilitating governmental purposes, etc. but any such territorial readjustments, we are quite clear, should be made with the consent of the parties concerned, and not be forced down. I say, for the moment we are not thinking in terms of any such thing, but if this question arises, it should be essential that the parties concerned should consent to it.

‘The scheme, as has already been stated, is a voluntary one, and whether in regard to the entry into the Constituent Assembly or subsequently when the Constituent Assembly decides and comes to conclusions, there will no compulsion, and the States will have the right to have their say at any stage just as anybody else will have the right to have their say at any stage. So the coercive factor must be eliminated from that.

‘In regard to some confusion which has possibly arisen in regard to subjects and powers, we go on what the Cabinet Mission’s Statement specifically says. The Cabinet Mission’s Statement said: “The States will retain all subjects and power other than those ceded to the Union.” That is perfectly clear, we accept that statement, we accept that entirely. Generally speaking, those are the matters that came up yesterday in the course of discussion, and perhaps we might proceed on that basis and consider matters now.”

We further explained that the Constituent Assembly could not possibly take up the position that they were not prepared to discuss matters with States not represented on the Chamber of Princes Negotiating Committee; or with representatives of State peoples, as that would involve an element of compulsion which was contrary to their conception of the scheme.

3. A general understanding having been arrived at, as a result of the above exchange of views, the States Negotiating Committee proceeded to consider the two matters on which we had been asked to negotiate by the Constituent Assembly. After a preliminary discussion, it was decided that the question of the distribution of the 93 seats should be referred to the Secretariats of the Constituent Assembly and the Chamber of Princes, and their recommendations placed before the next meeting of the two committees on the 1st March, 1947.

4. In the meanwhile, the Dewan of Baroda had asked for direct negotiation with us on the representation of Baroda in the Constituent Assembly. We accordingly met Sir B. L. Mitter on the 9th February. In the course of our discussion, he made it clear that it was the decision of the Baroda State, both the Ruler and the people, to give the fullest co-operation to the Constituent Assembly in its work and that they were prepared to take steps forthwith for the selection of representatives so that these could take part in the work of the Assembly at the earliest possible date. It was agreed between us and the Dewan that Baroda should, having regard to its population, send three representatives and that these should be elected by the Dhara Sabha (the States legislature) on the principle of proportional representation, by means of the single transferable vote, and that only its elected and nominated non-official member should take part in the election.

5. The next joint meeting of the two committees was held on the 1st March, 1947. At this meeting we urged that H.M.G.’s declaration of the 20th February had introduced an additional
element of urgency in our task and that it would be greatly to the advantage of the States no less than to the British Indian representatives in the Constituent Assembly if States’ representatives could join the Assembly during April session. We pointed out that there was nothing in the State Paper of the 16th March which operated as a bar against States doing so. We also suggested that it would be to our mutual advantage if States’ representatives could function forthwith on some of the committees set up by the Constituent Assembly, particularly the Union Powers Committee and the Advisory Committee on fundamental rights, etc. The States Negotiating Committee, however, expressed their inability to take these steps in the absence of a mandate from the General Conference of Rulers whom they promised to consult at an early date.

6. The discussion then turned on the method of distribution of the 93 seats allotted to the States. The Committee approved of the distribution as proposed by the two Secretariats (Appendix B) and authorised the making of such minor modifications as are considered necessary by the parties concerned.

7. After this, we discussed the method of selecting representatives. Various proposals were made and discussed in a joint sub-committee set up for the purpose. Eventually, after a consideration of the sub-committee’s report, the following formula was accepted by both Committees, viz, that not less than 50% of the total representatives of States shall be elected by the elected members of legislatures or where such legislatures do not exist, of other electoral colleges. The States would endeavour to increase the quota of elected representatives to as much above 50% of the total number as possible.

This formula has since been ratified by General Conference of Rulers held on the 2nd April. A copy of the resolution passed by the Conference is attached (Appendix C). We pointed out that in regard to two States, viz, Hyderabad and Kashmir elections to their legislatures had been boycotted by important organisations representing the people of the States concerned; and the legislatures therefore could not be considered to represent the people as they were intended to do. In the cases of these two States, we suggested that a suitable method of electing representatives for the Constituent Assembly should be derived. The Chancellor said that he would communicate the suggestion to the States concerned.

8. A Committee consisting of the following members (1) Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya; (2) Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar; (3) Sir V. T. Krishnamachari; (4) Sir Sultan Ahmed; (5) Sir B. N. Rau; (6) Mir Maqbool Mahmood; (7) Mr. H.V.R. Iengar was set up to consider the modifications referred to para. 6 above and other matters of detail that might arise from time to time and to report, if necessary, to the two Negotiating Committees.

We have been informed that States of Baroda, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Rewa, Cochin and Bikaner have already selected their representatives in accordance with the agreement arrived at. These representatives have been invited to take their seats at the forthcoming session of the Assembly. The States of Patiala, Udaipur, Gwalior and Bhavnagar have also announced that they will take part in the work of the Constituent Assembly.

New Delhi

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.
A.K. AZAD.
VALLABHBHAI PATEL.
N. GOPALASWAMI.
SHANKARRAO DEO.
B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA.
26. ‘Indian Princes Sitting under “Cracked Roof”—Kripalani’

_Dawn, 27 April 1947_

JAIPUR, Friday.—‘I WARN the Princes that they are sitting under a cracked roof. It would be in their interest to demolish that structure before it came down over them,’ said Acharya Kripalani, Congress President, addressing a largely attended public meeting here under the Presidentship of Mr. Tikaram Paliwal, President, Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal.

Mr. Kripalani said that the Congress was not opposed to individual Princes as it was not opposed to the British People, but it was opposed to the system that was prevalent in the States and which made the poor poorer. ‘We do not want to harm the British People nor do we want to harm the Rulers of the States. We are opposed to imperialism and to the autocratic system of Government in the States. All those who are against that system are our friends. The Princes who willingly establish “panchayat raj” in their States are entitled to our affection and regard and it is our sacred duty to stand against those Princes who act otherwise.

The people, continued the President, still have some consideration for the Princes but it is necessary for the latter to win the full confidence and affection of their people. They can do so if they are wise enough to hold themselves, like the King of England. The institution of kingship has become too old to survive in its present form and our Princes should realise this. They must understand the trend of the modern times. The Empire on which the sun never sets is vanishing before their own eyes.—API.

27. Discussion on the Report of the States Committee

Extracts from Constituent Assembly Debates, 28 April 1947


Mr. President: The next item is the Resolution which will be moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The Hon’ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (United Provinces: General): Sir, I beg to move:

‘The Constituent Assembly, having taken the report of its States Committee into consideration, resolves that it be recorded.

The Assembly welcomes the States representatives who have already been chosen and expresses the hope that other States who have not chosen their representatives will take immediate steps to do so in accordance with the agreed procedure.

I understand that copies of the Report have been circulated to all the Members; I shall not therefore take up the time of the House in reading that Report. That Report is a brief summary of the activities of the Negotiating Committee appointed by this House. We have tried to make it as precise a summary as possible and it shows what took place and what we did, so that the House may be acquainted with the procedure we adopted and all that was said on those occasions. I might add, however, that if it is the wish of the House and if Members desire to see a fuller report of our proceedings, there is a verbatim Report in existence and this Report can be consulted in the Library of the House. I say this because sometimes all manner of rumours get about and people are misled and sometimes people imagine that we are not trying to put all the facts before the public. We have nothing to hide in this matter; indeed we could not possibly do so from this House; and therefore the verbatim Report of everything that was said on the occasions that we met with the Negotiating Committee of the Princes is available for
reference to any Member of the House in the Library. It is too long a report for us to have it printed and circulated, nor is it normally desirable to have such reports published in the public press. But there can be no secret as between the Committee of this House and the Members of this House, and therefore, while that document is not meant for publication, I should like to remind the Members, that it is there to be consulted by any Members of this House in the Library.

The House will remember that this Committee was appointed for a specific purpose—for fixing the distribution of seats of the Assembly not exceeding 93, and for fixing the method by which the representatives of the States should be returned to the Assembly. These were the definite directions given to us and we proceeded accordingly, but when we met the negotiating Committee appointed by the Chamber of Princes, other questions were raised. We were confronted by various Resolutions passed by organisations of the Princes. We informed them that we had no authority to deal with any other matter. Our authority was limited to dealing with these two specific matters. Indeed we went a little further. We said we rather doubted the authority even of the Constituent Assembly to deal with all manner of other matters, that is to say, the Constituent Assembly as it is constituted at present. But in any event we were so anxious to get going, so anxious to remove any misapprehensions that might exist, that some of us had further conversations with them and some doubts that they raised were removed in the course of those conversations; some questions that were asked were answered informally, personally if you like, on our behalf because it was not open to us to go beyond the terms of the mandate that you gave us. You will see a reference to that in the Report that is presented to you, in particular because—I am bound to make this point perfectly clear—a few important points were raised by them in the course of those discussions. As it happened, what I said in reply to those questions had more or less been said by me in this House before or by other Members of this House, and therefore, I had no difficulty in saying it to them because otherwise I would have had this great difficulty of saying anything which the House might not approve, or might disapprove as wrong. All of us have certain views in this matter and on one of the occasions when I addressed this House in connection with the Objectives Resolution, I referred also to the States and to the Princes and made it clear that while I, in my individual capacity, held certain views, those views did not come in the way of my stating what the Constituent Assembly stood for, and what its range of activities was going to be. I said then that, while we were deciding in favour of a Republic for the whole of India, that did not bar any State from continuing the monarchical form of Government so far as that State was concerned, provided, of course, that they fitted in the larger picture of freedom and provided, as I hope, that there was the same measure of freedom and responsible government in the State. So when these questions were raised. I had no particular difficulty in answering them because in effect they had been mentioned in this House previously.

What were those questions? First, of course, was—it was an unnecessary question—as to the scope of our work, that is to say, how far we accepted the Cabinet Mission’s Statement of May 16, 1946. We have accepted it, and we are functioning in accordance with that Statement. There the matter ends. I do not know what future changes may take place and how these changes might affect our work. Anyhow, we have accepted that Statement in its fullness and we are functioning accordingly.

That leads inevitably to another conclusion, viz. that such subjects, as did not come within the scope of the Union, were subjects to be dealt with by the Units—by the States and the
Provinces—and that has been clearly laid down in the Cabinet Mission’s Statement. So we said there and we made that clear. What the Union subjects might or might not be is a matter for careful consideration by this House now. But any subjects which did not come within the scope of the Union subjects necessarily are subjects left over to the Units.

Further it was stated that the business of joining the Constituent Assembly or accepting the scheme or not accepting it was entirely their own. As Mr. Panikkar has pointed out, there was no coercion, there can be no coercion either to a State, a Province or to any other part of India which is participating in this Assembly. There can be no coercion, except, of course, the coercion or compulsion of events and that is certainly a compelling factor and a very big factor which none of us can ignore. So there is no question of compulsion; but at the same time it is true that if certain units or parts of India decide to come in, accepting their responsibilities, they get certain privileges in return, and those who do not come in do not get those privileges as they do not shoulder those responsibilities. That is inevitable. And once that decision has been taken by a Unit, State or other, other consequences inevitably follow, possibly widening the gulf between the two: that is the compulsion of events. Otherwise it is open to any State to do as it chooses in regard to this matter of coming in or not coming in. So that matter has been made clear.

The only other important matter that was raised in this connection was the monarchical form of Government in the States. As I stated in this House previously, in the world today this system of rule by monarchy, whatever good it may have done in the past, is not a system that might be considered to be popular. It is a passing institution: how long it will last I do not know. But in this matter my opinion is of little account. What counts is what this Assembly desires in this matter: what it is going to do: and we have made it clear on a previous occasion that we do not wish to interfere in the internal arrangement of the States. It is for the people of the States to decide what they want and what they do not want. The question, in fact, does not arise in this Assembly. Here we are dealing with Union matters, subjects of fundamental rights and the like. Therefore this question of the monarchical form of Government in the States did not arise here and I told them that so far as we were concerned we were not going to raise that particular subject here.

Lastly, there was the question or rather the misapprehension due to certain words in the Objectives Resolution of this Assembly, where some reference has been made to territorial boundaries being changed. The House will remember that that had no connection with the States as such. That was a provision for future adjustments as they are bound to be involved. Further it was a provision for suitable units to come into existence, which can be units of this Indian Union. Obviously one cannot have very small units or small fractions of India to form part of the Union. Some arrangement has to be made for the formation of sizable units. Questions arise today and will arise tomorrow even about the division of Provinces. There is very strong feeling about it. We are discussing today, though for other reasons, about the division of certain Provinces like the Punjab and Bengal. All these have to be considered but this has nothing to do with the provision in the Objectives Resolution. The point has been settled in the Negotiating Committee that any changes in territorial boundaries should be by consent.

Those were the statements I made on behalf of our Negotiating Committee to the other Committee and those statements removed a number of misapprehensions and we proceeded ahead with the consideration of other matters.
Among the other matters was, firstly, the question of the distribution of seats. We decided to refer this matter to the two Secretariats—the Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly and that of the Chamber of Princes. We referred this matter, I think, at 1-30 P.M. one day. Those two Secretariats met, I think, at 3 P.M. the same day and 5 P.M. they arrived at an agreed procedure. That was rather a remarkable thing which is worth remembering. It is true that the rules governing the distribution were to some extent laid down in the Cabinet Mission’s Scheme—one seat per million, that is, 93 seats in all. Unfortunately, these matters of distribution are difficult and often arouse great controversies and arguments. Nevertheless these two Committees met together and I am very glad that the Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly was helped by the representatives of the States to come to an agreed solution within two hours. That showed that if we approach any of these apparently difficult problems with good will, we find solutions and we find rapid solutions too. I do not mean to say that that solution in regard to the distribution of these seats was a perfect one. Since the agreement was reached certain objections have been raised and criticisms have been made in regard to the grouping of the States here and there. Ultimately we left it to a sub-Committee—a joint Committee of our Negotiating Committee and the States Negotiating Committee—to consider this matter and to make such minor alterations as they thought fit and proper. Now because of these grouping difficulties, a number of States, which might be represented here, are not here. That is to say, the States concerned want to come in and they are quite prepared to do so but the group has not begun to function. Therefore individually they are prevented from coming in. Only yesterday I was informed that one important State, the State of Cutch, was eager and anxious to come in but they formed part of a group of Kathiawar and other States, rightly or wrongly, and till the whole group gets into motion, they do not know how to come in separately. This is a matter to be considered by the sub-Committee. But the point I want to put before the House is this that in this matter as soon as we came to grips with the subject and gave up talking in vague generalities and principles or rights of this group and that group, we came to a decision soon enough and that is a good augury for our work in future, whether it relates to the people of the States or to the rest of India or to any group in India.

We, who meet here, meet under a heavy sense of responsibility—responsibility not only because the task which we have undertaken is a difficult one or because we presume to represent vast numbers of people, but because we are building for the future and we want to make sure that that building has strong foundations, and because, above all, we are meeting at a time when a number of disruptive forces are working in India pulling us this way and that way, and because, inevitably and unfortunately, when such forces are at work, there is a great deal of passion and prejudice in the air and our whole minds may be affected by it. We should not be deflected from that vision of the future which we ought to have, in thinking of the present difficulties. That is a dangerous thing which we have to avoid, because we are not building for today or tomorrow, we are making or trying to make a much more enduring structure. It is a warning which the House will forgive me, if I repeat—that we must not allow the passion and prejudice of the moment to make us forget what the real and ultimate problems are which we have to solve. We cannot forget the difficulties of the present because that come in our way all the time. We have to deal with the problems of the present, and in dealing with them, it may be, unfortunately that the troubles we have passed through all these years may affect us, but, nevertheless, we have to get on. We have to take quick decisions and final decisions in the sense that we have to act on them. We have to be realists and it is in this spirit of realism, as also in a spirit of idealism, that I say that our Negotiating Committee approached this task.
The House knows that some of the members of the Committee have been intimately associated with the struggle of the peoples of the States for their freedom. The more I have been associated with that struggle, the more I have seen that it cannot be separated from the all-India problem; it cannot be isolated. It is an essential and integral part of the all-India problem, all-India structure, just as the States are an integral part of India. You cannot separate them. And with all my anxiety to further the progress of the peoples of the States with such strength as is in me in my individual or other capacities, when I met the Negotiating Committee I had to subordinate my individual opinions because I had to remember all the time that I was representing this Constituent Assembly. I also had to remember that, above all, we had gone there not to bargain with each other, not to have heated argument with each other, but to achieve results, and to bring those people, even though they might have doubts, into this Assembly, so that they might come here and they might also be influenced by the atmosphere that prevails here. For me it was the solemnity of the task which we had undertaken, and not to talk in terms of results, or individuals or groupings, or assurances. What assurance do we seek from each other? What assurance is even this House going to give to anybody in India, except the assurance of freedom? Even that assurance will ultimately depend on the strength and wisdom of the Indian people afterwards. If the people are not strong enough and wise enough to hold together and proceed along the right path, the structure that you have built may be shattered. We can give no assurance to anybody.

With what assurance have we sought freedom for India all these years? We have looked forward to the time when some of the dreams that we were indulging in, might become true. Perhaps, they are coming true, perhaps not exactly in the shape that we want, but, nevertheless, they will come true. It is in that conviction that we have proceeded all these years. We had no guarantees. We had no assurances about ourselves or about our future. Indeed, in the normal course of events the only partial guarantee that most of us had was the guarantee of tears and troubles, and we had plenty of that. It may be that we shall have plenty of that in the future too; we shall face them. This House will face it and the people of India will face it. So, who are we to give guarantees to anybody? But we do want to remove misapprehensions as far as possible. We do want every Indian to feel that we are going to treat him as an equal and brother. But we also wish him to know that in the future what will count is not so much the crown of gold or of silver or something else, but the crown of freedom, as a citizen of a free country. It may be that a time may come soon when it will be the highest honour and privilege for anybody, whether he is a Ruler or anybody else, to be a free citizen of a free India and to be called by no other appellation or title. We do not guarantee because we guarantee nothing to anybody, but that is the thing which we certainly hope to achieve and we are certain to achieve. We invite them to participate in that. We welcome those who have come, and we shall welcome those others when they come. And those who will not come—we shall say nothing about them. But, as I said before, inevitably, as things are, the gulf will widen between those who come and those who do not come. They will march along different paths and that will be unfortunate. I am convinced that, even so, those paths will meet again, and meet sooner rather than later. But, in any event, there is going to be no compulsion. Those who want to come will come, and those who do not want to come, do not come. But there is this much to be said. When we talk about people coming in and people who do not come in, let it be remembered, as Mr. Govinda Menon said, that the people of the States—I say with some assurance and with some authority in the matter—want to come into this Assembly, and if others prevent them from coming, it is
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

not the fault of the people, but breaks and barriers are put in their way. However, I hope that these questions will not arise in the future and that in the coming month or two nearly all the States will be represented here, and, jointly we shall participate in the final stages of drawing up the Constitution.

I am placing this Resolution before the House to record the Report. There has been some argument about this matter too and people attach a great deal of importance to words and phrases and assurances and things like that. Is it not good enough that I have put it to the House? If it is not good enough, I may repeat what has been stated. Even if that is not good enough, what we have stated is there in the verbatim Report of the meetings; we have nothing to add to it, we shall stand by that. We do not go back. But the procedure to be adopted must be a correct procedure. When this Committee was appointed you asked us to report and we have reported. We had got to do something, and we tried to do that and did it. Now, if this matter was to come up for ratification before this House before it could be acted upon, obviously, representatives of the States who are here now would not have been here. They would have been sitting at the doorstep or somewhere outside waiting for ratification, waiting for something to happen till they came in. That was not the way in which we understood our directions. We understood that we had to come to some honourable agreement and act up to it so that representatives of the States might come in as early as possible. We were eager in fact that they should join the Committees of this Assembly,—the Advisory Committee, the Fundamental Rights Committee, the Union Powers Committee and the other Committees which we have formed. It is not our fault that there was delay. At the very first joint meeting of the Negotiating Committees we requested the States Committee to join quickly, indeed to send their representatives to these Committees of the Constituent Assembly as soon as possible. We were asked for assurance at every stage and there were delays. But the way we have understood your mandate was that we had to go ahead and not wait for ratification of every step that we had taken. We acted accordingly, and I am happy that some of the States’ representatives are here today and I hope more will come. So the question of ratification does not arise so far as this Committee’s work is concerned. The Report is before you. If you disapprove of any single step that we have taken, express your disapproval of whatever might have happened, or otherwise give your directions.

The resolution I have moved is for your adoption. I shall not go into the details in regard to the distribution of the seats and the manner of selection of the delegates from the States. It was a sort of compromise. Naturally it was my desire, as it was the desire of my colleagues that the representatives of the States should be elected by the people of the States, partly because it was the right way and partly because it was the way in which they could be fitted with the other elected elements of this House. On the other hand, I considered it right and desirable that the States governments should also be represented here to bring reality to the picture. The correct way and the right way ultimately will be for the State government itself to be representative of the people and then come in to represent them here. But we have to take things as they are. The States governments, generally speaking, do not represent the people in the democratic sense. In some places they partially represent them. Anyhow, we did consider it desirable that the State governments as such, should also be represented though we would have liked the largest number of representatives to come from the people. Ultimately after a great deal of discussion it was decided that not less than 50 per cent of the representatives should be elected by the elected members of the assemblies where they exist, or by some other method of election which may be devised. We came to a compromise on this proportion, thought [sic]
we would have liked the proportion to be higher. Some of the States have actually acted as if the proportion were higher. I submit that this compromise that we came to was an honourable compromise for all parties concerned and I think it will lead to satisfactory results so far as this House is concerned, and I commend the resolution to the House.

**Mr. President:** The motion is:

‘The Constituent Assembly having taken the report of its States Committee into consideration resolves that it be recorded.

The Assembly welcomes the States representatives who have already been chosen and expresses the hope that other States who have not chosen their representatives will take immediate steps to do so in accordance with the agreed procedure.’

Members who wish to say anything about this motion may now speak.

(At this stage Dr. Kailas Nath Katju approached the rostrum.)

**Mr. Somnath Lahiri** (Bengal: General): On a point of information Sir. Of the representatives of the States who have come to participate in this House, how many have been elected and how many nominated by the States?

**Mr. President:** The Secretary will give you this information. In the meantime, Dr. Kailas Nath Katju will please proceed with his speech.

**The Hon’ble Dr. Kailas Nath Katju** (U.P.: General): Mr. President, I ventured to come here for a few minutes and address you on this Resolution because I am connected with one of the States in Central India and also with some in Rajputana; and I have made my home in the United Provinces by adoption. I am, therefore, intensely interested in the endeavour which you are making and I venture to congratulate the Negotiating Committee on the great results that have been achieved.

There are a great variety of States, and there are hundreds of them. Some of the States go back and are rooted in the history of our race. Others are of very recent origin, going back only a century or so and with little of tradition and little of moral authority behind them. I do not wish to pursue this topic at any great length; but I have no doubt in my mind that it is for the good of the States and it is for the good of the people of the States that they should join this great Indian Union of which Pandit Jawaharlal has spoken so eloquently. I have no doubt in my mind that the course of Indian history teaches us that a union of this great country is an inevitability. When I hear of some Provinces or some States or territorial units claiming to be sovereign States or claiming authority for themselves, I wonder whether they have ever considered the drift of Indian history. There is no shadow of doubt in my mind that within the course of the next fifty years, whatever we may do today, or whatever we may say today, the course of events will compel the people to bring about one united Government, one united Centre in India. It is good therefore for the people of the States, it is good for the people of all States, it is good for the Rulers of these States that they should come in and join in this great endeavour. Instead of the Rulers relying upon their so-called strength, I think their safety, their integrity and their very existence lies in relying upon the affection, and upon the trust of their own people. If they rely upon that, they may continue, otherwise most of these States will disappear without much regret on the part of their people or on the part of the rest of India. With these words, I commend this Resolution to the care of the House and I should join in the appeal which has been made to every section of the House that in a short time, we will see almost all the States come in and join this Assembly.
Mr. President: Mr. Lahiri desires to know when notice of amendments should be given. He complains that notice of this Resolution was received by him last night. I am afraid it is now too late now for him to give notice of amendment.

I shall now put the Resolution to the House:

The question is:

‘The Constituent Assembly having taken the report of its States Committee into consideration resolve that it be recorded.

The Assembly welcomes the States representatives who have already been chosen and expresses the hope that other States who have not chosen their representatives will take immediate steps to do so in accordance with the agreed procedure.’

The motion was adopted.

28. League Must Counter Appeasement of States by Congress

Letter from Nawab of Bhopal to M.A. Jinnah, 29 April 1947


PERSONAL

QASR-I-SULTANI, BHOPAL.

SECRET

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

This is just a line written in great haste to request you to take serious and urgent notice of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly relating to the States.

The Congress has gone out of its way to placate and allure States, and I fear that, unless immediate steps are taken by you to meet this game, there may be a big landslide in the very near future.

It appears to me imperative that an authoritative declaration should at once be made by you on behalf of the Muslim League to indicate what the position of the States would be vis-a-vis Pakistan and what would, broadly speaking, be the terms and conditions of alliances between individual or group of States, should they desire to associate themselves with Pakistan. There can be no question of a union for reasons which I fully appreciate, and this is why I have deliberately used above the word ‘alliance’. The terms which you may decide to indicate should of course be far more liberal and should give far greater freedom of action to the States, which would be independent and which will not be molested or interfered with by Pakistan in regard to their internal matters etc.

I am writing this to draw your attention to the situation as I see it and to the danger of a landslide. The decision, of course, rests in your hand and you will know what to say and how much to say. The need for such a declaration in my judgement is urgent and of great importance.

Your very sincerely,

HAMIDULLAH
29. Multi-Sovereign States Cannot Survive

Extracts from a speech by Acharya Narendra Dev in Sultanpur, UP, 2 May 1947


Acharya Narendra Deo, the Socialist leader, addressing a public meeting declared that only a strong and united India, supported by peasants and labourers, could maintain its freedom in the present international conflict.

He ridiculed the idea of ‘Multi-sovereign states’ which he thought could not survive long in the race for power, and neither could they defend themselves against foreign aggression. The struggle for self-preservation against the economically and politically strong American nation had compelled British to free India and gain her sympathy.

He uttered a warning that the treaty which British would conclude with India would make Indian States danger spots on Indian soil. June 1948 had been fixed as the final date of withdrawal of the British from India, but it was in the Indian States that the final battle of independence would be fought. The British succeeded in creating an Ulster in Ireland and so was their game in India.

The Socialist leader accused the officers of the Political Department of influencing the rulers of some Indian States from joining the Constituent Assembly.

30. ‘Muslim League Cannot Allow Any Party to Coerce the States into Submission: Khaliquzzaman’

_Dawn_, 14 May 1947

BHOPAL, Tuesday.

CHOWDHYRY KHALIQUZZAMAN, member of the Muslim League Working Committee, who is here on a brief personal visit, in a statement today says that ‘while the Muslim League has so far religiously refrained from interfering with the internal problems of the States or meddling with their affairs, it cannot surely allow any party to coerce the States into submission.’

He urges the States Muslim Leaguers to close their ranks and vigilantly watch the developments and be prepared to help the States to defend their rights against what he calls ‘the organised attempt of the Congress to dictate their policy’.

The following is the full text of his statement:

‘Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru set the ball rolling against the States which desire to stand out of the Constituent Assembly and the effect of his speech’ at Gwalior is now visible all-round. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has threatened Hyderabad that if it does not join the Indian Union, its dominions will be torn away from the State and annexed to the other provinces. Mr. Jaiprakash Narain has carried the challenge to the very door of Hyderabad, which has resulted in some loss of life and thereafter at Bombay he has threatened both Hyderabad and Bhopal with dire consequences.

While the Muslim League has so far religiously refrained from interfering with internal problems of States or meddling with their affairs, it cannot surely allow any party to coerce the States into submission.
Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All-India Muslim League has already made the policy of the Muslim League quite clear on the point and I hope the Congress High Command will put a stop to this brow-beating and will not complicate the Indian problem any further.

In these circumstances, I would urge upon the States Muslim Leaguers to close their ranks and vigilantly watch the developments and be prepared to help the States to defend their rights against the organised attempt of the Congress to dictate their policy. The States Muslim League organisations in Hyderabad and Bhopal would do well to take note of Mr. Jaiprakash Narain’s speech at Bombay, in which he has made particular reference to these two States and strengthen their organisations so as to be able to resist the imposition of a union centre against their will.’

Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman is leaving today for Hyderabad (Dn.) to attend the Urdu Conference. Leaders of Bhopal State Muslim League and Bhopal Women Muslim League had separate interviews with him.—A.P.I.

31. Representation of Cooch Behar in Constituent Assembly

Letter from Chief Minister, Cooch Behar State, to Secretary, Constituent Assembly, 19 May 1947

AICC Papers, File No. 29/1947, p. 183, NMML

I am desired by the Cooch Behar Durbar to address you on the question of the selection of a representative of the Cooch Behar State for the Constituent Assembly.

2. The scheme of the allocation of the 93 seats allotted to the States in the Constituent Assembly provides one seat in the Constituent Assembly for the following States:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of State</th>
<th>Population in million</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooch-Behar</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. To arrive at a method by which the two States could proceed to select their joint representative to the Constituent Assembly, the Cooch Behar Durbar sent a telegram to the Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim on the 15th April.

4. In reply to the above telegram the Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim has written to say that owing to the peculiar position of Sikkim, the Sikkim Durbar are negotiating directly with the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly and that pending such negotiations His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim does not consider it desirable to take any such action as may be prejudicial to the interest of Sikkim.

5. In a more recent communication dated the 13th May 1947, to the President of the Cooch Behar State Praja Mandal, the Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim has reiterated that the question of representation of Sikkim in the Constituent Assembly does not arise at this stage.

6. The Cooch Behar Durbar are anxious to join the Constituent Assembly at as early a date as possible but, by being grouped with Sikkim, they have not been able so far to do so.

7. The population of Cooch Behar is more than five times that of Sikkim and is well in excess of half a million. In the opinion of the Durbar it does not stand to reason that the abstention
of Sikkim should adversely affect the right of Cooch Behar with its substantial population to be represented in the Constituent Assembly.

8. I am, therefore, desired to request you to place this matter before the Hon'ble the President of the Constituent Assembly and to let the Cooch Behar Durbar know whether, in the circumstances explained above, there is any objection to the Cooch Behar Durbar selecting a representative at once, instead of waiting indefinitely for Sikkim to make up its mind.

32. Demand for Separate Seats for States' Muslims in Constituent Assembly

Letter from Manzar-i-Alam to M.A. Jinnah, 22 May 1947


ALL INDIA STATES MUSLIM LEAGUE,
LIAISON OFFICE, DELHI.

Sir,

This is to inform you that the following cablegram has been sent by the undersigned to Mr. Attlee, Lord Mountbatten and Secretary of State for India in London.

'Rectify gross injustice to thirty million States Muslims by British Cabinet Mission Plan in not specifying their separate seats in Constituent Assembly. No faith in Congress and Princes Chamber for betraying States Muslims as proved from elections to Constituent Assembly in which not a single Muslim returned from any Indian State. Urge British Cabinet to provide before Paramountcy terminates effective safeguard for political, economic, social, cultural and religious interests of States Muslims with approval and consent of All India Muslim League. Otherwise Muslim majority areas in Indian States must be partitioned to form independent unit of Sovereign Pakistan.'

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM,
Convener,
All India States Muslim League.

33. Pakistan Should Offer Liberal and Generous Terms to States

Notes by Nawab of Bhopal for M.A. Jinnah, 6 June 1947


TOP SECRET

BHIPAL.

Perhaps you (Mr. Jinnah) have come to know by now that the Viceroy is putting pressure, not quite openly but in an indirect way, on the States to join the existing Constituent Assembly of Hindustan. You should lodge a strong protest to the Viceroy and say that such pressure is extremely unfair to Pakistan. The States should be left absolutely free to take what action they like. It should be purely voluntary for them to join the one Constituent Assembly or the other. If they want to be independent, they can do so. No pressure should be brought to bear on them to join any one or the other Constituent Assembly. If they wish to join Pakistan, we can offer them suitable terms for doing so and then they can decide which way they are to go.
I ([H. H. of Bhopal]) am strongly of the opinion and consider it extremely essential that without waiting for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly to come into being, which will take at least 2 or 3 months, Mr. Jinnah should appoint immediately—and the 9th of June when the Council of the League meets in Delhi will [be] a most appropriate occasion—a small committee of 4 or 5 persons—1 from each Province—to discuss and negotiate with such individual States or groups of States as may desire to be associated with Pakistan, terms of their future relationship with the new sovereign State of Pakistan.

Note. If Mr. Jinnah comes into this committee as president, as did Jawaharlal Nehru in the case of the Negotiating Committee, this will have a tremendous effect upon the States who would be inclined to associate themselves with the Pakistan State.

An announcement creating such a Committee should be made as soon as possible and this announcement should be very wide [sic] and sympathetic and should be made in far more generous and liberal terms [than] in any previous announcement.

It should give [an] impression to the States that their sovereignty, integrity and autonomy are in no manner to be jeopardised by this relationship. This relationship will only be confined to a very few matters of common concern and the subjects could be limited only to Defence, Foreign Relations, and Communications, with additions of only such other subjects as the States may freely and voluntarily wish to add to these 3 subjects.

Pakistan will not endeavour to over-tax or lay heavy burdens on the States who may wish to join it; and every endeavour will be made not to interfere with the fiscal and financial autonomy which the States have hitherto enjoyed.

As regards their internal matters, Pakistan has no desire to meddle or interfere with [sic for in] them; but it is natural that Pakistan would wish the Ruler of each State to democratise its administration on popular basis and it would also wish the States to legislate themselves for the protection of the rights of man [sic]. It would also desire that the States should so frame their constitution that they always rule as Constitutional Monarchs through clearly defined constitutional channels. Such democratisation need not necessarily follow the line of the constitutions prevailing in Great Britain or any other Western democratic government. The plan is to suit local conditions and should preferably be indigenous. It is recognised, taking into consideration the prevailing conditions in the Indian States, that progress in this connection cannot be too hurried or haphazard, and if satisfactory progress is maintained, Pakistan will be satisfied if the goal set above is reached within a reasonable period, say 10 or 12 years.

To those States who may wish to associate themselves with the State of Pakistan, we shall have no hesitation in giving them [sic] the assurance that we shall deal with them with real sympathy and goodwill. There can be no intention of using threats or force in such matters. We shall always endeavour to protect the rights of all the States associated with us as our own.

I think such a general announcement should be made without loss of time before the other party has time to offer their [sic for its] own terms. An announcement on these lines, if made now and at once, will be immensely helpful to the cause of Pakistan. It will go a long way to stem the type of propaganda against Pakistan that has already started and will grow in force and intensity from day to day. It is with the object of counteracting such propaganda that I propose that an announcement on these lines, and with still more generous terms if possible be made without further loss of time. Mr. Jinnah can obtain the sanction of his Council on the 9th instant for making this announcement.
This is just an outline of the plan that has occurred to me and if Mr. Jinnah desires me to put it to him in greater detail and definiteness I shall be only too glad to do so, but it is definitely a matter which calls for Mr. Jinnah’s immediate and earnest attention.

CONFIDENTIAL NOTE FOR MR. JINNAH

I have always appreciated the undesirability of associating too many Hindu States with large Hindu population or even such Muslim States as have a large Hindu population, too closely with the Constitution of Pakistan. Because if that were done, it would disturb the Muslim preponderance in population. Therefore I suggest the offer to Indian States to associate with Pakistan to be based on some form of Alliance or Treaty relations rather than their entry through Constituent Assembly. Because if the suggestion of this form of association originates from Pakistan, it is likely to upset completely the applecart of Hindustan. The quicker this thing is done the better. Otherwise it is feared that Hindustan or Congress would lose no time in upsetting our plan by organised effort to set up the Hindu population in the States against this plan. Once the thing is done it will not be possible easily to undo it, more so if Pakistan continues to remain within the British Empire.

34. Immediate Arrangements for Selection of Representatives

Letter issued to all the Princely States in the various groups of States by the Constituent Assembly of India, 7 June 1947


I am desired to inform you that the Joint Sub-Committee of the two Negotiating Committees have considered the difficulties arising from the fact that in certain cases where representation in the Constituent Assembly has been allotted to a group of States, some States have not yet taken a decision as to whether they would join the Assembly or not. This has held up the selection of the representatives of the group as a whole to the Constituent Assembly. The Joint Sub-Committee consider that there can no longer be any justification for letting this indeterminate position continue and that arrangements should now be made to speed up the selection of representatives. As the next session is expected to be held early in July, it is necessary that this process should be completed by the end of June as far as possible. It is requested that after the 20th of June, final steps may be taken forthwith for the nomination and/or election of representatives by States which by that date have made up their mind to join the Constituent Assembly. In the meanwhile of course it would be necessary to put in train the necessary preliminary arrangements. The Joint Sub-Committee have decided that the total representation in a group will remain unaffected by the fact that any member State chooses to stay out.

2. If you require any further information or assistance in regard to any matter connected with the selection of the representatives to the Constituent Assembly, I would request you to let me know immediately. The Joint Sub-Committee has decided that correspondence on these matters should be carried on with States directly by this office.

3. I shall be grateful for an acknowledgement of this letter.
35. ‘Paramountcy Cannot End’
Article by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, *The Hindustan Times*, 9 June 1947

The doctrine laid down without consulting the statesmen of India, that with the withdrawal of British sovereignty paramountcy ends and that as a consequence the 565 Indian States automatically attain a chaotic independence is indefensible. Legally, historically, politically and morally it is wrong.

Until 1935 there was no distinction drawn between the Crown and the Governor-General-in-Council in regard to the treaties and obligations between the Indian rulers and the Paramount authority. A new doctrine of distinction was invented in 1935 for the first time at the instance of the lawyers engaged by Indian Princes in view of the unavoidable and progressive transfer of power from Britain to the people of India.

It is not correct to say that the treaties entered into by the Indian Princes were with the Crown, irrespective of British Indian governance. The Crown did not act in that context in an abstract capacity or in the capacity of Sovereign of England. The Governor-General acted with reference fully and exclusively to the governance of India. The treaties do not create a personal right or obligation, but impose obligations on the rulers for the time being of the Indian States and of India. Under the earlier Government of India Acts the existence of political relations between the Executive Government of British India and the Indian States was clearly contemplated and the Government of India was fully empowered to transact business with the Indian States. The entire expenditure incurred in the exercise of these functions was and is charged to the revenues of British India. An incorrect doctrine has been incorporated and is being reinforced by repetition without adequate discussion or investigation. Many of the Indian States which are now encouraged by this pronouncement to claim independence did not exercise it or claim it before they came under British sovereignty. The British withdrawal cannot suddenly become the basis for a status which they have never had in history. Yet by parity of application, 565 independent States are brought into being, every one of which can claim the right to bargain individually and to resist the imposition of outside authority except on its own terms.

Paramountcy came into being as a fact and not by agreement, and on British withdrawal the successor authority must inherit the fact along with the rest of the context. The East Indian Company acquired territory by conquest or otherwise and they chose to assume direct authority over some areas and preferred to hold paramountcy over other areas. A single paramount power was evolved which was responsible to the British Parliament.

**DISRUPTIVE DOCTRINE**

The relations of the Crown with Indian States comprise a large number of important matters which are really relations between Indian States and British India, e.g., Railway Agreements Jurisdiction over Railway Lines in regard to civil and criminal administration, unification of Posts and Telegraphs, system of Currency and Coinage, etc. It cannot be contended that all these are matters of no concern to the successor Government of British India and that they can be terminated at the will of H.M.G. when they withdraw their authority from India. The right to wage war and to determine external relations cannot be left in a chaotic condition for each one of the 565 States. It would endanger the peace of India and cannot be tolerated.

It can be argued that it is open to the successor Governments to make terms and enter into treaties, but the question of policy as to what should be the attitude of the British Government at
the time of their withdrawal is very important. Encouragement to disruption has to be avoided. Indian States have had no international status. Are H.M.G. now going to sponsor them and create conditions which they themselves had regarded as impossible when they were in charge of the Government of India? All these thirty years no major modification was contemplated except on the basis of a Federation or a Union consisting of both British India and the Indian States. There is no reason now for evolving a disruptive doctrine and for bringing to sudden termination all existing relations which are based on contract or circumstance.

**MERE ESTATES**

If indeed existing relations between British India and Indian States are traceable to the Crown in England and not to the Government of India, one might ask why on the establishment of British India as one or two independent States, it is necessary for the Crown to terminate its relations with the Indian States. Those relations ought to be capable of being continued irrespective of what has happened to British India. H.M.G. have admitted that this would not be possible. The real fact of the matter is that the so-called relations between the Crown and the Indian States are matters of vital concern to the Government of India on the one hand and the Indian States on the other. The Crown in the United Kingdom has no interest in them except as long as it was the paramount authority in British India. It follows, therefore, that that interest must devolve on the successor Government. The enormity of the new doctrine that paramountcy should end, and cannot be handed over to the successor Government will be obvious if it is realised, that out of the 565 States, more than 330 are just estates. The so-called rulers of these States have not exercised powers beyond an ordinary Third Class Magistrate. Is it suggested that all the residuary jurisdiction which had been exercised by the Crown in India should now ‘revert’ in an illegal manner to those chiefs who had never exercised them before?

**OBLIGATORY DUTY**

Something should be done to prevent this chaos and discourage tendencies on the part of more powerful Princes to declare what they call ‘Independence’. These ambitions on the part of some of the rulers of the States cannot but lead to widespread disorders. It cannot be the intention of H.M.G. to create such a condition in India. Paramountcy will, of course, terminate with amalgamation. States which join the Union and therefore become part and parcel thereof become co-sharers and there is no question of paramountcy. The public law of India had always some form of paramountcy in operation. The British power in India did not manufacture it out of nothing. Nor can it disappear with British power in respect of States which do not choose to accede. The inherent unity of India is not contradicted so much by the Mountbatten plan as by the projected independence of certain Princes happily unsupported by the opinion of their people. It should be considered an obligatory duty to prevent such declarations of independence on the part of Indian States by every legitimate means.

36. Need to Check Military Strength of States

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Baldev Singh, 9 June 1947

*SWJN*, Vol. III, pp. 201–2

My dear Baldev Singh,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th June sending me correspondence with the Viceroy regarding military officers for the Frontier.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

I should like to draw your particular attention to the efforts being made by various States now to strengthen their position in a military sense. This naturally applies to some of the major States only. In particular it applies to Hyderabad. Hyderabad does not wish to shout about its independence just at present after the manner of Sir C.P. Ramaswami and Travancore. But it wants to proceed more cautiously by getting more and more footholds and opportunities especially to strengthen its army and its arsenals. I hope that you and the Defence Department will keep a vigilant eye over all these States matters. Whatever final political decisions are arrived at will, of course, be given effect to. But there is no reason why these political decisions should be extorted from us against our will.

The main thing is to see to it that no facilities are afforded for increase in the strength of the Army or recruitment of outside elements, or of obtaining modern arms. Also we should not encourage the manufacture of precision instruments.

You will remember speaking to me about the retrocession of cantonment areas. I do not know how far this matter has proceeded, but the more this is held up the better. Indeed the proper time to deal with such matters is in connection with the general settlement with the Government of India about many other matters common to the Government of India and Hyderabad State.

Hyderabad has got vague ambitions of having a port, either Masulipatam or Goa. All this is fantastic nonsense. In any event we have to be careful in all our dealings with the States at the present moment. I do not know what the exact position is of Bolarum and Thrimalgiri. As far as possible these should be retained by us in all-India defence interests.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

37. Common Concern between Indian States and Government of India
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 9 June 1947
IOR R/3/1/137, Acc. No. 3454, NAI

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

You were good enough to discuss with us possible arrangements as between the Government of India and the States to deal with matters of common concern. I have given some more thought to this matter and consulted some colleagues.

It seems to us that it is not merely necessary to have some of the Government of India’s representatives in the States and some of the States representatives in Delhi. What is important is to have some Central Agency on behalf of the Government of India to deal with States problems in a uniform way. Not to have this will lead to confusion and chaos in administration. As I have pointed out to you there are innumerable common problems as between the States and the Government of India. This has nothing to do with paramountcy and its offshoots. If the States correspond directly with each Department of the Government of India, there will be no uniformity of procedure or policy and conflicting decisions may well be arrived at, apart from the great increase in work of each Department. It is therefore desirable to have this common Agency or channel.

The Political Department has thus far served as such a common Agency. The proper course would have been for this Department to continue for the time being minus its paramountcy functions and for the Department to be put directly under the Government of India. It would
also have been desirable for the local Agencies of the Political Department in the States to continue for the time being as Agents of the Government of India and not for purposes of paramountcy.

If this is not possible, then it is necessary to create a new Agency immediately. The Department dealing with matters of common concern between the Indian States and the Government of India should be created and put in charge of a Secretary who should function under some member of Government. Correspondence dealing with Indian States and the Government of India should be pooled in the Secretariat of this Department, a common policy pursued with the concurrence of the Member in charge and particular cases could be referred to the various Departments of the Government of India.

The main functions of this Secretariat should be—

(a) Arrangements in substitution of existing ones for dealing with Agency functions discharged on behalf of the Government of India by the Political Department and its officers.

(b) Negotiations for reviewing—
   (i) economic and financial agreements; and
   (ii) steps to be taken to systematise the political relationship between Indian States and the Government of India until their entry into the Federation.

All this relates to the present period, that is from now onwards to the establishment of Dominion Status. The second period will be from Dominion Status to the functioning of the new constitution. It will be necessary to make some additional arrangements then. Probably it might be desirable to have a Minister in the Dominion Cabinet in charge of Indian States affairs, assisted by Advisers from Indian States.

This is a brief indication of what I think should be done very soon in order to provide for a smooth change-over from present conditions and in order to give effect to the policy you have enunciated in regard to the States. This does not involve any radical change but only provides machinery for carrying on present arrangements and for consideration of possible changes. We must have, as is generally agreed, stand-still agreements with the States till such time as new agreements have been made. Meanwhile even though stand-still agreements require some central machinery to function and to start negotiations for review of those agreements, you were good enough to say to the States that you would be glad to put them into contact with the appropriate authorities of the Government of India for the purpose of enabling them to establish new relations with the latter. The machinery I suggest would enable this to be done.

The Political Department, it is said, will be wound up by the 15th August. Meanwhile it will gradually liquidate itself. There will be a period from now onwards when there might be some overlapping between the new Department of the Government of India that I suggest and the Political Department. This need not lead to any confusion or trouble. Indeed the proper course would be for part of the staff of the Political Department to be transferred to the new Department and for the Political Department to give every assistance to the new Department in supplying information and advice.

As I have said above, all this does not relate to paramountcy functions, but to matters of common concern between the Government of India and the States. The new Department will gradually take over all the correspondence between the Indian States and the Government of India. The States should be requested to deal directly with this Department and not with each separate Department of the Government of India.
Following up the same procedure, local officers of the Political Department in the States should deal more and more with this new Department of the Government of India. Even if the Residents leave, those offices should continue for the time being under some junior officer. This will maintain a continuity of work and can lead easily to the new arrangements that might be arrived at without any hiatus. The States can have no objection to this as this does not involve any decision of policy in regard to their future, but gives facilities to them to deal with the Government of India. I know as a fact that many States would welcome this procedure. I see no way for the Government of India escaping this responsibility and burden. If no arrangements such as suggested above are made now, the result will necessarily be delay and confusion. In any event the Government of India will have to set up some such Department and the sooner it is done the better.

The necessary consequence to what I have suggested above is to suspend various activities that are going on to liquidate the work of the Political Department in the Residencies. I would point out again that these activities concern the Government of India intimately. No steps should be taken without consultation with the Government of India. No property belonging to the Government of India should be disposed of without its prior concurrence. The present staff and equipment, except for some senior officers, should continue till fresh arrangements have been made.

Yours sincerely
Sd/-
Jawaharlal Nehru

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma,
Viceroy’s House,
New Delhi.

38. ‘British Indian Leaders Will Deal Fairly with Princes’

The Tribune, 9 June 1947

NEW DELHI, June 8.—Sir V.T. Krishnamachari, Prime Minister of Jaipur and Sardar K.M. Panikkar, Prime Minister of Bikaner in a joint statement issued to-day, appealed to all states to join the Constituent Assembly at the earliest possible date so as to give their co-operation and help to those engaged in the task of giving shape and form to India’s new constitution.

They say: ‘The Viceroy’s announcement of June 3 has made the participation of the States in the Constituent Assembly a matter of extreme importance. The special relationship of the Crown with Indian States will cease on August 15. When the new Dominion or Dominions come into being the interests of the States can only be safeguarded by the establishment of a fresh relationship freely negotiated with the representatives of British India.

‘There is also the question of evolving a suitable constitution for the union of India in which an honourable position is secured for the States and their interests and rights are adequately safeguarded.

‘Our experience of the work of the Constituent Assembly has strengthened our conviction that the leaders of British India are not only desirous of dealing fairly with the States, but are anxious to find just and equitable solutions of the problems arising out of a constitutional
association of the two parts of India which has now to replace the working union that had been created by the authority of the Crown.

'It is unnecessary for us to stress the fact that no decisions affecting Indian States can or will be taken without the knowledge of the representatives of the States. In the circumstances, we appeal to all States to join the work of the Constituent Assembly at the earliest possible date, so that their co-operation and assistance may be available to those engaged in the task of giving shape and form to India’s new constitution.'—A.P.I.

39. ‘Gandhiji Condemns Travancore and Hyderabad Declarations’

Extract from a report in The Hindustan Times, 14 June 1947

In his post-prayer speech on Friday Mahatma Gandhi dealt with a letter he had received from a correspondent defending Babu Purshottamdas Tandon’s much-discussed recent speech on the use of violence for self-defence and the latest declaration made on behalf of Travancore and Hyderabad States.

Gandhiji was surprised that when power was passing into Indian hands Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer wanted to prevent Travancore from joining the Indian Union whereas he was quite content for the State to remain in India so long as the British King was Emperor. Gandhiji characterized the position as ‘amazing and wholly unworthy.’ He adjured the British not to be a party to it.

Gandhiji made a fervent appeal to the Princes to join the Constituent Assembly—he did not mind which of the two Constituent Assemblies they joined. The Congress has no desire to annihilate them but the Princes could not afford to disregard this great organization which represented the people in the States as it sought to represent the Princes....

40. ‘Several Indian States Increasing Their Armed Forces’

The Tribune, 14 June 1947

NEW DELHI, June 13.—A directive to the people of the Indian States to be vigilant and be prepared for all contingencies as certain States were increasing their forces, is contained in a resolution which the Standing Committee of the States’ Peoples’ Conference adopted this morning.

The resolution says: ‘It has come to the knowledge of the Standing Committee that some States are increasing their armed forces and in particular smuggling in arms and ammunition is being carried on. This can only mean that the States concerned are harbouring certain designs which they wish to enforce by force of arms against their people. The committee wish to draw the attention of the Government of India to this smuggling and armed preparations which are against the law. Further, the committee asks the people of the States to be vigilant and be prepared for all contingencies.

The committee to-day also adopted resolutions on Kashmir, Mysore, Bhopal and Eastern States and the Constituent Assembly.

The resolution on Kashmir condemned the repressive policy in the State, demanded the release of Sheikh Abdullah and other political prisoners and the restoration of civil liberties.

In regard to Bhopal the committee noted with sorrow and resentment the reactionary policy pursued by the Bhopal Government in spite of the fact that it was the ruler of Bhopal who as
the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes had on January 13, 1946, sent round a circular urging
the recognition by the Princes of fundamental rights and early establishment of responsible
Government in their States. The committee regretted that the reforms announced by the Nawab
made no approach whatever to the principles of popular Government.

The resolution further stated that it was clear that the Nawab of Bhopal intended to declare
his independence on the termination of paramountcy without joining the Indian Union. Such an
attitude of isolation was not consistent with the interests of the State and was wholly opposed to
the wishes of the vast majority of its population. The committee expressed the hope that even
at this stage the Nawab would see the wisdom of participating in the Constituent Assembly’s
work and join the Indian Union.

By another resolution the committee condemned certain Eastern States which ignored the
election procedures to the Consembly as agreed upon by the two Negotiating Committees.

In regard to the situation in Mysore the resolution condemned the continued delay on the
part of the Mysore Durbar in implementing its declaration of October 1946, for participation in
the work of the Indian Constituent Assembly. The committee noted with concern the extremely
tardy manner in which the Dewan had been proceeding to implement the Maharaja’s promise
of responsible Government given to his people on January 8, 1947.

‘Delay and indecision on the part of the authorities,’ the resolution said, ‘have the same
effect as a denial of the demands.’

The Standing Committee called upon the Mysore Durbar to take immediate steps to obviate
the State Congress resorting to Satyagraha for the realisation of their objectives.—A.P.I.

41. ‘Gwalior Using Weapon of Communalism against People’s
    Movement’
    *People’s Age*, 15 June 1947

**Hindu Mahasabha’s Shameful Role as Ruler’s Tool**

Some days ago a message was sent out by the Gwalior State’s authorities contradicting the
report that Gwalior had decided to join the Constituent Assembly. The message says that the
State is merely going to ‘choose’ its delegates who will represent it in case the Ruler decides
to go into the Assembly at any time in the future.

All this is a plain lie. *The Ruler had informed every Congress leader of his decision to join the
Constituent Assembly. And now he is going back upon his promise.* One can be certain that the Political
Department has plenty to do with this inexplicable reversal of Gwalior’s decision.

To back up this new attempt to keep out of the Constituent Assembly efforts have been
intensified to weaken the people’s movement in the State.

The biggest weapon in the hands of the authorities to strike at the Praja Mandal is the old
British one of communalism.

**Not the First Time**

They had used this weapon in April 1946 to kill the mighty spirit which had arisen among
the people during the firing on the workers in January, 1946. Thousands of Muslims had then
migrated out of the State; and an orgy of communal violence had replaced the talk of struggle
against the States for Responsible Government.
The agency through which the State carries out its communal orgies is the State Hindu Mahasabha—an organisation which is at the beck and call of the authorities.

At the time of the All-India States’ Peoples’ Conference in April in Gwalior this stooge organisation issued cart-loads of anti-AISPC leaflets and openly planned to kill Sheikh Abdulla should he come there.

They attacked Pandit Nehru’s car and broke its panes and Panditji’s watch. They smashed the gates raised by the people in the city to welcome the leaders and threw lighted crackers at the public during the open session of the Conference. They tried to pull down the Tricolour and even to set fire to the Conference pandal.

**New Round of Terror**

Now the Mahasabha has begun a new round of terror against the Praja Mandal. Recently Sjt. Sunderlal, the well-known author of the book *Bharat Main Angrezi Raj* and an old champion of the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity, was invited to the State by the local Conciliatory Board—a semi-official body for propagating communal harmony.

Sjt. Sunderlal had been invited by the same body twice before and had proved very popular.

But this time when he stood up to speak, the Hindu Mahasabha ieeeites created such a disturbance that he was forced to abandon the meeting. Unity must not be preached in Gwalior!

The State Superintendent of Police was present on the spot but he did not move a finger to stop the disturbance.

After the break-up of the meeting, Pandit Sunderlal issued a statement to the Press, describing each one of these facts in detail.

Here is what he has to say about the complicity of the State officials in the activities of Hindu Mahasabhaites.

‘...It was absolutely plain that if the Superintendent of Police and his men were only so minded, it was the easiest thing to suppress rowdyism....’

**Planned by Officials**

‘There is a general—almost universal—belief among all responsible publicmen in the city... that the whole disturbance had been definitely planned by some high State officials....’

In the meeting, the leaders of the rowdies had thrown a leaflet at Sjt. Sunderlal. The leaflet asked him—in very provocative and indecent language—questions like why he did not go to the Muslims to preach his message of unity. The leaflet was signed by the Secretary of the Hindi Vidyarthi Sangh and the Editor of the local Hindu Sabha paper, *Adarsh Hindu*.

Referring to these two gentlemen Sjt. Sunderlal says:

‘I am told that both the signatories to the notice...are being paid monthly allowances by one of the State departments. A very responsible gentleman, who is supposed to be in the know, told me that several workers of the local Hindu Sabha are regularly financed from the State funds through some persons high up in the Government.’

Sjt. Sunderlal could have added that the Ruler himself goes round the districts of the State openly encouraging the organisers of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak
Sangh and condemning the activities of all patriotic organisations like the Praja Mandal and the Communist Party. The Ruler is also reported to be attending the meetings of the Mahasabha.

The activities of the members of the Hindu Mahasabha are really becoming a menace not only to peace in the State but also to the people's movement. How their cheek and power are growing can be seen from the fact that though decision to observe May 20 as Sheikh Abdulla Day was taken at Gwalior, Gwalior itself could not observe the day!

The Praja Mandal leaders were afraid to observe it, afraid of the disturbances that the Hindu Mahasabhaite rowdies might cause. Even the promise of full help by the Communist Party and other workers' and peasants' organisations could not dispel their fear.

**Their Plans Can Be Upset**

But it is possible to oust the Hindu Mahasabha and thus upset the plans of the autocratic Ruler as shown by the recent example from Bhilsa.

The Hindu Mahasabha is strong in Bhilsa. The Ruler himself paid a visit to the district to bolster it up. There also the Praja Mandal was hesitating to hold a meeting. Later they did hold one jointly with the Kisan Sabha. A full-scale campaign was made for the meeting.

The Mahasabhaite shrieked and shouted and scurried about the whole day to disrupt it and to organise an 'Anti-Sheikh Abdulla Day'. Failing to break up the meeting, they held a separate meeting in which the usual provocative speeches were made and threats were hurled at the leaders of the Praja Mandal, the Kisan Sabha and the Communist Party.

But while the Sheikh Abdulla Day meeting was attended by 800 people, there was only a bunch of the town's bad characters to listen to the hooting of the contemptible cronies of the Ruler.

**Gwalior Must Be Saved**

Gwalior can and must be saved from the clutches of the communal gangsters who have been hired to keep the State safe for autocracy.

The leaders of the local Praja Mandal are veteran fighters. Their self-confidence has been shaken up because of their prolonged inactivity and repeated postponements by them of the struggle to enforce the demand of Responsible Government in the State.

If they see this cause of the weakness which has come in the Praja Mandal organisation and overcome it, they can easily change the present serious and dangerous situation and force the Ruler both to join the Constituent Assembly and to set up a Responsible Government in the State. In this all the patriotic organisations will be behind them.

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42. **Activities of the Secret Police and Communists in States**

Letter from K.M. Panikkar to Vallabhbhai Patel, 15 June 1947

*SPC, Vol. V, pp. 386-8*

Bikaner

My dear Sardar Patel,

I had intended to talk to you at some length about certain matters affecting the Home Department in relation to the States, but on the day I came to you we were both in such a hurry that I did not get the time. The matter is of the utmost importance and cannot wait any longer.
With the termination of the Political Agencies, the secret police work in respect of the States also ceases. Originally this was one of the main functions of the Political Department, but in recent years, this had become unimportant, though there is still a Police Adviser to the Resident in most residencies. The work of the secret police in regard to the States not joining the Union has become suddenly most important. You must have had information about the attempts at gunrunning (through agency of Mr. Kendall and others) that some princes are said to be interested in. There are others who have been manufacturing arms and our megalomaniac friend C.P. [Ramaswami Aiyar] has other schemes up his sleeves.

These are apart from such widely prevalent activities as opium smuggling and other criminal activities which also require careful watching.

Clearly, it is of the utmost importance that the Government of India should immediately organise an information system, within those States whose declared intention is to keep out of the Union.

A further point of importance is the attempt of the Communists to transfer their activities into the States. The State police forces are inadequately organised to meet this menace. In fact, the State CID-Generals have no report of the activities of the Congress and the Praja Parishads, as they are 20 years behind the British Indian Police. The Communists know this and to my knowledge, cells have been created in Indian States. Now unless your police work takes in the States also in this respect, that is to say unless the anti-Communist section of the CID keeps strict watch on similar movements in the States, you will find that your work is undone, through these large gaps.

Police co-ordination in State areas will also cease with the withdrawal of the Residents. At the present time the police adviser to the Resident co-ordinates this work and the Inspectors-General of the States, say, of Rajputana are in contact with this officer.

In short, I consider it important that the Home Department should without delay take the following actions:

1. Extend their political CID work to the States that have declared their intention of becoming independent.
2. Extend the work of the anti-Communist section to all States and
3. Maintain police co-ordination officers at places like Ajmer for Rajputana, Ambala for the Punjab States, Rajkot for Kathiawad, etc., so that police work in the States can be co-ordinated.

If this is not done the work of the Home Department will itself suffer.

There is a further point which I had also intended to mention to you. There are many indirect methods of pressure on States which keep out of the Union, which you might consider. I mention a few.

The investments of Rulers are now free from income-tax. This is a privilege which is available only to Indian Princes. When such Princes claim independence their investments become subject to income-tax.

The privileges which Rulers enjoy in British India arise out of paramountcy and not out of international law. It may be made clear that these privileges, including customs privileges, will cease on the States declaring their independence.

It is a matter for consideration whether such Indian States as stand out of the Union should be allowed membership of all-India bodies like the Agricultural Research Council, Inter-University Board and other organisations.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

It is necessary that there should be an office in the Central Government which will study the problems of the new relationships with the States and work out the details. This has become most urgent, as we have but little time, especially where we consider that the States which have declared their intention to non-co-operate are Hyderabad and Travancore.

This letter has become unnecessarily long, but there are many other points to which I should like to have drawn attention. Though you must be exceptionally busy I trust you will find some time to look into these matters.

Yours sincerely,

K. M. Panikkar

The Hon’ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

43. ‘We Will Not Recognise Any Independence for Any State— Warns Pt. Nehru’

The Tribune, 16 June 1947

NEW DELHI, June 1.—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru speaking on the resolution on Indian States, before the A.I.C.C., declared to-day: ‘We will not recognise any independence for any State in India. Further, any recognition of such independence by any foreign power, whichever it may be wherever it may be, will be considered an unfriendly act.’

Pandit Nehru said, ‘There is a great deal of talk about independence and paramountcy. Independence does not depend on a mere declaration by anybody but on various factors—foreign relations, defence, etc. It fundamentally depends on the acknowledgment by other parties of that independence.

‘The paramountcy of the British crown arose in India under certain circumstances. I need not go into this history of it but it depends on geography, on history and all manner of factors like defence, security etc. If that paramountcy of the British crown is withdrawn, as they say it is going to be withdrawn, what follows?

‘So far as we are concerned, we do not agree with the doctrine of paramountcy as it has been declared, especially during the last dozen years, by the British Government. You will remember that this business of a crown representative came into existence only a dozen years ago. Paramountcy has been exercised ever since the British became a leading power in India, first by the East India Company and then later by the Government of India that succeeded it. No doubt the crown was behind it. There was no division in the Government of India as between that part which deals with the Indian States and that part which deals with the rest. The whole of the Government of India dealt with the Indian States. This distinction came in only a dozen years ago with the act of 1935.

‘When there was some talk of a federation in India, the Butler Committee and others began to talk of paramountcy vesting in the crown, so that it is a new thing. We did not agree with that but I am not going into that question now.

‘Insofar as paramountcy may vest in British crown the British crown ceases to exercise it. It lapses, or if you like, it returns to the States. But there is certain inherent paramountcy in the Government of India which cannot lapse—an inherent paramountcy in the dominant state in India, which must remain because of the very reasons of geography, history, etc., which gave rise to it when the British became the dominant power in India.
If anybody thinks that it lapses, then those very persons will give rise to it again.

'It must exist or the only alternative to it is that the various States in India should in groups, or otherwise, join the federation or the Indian Union. Then, of course, there is no question of paramountcy, because presumably they join as autonomous and equal units in that union and they share equally in the union legislature and the union executive. Presuming that those units are proper units, economic units, big enough units to be units of federation, they have the same position in the federation, as any other unit like a province. Probably, in the independent Indian union there will be no distinction between a province as such and an Indian State as such but all will be States of the union or whatever name may be given to them, so that over all those who are equal members of the union, no question of paramountcy arises.

'For those who do not join, the question of paramountcy inevitably arises, because they cannot live in a void.

In the declaration of May 16 it was clearly laid down that the Indian union would consist of the provinces and the States. It was not envisaged that any State would be outside the union, though it is true that a State was given a certain power, if you like a certain freedom, to decide how to come in. But it was not envisaged that it could keep out ultimately. In the memorandum of May 12 it was stated clearly that the States should either join the Indian union—that was the primary thing—or, if they did not do so, they must come to some other arrangement with the union. There is no third way out of the situation, third way meaning independence or special relation with a foreign power.

If a State did not join the union, its relationship with the union—and there would have to be some relationship—would be not one of equality but slightly lower. The relationship between the two would be that of a certain suzerain power exercising a certain measure of paramountcy and a certain other State having autonomy but within the limitation of paramountcy and suzerainty.

'We', said Pandit Nehru, 'desire no suzerainty or paramountcy. We want freedom for all the people of India. But it may be that for a particular period, the interim period, before other arrangements can be made and before some of the States can come into the union, we may carry on negotiations with them on a more or less standstill basis, all the existing arrangements continuing, because if the arrangements do not continue, then there is chaos. Of course, they will not continue if the States themselves take up any aggressive attitude going beyond those arrangements.'

No Foreign Contacts by States

The other arrangements, Pandit Nehru went on, could not possibly admit of the right of a State to any foreign contacts with any foreign State or, in regard to defence—the right of any independent authority to do what it would. All that was not because we wished to interfere with the States—of course we wished with the people of States well—but for another and fundamental reason, that these matters affected the security of India. 'And we cannot permit anything to happen in India in any state which affects fundamentally the security of India, either in relation to defence arrangements or in relation to contacts with foreign powers. Therefore, I want this not only to be realised by the states but I want other countries and powers to realise and appreciate the situation.

'I do not and cannot speak with the authority of Government at the present moment on this subject. Though I happen to be a member of Government, I cannot represent that Government on this subject at present. I am quite sure that I do represent the views of the A.I.C.C. in this matter and if I have anything to do with the Government that is likely to come into existence
two months hence and which will, I have no doubt, have the power and authority to make this declaration. I should like to say and other countries to know that we will not recognise any independence of any State in India. Further, that any recognition of any such independence by any foreign power, whichever it may be and wherever it may be, will be considered an unfriendly act (loud cheers).

'The consideration of security and others which the Indian union must have in every State in India cannot be overridden by any unilateral declaration of a State and, therefore, any foreign power which takes an action on the basis of that unilateral declaration will be ignoring our special interests and doing an unfriendly act to us. I am quite sure that any Government of India that comes into existence two months later will feel that way and will act that way. Earlier Pandit Nehru said that the Congress had made every effort in the last few months to come to a friendly settlement with the princes and establish cordial relations with them. A number of States had joined the Constituent Assembly and he invited others to do so. The Congress had relations with the rulers of the States and did not want to harm any of them but it could not give up its fundamental principle that it was for the people of the States to decide the fate of their States.

'The principle of sovereignty of the people has been recognised by the U.N.O. Our own delegation to the U.N.O. stood by the principle of sovereignty of the people when the question of Italian colonies came up. Obviously, we could not enunciate one principle for the people of Tripoli and accept another for the people of India or the states.'—A.P.I.

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1 For full text, see Zaidi, Encyclopaedia of the INC, Vol. XIII, pp. 112–14.

44. A New States Department of the Government of India
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten enclosing a note regarding a New States Department, 16 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

At the meeting which you had with the political leaders last Friday, it was agreed that it would be advantageous if the Government of India were to set up a new Department, possibly called the States Department, to deal with matters of common concern with the States. I attach, for your consideration, certain proposals regarding the constitution and functions of this Department.

Yours sincerely

Jawaharlal Nehru

ENCLOSURE

1. The Political Department which, under the control of H.E. the Crown Representative, now deals with the Indian States is in process of being wound up and will cease to exist from the date on which India and Pakistan become Dominions. But a whole complex of administrative and economic arrangements, at present in existence between what is now British India and the Indian States, must continue if certain essential services of common interest to the two Indian Dominions and the States are not to come to an abrupt and probably disastrous end.
Indeed, even in the political field, specifically as regards external relations and defence, the States must, until other arrangements are negotiated, continue, in relation to the successor Governments in British India, to enjoy the rights and to discharge the obligations which, in exercise of its paramountcy, the British Crown had conferred or imposed upon them. This content of paramountcy directly concerned the security of British India and must logically be preserved in the interests of those who will inherit, from the British Power, the responsibility to protect what is now known as British India against external aggression and internal commotion.

2. To deal with the matters referred to in the preceding paragraph, the immediate creation of some Central machinery which would take the place of the Political Department a few weeks hence is essential. Steps to this end cannot be delayed because the process of succession must take a little time. The new machinery, which must be a new Department of the present Government of India until the two Dominion Governments come into being, will gradually take over from the Political Department the appropriate records and some of its personnel. It will also, during the period of its coexistence with the Political Department, endeavour to learn as much of the Political Department’s procedure and mode of operation as may be useful for its own operation after the Political Department ceases to function.

3. The functions proposed for the new Department are:

(1) To correspond, on behalf of the Government of India, with Indian States on all matters of common concern. Matters of special interest to individual Departments of the Government of India will be disposed of in consultation with them by the new Department. The alternative of allowing each Department of the Government of India to deal with the States will result in lack of coordination with all its attendant disadvantages.

(2) To supervise the Agents whom the Government of India may decide to maintain in certain States and to deal with any representatives whom the States may appoint to the headquarters of the Government of India.

(3) To follow up the negotiations initiated by the Political Department between the Government of India and the States for the adjustment of matters of common interest and, where necessary, to initiate new negotiations for a similar purpose.

(4) Generally to safeguard the interests of the Government of India in the States.

4. During the pre-Dominion stage the Department should consist of one Secretary and one or possibly two Deputy Secretaries. The junior and subordinate staff should, so far as possible, be drawn from the Political Department. Since both the future Dominions will be interested in the activities of the new Department its officers should be selected with due regard to this fact.

5. The structure and composition of these Departments under the Dominion Governments of India and Pakistan should be left to be determined by the two Governments.

45. ‘This Amazing Audacity of Theirs!—Mahatma Exposes Princes’
“Independence” Slogan

The Tribune, 17 June 1947

NEW DELHI, June 16.—‘A declaration of war against free millions of India’—that was how Mahatma Gandhi, in the course of his post-prayer speech yesterday characterised the declaration of ‘independence’ on the part of some of the Indian States.
‘I have no doubt that the declaration of independence,’ said the Mahatma, ‘on behalf of an Indian prince was of no consequence in independent India. Such a thing was inconceivable especially when the particular prince had no backing from the people of the State. The audacity of such a declaration was amazing.’

Mahatma Gandhi was observing silence yesterday and his message was read out to the prayer gathering.

Mahatma Gandhi said, ‘I am sorry that I was obliged to take silence early in order to be able to speak when the Working Committee meets on Monday afternoon. Hence this written word. I would love to attempt an answer to a question which has been addressed to me from more than one quarter of the Globe.’ It is: ‘How can you account for the growing violence among your people on the part of the political parties for the furtherance of political ends. Is this the result of thirty years of non-violent practice for ending British rule? Does your message of non-violence still hold good for the world?’ I have condensed the sentiments of my correspondents in my own language.

In answer I must confess my bankruptcy, not that of non-violence. I have already said that the non-violence that was offered during the past thirty years was that of the weak. Whether it is a good enough answer or not is for others to judge. It must be further admitted that such non-violence can have no play in the altered circumstances. India has no experience of non-violence of the strong.

It serves no purpose to continue to repeat that non-violence of the strong is the strongest force in the world. The truth requires constant and extensive demonstration. This I am endeavouring to do to the best of my ability. What if the best of my ability is very little?

May I not be living in a fool’s paradise? Why should I ask people to follow me in the fruitless search? These are pertinent questions. My answer is quite simple. I ask nobody to follow me. Every one should follow his or her own inner voice. If he has no ears to listen to it, he should do that best he can. In no case should he imitate others sheep-like.

One more question has been and is being asked. If you are sure that India is going the wrong way why do you associate with the wrong-doers? Why do you not plough your own lonely furrow and have faith in that if you are right, your erstwhile friends and followers will seek you out?

I regard this as a very fair question I must not attempt to argue against it. All I can say is that my faith is as strong as ever. It is quite possible that my technique is faulty. There are old and tried precedents to guide one in such perplexity. Only no one should act mechanically. Hence I can say to all my counsellors is that they should have patience with me and even share my belief that there is no hope for the world except through the narrow and straight path of non-violence. Millions like me may fail to prove the truth in their own lives that would be their failure, never of the eternal law.

One more thing I must mention. The Travancore delegates among others saw me in the afternoon even though I was silent and they assured me that what I had said contained no exaggeration. They told me that meetings were held in Travancore, lathi-charges were made and over 35 persons were arrested yesterday. Free expression of public opinion was being gagged. But that be as it may I have no doubt that the declaration of independence on behalf of an Indian prince was of no consequence in an independent India. Such a declaration was tantamount to a declaration of war against the free millions of India. Such a thing was
inconceivable especially when the particular prince had no backing from the people of his state. The audacity of such a declaration was amazing. It was possible when the action of the princes had the backing of the British power. If I am not mistaken, things are changed now.

46. ‘States May Remain Independent: What Jinnah Says’

The Tribune, 18 June 1947

NEW DELHI, June 17.—With the termination of paramountcy, the Indian States would be free either to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or to remain independent, declared Mr. M.A. Jinnah, the Muslim League President, in a statement to-day.

Mr. Jinnah said: ‘There is a great deal of controversy going on with regard to the Indian States and I am, therefore, obliged to state the position of the All India Muslim League so that there should be no misunderstanding as to what the Muslim League stands for and what our policy is with regard to the Indian States.

Constitutionally and legally, the Indian States will be independent sovereign States on the termination of paramountcy and they will be free to decide for themselves to adopt any course they like: it is open to them to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly or the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or decide to remain independent. In the last case they enter into such arrangements or relationship with Hindustan or Pakistan as they may choose.

‘The policy of the All-India Muslim League has been clear from the very beginning: we do not wish to interfere with the internal affairs of any State, for that is a matter primarily to be resolved between the rulers and the peoples of the States. Such States as wish to enter the Pakistan Constituent Assembly of their free will and desire to discuss or negotiate with us, shall find us ready and willing to do so. If they wish to remain independent and wish to negotiate or adjust any political or any other relationship such as commercial or economic relations with Pakistan, we shall be glad to discuss with them and come to settlement which will be in the interest of both.

‘The British Government have made it clear that paramountcy will not be transferred to any Government or Governments or authority that may be set up in British India and that itself shows that paramountcy cannot be transferred but is going to terminate. On its termination the full sovereign status of the Indian State emerges.’—A.P.I.

47. Avoid Encouraging Declarations of Independence

Extracts from a letter from Earl of Listowel to Louis Mountbatten, 20 June 1947


...11. It is clear from the A.I.C.C. Resolution on the subject and from various other pointers that the Congress are working up opposition to our policy towards the States and, in particular, to our declared intention not to hand over any degree of paramountcy to the successor authorities in India. Some comment on this issue is beginning to appear in the Press here and diverse opinions are expressed. You ought to know that Stafford Cripps recently received a letter on the subject from Rajagopalachariar in which he challenged alike the legal, historical, political and moral bases for the doctrine of the lapse of paramountcy. The only possible line to take in reply to such representations is, of course, that, from an historical and constitutional point
of view, the Cabinet Mission’s statement of 12th May, 1946, was and remains right. Thus, there can be no doubt that the relations of the States have always been with the Crown; the point is argued at some length in the Joint Opinion of 24th July, 1928 by Leslie Scott and other eminent Counsels given to the States (cf. in particular paragraph 7 (i) of Appendix 3 to the Report of the Butler Committee). Before 1935 the Government of India was, of course, used as the agent of the Crown for conducting these relations: but this function was not to be confused with that government’s executive functions as the Government of British India. At the same time it is imperative that our policy should take full account, as it has, in fact, done, of the practical consequences of the principle by which it has had to be determined. Thus, we have scrupulously avoided, and must continue to avoid, doing anything which might be taken by individual States as an encouragement to them to stand out of the new Indian set-up—this, I am sure you will agree, applies particularly to Hyderabad, Travancore and any other States which are reported to have declared their intention to assert independence—and we must clearly give any assistance in our power towards the working out of satisfactory new arrangements between the States and the successor authorities. The letters to Residents which it was agreed should be dispatched at your meeting with the Indian leaders on 13th June may be expected to help in bringing about the desired result.

48. ‘States Must Join Consembly: People’s Demand’

_The Tribune, 26 June 1947_

BHATINDA, June 25.—An appeal to the President of the Constituent Assembly of India to make a declaration to the effect that, in case the Rulers of the Punjab States and Simla Hill States do not join the Constituent Assembly, the people of these States have a right to send their representatives to the India Assembly has been made by the Standing Committee of the Punjab States Regional Council at its meeting held here on Sunday.

Mr. Brish Bhan, President Punjab States Regional Council, Mr. Harbans Lal, General Secretary, Punjab States Regional Council, Mr. Sunder Lal, President Patiala State Praja Mandal, Mr. Tara Chand Gupta, M.A. of the Socialist Party of India, Sufi Sher Mohammad and Mr. Ram Nath of Nabha and many other prominent workers of the All-India States’ Peoples’ Conference participated in the deliberations.

Resolutions protesting against the repressive policy adopted by the authorities in Jind, Nabha, and Faridkot were passed and, it was urged upon the rulers of these States to release all political prisoners in order to create peace and harmony in the States in view of the critical times ahead.

The resolution on the reported decision of the ‘Group 14’ states not to join the Constituent Assembly in the present circumstances controverted the view that sovereignty resides in the Rulers. ‘It is high time,’ says the resolution, ‘that the Rulers of these states identify themselves with their people without loss of time and elect popular representatives in pursuance of the settlement reached between the Negotiating Committee.

In order to devise ways and means to secure the participation of the peoples’ representatives from Group 14 States, the Standing Committee appointed a sub-committee consisting of Ch. Nihal Singh of Jind, S. Zail Singh (Faridkot) and L. Santram of Nabha.
In the course of its resolution on the question of setting up of a democratically constituted electoral college in Patiala State for elections to the Constituent Assembly, while appreciating the role of the Maharaja of Patiala in leading the Princely Order by joining the Constituent Assembly, the Standing Committee deplored the fact that 'the decisions arrived at previously have not been carried out in the formation of the Electoral College. The city of Patiala with a population of only 50,000—in a State of 20 lakhs—has been given no less than 30 seats out of 61 on the Electoral College. Communal organisations with no mass backing, and having a life of only few months, have been given undue prominence and weightage and the organisation of the people, i.e. the Praja Mandal has not been given proper recognition and due representation.

The Standing Committee, therefore, calls upon the State Ruler to identify himself with the progressive elements in the State.'

49. ‘Indian Union Not to Tolerate Independent Units: States Urged to Join C.A.’

Extract from a report in *The Hindustan Times*, 2 July 1947

‘India cannot tolerate States entering into independent relationship with foreign Powers as it will endanger the security of the country,’ declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurating the first Delhi Provincial Political Conference at Shahdara on Tuesday evening.

Pandit Nehru appealed to the States to join the Indian Union and participate on an equal footing in the work of constitution-making. The conference after the presidential address of Mr. Jai Prakash Narain adjourned at 10 p.m. to meet again at 8 a.m. on Wednesday.

Pandit Nehru said: 'I thank the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee for giving me an opportunity to talk to you. For a long time I have not been able to attend such conferences. Due to over-work I have lost the habit of touring and over-concentration on office work makes one know less about the world.

'I have so many things to tell you. Remember that you are at a difficult period in the country’s life. What are the problems that we should tackle first? There are a number of problems, big and small, but we should not lose sight of the important ones and lay stress on problems of secondary importance. A commander knows that he cannot fight on all fronts, so also you should keep in mind what you should tackle first.

'You all know that the existing British rule will end in a month and a half. Though we will not be completely free, at least a big step forward will be taken on August 15. What is to happen during this intervening period? With the coming of power in our hands, our responsibility will increase and a number of intricate problems will require a solution....

**Question of States**

'The question of the States is one of the important problems facing us. We hope that even at the start most of the States will be with us. Some of them are, however, talking of revolt. We know what will be the end of this talk, but we are worried about what is going to happen during next two or three months. The rulers of these States are following a wrong policy along with their Diwans.

'It was the aim of the British to keep the Indian States isolated from the rest of India. For a long time the British Government insisted that rulers of Indian States should obey them.'
Nawab and Rajas were deposed if they refused to do so. But since question of freedom of the country came in the forefront, the British Government attempted to revise its policy. During the last 17 years they tried to establish a new relationship with the States. An attempt was made to divide the country into Indian India and British India.

'During the last nine months that we have been in the Interim Government we have had no power over the State Governments. Last year the British Government announced that Paramountcy would end and that power would revert back to the States. The British announcement has placed the States in a vacuum.

'They have only one alternative, that is to join the Indian Union whose Constitution is being framed by the Constituent Assembly as equal members. There is no question of someone ruling over them.

**Relationship with Foreign Powers**

'But what are you going to do with those States which do not join the Indian Union? It is clear that if there is a strong Government in India it cannot tolerate smaller units entering into independent relationship with foreign Powers as it will endanger the security of the country. Supposing a smaller State enters into relationship with a foreign Power, then there is a danger that that Power may start with economic domination of the weaker State and ultimately establish its own rule. India cannot tolerate it.

'The past 150 years of the British rule showed that when the East India Company established its hold in the country firmly it could not tolerate the independence of individual States. It fought with other foreign Powers like the French who had established themselves in the country so that there should be only one dominant Power. It is evident that we cannot tolerate that smaller units should establish direct relationship with foreign countries so that the latter might establish their foothold in the country.

'Unfortunately, there is a tendency in our country to treat all British pronouncements as the law of the land. We forget that times have changed. The time is coming when laws will be framed by the people.

'It is clear that the Indian Union is going to be a strong Power and the States which do not join us will be comparatively weaker. Except irritating and annoying us for a temporary period, the announcements of independence made by them do not serve any useful purpose. It is wrong to say that we intend to exploit or establish imperialist hold over the States. Free India will have a panchayat raj....'

50. 'U.S. Cooperation with India Govt. Assured: Grady Explains Policy towards States'

Extract from a report in *The Hindustan Times*, 8 July 1947

The Indian States were purely an internal problem and it was not for the U.S Government to concern itself with it, said Dr. Grady, American Ambassador to India, at a Press conference in Delhi on Monday morning.

A correspondent asked Dr. Grady, if he would define his attitude towards Indian States which had declared independence, and if America was considering any proposal to set-up legations in Travancore and Hyderabad.
Dr. Grady replied that no proposal was under consideration for opening legations in either Travancore or Hyderabad. America might decide to appoint consuls in these two States as in other parts of India, but all that depended upon the amount of consular work there. He refused to be drawn into a discussion over the possible attitude his Government might adopt towards Indian States in future. It was impossible to foresee all developments the future might bring, he said.

51. Rulers Can Rule as Servants of Their People
M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 27 July 1947
CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 444–5

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

There are more than 800 princely States in India. Some of them are very large and some very small. Recently the Viceroy had summoned the Princes to Delhi. So long the States had functioned under the protective umbrella of the British Empire which has now been taken away. The Viceroy spoke to them in very gentle terms. I liked his speech. He advised these rulers that they should all opt for either India or Pakistan. His speech was not a brief one. What hurt me was that in his lengthy address there was not even a mention of the States’ people. The relationship of the British Government was with the rulers of the States. The subject of the States did not figure anywhere. Therefore, when paramountcy lapses these states legally become independent and the British Government cannot interfere, but after all the rulers have certain duties and obligations. The States’ subjects can no longer be ruled at the point of the bayonet. But the security they have under the British protection is no longer there. Take some large State—Cochin, for instance. It has an extensive sea coast. It cannot enter into treaty relations with the whole world in order to ensure its security and it was the duty of the Viceroy to point this out. I would have been happy if he had somewhere in his speech also mentioned the States’ people. Since I was born in a Kathiawar State as a subject I have a right to say something about this question. Formerly if a ruler wanted so much as to employ a Dewan he had to seek permission from the Viceroy. They certainly did not like this. If, therefore, they now have been deprived of British protection, they are also free of British pressure. But there is now pressure from their people. So, if the rulers want to stay as rulers, they can only do so as servants of their people. They should seek the advice and co-operation of their Prajamandals in the work of administration. It is true that the Prajamandals have no experience of administration. But then even the leaders of the Central Government have had no previous experience of administration. This does not mean that the rulers should nominate twenty-five persons and call them Prajamandal. They should do whatever they do with sincerity. So far as the question of their joining Pakistan or the Indian Union is concerned, regard will have to be paid to the geographical situation. States in Gujarat or Kathiawar cannot unite itself with Bengal. The States thus cannot free themselves from the constraints of geography.

It is curious that the British have not said that the paramountcy which they had so long exercised now vests in India and Pakistan. This has complicated the problems both for India and Pakistan. I must say the rulers are now on their trial. They may remain rulers but they must be servants of the people in fact.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

I am saying this not because the Viceroy has complained to me about the rulers or that Jawaharlal or Rajendra Babu have said anything to me. The fact is that people are now watching what the Indian Government and Pakistan Government will do.

But what is plight of the States’ people? Are they happy at the thought of the coming freedom? Will they celebrate the day of independence? As for me I shall fast on the day and my prayer will be: ‘O God, now that India is free do not destroy her.’

The States form one-fourth of the area of the country. Will the 10 crore subjects of the States celebrate August 15 as Independence Day? If the Princes declare that they will from now on be servants of their people, then all will be well. Then the taxes they raise from the people will be for the uplift of the people. They will return their revenue ten times over not in the form of money but in the form of schools, hospitals, roads, gardens and public parks.

Jawaharlal and Sardar Patel have made no comment on the speech of the Viceroy though they could not be very happy in their hearts. But why should we have any poison in our hearts? It is like a game in which all one’s cards must be placed on the table. Only when there is no poison in our hearts can we genuinely celebrate August 15 as Independence Day.

52. Accession Only on Three Issues: Future of States Secure in Indian Dominion

Letter from Louis Mountbatten to Nawab of Bhopal, 31 July 1947
T.O.P., Vol. XII, pp. 436-9

My dear Hamidullah,

I have read and reread your letter of the 22nd July and given my most careful and anxious consideration to it and what I say now is entirely as a friend (whose sincerity you have so generously acknowledged and which I hope none of my actions will ever belie in future) and not as Viceroy, still less as the future Governor-General of India, interested somehow or other in bringing about an association of States like yours with the Indian Dominion.

I concede at once, in fact I have never doubted that you have had your difficulties arising from both Congress propaganda and loose statements by some of the leading members of Government and that you have had ample justification for feeling bitter and disappointed. With all that I want you to bear in mind a few matters which I shall mention presently as a real and genuine friend of the States whose services to the British cause since the time of the Indian Mutiny and even before that, no one appreciates more than myself. We have come to a stage, however, where it is necessary to forget the past and think dispassionately of the future in the common interest of all sections of the country. Although there have been provocative and unfair statements, to put it mildly, made by certain leaders of the Congress, the position now is that the statement made by Sardar Patel on his assuming charge of the States Department is the one that should be taken by the Princes as the official policy of the new Dominion of India towards States. So far as I know, no member of Government has made any statement conflicting with, or detracting from, the statement of Sardar Patel, which I have no doubt you must have found to be a distinct departure from previous utterances and which should be taken as a point where negotiations with Princes could be undertaken on a basis of equality and without any trace of domination, threat, finesse, or communalism.

Secondly, the very danger of communist influence to which you refer and rightly attach so much importance is more likely to be stayed and averted if all important stake holders in the
country make common cause and lend their full support to the Dominion. I have seen now for quite a few months the leaders of the Congress who are likely to be the leaders of the new Dominion Government and I hope you will believe me when I say that on the whole their influence will be exercised in future towards stability and they are as frightened of communism as you yourself are. If only they had support from all other stable influences such as that of the Princely Order, it might be possible for them to ward off the communist danger during the next few years which will be the crucial period for this country. We must remember that if the Indian Dominion territory is overrun by communists as feared by you, this will affect all territories situated geographically within the Indian Dominion and that it will not be possible for individual States existing as independent units to escape the tentacles of this revolutionary octopus. In so far as the communists are concerned, the interests of States, especially of States like Bhopal, which is entirely surrounded by the territory of the Indian Dominion, are identical with those of the Indian Dominion, and either both survive or both sink together. Make no mistake about it. There is a far greater chance of averting this danger if the States and the Dominion stand together rather than in isolation; for it is this very isolation which the communists now want.

You have some understandable doubts as to the implication of accession. You will now have seen my speech to the Princes and their representatives on the 25th in which I have tried to make the position clear. You are being invited to accede on the three subjects of Defence, External Affairs and Communications for executive and legislative purposes only. I enclose a copy of the draft Instrument of Accession which has been amended and now agreed to by the Sub-Committee of the Conference, from which you will see that there is absolutely no financial commitment of any kind on the part of the States. Further, you are in no way fettered (and this is explicitly made clear in the draft Instrument of Accession) as regards your attitude to accession to the new constitution when one is framed by the Constituent Assembly. So you get a second choice at this time, and then, my dear Hamidullah, will come the chance of a leader like you among the Princes to hold them together to take a firm line if the new constitution turns out after all to be unacceptable to the States. What a tragedy if at this time they were deprived of their most outstanding leader by your own actions.

The draft Instrument recognises and reaffirms the sovereignty of the acceding States except to the extent of their accession and secures complete freedom from interference in their internal affairs. When you have read the Instrument of Accession, you will, I am sure, be satisfied that there is absolutely nothing sinister or machiavellian about it; otherwise the representatives of the States would not have accepted it, and I should certainly not have had anything to do with it. This is a most reasonable, even a generous offer and in my judgment the interests of a State will be best served by accession on these terms.

You have raised another question as to what is going to be the relationship between the Dominion of India and Pakistan with special reference to Defence. On my suggestion, the parties have agreed to have a Joint Defence Council under my chairmanship to be constituted on the 15th August. This will function till the separation of the Defence Forces takes place, but I have every hope that something similar will be put in its place as a permanent arrangement, and there are indications already that the leaders may accept this.

I have now dealt with the important points raised in your letter. I am sure you will agree with my statement in the speech that no Ruler can run away either from the Dominion or from his subjects for whose welfare he is responsible.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

I do hope that what I have said above has not the least savour of intimidation or special pleading. If it did that I would have written this letter to you as a sincere and genuine friend which, regardless of whatever may be your decision on this issue, I hope I shall always have the privilege of remaining.

His Highness Nawab Haji Muhammad Hamidullah Khan Bahadur

Yours sincerely
Dickie

P.S. Since first dictating the above, I have received your letter of the 26th July. I discussed the whole position with Sir C.P. and was able to answer his very able and searching questions to his satisfaction. He was kind enough to express astonishment that I should have wrung terms so favourable to the States from Congress. While he did not commit himself or his state, he took a letter from me to his Maharaja and promised me that he would return on the 27th for further talks with me. I am terribly sorry that the dastardly crime which has been perpetrated on him prevented his return in person but the Maharaja of Travancore telegraphed his acceptance of the Instrument of Accession as soon as he got my letter.

Well, my dear Hamidullah, this letter has grown nearly as long as yours, but my distress at your not appreciating the fundamental change which has been brought about, impelled me to write at length.

I gladly accept your offer to come and talk things over with me, the sooner the better.

53. ‘22 States Communicate Decision’

The Hindustan Times, 2 August 1947

NEW DELHI, Friday.—The Rulers of 22 Indian States today signified their decision to accede to the Indian Dominion. This was done by them informally following a luncheon party given by Lord Mountbatten at the Viceroy’s House.

It was only a week ago that the Viceroy addressed a conference of the Princes and Ministers and strongly advised them to join the Indian Dominion. The Rulers of Baroda, Bikaner, Patiala, Gwalior, Jodhpur and Nawanagar have played a notable part in bringing the negotiations to a fruitful end.

It is expected that by August 10 an overwhelming majority of the Princes will have acceded to the Indian Dominion. The stragglers will not take long to come in. Those that do not, will have to fend themselves and some of them may find that even the door to Standstill arrangements will be shut against them.

The Viceroy has sent for the Nawab of Bhopal to tell the former Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes of his view about the prospects for those who do not join the Dominion. Lord Mountbatten probably expects that his friendly advice will be listened to by the Ruler of Bhopal and that some small States which have pledged support to the Nawab will do likewise. Certainly Travancore’s example is encouraging.

A Press communiqué issued from the Viceroy’s House states:—

Following the Conference of Rulers and States’ representatives held on July 25, which was presided over by the Viceroy, the States Department have been engaged in discussions with Rulers and their representatives on the terms of the Instrument of Accession and the Standstill
Agreement. These documents have now been finalized and accepted by the representatives of the States. The States Department are sending copies to the States for signature.

It will be recalled that the Viceroy had discussions with Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, when the latter was in Delhi.

As a result of these discussions the Maharaja of Travancore has now agreed to accede to the Dominion. Before he left Delhi, the Gaekwar of Baroda also informed the Viceroy that Baroda would accede. The Maharajas of Cochin and Rajpipla have likewise expressed their desire to accede to the Indian Dominion.

The Viceroy had informal consultations on Thursday with Rulers of Indian States who are present in Delhi. The following Rulers have expressed their readiness to accede to the Dominion:

- The Maharaja of Gwalior
- The Maharaja of Patiala
- The Maharao of Kotah
- The Maharaja of Bikaner
- The Maharaja of Jodhpur
- The Maharawal of Dungarpur
- The Maharaja of Dhar
- The Maharaja of Nawanagar
- The Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar
- The Maharaja of Panna
- The Maharaja of Tehri-Garhwal
- The Raja of Faridkot
- The Raja of Sangli
- The Maharaja of Sitamau
- The Thakore Sahib of Palitana
- The Raja of Phaltan
- The Raja of Khairagarh
- The Raja of Sandur

Most of the other States are understood to be willing to accede, but in the discussion at Delhi they were represented by their Ministers who cannot formally commit them to accession. These Ministers are now returning to their States at once in order to place the Instrument before the Rulers. It is expected that, barring a few who have not finally made up their minds, all the States will have signed the Instrument of Accession by August 10.

54. Position of the New States Department

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to P.C. Chudgar, 4 August 1947

SPC, Vol. V, pp. 478–9

New Delhi

My dear Chudgar,

I have your letter of 30 July 1947.

There is no truth in the fact that the States Department will inherit the powers and the evils of the Political Department, but it is intended to be of help to the States as well as the people. There is no question of retaining any Political Officers in Kathiawar, either European or Indian. Paramountcy will disappear from 15 August, and it is hoped that neither the Princes nor the people will shed any tear for its disappearance. Maybe that there [will] be a temporary vacuum, but time and circumstances will evolve suitable machinery which, while abandoning all the evils of the defunct Crown Department, will work in cooperation with the people and the Princes and create an atmosphere of peace and harmony.

I do not know anything about the attempts of the States to grab and attach the non-jurisdictional States who will be detached by 15 August. The Attachment Order dies with the lapse of paramountcy, and it will be open to these smaller units to do what they wish to do. There is no compulsion and they can just do what they like.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

P.L. Chudgar, Esq. Bar-at-Law
Wadhwan City
Kathiawar.
NEW DELHI, Friday.

The following circular signed jointly by the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, Raja of Faridkot, Maharaja of Bharatpur, Maharaja of Panna, Raja of Bhaghat and Maharaja of Alwar has been sent to 150 addressees, to attend a conference of Princes and leading men from all over India, to be held in New Delhi, on August 9.

The country is passing through momentous times. India has been divided and seeds have been sown of a possible large-scale internal struggle at some future date, unless our superior wisdom and organization make it possible for us to avoid it.

The Indian States cannot stand aloof and look at the present set up and the future that it is sure to give birth to, in a mood of complacent neutrality. Hindustan is and shall remain one and any major war or internal upheaval will affect them as much as it will affect provincial India. Those who think otherwise are mistaken.

Now that Paramountcy is disappearing the shackles that bound us, as much as the protection that was available to us, are eliminated. New responsibilities of freedom along with new and unlimited opportunities of service to our people and motherland open out before us.

Those of us who claim to be entitled to serve our country as its chosen ones, must take our share in organizing the future of our country, on lines which will ensure its stability, security and economic self-sufficiency and will enable it some day not too distant, to attract to its fold the parts, that have today elected to secede, for it is our aim that the Bharatvarsh of our forefathers shall again be one.

It is proposed for this purpose to call a conference of Princes and leading men from all parts of India to consider the setting up of a Hindu national front. The convention will be held in the Hindu Mahasabha Hall, Reading Road, New Delhi, at 5 p.m. on August 9, 1947, and the following day.

This important matter was discussed at length at the meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Kashatriya Mahasabha held in Alwar from July 5 to July 7 and the Committee have unanimously adopted a resolution to take action on these lines.

There is a clear indication that the Indian people are in need of fresh leadership and it is time for the Princely Order to take advantage of this golden opportunity and assume their proper role as worthy sons of the motherland.

We are sure Your Highness will, therefore, make it convenient for yourself to attend this important conference at this crucial time.

Note: Reply may kindly be sent to the Maharaja of Alwar, Vijey Mandir Palace, Alwar, Rajputana.

*|——|*——*
56. Fate of Crown Representative’s Records

Letter from Griffin to Shone, 14 August 1947

*T.O.P.,* Vol. XII, pp. 722-4

No. 467/47/R/4 NEW DELHI

Dear Shone,

I am writing to you at the request of Menon, Secretary of the States Department of the Government of India, about the records of the Crown Representative which have recently been transferred to your custody. He is anxious that, if occasion arises to consult these records, his Department should be given all necessary facilities.

2. In this letter, a copy of which I am sending to Menon, I will try to explain as clearly as I can the position in regard to these records as we view it.

3. The Government of India or, in appropriate cases, the Government of Pakistan, are succeeding to the great bulk of the Crown Representative’s records, which relate to matters of common concern to the States and what is now British India. There are other records, however, which the Crown Representative cannot hand over to a Successor Government. Such records are those containing information which came into the possession of the Crown Representative because of the Crown’s special relations with Rulers based on treaties and agreements and was relevant only to the functions of paramountcy in connection with successions and intervention in the internal affairs of a State. These functions lapse and cannot be inherited. Moreover, His Majesty’s Government have pledged themselves not to transfer paramountcy in any circumstances to a Successor Government in India. It would, therefore, be a grave breach of confidence if the Crown Representative were to transfer to a Successor Government records containing information regarding the private lives of Rulers and the internal affairs of States.

4. The decision that records of this nature should be transferred to the custody of the U.K. High Commissioner for India was taken in consultation with, and with the full agreement of, those qualified to speak on behalf of the two Dominions. Thus, there has been nothing surreptitious or underhand in the transfer of these records. It would follow logically from what I have said above that the States Department could not, without breach of confidence on the part of the Crown, be allowed access to these records for purposes of reference. This conclusion must, however, be subject to considerable qualification in view of two factors. In the first place the sorting of records has necessarily been done at high speed and there may be among the records transferred to your custody a small number to which the Government of India (or Pakistan) have a legitimate right of succession. Secondly, though the paramountcy of the Crown cannot be inherited or transferred, it may be that the Government of India (or Pakistan) will assume, in relation to certain States and with the consent of those States, a position not dissimilar from that formerly occupied by the paramount power. In such an event, records useful to the Government of India (or Pakistan) for the performance of what would thus have become their legitimate functions (e.g. decision of succession cases) could without objection be transferred to those Governments.

5. It would, I think be improper to supply a Dominion Government with copies of the lists of records transferred to your custody since those lists, in themselves, contain significant references to matter which it would be a breach of confidence to disclose. I see no objection however to authorised representatives of the States Department being shown relevant entries in the lists when they require information which is not otherwise available; and there are, no
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

doubt, records useful to the States Department which it will be possible to transfer to them without breach of confidence.

6. I should add, in conclusion, that records received by you from Residencies may, owing to errors of sorting, include records prior to 1880. If so, these can be transferred at once to the Imperial Record Department who are already in possession of most of the Crown Representative’s records up to that date. Indeed, a stage may come when the disclosure of all the confidential records now in your custody will be justified. When this stage is reached, and no breach of confidence is involved, appropriate arrangements will doubtless be made between His Majesty’s Government and the Dominion Government concerned.

Yours sincerely,
C.L. GRIFFIN

57. ‘The States and the Dominion’

An article by K.M. Panikkar in The Hindustan Times, 15 August 1947

THE political controversy regarding the independence of States on the lapse of paramountcy, which a few ambitious Princes, helped by some disgruntled and unpatriotic politicians from British India, started now seems like a nightmare of the past.

All through July the controversy raged and the newspapers were flooded with statements from Mr. C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar pointing out why if Siam and Iraq could be independent States, unconquered Travancore could not also have its place in the sun. Rulers went hither and thither by air, the Maharaja Holkar even flying to London to consult Privy Councillors on the nature of independence.

Tory Hopes Shattered

A survey of the British Conservative Press of June and July would show how all the enemies of India were pinning their faith on these dissentients to break up the unity of India. The prospect of a strong Indian Union emerging from the uncertainties which followed the announcement of June 3 seemed to frighten them and the editorial comments of the Tory newspapers reflected the hope that at least some of the major States would stand out of the Union and look to British for support.

Today we can see that this danger which loomed so large has been overcome. The great majority of States have acceded to the Indian Union and thereby helped to create a Central Government which can claim without question to speak for a united nation. From the Ravi to Assam an integrated State has come into being, such as never existed before in Indian history. The Mauryan Empire in its glory did not extend beyond Mysore. A State greater in extent than what Asoka was able to realize, or Akbar was able to establish, which Marathas could not even conceive has come peacefully into being.

But let us not forget that but for the co-operation of a few determined and patriotic Princes things might indeed have turned out differently.

After the secession of the Pakistan provinces the area of what was British India was not very much more than what was under the sovereignty of Indian Rulers. Apart from the Gangetic Valley the rest of India outside the coastal tracts was predominantly under the rule of Indian
Princes. The great central stretch from the eastern boundaries of Sindh and Bahawalpur to the Orissa coast was not included in the Dominion of India as established by the Indian Independence Act.

If the majority of States had decided to remain out of the Union the inevitable results would have been chaos and anarchy and India could never have emerged as a strong or united nation.

Annexation Plans
This is indeed what the Princely advocates or Pakistan had planned. They had planned corridors to the sea, confederations of States, which hoped to be recognized as Dominions and had even worked out alliances among themselves which could carve out and annex portions of British India to their own States.

The reality of these dangers was obscured by the major issue of partition and the legalistic controversy about paramountcy. All that can now be said is that this sinister conspiracy came very near to success and failed only because the States near about Delhi to whom the problem appeared differently came to the firm conclusion that their interests lay in the creation of a Central Government strong enough to ensure peace and tranquility in India.

The great Rajputana States bordering on Pakistan, Bikaner, Jaipur, Jodhpur have by their geographical position to think in terms of close relationship with a Central Government. The same is true of Patiala and Gwalior. It is the determination and patriotism of the Rulers of these States who jointly took decision to support the Interim Government and to create by participation in the Constituent Assembly a Union in which the Princes will have an honourable place that tipped the scales at a crucial time.

Their presence in the Constituent Assembly and their close association in the work of framing the constitution made it impossible for the reactionaries in the Princely camp to press forward with their schemes of independence either for units or for groups.

Standstill Pacts
Though the danger of Balkanization was thus eliminated a new and no less grave situation faced the advocates of the Union. The Cabinet Mission plan had not contemplated an interregnum. Power was to be transferred to a Union of which the States were to be integral parts. But the plan of June 3 had not taken into consideration the question of the States. British India was to become a Dominion on August 15. What was to happen to the States? Legally they became completely independent and the entire administrative system would have fallen to places if concurrently measures were not devised to keep together the structure that had been raised during the last 100 years. A limited accession on the three subjects of Defence, External Affairs and Communications and a standstill agreement with regard to the administrative and economic arrangement in force were the methods devised to meet the situation.

Great Achievement
Again, it was the progressive group of States, reinforced now by Mysore and Nawanagar, that led the way. Now all but a handful of States have acceded to the Union and under the standstill agreements the administrative structure of India continues as it was before. It is a major achievement. A unique example of constructive statesmanship for which the credit belongs equally to the British Indian leaders no less than to the Princes and their Ministers.
Peacefully and without coercion the numerous units of Princely India, take their place in the polity of a new Indian Union which today assumes its rightful position among the free nations of the world.
Chapter 39. All India States People’s Conference and All India States Muslim League

1. Students for Democratic Rule

Letter from S.M. Jaffar, General Secretary, All India Students Congress, Lucknow, to the Secretaries of Praja Mandals and States Peoples’ Conference, 7 February 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 268, NMML

Circular No. 3

All India Students Congress
26, Latouche Road, Lucknow

To,

All Secretaries of Praja Mandals and States Peoples Conference.

Dear Friend,

The problem of the students of States in India is an integral part of the problems of Indian Students. At this critical juncture of the States people’s movement it has become necessary that the students of states must unite and prepare a common platform with the students of India against medieval aristocracy and white imperialism. The present attitude of the princes towards Constituent Assembly is no better and the true representatives of the states are not in this Assembly. So the states students have to play their own role in their freedom struggle. It is also a fact that Rulers in almost all the states are checking the growth of the Students’ movement. We have to build a revolutionary movement. Rulers are no rulers. The states’ students will go ahead with their programme of establishing a democratic peoples’ Raj in every State.

I am, therefore, to request you to render us all necessary help in this connection. Kindly send us the addresses of all student workers in your State. If there is some nationalist students organisation in your state, you may send me the address of the Secretary of that organisation. We intend to call a convention of States’ Students and it is, therefore, necessary that our office must have addresses of all student workers in states. Any other important information and advice in this connection shall also be entertained. Jai-Hind.

An early reply is expected.

Yours truly,

Sd/-
(S. M. Jaffar)
General Secretary,
All-India Students Congress,
26, Latouche Road,
LUCKNOW.
Copy forwarded to all our workers in India for information and necessary action with the request that the office may be furnished with necessary reports about our movement in different states in their provinces. An early reply of our previous circulars is very necessary. Workers in different provinces must intensify their organisational work in Indian States. A detailed report about this circular is an absolute necessity.

By Order,
(Bhola Nath Sinha)
Office Secretary,
All-India Students Congress.

2. Relations between Praja Mandal and Congress Committees

Circular from AICC, 7 February 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

ALL INDIA STATES' PEOPLES' CONFERENCE
NEW DELHI

Circular No. 16 Ref. No. RC/6

Dear Comrade,

Notwithstanding the express policy of the Indian National Congress as specifically laid down through the Resolution of its Working Committee dated, Wardha the 8th August 1946 (namely that ‘The general policy of the Congress has long been to encourage the formation of Praja Mandals and like organisations in the States and discourage the formation of Congress Committees there. This policy holds and therefore any existing Congress Committees in a State must avoid any conflict, in the political or parliamentary field, with established Praja Mandals and work in Cooperation with them, the political policy being laid down by the Praja Mandals’) serious conflicts have been going on, particularly in Baghelkhand and the Rewa State, with the result that the genuine interests of the people there have suffered considerably.

In pursuance, therefore, of the general desire to and up [sic] the controversy known as ‘Congress versus Praja Mandals’ in Baghelkhand and to find out a harmonious way of working representatives of the contending parties together with those of the Regional Council concerned, were called to a joint meeting at Sardar Patel’s Residence (1, Aurangzeb Road,) New Delhi, on the 7th January 1947. Among those present at the meeting were also Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Shri Sankar Rao Deo.

After due deliberations, the following points were concluded:—

(i) That the Praja Mandals should function as organs of the All India States’ People’s Conference;
(ii) That the Congress Committee in the Rewa State should continue its participation in the Constitution Reform Committee (Sir Hari Singh Gour’s Committee);
(iii) That Shri Oudh Bihari Lal, M.A., LL.B., Advocate should withdraw his resignation from the aforesaid Constitution Reforms Committee;
(iv) That the following ‘Ad hoc’ Committee be set up to advise upon the work in the said Constitution Reforms Committee:

1. Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya (Chairman)
2. Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh
3. Capt. Avadhesh Pratap Singh
4. Shri. Shambhoo Nath Shukla
5. Shri. Oudh Bihari Lall
6. Lal Yadevendra Singh;

and (v) that as far as Rewa is concerned there should be a single people’s organisation affiliated to the All India States’ People’s Conference.

As the above decisions which were arrived at in an atmosphere of cordiality and realism, are the necessary conditions upon which the edifice of future public work can be built in Rewa and Baghelkhand, it is sincerely to be hoped that parties involved in the conflict will leave the past where it is and take suitable steps in order to implement the above decisions in their right spirit.

The Central India Regional Council is also requested to take all suitable steps to ensure that the above decisions are given effect to as early as possible.

The ‘ad hoc’ Committee, it is hoped, will soon have its first meeting and formulate its own line of work.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
GENERAL SECRETARY.

1. President, Baghelkhand District Congress Committee, Rewa.
2. President, Praja Mandal, Rewa.
3. President, Praja Mandal, Nagod.
4. President, Central India Regional Council of AISPC, Gwalior.
5. Chairman, ‘ad hoc’ Committee.
7. Sardar Nermada Prasad Singh.
10. Shri. Gopal Saran Singh.
12. Lal Yadevendra Singh.

3. Praja Mandals Asked to Report on Their Activities
Circular issued by AICC to all Prajamandals in Indian States, 8 February 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 227, NMML

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad

TO
ALL PRAJA MANDALS
IN INDIAN STATES.

Dear Friend,
You are aware of the constant interest of the Congress in Indian States and their problems. For reasons known to you the Congress decided, through its Haripura Resolution in 1937,
to leave to Praja Mandals all political activity and restrict Congress Committees, where they existed, to purely Constructive work. Events have abundantly justified the policy laid down in the Haripura Resolution. The Praja Mandals are now powerful organisations enjoying the confidence of the people of the States and leading them on, by rapid stages, to full responsible government. They have built up the All India States’ Peoples’ Conference which is daily growing in power and prestige and to which millions in 500 and odd States look for counsel and guidance in their struggle for freedom.

The Haripura Resolution notwithstanding, there has been no abatement in our interest in States. We have watched with the deepest sympathy and understanding your struggle for freedom and the suffering that has come your way in this struggle. You have on your part warmly appreciated our sympathy and understanding. Recent political developments have shown how closely linked are the destinies of the State India and the Non-State India. The artificial barriers between the two parts of India are now rapidly breaking down and the indivisible unity of our Common Country is becoming more and more manifest.

While it is for the All India States’ Peoples’ Conference to give you authoritative advice and guidance in all your political activities it is our desire to keep ourselves fully informed of happenings in the States. We should in particular like to know about (1) your activities, (2) Civil Liberties in your State, (3) The State Administration, (4) Schemes of political reform initiated by the State Government and popular reactions to them, (5) Social movements, (6) Special problems affecting the peasantry and other classes of people, (7) The Minority Problem, if any, in the State.

We shall be obliged if you will please arrange to send us periodical reports giving us the required information. This information would be greatly helpful to us in understanding our common problems as also the problems that specially affect you.

An early reply is requested.

Yours sincerely,
(Sadik Ali)

PERMANENT SECRETARY

4. ‘Donations from Businessmen Won’t Affect Our Fundamental Plans’
Letter from Balvant Rai Mehta, General Secretary, AISPC, to Joachim Alva, Editor,
The Forum, Dalal Street, Bombay, 11 February 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 251, NMML

Dear Mr. Alva,

I was surprised to see a note in ‘The Forum’ criticising an appeal for the building fund issued by our President. In the course of the appeal, we have asked some of the Princes also to respond. Just as we have been approaching jagirdars, Captains of Industry and Commercial magnates for funds for various good causes, we have also thought it proper to approach the Princes for funds. Just as we do not cease to advocate nationalisation of Industries or abolition of Landlordism, merely because some of this class contribute to our funds, we don’t cease to advocate the abolition of autocracy merely because some of the Princes give some donations. After all, the money in the State Treasury belongs to the people, and they have every right to its use, if that were possible. Some such donations, you can be quite sure, are not going to affect
the fundamental plans in our programme. I, therefore, desire some suitable alteration in your
criticism in your next issue. Regarding the resolution on Travancore, no such resolution was
brought forward before our Standing Committee in its last meeting, even though there were
2 members from Travancore present. So there is no question of its not being allowed. Our
normal routine is that we take up those resolutions which are recommended by the local Praja
mandals and the Regional Councils. In cases requiring investigation from local authorities of
our branches or constituent bodies, we would rather wait for reports from them than rush for
publicity which may fall flat when contradicted. No report from the Travancore State Congress
has as yet reached us.

I wish you can correspond either with Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya or myself or Shri Jainarain
Vyas, before you commit yourself to any criticism which may damage a good cause.

I am writing this letter to you as to a friend—not to avoid a public controversy, but in the
hope that a wrong may be repaired. If, however, you are not inclined to change your mind,
an official reply becomes inevitable and my anxiety in the matter becomes love’s labour lost.
Regards to Mrs. Alva.

I am leaving for Bhavnagar tomorrow, but might return at the end of the month.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) Balvant Rai Mehta
G. Secy.

Shri Joachim Alva
Editor,
The Forum,
Dalal Street, Fort Bombay.

5. ‘States League Demands Full Representation of Muslims in
Constituent Assembly’
Dawn, 19 February 1947

THAT the Muslim representation in the Constituent Assembly seats allotted to the Indian
States should be determined in consultation with the All-India States Muslim League and that
such representation should be proportionate to the total strength of Muslim population in the
States, was demanded in a resolution passed by the All-India States Muslim League Council
in a meeting held on Monday in Delhi.

The States Muslim League Council discussed at length the different aspects of the present
political situation in the country with special reference to the acceptance of the Cabinet
Mission’s proposals by the Rulers of the Indian States and the appointment of the Negotiating
Committee by the Chamber of Princes.

In its resolution on Constituent Assembly, the Council of the Indian States’ Muslim
League shows great anxiety for the protection of Muslim minority rights in the States and their
representation in the Constituent Assembly.

The resolution also declares that if this demand of the Council is not accepted the Muslims
of the Indian States would completely refrain from participation in the Assembly.

The resolution further says, ‘This meeting of the Council of the All-India States’ Muslim Lea-
gue notes with a sense of great resentment, the fact that the Negotiating Committee appointed by the
All-India States Peoples’ Conference was alone invited to represent its views on the question of allotment and distribution of seats among the representatives of the Indian States in the Constituent Assembly and that no access has been given to All-India States’ Muslim League to represent its views and urges upon His Excellency the Crown Representative and His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes to give the All-India States’ Muslim League a fair opportunity to represent the views of the Musalmans of the Indian States on this question.

CONGRESS ACTION DEPLORED
The Council of the Indian States’ Muslim League also deplored the hesitation on the part of the Congress in accepting the Cabinet Mission’s proposals unequivocally, which it thought, was alone responsible for the present deadlock and also for the course that the All-India Muslim League had adopted recently.

The Council, however, hoped that better sense would dawn on the Congress leaders and they would realise the futility of their present policy and would come to an amicable settlement with the All-India Muslim League.

The Council further reaffirmed that the entry of the All-India Muslim League in the Constituent Assembly would always remain the necessary condition for the Indian States’ Muslims to join the Assembly.

The grievances of the Muslims in Kashmir, Gwalior, Mysore, Kolhapur, Bharatpur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Kapurthala, Indore and other Indian States were discussed by the Council at length and a resolution protesting against the suspension of the grant to Anju-man Tarraqi-e-Urdu by the Hyderabad State was adopted in the meeting.

6. Nehru Supports Sheikh Abdullah for Presidentship of AISPC
Statement issued by Jawaharlal Nehru to the Press, 9 March 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 94, NMML

All-India States Peoples Conference.

A little over a year ago the States Peoples Conference met at Udaipur and they re-elected me President of the Conference. The States Peoples movement was taking a new turn and the responsibility was great. I accepted this Presidentship because of the desire of my colleagues and also because of the states. I have all along believed that the problem of the states cannot be isolated from that of the rest of India. And so when India was on the verge of change the pressure of events in the states was progressively greater.

2. Unfortunately, owing to my preoccupations in other fields of activity I could not give as much time to the states people as I had hoped. Fortunately my able colleagues who had especially devoted their lives to this work carried it on. The States Peoples organisation grew in power and influence till it became as it is today a mighty and representative organ of the will of the people of the states all over India.

3. On my joining the Interim Goverment I felt I could not continue as President. The Vice-President Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah was naturally chosen to function as President in my place. But Shiekh Abdullah was in prison in Kashmir and Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya was elected to act as President. I continued as a member of the Standing Committee.

4. During this period of about six months Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya has shoudered this heavy burden with great ability and it had largely been due to his efforts that the work of the
Conference has spread and grown in intensity. He was working at the Central Office, he has toured many of the states, and he has specially interested himself in the building fund which is being raised to give a proper home for the headquarters of the Conference in Delhi. He has become even more than before a strong pillar of the States Peoples organisation. Meanwhile Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah has lain in prison in Kashmir state and so have large numbers of his colleagues.

5. The question has not arisen as to who should be elected as President of the Conference for the coming year. Several names have been proposed, men of ability, experience and long service in the cause of freedom and the states. Among them my name also appears. I must withdraw my name as it is not possible for me to shoulder this heavy burden in the near future but that does not mean any slackening in interest on my part in the cause of the States People. If my colleagues so desire, I shall continue to serve on the Standing Committee.

6. I understood that nearly all others, whose names have been proposed for the Presidentship have also withdrawn their names. It may be that only one name is left at the time of election. In any event, I should like to say that at this juncture more so than even before the right choice for us for the Presidentship of the States Peoples Conference is Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. That would have been natural in any event, I should like to say that since then many things have happened in the Indian States. The most notable of these has been the movement in Kashmir and the fierce repression which it has encountered from the state authorities. For ten months now this conflict has continued and Sheikh Abdullah has become the symbol of freedom not only for the people of Kashmir but also for the people of other states. It does little credit to the Kashmir state authorities that they should have behaved in this manner during these last ten months. It shows an amazing lack of wisdom and a want of appreciation of what is happening all over India. Even as I write a large number of the leaders of the Kashmir national movement, who lie in prison are on hunger strike for lack of proper facilities. This hunger strike has lasted many days now and the condition of some of these prisoners is bad.

7. I have no doubt in my mind that it is proper and fitting for the Conference and its regional councils to elect Sheikh Abdullah as the President for the next session and the coming year. Whether he will be available for the session or not, I cannot say. In any event this honour and responsibility should be cast upon him.

8. As Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah is not free to take part in our activities it is essential that some one should be definitely chosen to function as Working President. The obvious choice for this is Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya who has been carrying on this work with energy and enthusiasm during these many months. He is representing the states people on the Negotiating Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly. He is also on the Sub-Committee which is carrying on the Negotiating Committee’s work. This work should be especially assigned to him on behalf of the States Peoples Conference. Also the building fund is his special preserve though it is upto all of us to help him in this task. Apart from these two specific activities he should be requested to function as the working President of the entire organisation, help it with his constant advice and guidance and in other ways. He is a busy man and has many other activities to attend to. But I hope that he will agree to our request to shoulder anew this responsibility.

9. I would suggest that when the regional councils make their final election of President, they should also elect Dr Pattabhi Sittaramayya as the Working President. This should not be left over till the time of the Conference itself.
10. We are on the eve of great changes in India and no one can doubt that the Indian States are also on the verge of great happenings. At no time previously was the functioning of the All India States Peoples Conference so important as it is going to be in the near future. All of us, therefore, who are connected with this great organisation which is working for the freedom and betterment of 90 million people in India, must pull together and work hard to achieve the objectives we have in view. I trust that the Gwalior Conference will give a brave lead which we can all carry to the far corners of India. The grave issues before us require all our joint courage, endurance and wisdom.

New Delhi

Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya to Serve as the Acting President of AISPC

Letter from Dwarkanath Kachru, General Secretary, AISPC, to All Regional Councils,
10 March 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 253, NMML

ALL INDIA STATES' PEOPLES' CONFERENCE
NEW DELHI
REGIONAL COUNCILS

Dear Comrade,

I am writing this to inform you that out of the list of names proposed for the Presidentship of the All India States Peoples Conference, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Acharya Narendra Deva and Jaiprakash Narayan have withdrawn from the contest. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah is therefore declared elected as the President of the Conference. As such it is not necessary to hold a meeting of the Members of the General Council for the purpose of electing the President.

As Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah is still in jail and may not be released by the time the Conference meets, it is necessary to elect some other person to officiate on his behalf. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has recommended the name of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya as the Acting President for the Conference. It is the general wish of the Standing Committee also that Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya be requested to function as the Acting President till such time as Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah is released. Your attention is, therefore, specially drawn to paragraph 9 of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru’s Statement (copy enclosed)\(^1\) and you are requested to send us your approval as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,

(DWARKANATH KACHRU)
General Secretary.

\(^1\) Not reproduced here.
8. **AISPC Meets at Gwalior**

Extracts from the Proceedings of the Annual Session of the AISPC at Gwalior, 18–20 April 1947

Indian Annual Register (1947), Vol. I, pp. 211–19

**... Dr. Pattabhi’s Address**

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Working President, addressing the Conference in the absence of the President-elect, Shaikh Abdullah said that the need of the hour was the forthright declaration of immediate responsible Government in the larger States, with a time limit for the fulfilment of the declaration.

He also suggested that a date-line be set for the Princes to join the Constituent Assembly, following the precedent set by the British Government in their statement of February 20, for ‘it is the time limit that gets things on the move.’

Of the larger States, he continued, there were not more than ten or twelve, and they should follow the lead given by one of their number, namely Cochin, and declare their intention of granting responsible Government at a definite time. Instead of performing this act of justice which would safeguard their dynastic rights, the bigger Princes were dabbling with constitutions which were either ante-diluvian or in any case antiquated. They failed to see that the same Independence that reverted to them when the British were withdrawn, would also revert to their peoples, and then the Princes would be brought face to face with them. If the Princes wished to preserve their dynastic rights and monarchy, they would have to exploit the lingering sentiment of loyalty for kingship among their people, by the timely surrender of power to their real masters, and should elevate themselves to the position of constitutional monarchs such as the King of England. They would have limited powers and prerogatives but they would have unlimited influence as social heads.

**GROUPING OF STATES**

Referring particularly to Kashmir and Hyderabad, Sj. Sitaramayya said that the situation might be retrieved by timely action. The problems of the two States were analogous and other Princes naturally looked to them for guidance though communalism in Hyderabad so far was not encouraging. Religion must be eschewed from politics and India would be free and independent only when the big States took a nationalist point of view and joined forces with Indian nationalism.

The hundred or hundred-and-fifty smaller States with population of a few lakhs and incomes ranging between twenty lakhs and one crore of rupees should be grouped together in unions such as the Deccan States Union. Such groups may be made in the regions of Kathiawar and Gujerat, Central India, Rajputana, the Punjab, the Hill States of Simla and the Eastern Agency States. Instead of doing this, he said, the Princes of some of these groups were hatching fantastic schemes of confederations preserving the individual rights and powers of petty States and Privy Councils and bicameral legislatures. Some Princes were talking of complete independence with no sense of perspective.

There remained hundreds of small States which were no more than mere estates which could only be absorbed into the adjoining provincial areas and their Princes could be accorded equitable compensation. The areas where these States met each other, were centres of corruption and should be eliminated.
There were some other matters relating to the Indian States which required attention. Customs barriers between States led to unnecessary corruption and smuggling. The problem relating to Jagirdars was urgent as they were both powerful and despotic, and they might set themselves up as independent forces and prevent an understanding between the Princes and their people. Their immediate abolition would be a blessing for the Princes and their people, and would promote understanding between the two. He said that in the provincial elections the abolition of the zamindaris was an election plank and that in States elections too, this would have to be adopted unless there was a private settlement between the Princes and the Jagirdars before them. The Ministers too were enemies of the Princes and this was largely due to the fact that they felt they would have no future, and thus tried to stand between the Princes and their people. He assured the Ministers however, that for men of ability there would be plenty of room, and their help and guidance would be invaluable to popular ministries inexperienced in the arts of government.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramyya said he did not accept the excuse put forward by some Princes that lack of experienced officers prevented them from transferring power to popular representatives. Only the practice of self-government could fit a people for self-government.

THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

The Political Department which had played such an important part in the affairs of Indian States was going to close down with the disappearance of Paramountcy and there was no need to enter into recriminations at this point. Until the transfer of power took place, the Political Department must become a popular department like others in the Government of India and should be replaced by a committee of representatives of the Princes and the States people to serve as a liaison body in all matters affecting the States.

Referring to the possibility of an all-India Provincial Government replacing the present Interim Government, he said that this must be a representative body on which there should be suitable representation of the States peoples.

Earlier, Dr. Sitaramayya gave a brief review of the States' Peoples' Conference and said that the last year had been a period of trial to the people of the States. The Government of India Act of 1935, the Cripps Mission and the Cabinet Mission had omitted any reference to the people of the States and referred only to the States and the Princes. Nevertheless, the people had forced themselves into the picture and this was recognised by the Chancellor in his speech in January 1946 to the Chamber of Princes, saying that there should be a charter of fundamental rights in all the States for the people. The Princes' attitude during the Cabinet Mission left room for doubt. Although the Chamber claimed to represent the Princes, in part it had representatives of only some of them. Then it had said that it would be the organisation to negotiate on behalf of the States, while each individual State would decide whether or not to join the Constituent Assembly.

REPRESENTATION IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The problem of the States and States' people had been pushed to the fore following the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16 and their statement of May 12 regarding paramountcy. So far, he added, negotiations between representatives of the Constituent Assembly and the Princes had gone fairly smoothly but there had come a hitch. Princes as such had no more room in the Constituent Assembly than had Provincial Governors, as the Princes were the future
governors of their States. However, a compromise had been reached regarding representation. There still remained the difficulty that in many cases, there were no popular assemblies in the States from which to choose popular representatives and the Princes wanted to fall back on panchayats which were bodies nominated by the lambardars and has no elective value. In such cases the popular quotas must be furnished by the Regional Council of the A.I.S.P.C. unless some understanding was reached before them between the Princes and the Regional Council concerned.

Concluding, Dr. Sitaramayya said that the time he had looked forward to when the Princes and the people would march not on parallel but on converging lines to the same goal, was within sight. ‘Let the pomp of royalty and pride of person make room for the sovereignty of the people’, who would be ‘emancipated from the thralldom of centuries and united by the ideals of the ages’, he said. Then India could lead Asia to freedom.

The conference was attended by 800 delegates from all over the country besides prominent leaders including Acharya Narendra Dev, Sj. Shankarrao Deo, Mrs. Kamaladevi, Sj. V.K. Krishna Menon and others.

Resolutions—2nd Day—Gwalior—19th April 1947

The plenary session of the Conference, after three hours’ debate to-night, decided to accept the agreement arrived at between the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly and the Princes regarding the method of election of States’ representatives to the Constituent Assembly. The resolution recommending to the Praja Mandals in the various States, to co-operate in the election of States representatives was passed by an overwhelming majority. Earlier, the Subjects Committee discussed the draft resolution.

Pandit Nehru who, as Chairman of the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly, negotiated the agreement with the Princes sponsored the resolution. A number of amendments were suggested by the delegates from different States, but mostly they were either defeated or withdrawn. Pandit Nehru accepted two or three minor amendments after which the Subjects Committee passed it.

BRITISH DECLARATION WELCOMED

The resolution read: ‘This Conference welcomes the declaration made on behalf of the British Government that British authority will finally end in India by June 1948. It resents, however, repeated attempts of the British Power to ignore the people of the States and treat them as chattels to be disposed of without any reference to them. It wishes to declare clearly and emphatically that no decision or solution of the problem of the States will be binding on the people of the states unless it has their explicit approval.

The Conference therefore, does not consider itself bound by any of the decisions so far taken without reference to it by the Negotiating Committee of the Rulers. In view, however, of the rapid pace of events and the necessity for quick decisions, the Conference is prepared to co-operate where this is feasible and in the interests of people in the work of drawing up constitutions for the States as well as for the Indian Union. The Conference considers the conditions agreed upon between the Negotiating Committee of the States and Corresponding Committee of the Constituent Assembly as wholly unsatisfactory and not in keeping with the repeated declarations of the States’ People’s organisation. Nevertheless because of its desire to co-operate in the rapid framing of the constitution of the Indian Union based on the declared
objectives of the Constituent Assembly, it is prepared to advise the Praja Mandals to offer their co-operation in electing representatives for the Constituent Assembly where this can be done with dignity and in the interests of the people.

‘The Conference has noted the attempts of many of the Rulers as well as of the Political Department to prevent co-operation of the States with the Constituent Assembly. This obstruction which is patently against the interests of both India as a whole and of the people of States, must be condemned and resisted and it must be made clear that the people of the States as a whole stand for full co-operation with the Constituent Assembly. The conference congratulates those State Governments which have already taken steps to co-operate with the Constituent Assembly. In regard to others, it calls upon them to rise up with their people and declare their partnership in the great work of framing a constitution for the Indian Union. Continued refusal to do so can only mean hostility to the conception of Indian freedom and must be treated as such by the people of the States.’

An amendment was moved by Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq from Kashmir suggesting that the people of the Indian States should be asked by the Constituent Assembly to send their representatives directly. Pandit Nehru speaking on this amendment, pointed out that the Cabinet Mission’s plan had not provided for such an entry of States’ representatives into the Constituent Assembly. But after two or three months when we knew definitely who were coming into the Constituent Assembly and who were not, then the Constituent Assembly might be compelled to consider such a course of action. The amendment was thereupon withdrawn.

Another amendment sought to replace the word, ‘hostility’ in the last line of the resolution by the word, ‘opposition’, on the ground that the former word was unduly strong and connoted bitterness. Declining to accept the amendments, Pandit Nehru pointed out the question was not one of mildness or otherwise. The proposition was that Princes who continued to keep out of the Union were hostile to the Union. There was no use mincing words. We must say frankly what we felt about it. The amendment was withdrawn.

Pandit Nehru accepted another amendment, moved by Sj. Sarangadhar Das (Orissa States), adding a proviso to the resolution stating that where there was no well-established Legislative Assembly in the States, the only suitable machinery for election of representatives was regional councils of the All India States’ People’s Conference.

Demand for Responsible Government

The Subjects Committee passed another resolution reiterating the objective of full Responsible Government in the States as integral parts of a united and free India. Expressing full agreement on behalf of the people of the States with the objectives resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly, the resolution endorsed determination to set up a free independent Republic of India in which all power and authority would be derived from the people.

Paramountcy

A separate resolution on Paramountcy and activities of the Political Department also passed by the Subjects Committee declares that the continuation of the Political Department in its old form with its irresponsible methods of working is an anachronism and is dangerous to the future of the States’ peoples. ‘The conference reiterates its strong disapproval of the policy of the Political Department which functions in secret and without the knowledge of the people and which appears to aim at the constitution of a large number of independent or semi-independent
units in India. This policy of dividing the country into numerous shreds and patches is a menace to the country and must be resisted. While welcoming the approaching end of Paramountcy, the Conference declares again that power and authority must vest in the people. The people of the States have to attain freedom not only from British authority but also from autocratic rule at present prevailing in the States with a few exceptions.

‘The Conference congratulates some States who have already declared themselves in favour of Responsible Government and taken steps to implement these declarations. It calls upon others to follow this example by declaring Responsible Government as the immediate aim in view and organising constituent assemblies freely elected by people in each State or in groups of states to frame a constitution based on Responsible Government. During the intervening period, popular Interim Governments must be established in the states.’

Greetings to Sheikh Md. Abdullah

The General Council this morning passed a resolution sending its warmest greetings to its elected President, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, who is behind the prison bars. The resolution pledged to work for the freedom of the people of Kashmir for which Sheikh Abdullah is suffering.

Choice of States’ Delegates

The agreement arrived at between the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly and the Princes regarding the method of election of States’ representatives to the Constituent Assembly, was accepted by the Conference.

A resolution recommending to the Praja Mandals in the various States to co-operate in the election of States’ representatives to the Constituent Assembly was also passed. Three amendments virtually seeking to scrap the fifty-fifty agreement on the choice of States representatives to the Constituent Assembly (fifty per cent to be Princes’ nominees and fifty percent to be people’s elected representatives) were either ruled out of order by the President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya or defeated.

Pandit Nehru, who was Chairman of the Constituent Assembly’s Negotiating Committee when the agreement with the Princes was arrived at, spoke again to-night on the resolution. The main question, he pointed out, was whether the people of Indian States wanted to strengthen the Constituent Assembly in all possible ways and hasten the framing of the Constitution for free India and whether in the circumstances, it was advantageous for them to co-operate with the Constituent Assembly or not. Joining the assembly now even on a fifty-fifty basis, he thought, would prove more beneficial to the States’ people’s interests than a mere negative attitude of rejecting the agreement.

The session also passed a resolution demanding immediate establishment of Responsible Government in all Indian States and welcoming the Constituent Assembly’s objectives resolution declaring its intention to set up a free and independent Republic of India.

WILL NOT AFFECT STATES’ PEOPLES’ INTERESTS

The resolution accepting the Negotiating Committee’s agreement was moved by Sj. Hiralal Sastri who agreed that the terms of the State’ People’s selection provided under the agreement fell much below expectations. But he pointed out that forced by circumstances and with a desire to facilitate the work of the Constituent Assembly the Congress leaders thought advisable to make concessions. That was the only course open wherein States’ people could help the country in her onward march towards independence. People of the States must differentiate between
Princes who were willing to co-operate with the Constituent Assembly and those who are showing hostility. Princes who to-day refused to listen to the demands of their people, would soon have to face revolts which would bring about their ruin.

Urging acceptance of the agreement Sj. Hiralal Sastri said: ‘Let us accept the agreement that is the best in the circumstances and it will in no way adversely affect the people of the Indian States.’

Sj. Mukund Behari Lal criticised the Nawab of Bhopal’s interpretation of the Cabinet Mission’s plan ‘that the States were to join the Constituent Assembly only after the constitution had been framed’. Did he think that the leaders would, after taking great decisions about the country’s future, be still arguing with the Princes to persuade them to accept those decisions? It was a betrayal by the British Government of the States People that Indian leaders had been compelled to come to terms with the Princes. Indian States might be allowed to frame their own respective constitutions, but he urged that all such constitutions should be democratic.

Mr. Golam Mohammad Sadiq (Kashmir), who had unsuccessfully endeavoured in the Subjects Committee to amend the resolution with a view to calling upon the Constituent Assembly to invite Praja Mandals in Indian States to send directly their representatives to the Constituent Assembly, again tried to move an amendment to the same effect in the open session. The president, however, ruled out this amendment on the score that it had already been rejected by the Subjects Committee.

Sjts. Chaturvedi (Bharatpur), Ramanand Bajpai and Shakir Ali Sahib (Bhopal) opposed acceptance of the resolution. Mr. Shakir Ali said that the fifty-fifty agreement would ultimately lead to the acceptance of the views of the Nawab of Bhopal. No concession should be made to the rulers, he said, and urged that the resolution should be rejected. The speaker alleged that the Nawab of Bhopal had been putting obstacles in the way of the country’s freedom and asked: ‘With what face can I go back to Bhopal after accepting the resolution which concedes to the Nawab of Bhopal the right to select 50 percent of his State’s quota of members for the Constituent Assembly?’

Nehru’s Reply to Criticism

Replying to the criticism, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who spoke, reiterated that mere show of temper against the misdeeds of Princes and Nawabs would be of no use to the States’ people. The main problem facing the states’ people was to decide how to act in the present circumstances. The time for making fiery speeches was over. He himself used to do so when he was young, but the situation obtaining to-day demanded something more positive than mere hurling of abuse. Stating that he was responsible for the resolution under discussion, Pandit Nehru said: ‘I am a man of dignity and I shall never place before you an undignified resolution.’

Pandit Nehru then read out, clause by clause, the terms of the resolution and asked what particular provisions in it were objected to. He admitted that he himself did not like the 50 percent formula. If he could have had his way, he would have called the representatives of the States people directly to the Constituent Assembly. But taking into account the limitations under which the Assembly was working, they had per force to meet the Princes half way. The Constituent Assembly, he asserted, was a new weapon in their hands. It was a sovereign body in which the British Government had no say at all. Were the States people going to strengthen the Assembly or adopt a negative attitude and throw away that weapon because it was not all to their liking? He would commend acceptance of the resolution as a practical proposition.
Pandit Nehru accepted an amendment moved by Sj. Sarangadhar Das (Orissa States) adding a proviso to the resolution stating that where there was no well-established Legislative Assembly in the states, the only suitable machinery for election of representatives was regional councils of the All-India States’ People’s Conference. The resolution was passed by an over-whelming majority.

Responsible Government in States

The resolution demanding Responsible Government immediately in Indian States and welcoming the Constituent Assembly’s objectives resolution was moved by Acharya Narendra Deo who pointed out that the demand for complete Responsible Government in the States was one on which no compromise should be made. In the present context, anything less than complete self-government would be ridiculous. Sj. Baijnath Mahoday supported the resolution.

Resolution—Third Day—Gwalior—20th April 1947

Reforms in the States

The annual session of the Conference concluded to-night after passing all the resolutions as passed by the Subjects Committee. It was decided to hold the next session of the Conference in Hyderabad.

The resolution on constitutional reforms expresses deep regret at the fact that the Indian States’ Rulers with a few exceptions had failed to show correct appreciation of the great historic changes awaiting the nation in the near future and had so far taken no adequate steps in the direction of establishing democratic Governments in their respective states.

Referring to the various schemes of reforms announced by different States within the last few months, the resolution says: ‘All these schemes are characterised by common and calculated disregard for all principles of democracy and freedom. These constitutional reforms and schemes either make no declaration accepting the objective of the establishment of Responsible Government, or if they make any such declaration, it is not only not unqualified but lacks all intentions of any immediate or ever remote implementation thereof. The nature and extent of the reforms contained are totally insufficient to fulfill the peoples’ demand, since the composition and powers of the proposed legislatures are extremely defective and restricted and the executive, even the so-called popular element in them, irresponsible. There are also a large number of other States, which so far have kept entirely quiet in the matter of constitutional reforms. The conference, therefore, expresses strong disapproval of the present [un]satisfactory policy of rulers in this matter and strongly urges immediate adoption of radically different policy so as to meet the pressing demand of the people for the establishment of full Responsible Government in the states in the immediate future.’

Reforms in Travancore

The resolution on Travancore views with concern the ‘persistent suppression of civil liberties in the State.’ Labour organisations had been suppressed and Trade Union activities paralysed. Many Trade Unions were kept under ban, advantage being taken of the disturbances created by labour which led to violence under Communist leadership in some areas, where Martial Law was proclaimed and large number of labourers shot dead. The Travancore Government was not inclined to establish a democratic Government, as evidenced by the recent promulgation of the Constitution Act, which was not calculated to transfer power to the people. The Conference
approved the stand taken by the State Congress that the reforms were unacceptable, that ‘a Constituent Assembly should be brought into being to frame a constitution for the State and that an Interim Popular Government be immediately established.’

In a resolution on Faridkot, the Conference regretted that the Ruler had not kept the agreement between him and Pandit Nehru to have an impartial enquiry by the Chief Justice of Faridkot into the excesses committed by the State officials during the Satyagraha Campaign. Condemning this ‘breach of agreement’, the resolution said that the Conference expected the ruler to implement the agreement without delay.

On the proposed scheme of confederation in Kathiawar States, the Conference expressed the opinion that this scheme initiated by the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar was an attempt to obstruct and sabotage the realisation of India’s Independence based on the democratic principles of free democratic grouping. All such attempts at groupings and confederations should be effectively resisted by the people, unless they received free and explicit consent of the people of the areas concerned.

**Grouping of States**

A separate resolution on grouping of States declared: For competent units the Federal Union will be able to maintain modern and progressive standards of administration. Only those States that have a population of about 50 lakhs of people and a revenue of about eight crores of rupees could be considered as fit units for the purpose of Federal Union, provided suitable exception might be made for adequate reasons. In any event, such units must have sufficient resources and be capable of maintaining modern and progressive standards of administration.

The rest of the States not capable of answering such standards can only exist as suitable groups formed on the basis of geographical continuity, historical tradition and cultural homogeneity and linguistic unity. Such groups shall as far as possible come up to standard ‘individual States’ and be administered as composite units. The rest of the States should be absorbed into adjacent appropriate Provincial areas and cease to exist as Indian States.

**Criticism of Reforms in Bhopal**

The resolution on Bhopal refers to the recent reorganisation in the Government made by the Nawab of Bhopal and says: ‘Of the three new Ministers, one is taken from the Muslim League, one from Hindu Sabha and the third from the so-called Congress Committee of Bhopal, which is defunct and not allowed to work in the State. The Bhopal State People’s Conference, which is the only representative political body in the State, has been conveniently ignored. The new Government is said to be an interim agreement, which will function during the pleasure of the Nawab. But it has also been made quite clear that the Government will not be responsible or democratic.

In the declaration, it has been stated that these three Ministers enjoy the confidence of the people as well as of the political parties. The fact is not one of those Ministers enjoy the confidence of the people, but of the Nawab, who has been patronising them for sometime past by nominating them to the various committees appointed by the State.

**PROCEEDINGS AND RESOLUTIONS**

The Nawab of Bhopal has refused to implement his declaration of June 1946 wherein he promised to consult all the political parties in the State. He has also failed: (1) to increase the elected elements in the Legislative Council based on adult franchise; (2) to amend the
existing laws on democratic lines; (3) to hold fresh elections to the local bodies; (4) to declare fundamental rights and (5) constitute a Public Service Commission.

The Nawab has, on the other hand, suppressed effectively all civil liberties of the people by the promulgation of Section 144 and enforcement of the Public Safety Ordinance and the Defence of Bhopal Rules throughout the State with the active support of the three newly appointed reactionary Ministers.

The conference, therefore, condemns the attitude taken by the Nawab of Bhopal, who also happens to be the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and calls upon the people of Bhopal to unite to take such steps as are necessary to realise their political aspirations.

The resolution on Kashmir and Hyderabad views with 'deep concern the rapidly deteriorating situation in the two States in respect of internal harmony and progress.' 'In Kashmir', the resolution states, 'ruthless repression of the people's liberties has been going on for the last eleven months, carrying in its wake mass arrests, shooting and death and the unbalancing of the social and public life of the State. There is an acute shortage of food and other necessities of life. The situation there is more complicated due to the continued detention of Sheikh Abdullah, President of the All India States People's Conference and his colleagues, which constitutes a standing insult to the people of Indian States.

In Hyderabad too, civil liberties continue to be stifled more or less as of old particularly in districts where the normal functioning of the State Congress has been made well nigh impossible. Communal bitterness caused by the deliberate encouragement given to communal and other vested reactionary elements is spreading more and more and the State Government have so far taken no effective steps to check it. In the agrarian districts mass exploitation and victimisation of peasants and tenants continue and recent crisis in the Nalgonda Districts still shows no chance of solution. Meanwhile, poor peasants are victimised and harassed and no attempt is being made to look into their grievances.'

Expressing 'resentment' at the ambiguous stand taken by the Governments of Kashmir and Hyderabad in regard to the Constituent Assembly, the resolution says: 'In both the States, popular organisations have boycotted the State Legislatures. These bodies do not thus represent popular opinion and cannot, therefore, be taken to represent the people. Their unsuitability to send representatives to the Constituent Assembly is, therefore, patent. The method of electing representatives from these States, therefore, remains unsettled.

An impression is, however, sought to be created in the minds of the people at large that Kashmir and Hyderabad can exist as independent entities on the termination of British authority and power. The Conference wishes to make it clear that Kashmir and Hyderabad—as also the other Indian States—cannot be allowed to remain outside of the orbit of Independent India, much less can they be allowed to determine their own internal constitutional structure without the sanction of their people. Such an attempt will always be resented by the people and if necessary even resisted.'

Conveying greetings to people of these two States, the resolution assured them of complete support of the States peoples.
9. ‘State Muslims Not to Join until League–Congress Truce’

*Dawn, 28 April 1947*

HYDERABAD, Sunday. MAHMOODUL HASAN SIDDQUI, Secretary of the All-India States Muslim League, referring to the question of Indian States joining the Constituent Assembly in an interview said: ‘The few States which have declared their intention of joining the Constituent Assembly were apparently influenced by the Congress coercive methods.’

Referring to the position of Muslims in States, Mr. Siddiqui said: ‘They have decided not to go into the Constituent Assembly until there is complete agreement between the two major political parties, and the All-India Muslim League decides to join the Constituent Assembly. The political solidarity of the Musalmans of India will be maintained at all costs, and the Muslims of Indian States will always remain a factor substantially contributing to the strength of this solidarity.’

Mr. Siddiqui criticised the attitude of the Congress towards the Princes and said that Pandit Nehru’s fighting speech at the Gwalior Session of the All-India States’ People’s Conference did not come as a total surprise to careful observers of political problems in the States.

‘Unfortunately,’ Mr. Siddiqui added: ‘The Congress leader who occupies responsible and elevated position in the Interim Government, has the habit of giving out hasty and sometimes thoughtless, expressions of opinion on matters of vital political and constitutional importance relating to Indian States. His recent outburst which has passed all canons of justice and equity and which must have disappointed even some of his enthusiastic admirers are specimens of such hasty and thoughtless utterances which have gone a long way in complicating matters instead of easing them. I do not think the threat so recklessly given in his speech will be taken seriously by the Princes who have sufficient perspective and coolness of mind to judge things in their proper perspective.’ —API.

10. ‘States People Conference Demands Clean Out of Princely Autocracy’

Extract from a report in *People’s Age*, 4 May 1947

**Leadership Forces ‘50-50’ Agreement on Unwilling Delegates**

The Gwalior Session of the All-India States’ Peoples’ Conference (AISPC) met at Laxminagar (Gwalior) on April 18, 19 and 20 under the Presidentship of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. The President elect Sher-i-Kashmir Sheikh Abdulla, was absent due to his incarceration in jail.

The last annual Session of the AISPC was held fifteen months ago at Udaipur. That session had set two chief objectives to be realised by the States’ peoples’ movement:

1. The establishment of full Responsible Government in the States, and —
2. The sending in of only people’s delegates to the All-India Constituent Assembly so that it framed a really democratic constitution of a free and united India.

The strategy laid down by the leadership for achieving these objectives was, however, one of compromise with the Princes.

The result of this strategy, which was imposed upon the local workers by the all-India leaders, had been that in the last fifteen months since Udaipur, instead of responsible Government, the people of the States had received empty declarations and reforms devoid of any power.
Fifty-Fifty Agreement
Instead of 100 per cent peoples’ representation in the Constituent Assembly, they had got the ‘50-50’ agreement, based on the Princes’ terms which cut at the very root of the peoples’ rights and freedom.

Instead of ‘co-operation’ and the Princes’ ‘hand of friendship’, the people had been met with unparalleled repression.

And having allowed the Princes, by its policy of ‘No struggle’ and suppression of revolutionary forces, to attack the people and weaken their organised strength, the leadership could not succeed in bringing all the Princes into the Constituent Assembly even on the basis of the ‘50-50’ formula.

Thus, the major part of feudal India still remains outside the All-India Constitution-making Body. The States of Hyderabad, Travancore, Kashmir, Kalat, etc. have already declared their intention to keep out of the Constituent Assembly and the Union Centre, and are planning to have ‘independent’ relations—‘treaties’, pacts, etc., with Britain!

The AISPC leadership’s policy had obviously not borne the desired fruit, and the hundreds of delegates from Kashmir, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Dholpur, Bikaner, Alwar, Faridkot, Tehri, Bharatpur, Kolhapur, the Central Indian States, etc., had come with full realisation of this failure.

The task before the Gwalior Session was to take stock of the failures and achievements of the AISPC leaders’ policy in the last fifteen months on the basis of the summated experience of the delegates gathered there and then to give a new lead to the States’ peoples so that they could march forward to the attainment of their aims simultaneously with the people of British India.

What actually happened at Gwalior? What was the lead given by the Session?

The experience of the delegates—the story of their people’s woes and the plans and the machinations of the Rulers and the Political Department were summarised in a series of resolutions in unmistakable words, showing that the reality as it existed in the States was not unrealised.

Resolution on Repression
FIRST, there was a long resolution—the longest of the Session—which told of the wanton repression in the States and warned the Princes against the continuation of such a policy. The resolutions on Travancore and Hyderabad and Kashmir said the same thing.

These resolutions defended the people’s movement as a whole and gave a lie to the propaganda of the State authorities and other disruptive elements that the repression in the States was due to the ‘tactics’ of the Communists who fomented unnecessary disturbances.

SECONDLY, the clear-cut resolution on the role of the Political Department for ‘dividing up India into numerous shreds and patches’ and Pandit Nehru’s frontal attack in the open session on its ‘secret and sly working against India’, again reflected the understanding of States’ peoples’ representatives regarding the machinations of the British Government in respect of Indian States.

A third resolution on constitutional reforms exposed the hollowness of the reforms introduced in the states in the following words:
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

'This Conference has also taken note of the various schemes of Constitutional Reforms announced by the different States within the last few months. It is...of the opinion that all these schemes are characterised by a common and calculated disregard of all principles of democracy and freedom....'

The States' Peoples' basic demand for Responsible Government was not only reiterated but the demand was further concretised in the form of a fighting slogan to immediately establish a Constituent Assembly for setting up a Responsible Government in each State.

This understanding of the situation and tasks should have naturally led to the conclusion that the '50-50' agreement and the policy it embodied were not in the interests of either the States' peoples or the country's constitution-making, and must, therefore, be repudiated and the path of the States' peoples cleared by the pointed demand that they should see that only people's representatives went to the Constituent Assembly.

But on this crucial and focal point the leadership continued the old line of compromise and Pandit Nehru used all his personal prestige and power and the strength of National Congress to force the acceptance of the conceived agreement on the delegates.

Feeling of Delegates

Pandit Nehru knew how the Princes and the Political Department and the British Government were making use of this agreement to impede the birth of unity, freedom and democracy in the States. And yet he made some of the most pursuant and emotional speeches that I have ever heard him make, to commend its approval.

The overwhelming majority of the delegates were against its acceptance. Their experience and their sentiments were against it.

The Regional Conferences of the Eastern States Agency (comprising the Orissa and C.P. States) and the Central Indian States and some of individual States like Hyderabad gone in record [sic] against it. The delegates heard Pandit Nehru' speeches in stony silence.

He caused some laughter or deepened the dismay and frustration of the people when he said that he was a 'man of dignity' and could not put forward an undignified proposition before them, thus making it a question of personal confidence in him.

But he never—so far as I can remember—drew applause either in the Subjects' Committee or the open Session of about 30,000 people. On the contrary, the speeches of opposition—though weak and inadequate they were—were lustily applauded at both the places.

Opposition Muzzled

When Pandit Nehru failed to carry conviction, he got annoyed, hit out sharply and sarcastically against the opponents or the movers of amendments and muzzled all opposition.

He said he had heard such fiery speeches before; he had even made them himself some twenty years ago when he was young and immature. From them it would seem that Swaraj has already come—and the only thing remained for the opposition speakers were to hoist their flag and declare their independence. Then why did not they do it—who was holding them down?

He declared angrily that shouting revolutionary slogans or crying and cursing like old women did not solve any problem when they were faced with practical questions, and had to say yes or no at every step.
His argument was that a plan was placed before them by the Cabinet Mission. No changes could be made in that plan, it had to be accepted as a whole or rejected as a whole. So far as its section dealing with the States was concerned, it could be worked only with the help of the Princes—the key to that door was held by the Princes and they alone could open it...

Hence let us invite the Princes—even those of them who come, and pay any price for their joining us. With their help let us free as much of India as is now possible. Later we shall use the free part for liberating the remaining portions.

In this argument he had forgotten two important things:
FIRST, the role of the Princes both inside the Constituent Assembly and in the States. The Princes who had entered the Constituent Assembly had done so after receiving an assurance from the Constituent Assembly Negotiating Committee that the Union Centre would possess only those limited powers which the Rulers themselves agreed to give it. It would have no right to interfere either with their rule in the States or with their territories.

Job of Princes’ Nominees
Having undermined the powers of the Union Centre by getting these assurances regarding the continuance of their autocratic regimes in the States, the job of the Princes’ nominees in the Constituent Assembly was to work so that the democratic rights of the people in British India also were restricted and qualified as far as possible and the Centre never became strong.

During the Gwalior Session itself, newspapers had flashed the news from Delhi that Sardar K.M. Pannikar, nominee of the Bikaner Ruler to the Constituent Assembly, was demanding that the discussion on every fundamental question about the rights of the people should be reopened.
This was the purpose of joining of the most backward States of Central India and Rajputana with the most advanced people of British India in the Constituent Assembly; weaken the power of the Union Centre and check the democratic advance of the people in the whole country.
Further the States’ participation in the Constituent Assembly were not bound by any of its decisions. There was no certainty that they would join the Indian Union.

In fact, according to the Cabinet Mission Plan, for whose unquestioned acceptance Panditji was pleading from beginning to end, the Princes are completely free to remain independent of the Union Centre and to enter into any negotiations or pacts—even mutual assistance military pacts—with the British Government.

Inside the States the policy of these Princes was to make use of the ‘soft’ and ‘non-embarrassment’ policy of the all-India leaders towards them for pounding down the people and, as pointed out earlier, preparing to make mince meat of their organised strength by June 1948 or by the time the Constituent Assembly finished its labours!
This arrangement could not lead to the freedom of the people in States which had joined in what is called British India, leave alone the question of using it as a lever to free the other parts which were not joining the Constituent Assembly.

The Only Guarantee
The SECOND thing that Pandit Nehru had forgotten was that it was the peoples’ strength and their ‘unofficial’ struggle which had forced the Princes to accept the ‘50-50’ agreement.
If the leaders of the Congress allowed the States people to launch a struggle ‘officially’, and threw in the weight of the powerful Interim Government at the Centre and the popular Congress Ministries in the Provinces, the Princes in no time could be forced not only to agree to send 100 per cent representatives of the States’ peoples to the Constitution Assembly, but also to respect the democratic rights of the people in their own States.

If Panditji had allowed them freedom to speak, every delegate would have vouchsafed for the correctness of this policy.

Everybody was thrilled when Panditji made the welcome declaration that the States which were not joining the Constituent Assembly were ‘hostile States’ and they would be treated as such by the Indian people—because it is necessary for our people’s freedom and future glory that no part of the vast Indian continent should remain outside the Union Centre.

But this threat without laying the conditions on which the States are to join, would remain useless. For instance, what difference it would make to the cause of Indian Freedom, unity or democracy, if tomorrow Hyderabad, Kashmir and Travancore also came into the Constituent Assembly as Bikaner, Jodhpur, etc., have done—without surrendering any rights to the peoples of their States or to the Constituent Assembly?

They would only play Britain’s role inside it and utilise their position to crush and suppress the people and whatever democratic rights they have won in their own States.

The Peoples’ Way

Hence the question is not and never was whether the States join the Constituent Assembly or not because that they must be made to—the basic question is who join it on their behalf—the Princes’ nominees or the people’s delegates.

The edifice of India’s unity and freedom can be built up only if the people of the States are invited to take part in its building through their true representatives. And, as has been pointed out above, it is possible to get this done with our strength and must be got done if we want to create a really free united India.

This is not an alternative way, but the only practical way to realise the dream embodied in Pandit Nehru’s Objectives Resolution of the Constituent Assembly.

The way which Panditji put forward—with repeated appeals in the name of ‘practical’ politics—is not only wrong but dangerous, as it makes the path of the Political Department and its Princely agents to organise themselves to attack us, easy.

Pandit Nehru’s arguments were based on complete lack of faith in the people and their strength. But unfortunately, neither was this mistake pointed out at Gwalior, nor was the real way described above placed before the people or the delegates at the Session. The chief responsibility for this failure unfortunately lay on the Socialist Party (India).

Sjt. Jai Prakash Narain had issued a public statement against the ‘50-50’ agreement; Janata, their paper, had also condemned it hence the people expected that the leaders of the Socialist Party would take a lead in opposing it.

In fact, in the beginning there was a heartening news going the rounds of the Socialist ranks that Sjt. Jai Prakash Narain himself was coming to Gwalior to lead the opposition. Acharya Narendra Deo, Munshi Ahmed Din, Mohanalal Gautam and Smt. Kamla Devi had already arrived there.
The mood and expectations of the rank and file Socialists were fully expressed in the large number of questions which were put to Acharya Narendra Dev in an informal meeting of the Socialists and their sympathisers, held on the night of April 17 at the Mela grounds.

No Positive Line
But Acharyaji could not give even ten minutes out of his two hour long talk to the problem relating to the Session or the States' peoples' movement in general. He put no line before his eager listeners.

About the '50-50' agreement, he just mentioned that 'there was no harm in demanding 100 per cent representation, but it did not seem practicable'.

In the Open Session, Acharyaji delivered an impassioned oration on the formation of the future Republic of India, but kept quiet on the resolution proposing the acceptance of the '50-50' agreement, which struck at the very basis of that Republic. Nor did any other Socialist leader get up to say anything.

Munshi Ahmed Din spoke on one of the most important resolutions of the Session instructing the Praja Mandals to develop strength to make a clean sweep of all slavery in feudal India by June 1948. But from his speech it appeared as if he had not even read the resolution, because he murdered its revolutionary content and turned and twisted it to ask the people to prepare to act after June 1948.

The only speeches which could be called Leftist, were made by Messrs. Shakir Ali Khan of Bhopal and Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq from Kashmir. They were cheered and applauded, but they also failed to effectively answer Pandit Nehru.

Pandit Nehru’s resolution was passed by a large majority leaving even those who voted for it dissatisfied and confused.

Delegates Disappointed
Most of the delegates did not know what was going to happen next. They felt that all initiative had been seized from their hands and they did not know what to do when they went back to their States.

One of them—an important leader of a Central Indian State—told me: 'It is better to take opium and die than to go back to the State with this resolution!' The Dholpur delegates said despondently: 'Everybody has to bear his own cross....' and quoted a Hindi saying that 'You cannot see heaven without dying yourself.'

The legendary Bhil leader of Mewar, Motilal Tejawat, and the fifty-five year old Magha Ram Vaid of Bikaner—a hundred of whose colleagues were languishing in Sardar Panikkar's jail—said that the only hope now lay in the younger generation.

The young Socialist workers were bewildered and the only thing they said to me was: 'Wait till we have organised ourselves' and told me about the training camp they were going to have at Ratlam from May 1.

Undoubtedly for the time being the policy of compromise and no-struggle had once again won in no small measures due to the weakness and tailist policy of the Socialists and the other unorganised Leftists.

The danger has been further intensified by the predominantly Rightist Standing Committee of the AISPC which Dr. Pattabhi has nominated, with Sjs. Hiralal Shastri and Sarangdhar Das
as two of the new Secretaries and Sjt. Balwant Rai Mehta as Vice-President. There is no doubt that it does not represent the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of delegates.

The undemocratic and at times almost unbecoming behaviour of Dr. Pattabhi had considerably offended the delegates and their fear of his autocratic handling of the States' peoples' affairs in the course of the next year was so much that at one time I heard a group of delegates saying that instead of letting Dr. Pattabhi nominate the Standing Committee, they should insist upon its being elected by the General Council.

**Basis for Advance**

But by no means is this the whole story of Gwalior.

It was well nigh impossible to escape from the impress of the new reality. And after Panditji's departure from Gwalior on April 19, it became impossible for Dr. Pattabhi to silence the delegates.

By passing strongly-worded resolutions on the abolition of jagirdari, on the exploitation of labour by the capitalist-cum-feudal elements in the States and the need to organise and unite the student community coupled with the unequivocal demand for the establishment of Responsible Government in the States through a peoples Constituent Assembly, the Gwalior Session of the AISPC has opened the path for an unrestricted, joint mobilisation of people's forces in the States to wrest power from the hands of the autocratic Rulers, (see columns 2 and 3.)

By its resolution demanding the immediate repeal of the obnoxious Princes' Protection Act, the States Protection Act, and the Foreigners Act, the Gwalior Session has destroyed the false barriers which so far divided the people living in British India from the States' peoples and prevented them from free and full fraternisation.

And, finally, the Instructions Resolution asks the Praja Mandals to give a time-limit to their Rulers to bring about democratic rule in the States.

'So that India emerges by June 1948 as a free land with every vestige of British power and influence removed not only from the Provinces, but also from their nests in the States, and so that India emerges fully democratic not only in British India but in all the States where autocracy now prevails.'

**Clearing the Decks**

The Gwalior Session has thus cleared the decks for the forward march of the States peoples in spite of all the difficulties that may be created in their way by the '50-50' agreement resolution of the Rightist leadership.

It is on the basis of these democratic tasks that all anti-imperialists and anti-feudal workers, young and old, must unite in every state.

Their united efforts alone will procure that democratic advance and freedom in the States which will negate in practice the baneful effects of the '50-50' deal and provide a firm basis for framing a really free constitution of United India with States as its free integral parts.
Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

It is better known to your honour than it deserves to be expounded by us about the present dirty tactics of the front rank Congress leaders of [their] interference in State affairs quite detrimental to Muslim interests. So far as the All India Muslim League is concerned, its activities have been limited up to British India only and the All India States Muslim League has done very little to contact the Muslim masses and to bring about necessary political consciousness amongst them. With the fate of India in balance and with the final decision thereof a matter of a few days, I am afraid the case of the Muslims of native States may go by default and the Muslims there may remain as perpetual sufferers.

Your honour might have read the inaugural address of Mr. Shanker Rao Deo, General Secretary of the Congress, delivered at Janjira, in the recent political conference held there. The said conference was held under the auspices of the Praja Parishad which represents a bulk of the Hindu populace and was presided over by Mr. Kunte, Parliamentary Secretary to the Bombay Premier. The Muslims, in accordance with the mandate of their own organisation, the Muslim Majlis, had boycotted the Conference. A little [sic for small] number of Muslims who were present there were spectators.

The speeches of both the above-referred responsible Congress leaders were full of deliberate misrepresentations, which can be judged from the facts that though H.H. the Nawab of Janjira has not so far announced about either joining the Constituent Assembly or declaring any Reform beyond calling up a Constitutional Advisory Committee, he was congratulated for doing so. Perhaps, they think that by such coercive means they can achieve their ends.

The Council of Muslim Majlis in its session held in the middle of May has drawn the pointed attention of H.H. the Nawab to this and has unequivocally declared their future course of action in accordance with the dictates of the League High Command and have warned H.H. the Nawab that if he decided otherwise, the Muslims shall not co-operate with the State authorities. Further, it has decided to affiliate the Majlis to the All India States Muslim League.

I have been specially instructed by the Council to seek your advice and directive, which shall be highly appreciated by both the Working Committee of the Majlis and the Muslims of the State at large.

A copy of the Janjira Darbar Extraordinary Gazette dated 1st May 1947 is enclosed herewith for your honour’s perusal.

H. M. VANGARE, B.A.

Secretary,

Muslim Majlis,

Janjira State

Copy forwarded to
Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All India Muslim League
JANJIRA DARBAR EXTRAORDINARY GAZETTE
ANNOUNCEMENT

Under my order No. 35 dated 24th May, 1939, a Special Committee was appointed to make recommendations for the establishment of a State Assembly, representative of varied interests in the State, as an effective step towards implementing my desire to take my people increasingly into confidence in the administration of the State. The Committee did much useful work in examining the details of the questions referred to it and made its report which, though not unanimous in regard to certain items, on the whole made useful and constructive suggestions.

2. It is unfortunate that notwithstanding my earnest desire to expedite the setting up of a full-fledged Legislative Assembly with elected majorities as early as possible, the special conditions created by the World War made it difficult to take further action in the matter, as I was advised to postpone the setting up of the new structure and the holding of elections under the new plan for the duration of the war lest it interfere with the war effort of the State and the need of maintaining the traditional goodwill and tranquillity within its territories.

3. The question of reviving the consideration of proposals then made has been receiving my active consideration ever since the cessation of hostilities and I have come to the conclusion that many of the recommendations made by the Reforms Committee set up in 1939 are out of date with the present-day requirements and conditions. I have accordingly decided to set up forthwith a representative Committee to review the recommendations made by the earlier Committee, in the light of the present-day requirements and existing circumstances, and to make recommendations in accordance with the Agenda (Appendix I) for the setting up of a State Legislative Assembly with elected majority and for revising the constitutions of local bodies with a view to giving them increased powers and more representative character. The Committee would examine and make recommendations in regard to the following points:

(a) The ways and means to ensure close and effective association of the people with the governance of the State, having due regard to the special circumstances of the State.
(b) The composition, powers, procedure and other details in regard to the proposed State Assembly and its relationship with the administration.
(c) The proposal to set up Advisory Committees to be associated with the Government of the State in regard to some important departments, to ensure desired liaison between the non-official elements and the Government, to bring to bear the light of enlightened public opinion in the framing of policies.
(d) Special provisions necessary to ensure protection of all classes in the State and to maintain the traditional harmonious relations between various communities in the State.
(e) The procedure to regulate the conduct of business in the State Assembly, including matters, if any, which may be reserved temporarily or otherwise.
(f) The examination of different forms of franchise, including functional representation in the light of changed circumstances in India and abroad, and to make recommendations suited to the conditions of the State. The recommendations on this item should also provide for gradual automatic increase in suffrage.
4. It is my desire that the Constitutional Advisory Committee proposed above may consist of majority of elected members and some official and non-official nominated members. The elected members will be selected by Municipalities, Local Boards, Inamdars, Sanad-holders, Khots and other interests such as agriculturists, backward classes, labourers, artisans, commerce, women, etc., in accordance with a detailed plan as set forth in Appendix II. With a view to assisting the Committee with the details of discussions held in 1939 and to secure for it requisite assistance from official records and papers, it is proposed that the Sarnyadhish of the State may act as Chairman of this Committee till such time as, after the preliminary stages, the members of the Committee unanimously agree to elect one of the members as its Chairman. The Committee would however elect its own Vice-Presidents and the Chairmen of the various sub-committees that may be set up.

5. The Committee will frame its own rules of procedure, provided that
   (a) any matters on which the Committee is not unanimous in regard to the procedure of business will be referred for decision of the Darbar with the recommendation of the Chairman;
   (b) any major communal issue would require majority of members of each of the major communities present and voting as also of all the members present and voting on the proposal. Any points of difference will be submitted to the Darbar for decision with the recommendation of the Chairman. It is my sincere desire however that in accordance with the tradition of my State there may be no occasion where any such differences may arise which are not settled amicably by members of this Committee.
   (c) any matter which is either in dispute or on which any doubt has arisen will be referred to the Darbar for decision.

6. My object in setting up this Committee is to assist me in framing a liberal and progressive constitution for the State which may enable the growth of my beloved people to their full stature under which the sovereign powers of the Ruler may be exercised through regular constitutional channels without in any way affecting or impairing his inherent powers and constitutional prerogatives and the continuance of the reigning dynasty and the integrity of the State as an integral part of a free Independent India.

7. I would at this juncture wish to remind my beloved people that their ancestors and mine together founded and built up this historic State. For nearly 400 years we have lived and worked together as a happy family and as such, irrespective of any class, creed or community, together we have shed our blood on many a field of battle to maintain it as an independent and sovereign State. Let us continue to strive hand in hand to maintain that proud tradition and to set an example before India of a happy and ordered political evolution. Let us be proud of our ancient historic State of Janjira and its invincibility of which the great Janjira Fort is a visible symbol... this sacred land of our birth and of our ancestors. Let us be proud of this great heritage of ours and through Janjira be proud of India, our great and common mother country. To my Inamdars, Sardars and Sanad-holders I would say that their ancestors have rendered great and valuable services in the past to their Ruler and their State in recognition of which they are now enjoying their Inams, lands, Sanads, grants and privileges. They should rest assured that every endeavour will be made to maintain their legitimate rights and privileges by suitable safeguards in the future constitution. To all classes and communities of my beloved people I need hardly give the assurance that every care will be taken to protect and safeguard their legitimate interests in the constitution.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

I pray that this announcement may lead to increasing happiness and progress of my people and that it may grow on the sure foundations of tolerance, service and responsibility.

SIDI MUHAMMAD KHAN
Nawab Saheb, Janjira.

12. ‘State Muslims Deplore Let-Alone Policy of HMG for Indian States: Safeguards Demanded’

*Dawn, 11 July 1947*

DELHI, Thursday.—The Working Committee of the All India States Muslim League, at a meeting held in Delhi on July 9, carefully considering the present political trend in the country and studying the HMG’s new India Plan, passed resolutions deploiring the HMG’s let-alone policy in regard to the Indian States, viewing with grave concern the atrocities perpetrated on the minority community in Bharatpur, Jaipur and Alwar states and advising the states in general to reform their internal administration according to the wishes of the people and to establish friendly relations with the dominions of Pakistan and Hindustan and also urging Kashmir and Kapurthala States, where Muslims are in clear majority, and all the Indian Muslim States to join the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

The following is the text of the resolutions passed:

The Working Committee have carefully considered the present political situation in the country with special reference to HMG’s recent plan and have come to the conclusion that HMG’s decision has left the states in the lurch and open to uncertainties, leaving them all alone to confront immense constitutional and political difficulties and internal trouble before they can settle down and occupy any distinct political status and adjust themselves with other political groups and dominions.

In view of this extremely difficult and precarious situation they urge the rulers of the Indian states to completely dissociate themselves from communal bias and bitterness, take all sections of their subjects into confidence and try to solve their constitutional & political problems in closest co-operation with their subjects.

The Committee further feel that the only safe course for those Indian states, who would not join either of the dominions, is to keep harmonious relations with both the dominion governments and make agreements to avoid all immediate causes of conflict or differences.

The Committee further urge the Rulers of the Indian states to immediately liberalise and democratise their constitutions so as to give their subjects the opportunities of sharing the responsibility of their administrations.

The Committee further demand unequivocal declarations from the Indian Princes that they will guarantee the protection of life, honour and property of the minorities and give them adequate safeguards in the constitution to preserve their separate social religious and cultural existence, which would lead to the permanent peace, progress and prosperity of the states.
13. Nehru Resigns from the Standing Committee of the All India States People’s Conference

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Hiralal Shastri, 14 July 1947
SWJN, Vol. III, pp. 259–60

My dear Hiralalji,

I feel that it is inadvisable and inexpedient for me to continue my membership of the Standing Committee of the All India States People’s Conference. I find that there is considerable difference in approach to the problems that face us between the Acting President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, and myself. Dr. Pattabhi evidently does not approve of much that I say or do and in the circumstances it is right that he should have a free hand to shape the policy of the States People’s Conference. I regret dissociating myself from the Standing Committee which has honoured me so much in the past. Of course, this does not mean any slackening in my interest in the problem of the Indian States. I think this is the most vital problem today for us in India and I shall endeavour to be of service to the people of the States in such ways as I can. But owing to differences of approach and temperament I find it difficult to function as a member of the executive of the organisation.

I should like to convey to you and to all the members of the Standing Committee my grateful thanks for all the courtesy and cooperation which they have extended to me in the past. You will, therefore, kindly treat this letter as my resignation from the membership of the Standing Committee of the All India States People’s Conference.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. Muslim League’s Stand on States on Lapse of Paramountcy

Eastern Times, 31 July 1947

Statement regarding Muslim League Policy about the States, New Delhi, July 30, 1947.

In a statement issued today, Mr. Jinnah reiterates that the Muslim League has no intention of coercing any State into adopting any particular action.

‘I have been asked from certain quarters to indicate what the attitude of the new Pakistan Government is likely to be in respect of the Indian States on lapse of paramountcy,’ says Mr. Jinnah.

‘I thought I had already made the position perfectly clear. The legal position is that with the lapse of paramountcy, on the transfer of power by the British all Indian States would automatically regain their full sovereign and independent status. They are, therefore, free to join either of the two Dominions or to remain independent.’

‘The Muslim League recognizes the right of each State to choose its destiny. It has no intention of coercing any State into adopting any particular course of action.’

‘Should a State desire to join the Pakistan Dominion or enter into any understanding or a treaty the Negotiating Committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, when set up, or the
representatives of the Government of Pakistan, as the case may be, will be glad to negotiate the terms on which such association can be brought about. While it is desirable to conclude such negotiations quickly, no definite time-frame can obviously be placed on their completion as this will, in my opinion, amount to interference with the States freedom of choice.

‘Meanwhile, there is already a provision for a standstill agreement to fill up any void that may arise in the administrative field. This standstill agreement would take care of the immediate problems that may result from the lapse of paramountcy.’

15. AISPC Will Celebrate Independence Day
   Statement issued by Hiralal Shastri, General Secretary, AISPC, undated
   AISPC Papers, File No. 253, NMML

   All India States’ People’s Conference
   New Delhi.

I have to draw the attention of all the Constituent bodies of the All India States’ People’s Conference to the Congress Working Committee’s resolution in connection with celebrations on August 15. To the Working Committee’s feeling that ‘freedom has come in a manner which does not bring full joy with it, for it is accompanied by the non accession of some part of the country’ may be added the States’ peoples’ feeling that the problem of swaraj in the Indian States has not yet been solved and that the people have still to struggle for their rights. Even then the termination of British rule in India is an occasion for rejoicing. I trust the Constituent bodies of All India States’ People’s Conference all over the country will celebrate the occasion by adopting the programme outlined in the Congress Working Committee’s resolution. I hope also that a public holiday be proclaimed in the Indian States as elsewhere in the country.
Chapter 40. North Indian States

A. Kashmir

1. Report from Kashmir

Extracts from the fortnightly report of the Kashmir Residency for the first half of January 1947, 15 January 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5(6)-P(S)/47, NAI

1. National Conference.

(a) Reference paragraph 115(a) of the last report. During the first week of January several followers of the National Conference committed various acts of goondaism, belaboured people and damaged lorries conveying voters to the polling booths. This hooliganism was in support of Dr. Poshin, who ultimately withdrew from the elections on account of alleged official interference. The National Conference have declared that they will shortly pass a resolution to the effect that Muslims elected unopposed as 'Independents' are not their representatives in the Praja Sabha. A partial hortal instigated by the National Conference was observed in Srinagar on polling day.

(b) Reference paragraph 115(b) of the last report. Jai Prakash Narain came to Srinagar on the 2nd January having been detained at the Domol Customs barrier—where some 52 of his books were seized—and left the following morning i.e. after a visit of only 18 hours. A meeting was held at Mujahid Manzil, headquarters of the National Conference, where he was presented with an address of welcome. He made a long speech eulogising Sheikh Abdulla and accused the British of anti-Indian motives and foreshadowed a further struggle in Kashmir.

(c) Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, Acting President of the National Conference, has sent a telegram to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru appealing for help to meet the food and fuel crisis which he said was ‘assuming dangerous proportions’ in Kashmir....

6. Hazara District Disturbances.

A communal clash having occurred in Thana Balakot, Hazara District, in the first week of January, more refugees arrived in State territory. The advice of Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, who came to Muzaffarabad to induce the refugees to return to the North-West Frontier Province had no effect. A relief fund has now been started under the patronage of Her Highness who has donated 2500 blankets for the refugees. The inhabitants of Muzaffarabad though friendly towards the refugees are, however, concerned by the sharp rise in the price of foodstuffs etc.
Altogether approximately 2300 refugees from Hazara are being cared for by the State authorities in and near Muzaffarabad.

Sd/-
RESIDENT IN KASHMIR

No. F.6-C/47.
Kashmir Residency
Sialkot
L.C.L. Griffin, Esq, C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Secretary to his Excellency
The Crown Representative,
New Delhi.

2. Give Relief to the Starving Millions of Kashmir

Letter from Ghulam Muhammed Bakshi, Acting President, All J&K National Conference, to J.B. Kripalani, 19 January 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

My dear Acharya ji,

Recently when a deputation of the Kashmir National Conference waited upon you and explained to you the serious food and fuel situation in Kashmir and the maladministration of essential commodities, resulting in famine conditions in the whole of the Valley; you were kind enough to sympathise with the Kashmiris and promised every help in relieving the critical conditions obtaining at present there.

We have, further, approached the Hon’ble Food Member (Dr. Rajendra Prasad), in this connection and have brought the matters to his notice with a request to his immediate intervention and bringing relief to the starving millions of Kashmir. For your information, I enclose copy of a communication I had addressed [to] the Hon’ble Food Member.

We, therefore, request you to please take up the question with the Government of India and raise your strong and effective voice in the public and press in support of the poor people of Kashmir, who are being crushed in body and spirit by a despotic Government to the utter disregard of elementary principles of humanity.

We would humbly but emphatically request that a visit from you to Kashmir at the present moment would not only show you the magnitude of the present calamity, the circumstances leading to it and the gross apathy and neglect of the administration but would also bring solace to the suffering millions who are looking to you for help and relief.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
Ghulam Muhammed Bakshi
Actg: President
All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference

17, York Road
New Delhi.
Enclosure

To
Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
Hon’ble Member for Food,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

Sir,

We beg to draw your attention to the scarcity of food and fuel in the Jammu and Kashmir State. The conditions in respect of these urgent necessities of the people have become extremely grave and unless effective measures are taken immediately there may be a widespread famine and starvation in the whole State. The situation is aggravated all the more due to the extremely bitter winter through which Kashmir is passing these days.

You are well aware that Kashmir is passing through a very grave political crisis for the last eight months. We need not repeat all that has happened during these months, but we wish to draw your attention to the fact that the extremely repressive and unsympathetic policy of the Kashmir Government has now reached a climax. The hostile attitude to the people of the State is now expressing itself in the form of indifference to the basic necessities of the people and encouragement to corruption and blackmarketing.

Kashmir is at present virtually buried under snow and the temperature often goes down 20° F below zero. There is mass unemployment due to this climatic conditions and hence the difficulties of procuring food grains and fuel.

In order to relieve the distress it was expected that the Government would take effective measures to control foodgrains and fuel and thus do away with blackmarketeers. But unfortunately the policy of the Government has encouraged the blackmarketeers and in several of his public utterances, the Prime Minister asked the people to purchase food grains at whatever prices they can. This callous indifference of the State authorities served as a hint to the blackmarketeers and since then the prices of foodgrains and fuel started soaring higher and higher.

As if all this was not enough the Government further reduced the rice rations, the staple food of the country, by 25% and the fuel rations by 50%. Fuel, both charcoal and firewood, are the primary necessities of the people of Kashmir during these hard days of winter. It is used both for cooking and putting in the firepots (Kangri) to keep them warm.

It would be interesting to mention here that food, fuel and charcoal are the government monopoly in Kashmir and are supplied under government supervision. The distribution of these articles is extremely defective and corruption rampant in these services has thrown the people at large at the mercy of the blackmarketeers.

The following table will show the control prices of the various necessities of life as against the blackmarket prices, at which only these commodities can be available to the people. This will, we hope, give you an idea of the extremely grave conditions through which the people of Kashmir are passing at present.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articles</th>
<th>Control Prices</th>
<th>Blackmarket Prices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>3 annas per seer</td>
<td>Rs. 1/13/- per seer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking oil</td>
<td>13 annas per seer</td>
<td>Rs. 2/13/- per seer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel</td>
<td>1/4 annas per maund</td>
<td>Rs. 5/- per maund.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dal</td>
<td>2 annas per seer</td>
<td>Rs. 1/10/- per seer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>Rs. 1/4/- per seer</td>
<td>Rs. 3/- per seer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atta</td>
<td>Rs. 14/- per maund</td>
<td>Rs. 40/- per maund.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the end, may we draw your attention to the fact that wheat, rice and cooking oil and oilseeds are supplied in large quantities by the Central Government to the Government of Kashmir. Our request, therefore, is that the administration and distribution of these imported stuffs should be controlled by the Central Government through their own agencies. This will go a long way in relieving the people from the present miserable condition and thus restore their confidence.

Thanking you in anticipation and hoping to be favoured with an early reply,

We remain,

Yours faithfully,

(Ghulam Muhammad Bakshi)

17 York Road, New Delhi,
Dated, January 1947.

3. Repression by Rulers Can Lead to Upheavals in the States
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Wavell, 23 January 1947

New Delhi

Dear Lord Wavell,

You are, no doubt, following the situation in a number of Indian States. There is a progressive deterioration, and in many States some kind of conflict is going on between the authorities and the people. During the last few months I have tried my utmost to avoid such a conflict and to restrain the people’s organizations. Their complaint has been, however, that aggressive action is taken by the authorities just at a time when there is talk of fundamental changes and, when the people of the States were looking forward to the introduction of a democratic form of government, they have to face instead repressive action by the authorities. I am afraid this will lead, as it has already led to some extent, to grave consequences.

2. I do not know what attitude the Political Department takes in such matters. But it is the common report, and even some Rulers of States have confirmed it, that the Political Department disapproves of any substantial reforms. I have had some very surprising reports about this attitude of the Political Department.

3. In view of the increasingly difficult economic situation all over India, this trouble in the States may well lead to bigger upheavals. I am afraid that the static character of the State administration, at a time when everyone is looking forward to change, is chiefly responsible...
for this increasing conflict. The vague promises made of rapid reforms and in some cases of responsible government have not been kept.

4. I should like to draw your special attention to the state of affairs in Kashmir where for the last eight months a bitter struggle involving severe repression of the people has gone on. Eight months of effort and the utilisation of the full machinery of the State has not succeeded in repressing the popular movement there. This failure itself is evidence of the futility of the methods employed. But though these efforts have failed, Kashmir is being pushed forward to the verge of ruin and people there are suffering from great hardships. Their leaders continue in prison and the people have been harassed in some ways which can only be termed inhuman. It is terribly cold there now and people lack food and fuel, the two essential needs. There are charges of gross partiality and corruption in the State administration. There is mass unemployment and the only people who seem to flourish are some State employees and the black-marketeers. With properly organised control of foodstuffs, fuel and other essentials, some relief might have been given. I fear that the policy of the Kashmir State is leading to a catastrophe.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Dogra Brahmans Pledge Support to India
Resolution by Dogra Brahman Pratinidhi Sabha, 2 February 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

A General Meeting of the Dogra Brahman Pratinidhi Sabha, Jammu was held on 2nd of February 1947 under the presidentship of Pandit Ganga Ram (Retired Sessions Judge).

1. The following resolution presented by a Special Committee of seven members was considered and passed by majority of votes:—
   ‘This meeting of the Dogra Brahman Pranidhi Sabha feels that the Dogra Brahman community with a population of about 3,50,000 has remained far behind other communities both politically and economically. If the Brahman community has to maintain its existence, it will have to keep pace with the advanced communities and march shoulder to shoulder with others for the common good of the country. India is on the threshold of independence and will in the near future become a Sovereign Indian Republic. This land of the Dogras is bound to be a strong part of Independent India. The Constituent Assembly while laying the foundation of Independent India has accepted the principle that “sovereignty derives from the people”, thereby raising the status of down-trodden India to the level of other free countries of the world. Standing on the threshold of independence, India is today sending its Ambassadors to foreign countries who in their turn are establishing diplomatic relations with India. It is our duty now to unite and remain prepared for welcoming the coming freedom. The Brahmans have always given a lead to the country and the same principle will guide their future actions also. We will, therefore, tour every nook and corner of our country to give the message of freedom to the people and unite them under one flag, thus creating an organised force ready to march at the orders of the community’.

2. The following resolution moved by Pandit Vachaspati M.A., LL.B., General Secretary was passed unanimously:—
   ‘This meeting of the Dogra Brahman Pratinidhi Sabha demands that in view of the fact that the Dogra Brahmans form the second major community by virtue of their population, at least
5. Report from Kashmir

Extracts from the fortnightly report of the Kashmir Residency for the second half of January 1947, 3 February 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5(6)-P(s)/47, NAI

... 7. National Conference

(a) Reference paragraph 1(a) of the last report. The National Conference party is understood to have sent a cable to the India League, London, regarding alleged official interference in the recent Praja Sabha elections. According to a party spokesman the India League has promised to take up the question in Parliament.

(b) Reference paragraph 1(b) of the last report. In furtherance of Jai Prakash Narain’s announcement of a further struggle in Kashmir Bakshi Gulam Mohammad, Acting President of the National Conference, who recently held two meetings of party workers in the Punjab, is reported to have issued secret instructions to the Srinagar branch to enroll at least 2000 volunteers. These volunteers will have to court arrest when the agitation is launched. In the meantime widespread propaganda is being made in the press, both in and outside the State, to the effect that although the Kashmir Government is doing nothing to alleviate ‘economic hardships in Kashmir’ on account of the ‘extremely inefficient system of Government’ the National Conference will do all it can to ‘help the starving masses’. The membership of the party is believed to be increasing in the Jammu Province where it is being freely said that Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad is in constant touch with the authorities at Delhi in connection with the provision of additional supplies of rice for the State.

(c) About 20 persons were arrested on the 16th January in Srinagar for holding public meetings and taking out processions.

8. Muslim Conference

(a) Reference paragraph 1(b) of the last report. Jai Prakash Narain’s speech at Mujahid Manzil, the National Conference headquarters, was much resented by the Muslim Conference who styled it an attempt to turn Kashmir into a Congress stronghold.

(b) The Muslim Conference, who are now the largest party in the Praja Sabha, are trying (a) to win over “Independent” Muslims and (b) to patch up differences among the Hamidullah and the Mir Waiz groups. Outside assistance has been sought and efforts are being made to reorganise the Party on the lines of the Muslim League.

(c) According to a usually well-informed source, the Muslim Conference party has decided to sit in opposition and not to cooperate with the Kashmir Government in the election of “popular” Ministers until the Muslim Conference leaders, now in detention, are released. The party has also decided to request His Highness to release Ch. Ghulam Abbas, President, and
his colleagues and if their request is refused they have threatened to boycott the Praja Sabha Session....

11. Hazara District Disturbances

Some Hindu leaders from Srinagar recently visited Muzafferabad and offered facilities to the refugees to settle in Kashmir. Master Tara Singh of Amritsar also visited the refugees camp and expressed satisfaction at the arrangements made by the Kashmir and Punjab Governments to check the spread of communal feelings in the respective villages bordering Hazara.

Sd/-

RESIDENT IN KASHMIR

No.F.6-C/47
Kashmir Residency,
Sialkot.
The 3rd February 1947.

To
L.C.L. Griffin, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Secretary to His Excellency
The Crown Representative,
New Delhi.

6. Kashmir’s Symbolic Value for the State People’s Movement

Letter from Dwarkanath Kachru to Jai Prakash Narain, 5 March 1947
Jai Prakash Narain Papers, Subject File No. 581, NMML

All India States’ People’s Conference

17 York Road,
New Delhi

My dear Jai Prakashji,

Your name has been proposed for the Presidentship of the AISPC from the Punjab Region. You will of course withdraw in favour of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and send me a telegram to say so. Please remember that the final date for the withdrawal of names is the 10th of March, and you will write to me before the 8th. Your statement should also come out either on the 9th or 10th. In your statement you will please give a brief review of the affairs of Kashmir. Your impressions of the visit to Kashmir should also be given in this statement. You should deal at length with the present famine conditions in Kashmir and also with the hardships and sufferings of the political detenues [sic] in the Srinagar Central Jail. The Political Detenues [sic] in the Central Jail, Srinagar, tried for over a month to get their grievances redressed, but ultimately have decided to resort to hunger strike. They are now on Hunger strike for the last 8 days. Just this morning Panditji sent them a telegram requesting them to abandon the fast. The Congress Delegation is shortly visiting Kashmir and in your Statement you should make some reference to this fact also.

In conclusion you should bring out the unity of interest and the solidarity of the States Peoples struggle and the symbolic value which Kashmir has for this people’s movement in
Indian States. In suppressing the people’s movement of Kashmir the Political Department and the Princes as a whole played an important part. It would therefore be an expression of our solidarity and unity of interest with the people of Kashmir, if we would elect Sheikh Abdullah for the Presidentship of the forthcoming annual session of the Conference. Please remember that your statement should not come out before the 9th of March.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

SD/-

(DWARKANATH KACHRU)

Shri. Jai Prakash Narain,
C/o Dhullan Prasad Verma,
Kadam Kwan,
Patna.

7. Nehru Assures Support to the Kashmir People’s Cause

Telegram from Jawaharlal Nehru to Begum Abdullah, 5 March 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 94, NMML

BEGUM SHEIKH MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH
MUJHID MANZIL
PATAR MASJID SRI NAGAR (KASHMIR)

DEEPLY DISTRESSED TO LEARN LEADER’S HUNGER STRIKE AND THEIR SUFFERINGS IN PRISON. KASHMIR PEOPLE’S CAUSE OUR OWN AND WE CAN NEVER FORGET THEM. IN VIEW OF ALL CIRCUMSTANCES AND CRISES ALL OVER INDIA AT PRESENT EARNESTLY RECOMMEND ABANDONMENT OF HUNGER STRIKE. REST ASSURED THAT WE SHALL DO OUR UTMOST. HOPE TO VISIT KASHMIR MYSELF LATER. MEANWHILE ARRANGING CONGRESS DELEGATION’S VISIT.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
17, YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI
DATED 5 MARCH 1947
Dwarkanath Kachru
General Secretary
All India States Peoples’ Conference

8. Everybody Has Forgotten Kashmir

Letter from M. Shaukat Ali to K.H. Khurshid, 24 March 1947

[Sub-Jail] Riasi, Kashmir

My dear Khurshid,

Your letter reached me a few days ago. Your programme was obviously changed and now I learn that you will be in Delhi next week. So I am addressing this letter to Delhi. Ishaq has also sent us your letter propounding the new plan for the adoption of the Muslim Conference. With parts of it we agree greatly. Ch. [Ghulam] Abbass and other colleagues are also here and
we have thought over your proposals. Before I deal with them, I wonder if you brought my suggestion to the notice of Mr. Jinnah that, if possible, he should get into touch [sic] with His Highness. Your letter was silent on that point. I am glad you agree with me that unless the League and Mr. Jinnah take up the matter, nothing positive and constructive can be done in Kashmir.

But what we are surprised about is the complete indifference and nonchalant attitude of the League vis-a-vis Kashmir. What does not stand in the way of the Hindu Congress cannot prevent the League interfering, if only to a similar extent in Kashmir politics to the advantage of our organisation. On the contrary, you have been overcautious not to offend the Princely order, so that they may support you, and not the Congress, in the future Indian Constitution-making—which too they have not done. However, I do not press for a radical re-orientation in the League policy vis-a-vis the States; but nothing should prevent the League from taking an active and positive interest in our affairs, responding actively to the developments and helping us in our endeavours. No one even sent a volunteer to assist us in the elections. After the first statement by Mr. Jinnah, no one has opened his mouth even. Everybody has forgotten Kashmir. Look at the Congress and what they are doing for the National Conference—even if mingled with hypocrisy and window-dressing. Why can't the Committee of Action, before whom you are hoping to bring the Kashmir situation, send two top-ranking members, like Nishtar and Daultana, to pay a visit to Jammu? The Assembly session will be on, everybody will be there and they can even meet Kak and bring pressure on him to come to his senses. Now he knows we have no press, we have no one to take notice of our troubles and his gross injustices [sic], and he is positively encouraged. The moral effect of such a gesture will be great. It will hearten our people; and when the Government knows that influential people are watching their activities, they will try to be straight. So we strongly urge [that] a deputation of these two persons should be sent to Jammu immediately. A statement or a resolution will not help us.

I wonder if you know that in the absence of Ch. [Ghulam] Abbass, no step can be taken by Hamidullah to initiate a new policy. Unfortunately, the rift in our ranks has isolated him from Kashmir, which is very serious. Even in Jammu a party of reactionaries is trying its worst to put obstacles in his way.

The new plan suggested by you will also die before it is born if it is sought to be executed through any agency other than Ch. [Ghulam] Abbass. So his release is a sine qua non of everything that ought to be done. This should be very clear to you so that what I have written above may be clear to you, and this is the reason why Kak is not releasing us. Outside reports confirm our fears. Even in this, the deputation I have mentioned could be of great assistance. Have a frank and bold talk with Mr. Jinnah.

Now about Kashmir and its future. I feel that you have ignored the emotional basis Pakistan has been for the great renaissance in the Muslim Nation. Kashmir Muslims could not afford to remain unconcerned or untouched by its appeal or its possibilities. This alone has been our justification to exist as a separate organisation from Sh. Abdullah's. Once we talk of Kashmir for Kashmiris, we confirm Abdullah's policy and must fall in line with him. Syed, Khizar, [and the] Frontier [leaders] have all been laid low by this appeal; and because in Kashmir the League has been indifferent, so Abdullah is still strong. It is for this that I have all along urged a more active interference from the League.

China is torn by a bloody civil war. Russia is expanding its tentacles in Central Asia. Britain alone has been standing in its way on the northern borders of Kashmir. Gilgit and other Muslim States, which have often rebelled against the Maharaja and which have been kept under his
yoke by the British, will, with their withdrawal, either walk into the Russian parlour or remain independent. This is a meeting point of three Empires. It is of vital concern to India, but more vital still for Pakistan. Kashmir alone cannot control or tackle this problem.

The plan that you suggest—I mean keeping aloof from Pakistan for the time being, or giving a bait to the Maharaja not to walk into the Congress parlour—do you seriously believe that the Maharaja will be taken in, knowing as he does that he is surrounded by a ring of Muslim provinces which can always reduce him to subjection? Already papers like the Hamdard etc. are urging the Maharaja to join Pakistan in his own interest rather than run after the will-o-the-wisp of a nebulous Akhand Hindustan. Even then if Hamidullah were to publicly propound it, he will be finished politically by the intensity of the propaganda that will follow in its wake.

Pakistan holds out the green dream of Muslim rule. No other ideal (as an ideal) can replace it or stir our people to action. Don’t forget Quit Kashmir and Abdullah. They, too, count in Kashmir. Even if this arrangement is a stop-gap only Ch. [Ghulam] Abbass can execute it.

On our release, the rift between Jammu and Kashmir will be healed. We can then talk, with certainty, of carrying both the provinces with us. At the moment anything emanating from Hamidullah must be opposed by Mir Waiz and vice versa. But your suggestion of tickling Maharaja’s vanity, anointing him King, His Majesty, etc., has appealed to us.

The Russian menace is likely to become more real as days roll on. Besides, the National Conference also is for all practical purposes controlled and dominated by the Communist Party. Ours being a native State, the revolutionary changes taking place and forcing us to change our policy radically, should also change the League [policy]. Constitutionally, too, the League’s attitude so far followed so relentlessly calls for a radical revision. Have you never thought that, instead of isolating us and placating the Maharaja and Kak, if we organise ourselves and mobilise the support of the courageous Muslim brothers and bring pressure on the Maharaja, it will bring him to his senses quicker than anything else? Don’t you realise that, in spite of our following a conciliatory policy and even humbling our organisational prestige in so doing, the effect on Kak has been just the contrary? You cannot eliminate him from the picture. With [him] only force counts. The weak he will crush and trample. These ideas must be brought to the notice of Mr. Jinnah. Write to me at the address given to you already. I hope this note finds you in the best of health.

Yours very sincerely

SHAUKAT

9. ‘Don’t Try to Make Your Friends Your Dear Enemies’
Letter from J.L.K. Jalali to J.B. Kripalani, 21 April 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

Said Mitha Bazaar
Haveli R.D. Singh, Lahore.

My Dear Shri Acharya Ji,
Namaskars!!!

I know you are too busy these days when the future of Bharata Varsha is in the melting pot. But still I think it is time I should encroach on your ill-sparable time for a few minutes. Last
year when the Kashmir (Quit Kashmir) agitation began I wrote to Sardar Vallabhbhaiji, he replied that the Congress was mindful of what was happening, and that P. Nehruji was going to Kashmir as a friend. What happened after that is history now, and I need not repeat it. It is true that the earnest desire of the Congress is that Kashmir should not turn ‘Pakistani’. Every non-Muslim, though in minority, is anti-Pakistani, and he cannot but be so. And the Kashmiri Pandit, is the democrat of democrats, out for full responsible Government in his State. He suspects the bonafides of the Quit-Kashmir Movementers. He feels that the leader of the Movement aims at establishing Muslim Raj in Kashmir by means which are not above-board. The opposition has therefore started. It may be that the Congress is prepared—to quote a Congress office-bearer in the Punjab—to sacrifice Kashmir for the sake of Akhanda Hindustan. But I fear he has not properly diagnosed the situation, and he cannot because he is too young to understand all the implications thereof. The fight in Kashmir came to the forefront because of P. Nehru Ji’s personal interest and intervention. How it is still uppermost in his mind can be read from his speech at the States People Conference at Gwalior on the 18th April, where he is reported to have said, ‘All I can say now is that Kashmir is like a flame in my heart. Some day it will bring forth some result’. Nobody can deny that Mr. Abdulla is P. Nehru’s friend, and all that he has done is what a friend is expected to do. But in the political field where the fate of millions is at stake, one has to weigh the issues most carefully with the sensitivest of balances lest one hair’s weight upsets calculations most unexpectedly. Kashmir is strategically more important than Hyderabad. If every Mussalman, whether he is a Muslim Leaguer, an Ahrari, a Communist, a Socialist, or a Congressite, considers Hyderabad to be the holy pilgrimage for a Mussalman, and is ready to sacrifice himself, his creed, his affiliations for the sake of the Nizam and prepared to give battle to the Congress in this behalf; it is unintelligible why the Congress Hindu should be non-chalant enough to sacrifice Kashmir with the air of ‘sang-froid’ to achieve what is still a dream. Pandit Nehru’s latest speech at Gwalior has been so bitter in respect of the Indian States despite the fact that several States have already announced their decision to join the Constituent Assembly and strengthened the Congress in her fight against the Muslim League that one fails to understand whom Pandit ji is allying as friends when the very bulwarks of Congress strength are being undermined. To hold out a threat to them is least statesmanlike. His words ‘All those who do not join the Constituent Assembly now, would be regarded as hostile States and they will have to bear the consequences of being so regarded.’ The Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah and those Muslim States that are wire-pulled by him, must be laughing in their sleeve at this incautious statement and threat involved. It is carrying coals to Newcastle for me to refer to events of recent history. When Mr. Jinnah was invited by the Nizam of Hyderabad and stayed there for a few days, as his honoured guest, the Nizam was given an assurance that he would support him in all his doings, and the first utterance of Mr. Jinnah was that the Muslim League was not going to interfere in the internal affairs of the Indian States, an announcement made deliberately and consciously to safeguard the interests of the Muslim Nizam and the Muslim Minority dominating over the Hindu majority there. And how coolly this statement was received throughout. Since then the League has been professedly repeating the same intentions, while in its behaviour towards the Hindu State of Kashmir their attitude is made manifest by their open avowals to protect the Muslims at any cost wherever they are stationed. And in this behalf the latest declarations of the Muslim States peoples speak for themselves. I am a Congressite since 1920, although I am a State subject. I quite well remember those days when Ali Brothers were carried, rather they carried the Mahatma in their
pockets: when Hindu Muslim unity had been achieved after the Martial Law of Amritsar in 1919. I remember the first fast of the Mahatma in 1924—when I also fasted in sympathy with the cause of Unity—and the developments since, culminating in the worse tensions, murders, loot and arson, conversions and abductions of todays [sic] revealing themselves in Noakhali, Bihar, Multan, Rawalpindi, Amritsar etc. Whatever may have been the cause, the fact is there that 1947 is not what 1920 was. With this background it is a matter for grave consideration what should be the Congress policy in regard to Indian States, particularly Hindu States, and especially Kashmir. Perhaps, you have seen what the Muslim Press is doing. They cannot even tolerate the Hindu States sympathising with the riot sufferers of the Punjab, and the Maharaja of Patiala is being castigated because he has given shelter to the refugees and shown human sympathy to them. In these circumstances the Congress has to weigh facts most soberly and calmly and cut its way through the brambles of political unease and disruption that has enveloped the country due to ideological differences between the Congress and the League. We Kashmiris have the district of Hazara before us, where the Congress Government is in power, and with all the good-will of Dr. Khan Sahib the minorities are being sacrificed at the altar of communalism, fanaticism and the desire for Pakistan. It might be argued that had there been a Muslim League Government in the Frontier, the happenings at Dera Ismail Khan, Hazara, Peshawar, Bannu, Tonk etc. would have been multiplied. I beg to differ. There have not been so many barbarous happenings in Bengal, where there is a Muslim League Ministry. There has been only one Noakhali. Because the Leaguers are anxious to establish that they are out to protect minorities, and if the Punjab has suffered it is not because the Muslim League Government has been in power but because the Hindus—rather the Congress Hindu Ministers in the Coalition Government of Sir Khizr Hayat—failed to assess the political situation properly, and failed the Premier poor Khizr Hayat in the time of need when the Muslim League under the name of ‘fight for civil liberties’ agitated for 34 days and the Hindus and Sikhs calmly listened to the abuses hurled on the head of the Premier, and did not move an inch from their nervous seats to retrieve the situation till at last poor Khizr had to give way and submit so helplessly. People who could not rightly adjudge have therefore suffered through their in-caution. They ought to have known that the League was [sic] gathering moss during the 5 weeks of agitation and theirs was an organised agitation with a defined object of hurling the Coalition government off the pedestal, and they succeeded; the same is their objective now in the Frontier. What solace can these neighbours of ours convey to us when we are in trouble. I have been here during those troublous days of turmoil: I have seen how it was difficult for a man in a Mohalla to know exactly what was happening in the neighbouring Mohalla, only a furlong away. When Kashmir is in trouble what succour can my neighbours in the Punjab give me, when with 45 per cent of their inhabitants they have not been able to protect themselves, and have suffered so tremendously at the hands of the non-Hindus in the north of the Punjab. The Kashmiri is a better judge of his fate, of his surroundings and the people he is living with.

It is said that the Congress to maintain the prestige and vindicate the honor of P. Nehru is deputing some members ‘to cure Kashmir politics’, and a socialist member from the Punjab is accompanying them. It is not understood what is wrong with Kashmir politics that it required to be ‘cured’ (I am quoting the word ‘cure’ used by a Socialist friend who communicated the news to me). While at New Delhi in March last a gentleman close to P. Nehru told me that as soon as he was free Panditji would be again going to Kashmir. This sounded strange. Was it to carry the Richardian Crusade to a finish—the crusade of Christians against the non-Christians? I discussed the matter with several Socialist and Congress friends since my return from Delhi.
I made it plain to them that if the Congress again attempted to force a deputation on Kashmir or Panditji took it into his head to cast away his pre-occupations and ‘invade’ Kashmir, as the general Hindu public throughout the North of India calls P. Nehru’s visit to Kashmir, the consequences would be disastrous. Everybody knows the disturbed conditions on the frontier of Kashmir, in the Punjab and N.W.F.P. The visit of Congress deputation would flare up hidden forces into sudden activity, and the result would be another Noakhali or Mardan or Dera Ismail Khan. If the Congress is willing to have it enacted in Kashmir no force can stop them from doing so. They agreed with me and suggested my seeing some of the leaders. Pardon me for appearing to be too presumptuous: the Punjab is leaderless, rudderless, and brainless. It looks to the South for leadership. I saw some public men, and they agreed with me that it is inopportune for the Congress to think of a deputation, for instead of curing the politics of Kashmir they would be sowing the dragon’s teeth. It is unfortunate every one cannot assess facts as they ought to be consistently with the ‘situation’ of a place. Kashmir to an ordinary reader is a country as Hyderabad is. To a Southerner Hyderabad is better known than a Northerner. The Southerner cannot understand what difficulties the State of Kashmir has, how it can protect itself, and what are the best means to assist it to maintain itself. The cry of Akhanda Hindustan is a blind man’s cry with him, blind with the zeal and bigotry of one whom it is not known what it connotes in a different context. The Northerner is as good an Akhanda Hindustani, but he knows his own limitations. And those limitations are not realised to their full extent by the Southerner. Who knows that it is the intelligence of the Kashmiri Pandit that with 77000 souls in a swarming population of 17 laks, rather 4 million is maintaining its high level, prestige and influence and the sacred name of HINDU and guards the label of the State as Hindu State? Who knows that in the 14th century the sword of Islam began to decimate him on pain of proselytisation, and for 5 centuries the sword of the Muslim ‘plucked his head like a flower’ till he was reduced to 11 houses, and then raised his head gathering a little strength till he succeeded in inviting Ranjit Singh and since then he has maintained it as a Hindu State. And today every Hindu from India freely visits the holy land of Rishis and Pilgrimages. I am I know dwelling on a past which is according to some Congressmen quite inconsistent with the present. It is true but I cannot help doing so, for how lacerated my heart feels when I find the Congress supporting a band of agitators whose bonafides are as questionable as they are insincere, for what I have seen during the last 25 years of my political life, the Muslims have had somersaults—I mean those very Muslims who professed from the house tops their faith in the Congress and finally gave the Congress a go as it fitted in with their Islam—and I am sure that the Congress wooing of Sheikh Abdullah is more a political catch for him, for he knows that if he turns a Leaguer he will lose influence, prestige, power, for there are better claimants for leadership of the Muslims, who have suffered as Leaguers and will not share honours with him. He knows the honour he has secured by his association with the great international figure of enviable reputation of P. Nehru’s standing, cannot be had by following the Qaide-Azam of Pakistan. I never mean to suggest that the Congress should give Abdullah a go: no, he has to be pampered, but there are ways. When the League distrusts the Congress, why should we Hindus not distrust the Muslims especially when we see with our own eyes what is happening in the Punjab and N.W.F.P. The Quit Kashmir agitation has given ample proof of its bonafides. And the latest is the shooting of a journalist Mr. P.N. Bazaz, a Hindu because he differed with the protagonists of the meaningless agitation, and for his difference of view he had to pay the penalty. You must have since read the latest news flashed by the A.P.I. that a plot to murder 30 top-ranking officials, journalists and political leaders has been unearthed by the State police,
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

and several National Conference workers have been arrested. And that on search revolvers, pistols, daggers have been recovered. If the Quit Kashmir Movementers have come down to such low levels, what can you expect of them, and what faith can the minorities have in them, when the Punjab happenings are fresh in their memories, and Dera Ismail Khan still etches burning sores on their hearts. Had the Kashmir Quitters been sincerely demanding responsible Government they ought to have recalled their movement, and called all other parties to their table, and evolved out a common programme and a common platform would have long since been erected to wrest power if it were not willingly transferred. It is now too late to discuss it. The movement read in the context of today has to be cautiously taken. If Hyderabadis are advised by Nehruji to stop their Satyagraha, what justification was there for not offering the same advice to Kashmir Quitters? I am digressing, I feel, and taxing your patience.

Before I close, let me ask when Hyderabad is establishing its sovereignty, and has already appointed an agent general in London to look after its trade, why should Kashmir be grudged the same status? If Kashmir Maharaja becomes sovereign ruler, and he has finances to support himself, and his country is economically self-sufficient, why should he be chastised for entertaining such an idea, if he does so at all? The Congress should discuss facts with an equanimity that should not smack of fear and cowardice when dealing with a Muslim State, and harshness and authoritative dictatorialism when dealing with a Hindu State, and then take stock of the situation as to how best acquit itself in the present critical situation, when the Muslim League has made the political poser too involuted. A Sikh M.L.A. of the Central Assembly told me that unfortunately India’s leadership, so far as Hindus and Sikhs are concerned, is becoming weak, and creates more enemies than friends, and the latest speech of Nehru ji at Gwalior is an instance in point. I was puzzled that he should have so diagnosed it, and thus indirectly said that Sikhs would have to rue the Hindu Leadership of the present day.

My friend, excuse me for dragging you through a mess of political untwists and encroaching on your busy time. I could not help doing so. Some friends of mine have already addressed communications to Mahatmaji and Sardar Patel Ji and you also, and I have written to Dr. Pattabhi Sitarammayaji also. I admire his address at the Gwalior States Peoples’ Conference, and his reference to Hyderabad in the words that ‘so far the communalism of Hyderabad is nothing encouraging’. If you therefore assess Kashmir politics rightly since the memorable 13th July 1931 when rank fanaticism started its first attack on the citadel of Hindu Rajya in Kashmir, and follow it through chameleon-leadership’s variegated guises, you will understand what all this really aims at. Had not Premier Kak taken courage into his hands, Kashmir would have been another Hazara and Noakhali. Do not think that by shunting off Kak old scores are paid, and after me deluge. The National Conference considers Kak as its worst enemy: we, nay every Hindu, considers him the best administrator, and I believe you too will. We know what minorities suffer unless strongly protected, but when India itself is in the melting pot, do not try to weaken your strength by making your friends your dear enemies.

With best regards, and with apologies,

Yours very Sincerely,

J.L.K. Jalali

Shri Acharya J.B. Kripalani Ji,
President,
All India National Congress,
New Delhi.
10. Volunteer Organizations in Jammu

Letter from W.F. Webb, Resident in Kashmir, to Griffin, 1 May 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5(6)-P(S)/47, NAI
D.O. No. F.C-C/47-I

Volunteer Organisations

My dear Griffin,

Muslim National Guards are now being recruited at a steadily increasing rate in the Jammu Province which is the stronghold of the Muslim Conference. No figures of the recruitment are yet available.

2. The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh has also been showing greater signs of activity and its members have been carrying out exercises in Jammu. No figures of the strength of this body are yet available.

Yours sincerely
Sd/-
W.F. Webb

L.C.L. Griffin, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Secretary to His Excellency the
Crown Representative, New Delhi.

11. Fighting Autocracy in the State and Division of India

Interview to a correspondent of The Prabhat by Bakhshi Gulam Mohemmad, 2 May 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

Answer to the Editorial on Kashmir

Lahore April 30. In an exclusive interview to the political correspondent of the ‘Prabhat’, Bakshi Gulam Mohemmad, Acting President, All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, regretted the fact that Kashmir Govt. has not as yet taken a final decision as regards its entry into the Constituent Assembly nor expressed its intention in this matter. He added that the National Conference, in spite of acute differences with the present Govt. would wield its influence in favour of participation in the Conssembly. Another National Conference leader, Mr. Gulam Mohd. Sadiq said that the National Conference did not believe in the division of India. It had, he added, always upheld the principle of unity in politics. That was why that in spite of propaganda and the communal situation in the Punjab, the people of Kashmir have remained apart and there was no communal disturbances in Kashmir. Mr. Sadiq hope that Kashmir would maintain its record. In the end he said that the National Conference was on the one hand fighting autocracy in the state and on the other reactionary bodies like the League.

(Correspondent)
12. ‘Kripalani Proceeding to Jammu Today’

_Kashmir Times_, 24 May 1947

AISPC Papers, File No. 260, NMML

Acharya and Mrs. Kripalani will leave for Jammu this morning in a State car as the guests of His Highness and they will arrive in Jammu this evening. Prime Minister Kak is also going down to Jammu today and will be there tonight.

The much talked of triangular talks between His Highness, the Congress President and the Prime Minister will begin on Sunday morning and in all probability end with sitting. The next day Kripalani will leave for Delhi where the Congress President will report to the Congress High Command his talks with His Highness and Prime Minister on the one hand and his own observation on Kashmir on the other. These views will be officially placed before the Congress Working Committee at its next meeting early next month and unless a major calamity has overtaken India by then, a high-powered resolution will be passed against the Kak regime which will reply [to] it with an equally hot press note. Then the entire episode will be forgotten. And Pandit Nehru will then impatiently wait for another excuse for a provocative outburst. He said in Gwalior last month that Kashmir was a flame in his heart—and a spokesman of the Kashmir Government retorted that Pandit Nehru was a flame in Kashmir, which was otherwise quite cool and quiet.

Acharya Kripalani’s political mission in Kashmir and particularly his meeting with His Highness is the subject of wild speculation this week in Kashmir. National Conferencites feel that victory is just around the corner and they are confident that the weekend triangular talks will lead to a Quadrangular Conference with Shaikh Abdulla occupying the fourth chair and dictating the terms. If all goes well according to their wishes, the National Conferencites believe that there may be even Pentagonal talks under Pandit Nehru’s Presidentship. In short, the National Conference circles are hoping that before he leaves Jammu, Acharya Kripalini [sic] will deliver them, if not the actual goods, at least the Railway Receipt of the parcel. This train of thinking has literally driven their imagination amuck and they have begun fancying the former ceremony for sharing the spoils.

Political circles, however, are taking the whole affair with a pinch of salt and with extreme reserve which seems to have been justified so far as the Congress President’s talks with the Prime Minister are concerned. From responsible circles close to the Congress President it is understood that His Highness in the course of his one or more communications with the Congress President has made it clear that his views have been more or less elucidated to him in the talks he has had with the Prime Minister earlier, and still if he desired to see him, he was welcome to call on him at Jammu.

The Congress President’s speeches and advices to the National Conference to mend its goonda methods is meant as a conciliatory step to His Highness and the Prime Minister that Congress will not encourage lawlessness, if only they both surrender to the Congress High Command and release Shaikh Abdulla. He also tried to flatter the Prime Minister into submission by praising him, though in a sneaking manner, in his talks to the National Conferencites. He publicly declared that the people must think in terms of cooperating with their ruler which in effect was a condemnation of the ‘Quit Kashmir’ demand.
13. Release the Persons Who Were Not Involved in Violence

Press communiqué from Publicity Officer, His Highness’ Government, Jammu and Kashmir, 25 May 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 260, NMML

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

Acharya & Mrs. Kripalani lunched with Their Highnesses at the Palace today. After lunch Acharya Kripalani had a long talk with His Highness in course of which he mentioned the cases of persons under detention in the State and suggested the early release of such of them as were not accused of violence. His Highness replied that the cases of all persons under detention were already under investigation and action would be expedited in the case of such of those as can be safely released.

Publicity Officer,
His Highness’ Govt. Jammu & Kashmir

Srinagar, (Kashmir),
25th May 1947.

14. “Quit Kashmir” Cry Unreasonable’

The Tribune, 26 May 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 260, NMML

SRINAGAR, May 25.—Replying to the address presented to him by the Kashmir Students Federation and the Kashmir Youth Congress, the Congress President pointed out difference between ‘Quit India’ and ‘Quit Kashmir’ demands. The Congress President said that the Congress raised the ‘Quit India’ slogan against the British as they were foreigners whereas the Maharaja of Kashmir was a son of the soil. The Congress demanded the British to withdraw from India because it wanted that the Indians should frame their own constitution and run their own Government. This analogy, he said, was untenable in Kashmir as the Maharaja belonged to this country and was not a foreigner like the British. He had every right to live in Kashmir. Indians wanted to turn out foreign rulers and not their own brothers. He, therefore, thought that the ‘Quit Kashmir’ demand was unjust and unreasonable. If the Maharaja had purchased Kashmir for 50 lakhs of rupees he spent that money and did not take Kashmir through bloodshed and treachery. The Congress President advised the people of Kashmir to give up the ‘Quit Kashmir’ slogan and demand ‘Panchayat Raj,’ which, he explained, was peoples’ government under the aegis of the Maharaja. Such a step alone, he said, would ensure happiness of both people and their ruler. In England, he pointed out, people did not demand that their King should leave England. On the contrary they maintained cordial relations with each other. He stressed that people of Kashmir should emulate the example of the British people.

Arrival in Jammu

The Congress President, Acharya J.B. Kripalani, accompanied by his wife, arrived in Jammu from Srinagar, yesterday evening. He was given a hearty reception by the people who assembled at Nagrota, 10 miles from Jammu as also in front of the Prince of Wales College, Jammu.

Rai Bahadur Pandit Ram Chandra Kak, Prime Minister of the State, also arrived here an hour earlier than the Congress President—A.P.I. and United Press.
15. Nehru Sympathizes with the People of Kashmir
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Begum Abdullah, 4 June 1947
SWJN, Vol. 3, pp. 197–8

My dear Begum Sahiba,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd May which I was happy to receive.

It is now almost a full year since I went to Kashmir and was arrested and detained there for a few days. This year has been a hard and difficult one for all of us but more especially for our friends and colleagues in Kashmir. In spite of heavy preoccupations with vital problems, my mind has frequently turned to Kashmir and its unhappy people. I have thought often of Sheikh Saheb suffering imprisonment and I have felt distressed that, at a time when his wise guidance was more necessary than ever from every point of view, he should be kept in prison. What has distressed me still more is that I have been unable to do anything effective to help him and the people of Kashmir when they were facing and suffering under repression of an extreme type. But at no time did I doubt that the courage and sacrifice of Sheikh Saheb and the people of Kashmir would not yield results.

We are living in changing and stirring times when the fate of India is being decided. Many things have happened and are happening which we do not like, but I have a firm conviction that the will of the people will prevail in Kashmir as in the whole of India, and the ideals that Sheikh Saheb has stood for will find a large measure of fulfillment. With this conviction we have laboured in various fields even though present results have sometimes been disheartening.

Kashmir is dear to me for a number of reasons. Being a Kashmiri, I can never forget it and I am passionately attached to its mountains and wonderful scenery. In recent years my contact with the National Conference has brought me in touch with the masses of Kashmir, and their poverty and misery has sunk deep into my heart. Nothing that can happen can break these strong bonds that tie me to Kashmir and its people, and their welfare will ever remain a first priority with me.

I have been deeply grieved to learn that the policy of repression by the State authorities is continuing with full vigour and that recently punitive fines are being collected with ruthlessness. The suffering of the people during the last hard winter is still fresh in our minds.

I earnestly hope that Sheikh Saheb will be free soon and we shall have the benefit of his counsel in considering the grave problems before us. You will, I trust, convey to him my affection and good wishes.

During the past months I have had information of the great work that you have been doing in giving relief to those who are in distress in Kashmir. I have admired the very fine work that you have done and the great capacity you have shown at a moment of trial and difficulty. I trust that you will continue this noble work. I am sending you a draft for Rs. 5,000/- which you may use for this relief of distress in Kashmir in such manner as you may think fit.

With regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru
16. Kripalani Assures Maharaja of His Good Intentions
Letter from J.B. Kripalani, Congress President, to the Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar, 6 June 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 260, NMML

His Highness the Maharaja
Bahadur of Jammu & Kashmir,
Srinagar.

Dear Maharaja Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 26. It is not my intention to enter into a controversy with you on the words used in the communiqué issued to the press by your Government after my interview with you beyond repeating that the version of the interview conveyed by it does not fully accord with my recollection of the same, and that in any case I had expected the communiqué to be shown to me before it was issued. However, no useful purpose will be served now by my prolonging the controversy.

I did not come to the State to impose my ideas on you or your administration. I came as a friend who wished well both of you and your people and with no other intention save to help in bringing about a better understanding between them and you. This understanding, I believe, is as much to your advantage as to the advantage of your people, being an essential condition of the peace, prosperity and ordered progress of the State. I am sorry I could not succeed in rendering your State the service I had hoped to render.

You will however allow me to bring one fact to your notice which has been as unfair to me as harmful to your State. My statement about the ‘Quit Kashmir’ slogan and the ‘Amritsar Treaty’ has been used by your Government in a way that has implied my approval of whatever has been and is being done by it to suppress the National Conference. As you and your Chief Minister know, I had made it clear, both in my conversations with you and in my public statements, that the policy of the Indian National Congress as of the All India States People’s Conference was to help the rulers and their people to establish responsible government in the states. I could not therefore but sympathise with the aspirations of the National Conference and it was not fair to interpret my criticism of the ‘Quit Kashmir’ slogan in any other context.

I should again like to assure you that my visit to your beautiful State was prompted by no other consideration save my desire to be of service to you and to your people. It was in the conviction that Kashmir has a glorious future as an honoured member of the Indian Union that I took the liberty of suggesting to you that your true interest was identical with the happiness of your people and that the security of your throne lay not in the strength of your army but in winning the affection of your people. In the light of the events that have happened during the last few days and the changes envisaged in the future relation between British Government and India, the considerations that I had placed before you have only gained in weight. I still hope that you will find it possible to order the release of Sheikh Abdullah and all other political prisoners not convicted or detained for violence. I hope you will take my suggestions in the friendly spirit in which I offer them.

Yours sincerely,

Kripalani
17. Appeal to Congress Leaders to Intervene in Kashmir

Telegram to J.B. Kripalani from Gulam Mohammad, 7 June 1947
AISPC Papers, File. No. 243, NMML

SOON AFTER ACHARYA KRIPALANI LEFT KASHMIR REALISATION PUNITIVE TAX STARTED RUTHLESSLY INFLECTING UNTOLD HARDSHIP MISERY UPON POOR PEOPLE PRAY INTERVENE—RESIDENTS’ FATEHKADAL THROUGH GULAMOHAMDED

18. ‘Inclusion of Kashmir in Pakistan Urged’

Dawn, 9 June 1947

NAIROBI, Saturday.—The decision ‘to make representations to the British Government on behalf of thousands of exiles wandering about in the British East Africa owing to the tyrannical conditions prevalent in their own native land of Kashmir’, was arrived at a meeting of the Muslim Kashmiris which was held at Nairobi on May 21 according to a report received from Alhaj Shams-Ud-Din, ex-Member, Executive Council and the Legislative Council, today.

‘Authorised by the Committee,’ he said, I sent a 600-word cable to Lord Listowel with copies to Lord Mountbatten and 11 leading London papers, pointing out and placing before them the indisputable historical records to prove that Kashmir could not be placed in the category of other native states in India.

‘The Lahore Treaty of 1846 effected the transfer of 82,000 square miles of land and 4 million souls with 95 percent Muslims into the hands of a Dogra Chief, was’ he continued, “a pure and simple slave trade transaction by the British who sold Kashmir for monetary considerations.

‘Had it not been sold to Gulab Singh by the British,’ he contended, ‘it would have been a part of the Punjab today. While the British caused forcible liberation of thousands of slaves owned by the Arabs of Zanzibar and other parts of the world’, he reminded them of their duty ‘to rectify their own transaction of slavery of Kashmir and redress the glaring injustice.

‘Kashmiris in Kashmir are completely gagged and cannot say a word for their rights; Press reports show that Kak, the Prime Minister of Kashmir had already joined the Congress Constituent Assembly. It is the duty, in all fairness, of the British to find a solution in consultation with the Muslim League Committee for the inclusion of Kashmir in Pakistan before the British leave India, otherwise, it was feared, the destiny of Muslims in Kashmir without even the nominal check of British paramountcy, will be subjected to perpetual worst slavery in world history.

‘If this question is ignored by the Muslim League,’ he said, ‘you will be held responsible for the criminal neglect of duty.’

19. ‘Transfer of Power to People of Kashmir Demanded’

Dawn, 14 June 1947

KASHMIR, Friday.—Demanding the release of all political prisoners in Kashmir, the dissolution of the present State Assembly and the holding of fresh elections, Chowdhary Hamidulla Khan, acting President of the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, in an
exclusive interview with Globe, says: ‘Before the Kashmir State declares its independent status, the Administration must first transfer all power to the people of the State.

‘To give effect to this transfer of power,’ he continues, ‘the following conditions must be fulfilled:

‘(1) All Muslim Conference and National Conference political prisoners must be forthwith released unconditionally to give them an opportunity to chalk out a common programme for carrying on the responsibility of running a popular government.

‘(2) The present State Assembly, which does not comprise the people’s real representatives, with the exception of a few members, should be forthwith dissolved and fresh elections held on adult franchise basis for the State’s Constituent Assembly, which will frame the constitution for a free democratic Kashmir.

‘If the Kashmir Government does not fulfil the above two conditions, it will be incumbent on us to launch a struggle for the fulfilment of our demands. A declaration of independence for the State, without transferring power to its people first, will be a meaningless show, which, in the present circumstances, will simply be intolerable.

‘When British India is on the threshold of independence, we cannot afford to remain slaves. I earnestly hope that to avoid chaos and confusion, the Maharaja will accept these demands and secure the hearty co-operation of the people in the State.’—Globe.

20. Peace Prevails in the State

Letter from Hari Singh to J.B. Kripalani, 16 June 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 260, NMML

Dear Mr. Kripalani,

I write to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 6th June 1947 and to say that it is equally not my intention to enter into a controversy as regards the words used in the communiqué referred to in your letter. To the best of my recollection the communiqué represents the substance of our talk.

So far as I am aware my Government have expressed no opinion one way or the other regarding what you said publicly on various occasions during your visit. There can thus be no question of their misrepresenting anything you may have said.

I feel sure that the assumption that my people—the vast majority of them—are not with my Government is unwarranted. It may be that a few whose cause has been espoused by some outside political leaders and possibly a few others may hold different views from those of the majority.

If I may say so, it is unsound to start with an assumption and then go on arguing from that. You say that you came to bring about a better understanding between my people and my Government which would be of advantage to us ‘being an essential condition of the peace, prosperity and ordered progress of the State.’ Considering that this State is one of the very few spots where peace prevails and people go about their lawful avocations without fear of being molested, it seems reasonable to conclude that there is already such an understanding which is a sine qua non of peace.

As regards ‘prosperity:’ that comes of the development of natural resources and improvement in trade and traffic. So long as conditions in India are unstable and chaotic, the effect on our
prosperity is bound to be adverse. However, there is no object in entering into a controversy. The facts are there and no argument or theory can brush them away.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
Hari Singh

The Palace,
Srinagar,
16.6.47.

21. Note on Kashmir
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 17 June 1947

17 York Road,
New Delhi

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

You asked me to send you a note on Kashmir and I promised to do so. I now enclose this note. I hope you will have a pleasant holiday in Kashmir and come back refreshed.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

Enclosure

A NOTE ON KASHMIR

The State consists of roughly three parts: Kashmir proper; Jammu; Ladakh, Baltistan, Skardu and Kargil. The last named are very sparsely populated and have a considerable number of Buddhists. Jammu is largely a continuation of the Punjab.

2. Kashmir proper is a very definite cultural and linguistic unit with a very long history behind it. In the past it has been a very great centre of Buddhist and Sanskrit learning. The people of Kashmir, Hindu or Muslim, have probably more in common than Hindus and Muslims elsewhere in India. Their language is Kashmiri; their dress, food and social customs are more or less alike. There is extreme poverty all over Kashmir except for some land-lords and State officials and merchants.

3. In Kashmir proper Muslims form 92% of the population. In the whole State Muslims are 77% and Hindus 21%, the others being chiefly Sikhs and Buddhists. The following are the population figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Jammu</em></td>
<td>1,208,675</td>
<td>772,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kashmir</em></td>
<td>1,589,488</td>
<td>139,217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

92% and Hindus 21%, the others being chiefly Sikhs and Buddhists. The following are the population figures:

*Jammu*
- Muslims: 1,208,675
- Hindus: 772,760

*Kashmir*
- Muslims: 1,589,488
- Hindus: 139,217
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Muslims in the State</th>
<th>3,101,247</th>
<th>77.11%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Hindus in the State</td>
<td>809,165</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sikhs in the State</td>
<td>65,903</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Buddhists in the State</td>
<td>40,696</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4,605</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>4,021,616</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. About fifteen years ago a popular movement arose in Kashmir State under the leadership of Sheikh Mohamad Abdullah, himself a Kashmiri educated at Aligarh University. This movement was very largely Muslim as the population itself was largely Muslim. It took shape in the Muslim Conference. It was not, however, definitely communal. Sheikh Abdullah was arrested and imprisoned and later communal riots broke out in Kashmir. This was in the early thirties. This was followed by committees to inquire into political reforms that might be granted to the people. Certain reforms were granted and a legislature was started.

5. Sheikh Abdullah, on coming out of prison, tried to give a definitely nationalist turn to the movement and changed the name of the Muslim Conference to the Kashmir National Conference. He had some trouble with communalists in his ranks and a few left him and the organization. But the movement continued to grow and spread especially to the masses who were principally Muslim. Many Hindu and Sikh young men were also attracted to the National Conference. Even those Hindus who did not join it were usually more or less friendly to it.

6. Of all the people’s movements in the various States in India, the Kashmir National Conference was far the most widespread and popular. Sheikh Abdullah was amazingly popular among the masses and numerous songs and legends grew up about him. Certain reactionary Hindu and Muslim groups opposed him and his movement. These Muslim groups later allied themselves to the Muslim League, but they had little influence in the State. The Hindu groups represented a certain vested and middle-class element chiefly interested in the State service of which they had a dominant share.

7. The Maharaja is a Dogra Rajput and his army consists almost entirely of Dogra Rajputs. Kashmiris, whether Hindu or Muslim, are excluded from it. This was a common grievance among all Kashmiris.

8. The real background of the popular movement was economic. The terrible poverty of the people was contrasted not only with enormous riches of the few but also with the potential resources of Kashmir State. The land system was out of date and oppressive, as well as partial to certain dominant classes. It was with this background that the popular movement grew up under Sheikh Abdullah. It demanded political reforms and responsible government.

9. This movement allied itself to the All-India States People’s movement as represented by the All-India States Peoples Conference. This Conference, though an independent body, has been working in line with the National Congress. Sheikh Abdullah became a Vice-President of the All-India body and last year, while he was in prison, he was elected President. He is still the President not only of the Kashmir National Conference but also of the All-India State Peoples Conference.

10. After the introduction of various reforms in Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah and the Kashmir National Conference, though far from satisfied with the extent of the reforms, decided to cooperate with them. They contested the elections for the State Assembly and won a large
number of seats. One of their number became a Minister. Members of their party delivered highly eulogistic speeches praising the Maharaja for what he had done and was doing, but at the same time demanding responsible government. Their objective was responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja who would function as a kind of constitutional head. That also was the objective of All-India States' Peoples Conference in regard to all the States in India.

11. The policy of the Kashmir National Conference was thus one of cooperation with the State authorities and more specially with the Maharaja who was considered above conflict of parties. The attitude was, no doubt, partly governed by an expectation of favours to come. But there was certainly a fund of goodwill for the Maharaja and all criticism was directed to various Ministers. There was plenty of room for criticism, for the Kashmir administration for long years past has been amazingly static and unchanging. Nothing gets done there and any intelligent officer soon gets the feeling that he is wasting his talents and his energy because he can get nothing done.

12. This period of semi-cooperation with the Kashmir State authorities even survived the upheaval in India of August 1942. The Kashmir National Conference sympathised with this upheaval and demonstrated accordingly. But the then Prime Minister, Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, refused to take any precipitate action, and the situation calmed down.

13. There was a rapid change in Prime Ministers. Within a few years there were four Prime Ministers. Meanwhile the Minister who represented the Kashmir National Conference complained more and more that he had no responsible work to do and indeed that he could hardly approach the Maharaja himself. Mr. Kak was throughout the Minister in attendance on the Maharaja and ultimately in 1945 he became Prime Minister. The National Conference supported him in this on the ground that he was a Kashmiri. Almost immediately after Mr. Kak became Prime Minister, there was a change in the attitude adopted towards the National Conference. This Conference represented the most powerful organization in the State with a very big mass following. It had drawn into its ranks most of the idealistic youth in the State, Muslim, Hindu and Sikh, and it was especially popular among the peasantry. Evidently Mr. Kak thought that this was too strong to be encouraged or tolerated and he began to encourage communal organisations both of the Muslims and the Hindus.

14. Matters came to a crisis early in 1946 and the National Conference Minister resigned. Thus the period of cooperation between the National Conference and the State authorities ended and the situation became progressively more tense.

15. When the Cabinet Mission came in 1946, great expectations were roused all over India including the States. There was considerable irritation at the fact that no representatives of the States people were interviewed by the Cabinet Mission. When it was known that the Cabinet Mission would go to Kashmir for a few days, a telegram was sent on behalf of the Conference to them in which the slogan of ‘Quit Kashmir’ was used and the Amritsar Treaty, according to which Kashmir was sold to the great grand-father of the present Ruler, was bitterly criticised. Subsequently the Quit Kashmir cry was explained to mean nothing more than responsible Government under the aegis of the Maharaja.

16. A big agitation began to grow up in Kashmir in support of the message sent to the Cabinet Mission. Within a few days, however, Sheikh Abdullah was invited by Nehru to Delhi to discuss the situation. Sheikh Abdullah thereupon stopped the agitation completely and said that nothing should be done till his return from Delhi. Four days later he started for Delhi and was arrested en route. At the same time large numbers of other arrests were made and the
North Indian States

military practically took possession of the valley. It was clear, and indeed it was admitted by Mr. Kak, that he had long been making preparations to crush the National Conference. These preparations had nothing to do with the new phase of the agitation and had preceded it. The Quit Kashmir cry gave Mr. Kak a pretext for quick and widespread action.

17. This happened about 15 months ago and ever since then there has been a continuing conflict between the State authorities and the National Conference. Sheikh Abdullah and many of his colleagues have been in prison, most of them sentenced, others in detention. There has been repression of an extreme type and the people generally have suffered very greatly, especially during the winter months when food and fuel were deliberately not distributed with fairness. The police and the military have fired at crowds and individuals repeatedly, killing many.

18. These events in Kashmir produced a powerful effect in other States in India and the All-India States Peoples Conference made Kashmir a test case. Probably to some extent some of the other Rulers also treated it in a like way from their point of view. It is widely believed with a great deal of justification that the Political Department gave its backing to this repressive policy of the State and encouraged it.

19. Over a year has elapsed since this began and the result is that Sheikh Abdullah is probably more popular than ever with the masses of Kashmir. The Muslim League there has no particular following. Latterly even the communal Sikh and Hindu organisations have demanded Sheikh Abdullah’s release. It is said that the Dogra army also strongly disapproves of Mr. Kak’s policy which has resulted in making the Maharaja completely ineffective and almost a prisoner in his palace. Corruption is rampant in the State and the whole administration is centred in a small clique controlled by the Prime Minister. Almost everybody else complains bitterly of this clique and says that nothing can be done in Kashmir till Mr. Kak ceases to be Prime Minster. Even the Maharaja has begun to realise this and wants to do something about it. But Mr. Kak has so frightened him and so isolated him that it is difficult for the Maharaja to take any step of his own volition.

20. Kashmir has become during this past year an All-India question of great importance. It was only because of other developments in India and a desire to avoid adding to the existing troubles that an effort was made to prevent this spreading.

21. Sheikh Abdullah’s organization, the Kashmir National Conference, has demonstrated its hold on the masses and there is no doubt that Sheikh Abdullah himself is by far the most outstanding leader in Kashmir. Mr. Kak’s efforts to build up a rival leadership have not produced much effect. It is true, however, that Sheikh Abdullah’s long absence in prison has produced a certain confusion in people’s minds as to what they should do. The National Conference has stood for and still stands for Kashmir joining the Constituent Assembly of India. From the Maharaja’s point of view this is obviously desirable and preferable to joining the other Assembly. Mr. Kak, however, comes in the way and it has been reported that he has told the Maharaja that the Viceroy favours Kashmir joining the Pakistan Assembly because of the geographical situation of the State. Mr. Kak has also tried to convince the Maharaja that as soon as he joins the Indian Union, there will be communal riots in the State and that possibly hostile people from the surrounding territory of Pakistan might enter Kashmir and give trouble. The Maharaja is timid and is in a fix. There is no doubt that if Mr. Kak remains in control, he will himself see to it that there are communal riots.
22. The situation in Kashmir cannot be effectively met without major changes leading to responsible government in the State with the Maharaja as the constitutional head. Indeed there is no other way out and if this course is not adopted, the Maharaja’s position will become progressively more insecure. If, however, the Maharaja gives a lead in this direction by joining the Constituent Assembly of India and taking steps for reforms in the State, he would immediately put himself right with the people and gain the support of Sheikh Abdullah and the most powerful party in the State, which, though predominantly Muslim, includes many Hindus and Sikhs.

23. Before this can be done, the immediate steps that appear to be essential are the removal of Mr. Kak from the Prime Ministership, and the discharge of Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues from prison. It has been said that there are other prisoners also who belong to the Muslim League. There is no reason why all such prisoners should not also be released. If any person misbehaves in future, action can be taken against him.

24. Mr. Kak’s policy during the past year has caused tremendous injury to Kashmir and to the Maharaja. Unless this is completely reversed very soon, the Maharaja’s difficulties will become insurmountable and the only solution then will be by way of violent upheaval. In this upheaval the sympathy of nationalist India will not be with the Maharaja. Mr. Kak has succeeded in antagonising every decent element in Kashmir and in India as a whole. He has hardly any friend anywhere.

25. It is interesting and important to note that Kashmir has kept out of communal troubles during a period when the rest of India has been full of them. This is a remarkable tribute to the policy of the National Conference and Sheikh Abdullah. During this period there is little doubt that Mr. Kak encouraged communal friction in order to weaken the political movement. Yet he did not succeed although the leaders of the popular movement were in prison. When Sheikh Abdullah comes out of prison, he will undoubtedly be able to control his people effectively and he will gladly cooperate with any real steps for the progress of Kashmir.

26. Sheikh Abdullah’s wife, Begum Abdullah, has played a notable part during this past year in heartening the people of Kashmir and in giving relief to the vast numbers of sufferers there. Previously living mostly in purdah, she has come out and gone to her people.

27. What happens to Kashmir is, of course, of the first importance to India as a whole not only because of the past year’s occurrences there, which have drawn attention to it, but also because of the great strategic importance of that frontier State. There is every element present there for rapid and peaceful progress in cooperation with India. Communalism has not vitiated the atmosphere as in other parts of India. The resources of the State are very great; but unhappily a wrong policy, carried through ruthlessly by a man without any scruple or long vision and with a great deal of personal ambition, has brought the State to the verge of ruin. There is almost complete unanimity today in Kashmir amongst all classes and sections of the people that Mr. Kak should go. Where he can go to, it is difficult to say because he has made himself unacceptable everywhere in India and more especially in Kashmir. But in any event he must be removed from his position of authority. The second immediate step that has to be taken is the release of Sheikh Abdullah as well as of other political prisoners. Obviously no conditions can be attached to this release. When Sheikh Abdullah is released, he will, no doubt, take counsel with his colleagues in Kashmir and outside before any fresh step is taken. The National Congress is deeply interested in this matter and but for the urgency of other work, Nehru would have been in Kashmir long ago. He still thinks of going there soon. Gandhiji also intends going there before long.
28. If any attempt is made to push Kashmir into the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, there is likely to be much trouble because the National Conference is not in favour of it and the Maharaja’s position would also become very difficult. The normal and obvious course appears to be for Kashmir to join the Constituent Assembly of India. This will satisfy both the popular demand and the Maharaja’s wishes. It is absurd to think that Pakistan would create trouble if this happens.

New Delhi
17 June 1947

Letter from Sheo Narayan Fotedar, General Secretary, All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference, enclosing the resolution passed by the Working Committee, 18 June 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

Office of All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference,
Srinagar Kashmir,

Dear Shriman Ji,

Dated Srinagar the 18th of June, 1947.

Respectfully, I, on behalf of the Working Committee, of All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference, beg to submit the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Conference, in its meeting, held on the 17th of June, 1947, indicating therein the viewpoint of the Kashmiri Pandit Community regarding the future of the Jammu and Kashmir State in the light of the British Government’s Plan of June 3rd, 1947, for your kind perusal and consideration.

Yours sincerely,

(Sheo Narayan Fotedar)
General Secretary,
All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference,
Srinagar Kashmir.

Enclosure

Resolution No: I.

While reiterating our sentiments of unflinching loyalty to the person and the throne of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur, to whom nothing is more dear than the all-round orderly progress of the State and the happiness of his subjects, the All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference, in view of the British Government’s historic plan of June 3rd, 1947, calculated to bring about kaleidoscopic [sic] changes, after the transference of power to the Indian hands, in the future history of India and Indian States, as also in view of the fact that the majesty of law in our State has now been amply vindicated, is of the opinion that the present political situation, calls for a generous gesture on the part of His Highness’ Government at this hour of our destiny when in the interest of the future economic and political development of the Jammu and Kashmir State and its four million people, decisions of a far-reaching character will have to be taken. The Conference is sanguine that under the benevolent care and guidance of our enlightened
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

Ruler the State is bound to maintain its traditional historic position of a premier State in the north and is also bound to prosper politically, economically and socially and to bring its administrative and political institutions in alignment with the most progressive provinces in India. To create an atmosphere of good will and harmony in the State, a condition precedent for the healthy growth of all constructive programmes and nation building activities in a country, the Conference respectfully solicits His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur and urges on His Highness’ Government the desirability of the resolution of the present political deadlock in the country and the release of all the political prisoners in the State through honourable settlement. In making this request the Conference has also considered the authoritative statements made by the sponsors of ‘Quit Kashmir’ that all future progress of the State and its people can only be achieved under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur.

Resolution No: II.

The All State Kashmir Pandit Conference after having considered the British Government’s Plan of the 3rd June, 1947, regarding the transfer of power to the Indian People and having studied the whole scheme forming the basis of the plan and having gone through the statement made by His Excellency the Viceroy before the Press Conference on the 4th of June, 1947, is of the opinion that time has come when our State should join the Indian Union.

The Conference, therefore, respectfully requests His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur to make a declaration in this behalf and depute members, representing the State, to the Constituent Assembly.

In the opinion of the Conference, the all round future progress of the State in the sphere of trade and commerce, tourist industry, economic prosperity, exploitation of mineral wealth and extensive industrialization and achievement of progressivism in administration, lies in the immediate decision of our benign Ruler to join the Indian Union which stands for progressive ideals in all political, economic and social matters relating to the well being of the people, residing in all its future component units, as is sufficiently indicated by the deliberations taken so far by the said Constituent Assembly during the past few months.

The Conference earnestly hopes that His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur will be graciously pleased to grant this request with which, it is respectfully submitted, all other organized progressive political opinion obtainable in the State, is in fullest agreement.

23. Proposals for Kashmir

Extract from the record of an interview between Louis Mountbatten and Jawaharlal Nehru, 24 June 1947


Finally, we talked about Kashmir. I told him I had arranged with the Maharajah to have a long talk with him on the last day (Sunday)—first an hour or so alone with him after luncheon, and then an hour or so with him and his Prime Minister after dinner. Unfortunately His Highness had been indisposed and had to take to his bed, and so the conversation could not take place.

Pandit Nehru said that was an old trick, which the Maharajah had played on him when he was going to meet him in Kashmir—he had on that occasion also had ‘a tummy ache’.

I remarked that I did not think the colic was feigned, and that in any case I had managed to have a certain amount of conversation both with the Maharajah and Mr. Kak, the Prime Minister, though not together. The advice I had given to both of them independently was:
(a) That Kashmir should not decide about joining any constituent assembly until the Pakistan Constituent Assembly had been set up and the situation before them was a bit clearer.
(b) That meanwhile they should make no statement about independence or about their intentions.
(c) That they should go ahead and enter into ‘standstill’ and other agreements with both new States.
(d) That eventually they should send representatives to one Constituent Assembly and join one of the two States, at least for defence, communications and external affairs.
(e) That so far as possible they should consult the will of the people and do what the majority thought was best for their State.

I said that I got the impression that the Maharaja and the Prime Minister had separately agreed that this was sound advice; but both had stated that on account of the balance of population and the geographical position in which they found themselves, any premature decision might have a very serious effect on their internal stability.

Pandit Nehru agreed that my advice was sound and unexceptionable....

Pandit Nehru said he was sorry that I had been unable to solve the problem of Kashmir, for the problem would not be solved until Sheikh Abdullah was released from prison and the rights of the people were restored. He, Nehru, felt himself called upon to devote himself to this end, and he thought he would soon have to go to Kashmir to take up the cudgels on behalf of his friend and for the freedom of the people.

I replied that both H.H. and the Prime Minister had particularly asked that no Congress or League leaders should come and visit Kashmir until their decision had been announced, since it would gravely add to their troubles if they were to be subjected to political propaganda before a decision had been reached. As this did not appear to deter Pandit Nehru, I then pointed out that he really must look to his duty to the Indian people as a whole. There were four hundred millions in India and only four millions in Kashmir. He would soon be the Prime Minister of an Indian Government, ruling at least two hundred and fifty millions; and I would consider it highly reprehensible of him to desert his most important duties at the Centre to interest himself on behalf of four millions who might very well be going to join Pakistan and have nothing more to do with him. In fact I called upon him as a matter of duty not to go running off to Kashmir until his new Government was firmly in the saddle and could spare his services.

He reluctantly agreed that I was right, and took my advice in very good part.

M. OF. B.

24. Peoples’ Will to Join Indian Union

Telegram from General Secretary, Congress Committee, Jammu, to Congress President, 25 June 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

CONGRESS PRESIDENT NEW DELHI—ALL INDIA RADIO NEW DELHI.
CONGRESS COMMITTEE JAMMU CONVEYS PEOPLES DESIRE AND WILL TO JOIN INDIAN UNION AND SEE SHEIKH ABDULLAH RELEASED.
VICEROY APPROACHED ACCORDINGLY
GENERAL SECY...
25. Congress Has No Intention of Interfering in Internal Matters of Kashmir

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Maharaja of Kashmir, 3 July 1947

SPC, Vol. I, pp. 32-4

New Delhi

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Rai Bahadur Gopaldas [a prominent Hindu of Lahore] saw me today and conveyed to me the substance of your conversation with him. I am sorry to find that there is considerable misapprehension in your mind about the Congress. Allow me to assure Your Highness that the Congress is not only not your enemy, as you happen to believe, but there are in the Congress many strong supporters of your State. As an organisation, the Congress is not opposed to any Prince in India. It has no quarrel with the States. It is true that recent events resulting in the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the continued detention of Sheikh Abdullah have created a feeling of great dissatisfaction amongst many Congressmen who wish well of your State. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru belongs to Kashmir. He is proud of it, and rest assured he can never be your enemy.

It is unfortunate that none of the Congress leaders has got any contact with Your Highness. Personal contact would have removed much of the misunderstanding, which probably is based largely on misinformation gathered through sources not quite disinterested.

Having had no personal contact, my correspondence has been with your Prime Minister since the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah, and my efforts have been to persuade him to have a different approach to the problem, which in the long run would be in the interest of the State.

Is it necessary to assure you that in your domestic affairs the Congress has no intention whatever of interfering? If it had not been so, the Constituent Assembly would not have been able to attract a vast majority of Princes who have joined it, and I have no doubt that the rest will also join with very few exceptions who have no choice owing to peculiar circumstances, for instance Bahawalpur, Kalat, etc. In the Negotiating Committee, your Prime Minister was present, and our decisions were unanimous in the four meetings that he attended. In these meetings, all the Princes got complete satisfaction from us about their special rights, privileges, etc. which they enjoyed.

I fully appreciate the difficult and delicate situation in which your State has been placed, but as a sincere friend and well-wisher of the State, I wish to assure you that the interest of Kashmir lies in joining the Indian Union and its Constituent Assembly without any delay. Its past history and traditions demand it, and all India looks up to you and expects you to take that decision. Eighty per cent of India is on this side. The States that have cast their lot with the Constituent Assembly have been convinced that their safety lies in standing together with India.

I was greatly disappointed when His Excellency the Viceroy returned without having a full and frank discussion with you on that fatal [fatal] Sunday, when you had given an appointment which could not be kept because of your sudden attack of colic pain. He had invited you to be his guest at Delhi, and in that also he was disappointed. I had hopes that we would meet here, but I was greatly disappointed when His Excellency told me that you did not avail of the invitation.

May I take the liberty of suggesting that it would be better if you even now come to Delhi, when you will certainly be his guest? We want an opportunity of having a frank and free
discussion with you in an atmosphere of freedom, and I have no doubt that all your doubts and suspicions, of which I have heard from Gopaldas, will completely disappear. In Free India, you cannot isolate yourself, and you must make friends with the leaders of Free India who want to be friends with you.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lt. Gen. His Highness Rajrajeshwar Maharajadhiraj
Sir Hari Singh
Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir

26. Friendly Cooperation to Be the Basis of Future Relations

Extracts from a letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Maharaja of Kashmir, 4 July 1947

SWJN, Vol. 3, p. 253

...It is hardly possible in the course of a brief letter to discuss any matter of importance....I would suggest to you, therefore, that it would be desirable for you to meet my colleagues and me and discuss matters of common interest.... I view the question entirely impersonally and I bear no grudge to anyone. Certainly I have no ill will for you....What I am concerned with is not the past but the future and I want to consider this future in terms of friendly cooperation with you and with others concerned.... As far as possible, we want to go ahead with the cooperation of others.

I do not think it is possible for any Indian State to be completely independent. In the world today such small independent entities have no place, more especially in the frontier regions between two great States....I appreciate your difficulties. I am not unused to facing difficulties myself. The best way to do so is to face them and overcome them, and I would suggest to you that the time has come, indeed it is overdue now, and that a definite change in State policy should take place....I trust that you will appreciate what I have written and the advice I have ventured to give you. I am quite sure that it is for the good of Kashmir, for your good, and for the good of India as a whole.

27. Visits of Political Leaders Can Lead to Rise in Tension

Letter from Maharaja of Kashmir to Louis Mountbatten, 8 July 1947

IOR, R/3/1/94, Acc. No. 3419, NAI

SRINAGAR. KASHMIR

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter dated 27th June 1947.

I am sorry for the delay in sending a reply which was due to the fact that there were rumours that Mahatma Gandhi was not immediately coming to Kashmir—rumours which have now been confirmed by the A.P.I. As for writing to Mahatma Gandhi direct, I feel it would be inappropriate for me to send him a letter in reply to a letter from you. I am enclosing an official letter in reply to your official letter of the same date which you may show to Mahatma Gandhi.

With regard to the second paragraph of your letter the position generally is as you have stated, though we do not—at least for the time being—consider the question of linking ourselves
from the Military point of view with either one or the other of the Dominions or of sending representatives to a Constituent Assembly. A decision in these matters will be taken when we see how things turn out and in the light of circumstances as they develop.

Visits of outside leaders who know little of the circumstances prevailing here beyond what they hear from interested parties are embarrassing even in normal times but they have grave potentialities under the present conditions. As I told you, though we have been successful in our endeavor to maintain peace in this State under very trying circumstances, we make no secret of the fact that it is only by hanging on by the skin of our teeth and a measure of luck that we succeeded. Visits of prominent political leaders in an atmosphere surcharged with suspicion and passions such as prevails nowadays keep the country in a ferment and are far from conducive to the maintenance of peace. Moreover the trouble is that if a leader of one political denomination arrives he is bound to be followed by a leader of another denomination, and people therefore constantly live in a state of tension. The political situation in India having developed as it has I would repeat with all the emphasis at my command that it will be extremely difficult in the present conditions to guarantee that as a result of the visit the situation will not deteriorate with consequences that cannot be contemplated with equanimity. That we succeeded in avoiding any untoward incident during Pt. Nehru’s second visit last year is true, but conditions then were different. The fever resulting from the partitioning of India and the division of certain Provinces has thrown most people off their balance. He would be a bold man indeed, who could say with any confidence that in the present circumstances a visit of a leader of Mahatma Gandhi’s high standing will not produce untoward incidents.

All things considered, I would earnestly request Your Excellency to dissuade all political leaders from visiting Kashmir during 1947. If, however, Mahatma Gandhi is unable to cancel his visit, I suggest that it would be in the best interests of this country and of India as a whole that the visit should take place only towards the end of the autumn. But I must emphasise the fact that it is impossible for us to guarantee the prevention of any untoward incident, circumsitanced as we are, though we will, I need hardly assure you, try with all our might and main to safeguard against any such occurrence. I must add that what applies to Mahatma Gandhi, applies to all political leaders of similar standing with equal if not greater force.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

Hari Singh

The Palace.

28. On the Political Situation in Kashmir

Letter from Shaukat Ali to M.A. Jinnah, 11 July 1947
Sadia Rashid and others (Eds), Letters to Quaid-i-Azam, 1944-47, pp. 301–3

7, Davis Road,
Lahore, dated 11th July, 1947

My dear and respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you will forgive this encroachment on your most valuable and precious time but I feel it my bounden duty to appraise my leader of certain important facts which have come to my notice.
2. KASHMIR STATE:

I was there recently, where I came across various viewpoints and learnt of main currents and cross currents in State’s Politics. These I am placing before you for whatever their worth.

(a) The Rajah:
I got in touch with people who are very close to the Rajah, but who owe their first loyalty to you. Their opinion was that the Rajah is dead keen on joining the Hindustan Constituent Assembly but would wait till 15th August before making a final announcement to this effect. He is reported to have sounded Abdullah, whom he may release on a stage managed request by Gandhi. He is further reported to be in touch with Simla Hill and Mandi Rulers and is working for a confederation with them in order to find an alternative route to link him with Hindustan.

(b) Premier Kak:
He is playing for an Independent Status. He is reported to have told Kripalani that by playing for Independence he is hoping to subjugate thirty lacs Muslims and will thus sever them from your State. Secondly he hopes to maintain his personal supremacy by keeping Political Leaders behind the bars.

(c) Abdullah and the National Conference:
I went underground to meet Ghulam Mohiyuddin their underground leader. He has achieved considerable amount of popularity and is today the single most powerful man in the party, perhaps, after Abdullah. He was honestly not convinced why they should not make use of their minorities to serve their own ends. He is not at all averse to Pakistan but says he is handicapped by our silence. If, he says, a little sympathy was shown to them they would see that Pakistan issue is not decided upon adversely. They feel that the interests of thirty lacs of your subjects were being sacrificed at the altar of Hyderabad and Bhopal. Though they understood that your moves have greater strategy in view, on account of various repressions they were impatient of delay and may be reluctant to make greater sacrifices required of them. It was suggested that even a little bit of sympathy from us, in the form of a statement for release of Abbas, Shaukat of the Muslim Conference and Abdullah of the National Conference in addition to a recommendation for the grant of basic civic rights to the people would give an excuse for them to support Pakistan openly.

They discounted the news of Abdullah’s assurance to the Maharaja, and said that he was in favour of a referendum.

My impression was that this party is still most powerful and had the support of the intelligentsia. They had advantage of having good many honest workers. I did not think that they were in pay of the Congress. They were rather short of funds. They had been just taken in by the kind words of Congressite jugglers.

(d) Muslim Conference:
Their best workers were in jail. Those outside are most irresponsible and have been making injudicious statements to the extent of treason against you. People in Jammu province are with them not because of the work done by our leadership but because of their contiguity to the Punjab and personal loyalty to your great leadership. But these Jammu Muslims do not form the majority. Further more they are not organised and are not much enamoured of their
leadership. Therefore our good workers must be out of jail to work at-once as Rajah is getting forcible views from officials in favour of Hindustan in a pseudo referendum. There must be counter propaganda to defeat his vile moves.

The best way of course is for both Parties to unite and thereafter a united effort for joining us.

(e) The People:
They are hounded, hunted and hungry. Officials are playing havoc into them. Each day they are being oppressed by illegal arrests and their food is being taken away under a system of most cruel taxation; and worse of all their women-folk every day are being molested with impunity. They are very bitter and look upon you as their saviour and are confident that you will rescue them.

They are curiously torn between two loyalties one to Pakistan and the other to Abdullah. They are indeed bewildered. They pray for Pakistan and for the release of Abdullah in almost the same breath. If Abdullah fights against Pakistan it would be a very hard test for these poor people and God knows what the result is going to be. My impression however, is that we will probably win.

(f) Defence:
From our defence point of view Kashmir, I feel, hold [sic] a key position. People may say that an independent Kashmir would act as a buffer State. I have, however my doubts about usefulness of a hostile buffer State. I think from strategic point of view it would be an advantage to be facing Russia ourselves. Furthermore if Kashmir makes alliances with Hindustan it would be nothing short of a stab in our back and would be a perpetual pincer round us.

(g) Economic:
The Rajah has suddenly, after years of reluctance, decided to give away mining rights for minerals. Of these coal is the most important. It is good coal and the Rajah seems in a terrible haste to dispose these off. If this is allowed to happen we may find our alternative source of power also gone into alien management. Other economic possibilities are of course too well known to justify their mention.

(h) Officials:
Majority are Dogra and Brahmin. They are straining every nerve to join Hindustan. They hope to bring their coup through Gandhi. The only counter to this is a statement from our side asking for the release of political workers before Gandhi can affect it.

(i) Resident:
The Resident is playing for an Independent Kashmir but is not averse to its joining Pakistan.

3. DEFENCE:
A few points of general interest in Defence arrangement have attracted my attention and my loyalty to you that I should briefly mention them here.

(a) Stores and Munitions:
I see that military authorities are surreptitiously removing already meager stores and munitions from the Punjab. This is most dangerous and may be a part of some sinister plan and therefore,
I feel every effort should be made to counter it. I hope under the cloak of joint administration we would not be denuded of armament as we have been done of rolling stocks on the N.W.R.

(b) Landing Ground:
Querly enough landing grounds and built camps are being sold and dismantled in an unseemly haste by the authorities. The former are national assets, both from defence and communication points of view. These aerodromes have been built at a tremendous cost and their removal especially from our forward areas is very dangerous.

(c) Officials in Pakistan Army:
Units which have been earmarked for us are about 50% non Muslim, but what is worse majority of the officers are non Muslims. I humbly pray that steps must be taken to change these before sending them here, or something serious may happen at a crucial time. You must have heard of the plan of army officers' Coup.

(d) I.N.A. Officers:
In the new Cadre, I understand, number of vacancies have to be filled by Emergency Commissioned Officers as there is a shortage of regular officers. As one who has had dealing with most of your regular officers I beg to suggest that services of right type of I.N.A. officers after verifying their antecedents and by careful selection from among those who are with us would be most useful as these are of seniority and experience which unfortunately our army would lack but for them.

4. I do crave your indulgence for taking up so much [sic] your time but I hope it will be understood that this has been prompted by sheer love and loyalty for yourself.

With most respectful regards,

Your ever obedient,
Sd/-
Shaukat

29. ‘Kashmir Fights Kak: Battle to Join Indian Union’
People’s Age, 13 July 1947

In Kashmir today, wherever Kashmiris can meet and talk to each other, freely without being pounced upon by the police and army spies, there is discussion about Kashmir’s future.

Nobody has any doubt that the British Political Department is feverishly working to make Kashmir follow in the footsteps of Hyderabad and Travancore and declare its ‘independence’. Premier Kak—the Political Department’s favourite—is openly moving all the forces he can to support the move for ‘independence’.

KAK’S DOUBLE-FACE:

During the riots in the Western Punjab, certain Hindu refugees came to Kashmir, and Kak fully exploited their bitterness and their sorrow to sow seeds of communal discord. Kak’s argument with the Hindus of Kashmir is:
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

‘Your only guarantee of protection from the Muslims, who are the majority in the State, is the Maharaja’s rule. Joining the Indian Union will force us to introduce some democratic reforms and that will mean majority—that is, Muslim-rule. So back the ‘independence’ of Kashmir.’

To the Muslims of Kashmir, Kak’s agents whisper: ‘The National Conference will force you to join Hindustan—the land of Hindus. The Hindu Maharaja will not join Pakistan. So the next best thing is “independence”. Fight for “independence”.’

It is this subtle propaganda which Kak is pushing through, while he keeps the progressive forces muzzled.

But he is meeting with severe obstacles everywhere.

Instead of being able to split the progressive forces communally, the new situation is resulting in the majority of Kashmiri Pandits—even those sections which supported Kak last year at the height of the ‘Quit Kashmir’ movement—beginning to move towards the National Conference and support the demand that Kashmir should join the Indian Union.

The Kashmiri Pandits’ organisation—the Yuvak Sabha—recently passed a resolution calling for Kashmir’s entry into the Indian Union. Premier Kak’s brother, Amar Nath Kak, who was Vice-President of the Sabha, opposed the resolution and was compelled to resign when it was passed.

In Jammu, representative leaders of the Hindus—Kashmiri Pandits, Dogras, Punjabis—also met and passed a similar resolution, despite efforts by Kak’s supporters to oppose the resolution.

It is significant also that certain Hindu organisations and newspapers, which previously opposed the National Conference, are today calling for the release of Sheikh Abdullah.

They realise that Sheikh Sahib’s release will be the biggest weapon to win their demand for Kashmir’s entry into the Indian Union.

Among the Muslims, the Muslim Conference (the League branch) is fully supporting Kak’s move for ‘independence’—a logical corollary of Mr. Jinnah’s policy for the Muslim League in the States.

It organised a campaign recently to send telegrams to Mountbatten urging him to accept Kashmir’s demand for independence.

But while it has received considerable support from Punjabi-speaking Muslims in Jammu, the Muslim Conference is failing to cut much ice with Kashmiri Muslims, despite all its talk of ‘Hindu domination’ in the Indian Union.

Small guerilla meetings are being held by the National Conference workers passing resolutions for the Indian Union. And among Kashmiri Muslims there is widespread support for this stand of the National Conference.

SHEIKH ABDULLAH’S MESSAGE

Sheikh Abdullah is reported to have written a letter from inside jail calling on the National Conference leadership to begin a raging campaign throughout the country for Kashmir to join the Indian Union.

While it is realised that the ‘geographical factor’ does create difficulties, there is general hope that the people of India and their new Government will back the Kashmiri people’s desire to throw in their lot with the Indian Union, in the same way as they are backing the demand of the people of Travancore.
NEW DELHI, July 11.—After Mr. Hamidullah Khan, acting president of the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, and Mr. Mohammad Ishaq Qureshi, member of the conference working committee, had an hour’s interview with him this morning regarding the present political situation in Kashmir, Mr. Jinnah issued the following statement:

‘The Jammu and Kashmir Muslim conference leaders, Chaudhary Hamidullah Khan and Mr. Mohammad Ishaq Qureshi had an interview with me today and they informed me of the situation there which is making the people restive. They placed before me the question of the detention of the Muslim Conference leaders who have been in jail now for nine months without trial. Their only offence was that they held the Muslim Conference session in spite of the prohibitory orders of the Government. But they soon dispersed and did not proceed with their business.

‘Only six leaders were arrested to which no resistance was offered and everything went off peacefully. For such a technical offence they have already suffered nine months imprisonment and I see no justification for their continued detention.

CHANGING TIMES

‘I hope that the Maharaja and the Prime Minister of Kashmir will realise the fast changing circumstances, and wisdom demands that feelings and sentiments of Muslims who form 80 per cent of the population should not be ignored much less hurt.

‘The second question that is engaging the attention of the Muslims of Kashmir is whether Kashmir is going to join the Constituent Assembly of Hindustan or the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. I have already made it clear more than once that the Indian States are free to join either the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly or remain independent.

‘I have no doubt that the Maharaja and the Kashmir Government will give their closest attention and consideration to this matter and realise the interests not only of the Ruler but also of his people. We have made it clear that we are not going to coerce, intimidate or put any pressure on any state making its choice. But those states who wish to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly will find us ready and willing to negotiate with them agreements for the mutual advantage of both.’—API.

31. Gandhi’s Insistence on Visiting Kashmir

Letter from M.K. Gandhi to Louis Mountbatten, 16 July 1947
Pyarelal (Ed.), Gandhiji’s Correspondence with the Government, 1944–47, p. 273

Bhangi Colony, New Delhi,

Dear Friend,

I had a long talk with Panditji about Kashmir. He is firmly of opinion that I should go in any case, not minding if Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah or his deputy goes after my visit. He thinks and I agree that if now my visit is postponed, it will disappoint many persons in Kashmir. That I may not be allowed to see Sheikh Abdullah Saheb should not affect the contemplated visit one way
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

or the other. In the circumstances, I suggest that you should telegraph to the Maharaja Saheb that as my visit would not mean any speeches or public meetings, it should not cause any embarrassment to the State and that I should go to Kashmir at the earliest possible moment.

As I have said to you my suggestion is subject to your wish not to interfere with Panditji’s wishes in the matter. If for any reason you wish otherwise, I would not go.

If I go I would go as a private visitor. Hence I would not think of putting the Maharaja Saheb to any trouble on my account. Friends would make arrangements for my stay.

Finally I should add that if for any reason, I do not go to Kashmir, most probably Panditji would want to go for two or three days, though he would prefer my going.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. Gandhi

H.E. the Viceroy,
New Delhi.

32. Congress Told to Keep Hands Off Kashmir

Report in Pakistan Times, 18 July 1947


Ch. Hamidullah said: ‘After their discomfiture and defeat in NWFP and Baluchistan the agents of the Indian National Congress are once again casting their covetous eyes on Kashmir, and the Congress propaganda machinery is making frantic offers to win over the State to the Indian Union’.

To the Indian National Congress, its propagandists, its hirelings, and columnists, I say ‘Hands off Kashmir’. The Muslims of the State, who form 80 percent of the population of Kashmir, have cast their votes in favour of an independent Kashmir under the aegis of the Maharaja. This constitutes a gesture of goodwill towards the minorities whose interests will be safeguarded by the Ruler under the terms of the constitution.

Appealing to the minorities not to be led astray by the Congress propaganda, Ch. Hamidullah added: ‘Let the minorities know once for all that if Kashmir strays off the path of independence and elects to join one of the two Unions, she will not be allowed to maintain her separate entity. Therefore, I think that the only best choice to maintain our integrity is an independent Kashmir’.

Referring to that section of Muslims in the State who are opposed to the idea of an independent State, Chaudhary Sahib said: ‘Such people should not shut their eyes to the fast changing times but they should take a warning from the Khan Brothers.1 Let all such Muslims, who for one reason or the other stay out of the Muslim League, join hands with the Muslim Conference and work to set up a strong and independent Kashmir’.

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1Dr. Khan Sahib and Abdul Ghaffar Khan.
33. **All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference Supports Accession to Pakistan**

Resolution passed by the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference Convention, 18 July 1947


'This Convention of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference expresses its jubilation and great satisfaction at the coming into being of Pakistan and offers its congratulations to the Quaid-i-Azam.

The inhabitants of the Princely States of the sub-continent had hoped that they would achieve the objectives of national freedom shoulder to shoulder with the inhabitants of British India but unfortunately, whereas the inhabitants of British India achieved freedom with the partition of the sub-continent, the third June Plan has strengthened the hands of the rulers of these States; so long as these autocratic rulers do not bow before the demands of time, the future of the inhabitants of Indian States will remain bleak. Under these circumstances only three alternatives are open to the inhabitants of Jammu and Kashmir State, namely, [1] accession to India or [2] accession to Pakistan or [3] the establishment of a free and independent State.

After carefully considering the position, this Convention of the Muslim Conference has arrived at the conclusion that accession of the State to Pakistan is absolutely necessary in view of the geographic, economic, linguistic, cultural and religious considerations because Muslims constitute eighty percent of the State’s population, all major rivers of Pakistan have their source in the State and the inhabitants of the State are strongly connected with the people of Pakistan through religious, cultural and economic relations.

It is, therefore, necessary that the State must accede to Pakistan.

The Convention strongly demands of the Maharaja that the people of Kashmir should be given complete internal autonomy and the Maharaja should treat himself as constitutional Head of the State and set up a representative Legislative Assembly while handling \( \text{sic} \) over the portfolios of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

The Convention wishes to proclaim that if the Kashmir Government did not accept the demands of the Muslim Conference or did not act upon the advice so tendered, on account of any internal or external pressure and instead brings about accession of the State to the Constituent Assembly of India, the people of Kashmir will stand as one man against such a decision and launch a struggle with all the power at their command'.

34. **Retrocession of Gilgit to Kashmir**

Note by Jawaharlal Nehru on the position of Gilgit & Kashmir, 19 July 1947


The question of the retrocession of the Gilgit subdivision came up before me in April last. I then expressed the opinion that the proper time to consider this would be early next year when the picture of the constitution of the Indian Union as also Kashmir’s association with it would be much clearer and the problem could be considered in all its aspects. As I pointed out then, this in no way prejudiced the claims of Kashmir. The only argument that was advanced against this was based on the severity of the winter climate and the difficulty of taking any steps. The proposal then was that retrocession should take place in September 1947.
2. The Crown Representative said that it would be better and more in consonance with the policy of achieving the greatest possible devolution of paramountcy by the end of 1947 to terminate the agreement about Gilgit in September 1947. I was informed of this and I said in view of this decision I would raise no further objection.

3. Since this was done further developments have taken place and it has now been proposed to terminate the agreement about Gilgit immediately and to hand over that sub-division to the Kashmir Government. The matter has come up before the Defence Department indirectly in connection with the future of the scouts and the wireless equipment which were sent from here. So far as those two minor matters are concerned I have nothing to say and it is for the Defence Department to decide.

4. In regard to the major matter of handing over Gilgit I would suggest that no immediate steps be taken. This does not involve any real delay and in any event the date previously fixed, i.e., September 1947 is still far off.

5. It is true that in view of the Indian Independence Act certain other consequences follow. But plans are being made for standstill agreements and other arrangements with the States and any premature steps taken now might have consequences which do not fit in with the future arrangements. It is probable that some decision might be made by the Kashmir Government in regard to future association with the Dominion in the course of the next two or three weeks. It seems to me obviously desirable for us to wait till this decision is made and then to take such steps as might flow from the decision or the standstill arrangements.

6. This applies not only to Gilgit but to other States also where there may be cantonments and Government of India troops might be stationed. These troops should continue where they are for the present.

7. This is a matter also for the States Department to consider and I suggest that the file might be sent to them.

35. People of Kashmir Should Decide about Joining India or Pakistan

Extract from M.K. Gandhi’s speech at a prayer meeting in New Delhi, 29 July 1947

CWMG, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 460–1

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I have many important things to talk to you about today. I am told I should go to Kashmir. I am not particularly desirous of going there nor should I be. It is a beautiful place, hemmed in by Himalayan peaks. But there are many other beautiful places in the world and many other places of pilgrimage. I once did want to go to Kashmir. The Maharaja of Kashmir had invited me and Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar was his Prime Minister. But I can go to Kashmir only when God wills it.

When some time ago Pandit Jawaharlal had been detained in Kashmir we needed him here. Maulana Azad was the President of the Congress. He wanted to have Jawaharlal back from Kashmir. Lord Wavell also felt the need of Jawaharlal’s counsel and both Wavell and Maulana Saheb were worried. The Maulana then sent word to Jawaharlal that the mission he had undertaken was the mission of the Congress and as a matter of discipline he ought to return when the Congress wanted him to return. Jawaharlal agreed but he said that he would again be going to Kashmir. The Maulana said the matter could be taken up later and if necessary I could be sent there. I also told Jawaharlal that no one could prevent him from doing so later.
Now the Government has changed, the Viceroy has changed. I said I was prepared to go to Kashmir so that Jawaharlal might not be disturbed in what he was doing. But there were several complications and I said I would go if the Viceroy advised me to go. The Viceroy told me that he himself was going to Kashmir and that I might postpone my visit. So I did not go. And now the situation is such that either Jawaharlal or I should go to Kashmir. He cannot go. There is too much work for him here. Of course the climate of Kashmir is very good and, if he went there, he would gain in health. But there are also lots of problems there. If the head of the Interim Government makes a journey to Kashmir, it can be interpreted as an attempt on his part to make Kashmir accede to India. Therefore, it seems that it would be better for me to go.

Kashmir has a Maharaja and also the subjects of the Maharaja. I am not going to suggest to the Maharaja to accede to India and not to Pakistan. This is not my intention. The real sovereign of the State are the people of the State. If the ruler is not a servant of the people then he is not the ruler. This is my belief and that is why I became a rebel because the British claimed to be the rulers of India and I refused to recognize them as rulers. Now they are about to leave India. Those who had come to rule have agreed to be servants. They now want to be servants in thought, word and deed. Mountbatten now will be Governor-General not because the King has so appointed him but because we, the Interim Government, want to make him the Governor-General. My idea was that a Harijan girl should be made the Governor-General. But I can see that under the present circumstances it is not possible because we have to negotiate with the Princes and attend to various other problems. Yes, when democratic rule is firmly established then it will be possible to do so.

So long the Maharaja of Kashmir could do as he liked under the protection of the Viceroy. Now the power belongs to the people. I do not want that the Maharaja should be inconvenienced. The pandits and mullahs in Kashmir know me at least by name. I have given a lot of money to Kashmiris. In Kashmir, shawl-making, embroidery, etc., are well developed handicrafts. The charkha also has done good work there. The poor people of Kashmir know me.

The people of Kashmir should be asked whether they want to join Pakistan or India. Let them do as they want. The ruler is nothing. The people are everything. The ruler will be dead one of these days but the people will remain. Some people wonder why I cannot say all this through correspondence. But that way I can do even Noakhali work through correspondence. I do not want to do anything in public when I am in Kashmir. I do not want even a public prayer, though I may have it, for prayer is part of my life....

36. Possible Impact of Nehru’s Visit to Kashmir

I explained that I had called this meeting to consider Pandit Nehru’s projected visit to Kashmir. I recalled the history of this affair from the time I arrived, and said that Pandit Nehru had from the very beginning repeatedly expressed to me his strong desire to visit Kashmir which I understood was based on the incidents that occurred there during the visit of the Cabinet Mission last year. I expressed sincere sympathy with Pandit Nehru’s mental distress at having been unable to keep his promise to visit his friends in Kashmir and endeavour to effect the release of Sheikh Abdullah.
I reminded the meeting that it had been agreed that Mr. Gandhi should visit Kashmir in place of Pandit Nehru so if this was generally thought to be a better solution; and I took the full blame for having delayed this visit by offering to go myself to Kashmir. I repeated my regret at having been unable to discuss the release of Sheikh Abdullah with the Maharaja on the last day of my visit owing to His Highness’s indisposition. I admitted having asked Mr. Gandhi to wait until the arrival of the Prime Minister of Kashmir, Pandit Kak. But I said I was at a loss to understand how, consequent on Pandit Kak’s visit to both Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru to ask neither of them to go, the result should have been that Pandit Nehru wished to go instead of Mr. Gandhi.

Whatever Pandit Nehru’s personal emotions might be, I felt I should be failing in my duty if I did not point out that this was hardly the time for the Vice-President of the Interim Government and the Prime Minister of the Dominion Government which was to take over power in 17 days, to leave the capital on what really amounted to almost private business; at all events on a visit which it would be extremely difficult to explain away to world opinion.

I also pointed out that a visit by any Congress leaders could not fail to be badly received in the world press just at the time it was known that Kashmir had the choice of Pakistan or India before its Ruler; but that this effect would be somewhat mitigated if Mr. Gandhi went on account of the religious aura that surrounded him, whereas if Pandit Nehru went it would be regarded as a piece of straightforward political lobbying.

Mr. Gandhi agreed with what I had said, and stated that although at Mr. Kak’s request he had agreed not to go, if I seriously regarded Pandit Nehru’s proposed visit as objectionable, he would himself be prepared once more to take his place.

Sardar Patel gave it as his view that neither of them should go, but that in view of Pandit Nehru’s great mental distress if his mission in Kashmir were to remain unfulfilled; he agreed that one of them must go. He very bluntly remarked: ‘It is a choice between two evils and I consider that Gandhi’s visit would be the lesser evil’.

Pandit Nehru held forth at some length about his mental distress and defended his visit on the grounds that (A) nothing would be more natural than that Congress should send a high-level emissary to lay before the Government of Kashmir the advantages of joining the Dominion of India, and (B) that it was well known that he was over-worked; that he would like to go away for three or four days rest somewhere in any case, and that Kashmir would be a delightful place in which to have a brief holiday. The fact that he might be engaged on local work would be a sufficient change of occupation to give him the necessary rest.

The rest of us each argued in turn with Pandit Nehru and finally Mr. Gandhi specifically renewed his offer to go provided Pandit Nehru would accept that offer, which he urged him to do since Sardar Patel and I, who were the two ‘outside’ members of the party, were so strongly in favour of Gandhi’s going.

Finally it was agreed that Mr. Gandhi should leave on the following night train via Rawalpindi and that I would send telegrams to the Resident in Kashmir and the Governor of the Punjab. (Note in margin. Necessary action already taken)

M. of B.
29/7/47
37. ‘Will of People Should Decide Fate of Kashmir’

Extracts from a report in *The Tribune*, 7 August 1947

WAH, Aug. 6.—Making his first reference to Kashmir, after his 3-day visit to the State, Mahatma Gandhi last evening, told his prayer gathering that on August 15 legally the State of Kashmir and Jammu would be independent. He was, however, sure that the State would not remain in that condition for long. It had to join either the Union of India or Pakistan.

Mahatma Gandhi added that he had no hesitation in saying that the will of the Kashmiris was supreme law in Kashmir and Jammu. He was glad to say that the Maharaja and Maharani of Kashmir readily acknowledged the fact.

‘KASHMIR HAS THE GREATEST STRATEGIC VALUE’

Following is the authorised version of Gandhiji’s speech at Wah:

Addressing his prayer gathering, which consisted mostly of refugees living at the camp, Mahatma Gandhi said he was glad he had been able to visit the camp and see the patients in the hospital and keep other appointments in connection with his visit to the camp. He was glad too that he was able to pay what was his second visit to Panja Sahib. He had a talk with representatives of the camp.

Before, however, he dealt with matters arising out of the talks with representatives of the refugees, he would like to say a word about his visit to Kashmir.

He had made up his mind not to hold any public meetings or address them but he was able to see the workers. Begum Sahiba (Sheikh Abdullah’s wife) was constantly with him throughout the three days he was in Kashmir. He was also able to see the Maharaja Saheb and the Maharani Saheba and Prime Minister Kak Saheb. He was sorry he was not able to see Sheikh Abdullah Saheb, who was undoubtedly the leader of the Kashmiris.

He had not gone there to see Sheikh Abdullah. He was, however, able to hold public prayers for two days in Kashmir and for one day in Jammu. These were attended by thousands.

He could say that on August 15, all being well, legally the State of Kashmir and Jammu would be independent. But he was sure that the State would not remain in that condition for long after August 15. It had to join either the Union or Pakistan.

Kashmir had a predominantly Muslim population. But he saw that Sheikh Sahib had fired the Kashmiris with local patriotism. British paramountcy would terminate on August 15, real paramountcy would then commence.

**Treaty of Amritsar**

Mahatma Gandhi referred to the paramountcy of the Kashmiris. They had one language, one culture and, so far as he could see, they were one people. He could not distinguish...between a Kashmiri Hindu and a Kashmiri Musalman. In the large deputation that he saw, it was very difficult for him to know whether it was predominantly Muslim or Hindu. Whatever it was he had no hesitation in saying that the will of the Kashmiris was the supreme law in Kashmir and Jammu. He was glad to say that the Maharaja Saheb and the Maharani Saheba readily acknowledged this fact.

He had the good fortune to read what was euphemistically called the Treaty of Amritsar, but, which, in reality, was a deed of sale. He supposed it would be dead on August 15. The seller was the then British Governor-General and Maharaja Gulab Singh, the buyer. The treaty going, would the State revert to the British and, therefore, to England? If to India, to which party?
He held that without going into the intricacies of law, which he had no right to dilate upon, common sense dictated that the will of the Kashmiris should decide the fate of Kashmir and Jammu. The sooner it was done the better it was. How the will of the people would be determined was a fair question. He hoped that the question would be decided between the two dominions, the Maharaja Saheb and the Kashmiris. If the four could come to a joint decision, much trouble would be saved. After all Kashmir was a big State, it had the greatest strategic value perhaps in all India. So much for Kashmir.

38. ‘National Conference Suggests Referendum’
*The Tribune*, 7 August 1947

SRINAGAR, Aug. 5.—Gandhiji’s three days’ stay in Kashmir has brought a whiff of fresh air in the political atmosphere of the State. Gandhiji left the valley after a very short stay even though the people prevailed upon him not to go so soon. During his 60-hour stay in Srinagar, hundreds of people interviewed Gandhiji and over two dozen deputations waited upon him to explain their respective views regarding political problems facing the State. What transpired at the meetings between Gandhiji and Premier Kak is not known but he thoroughly acquainted himself with the official and the peoples’ point of view.

It is understood the Kashmir National Conference deputation suggested three methods to solve whether the State should join the Indian Union, Pakistan or remain independent, which would knock the bottom out of the Muslim Conference claim that the State Muslims are for Kashmir joining Pakistan or remain independent. Feeling sure about its success the National Conference pressed for a referendum to adopt the franchise basis as an alternative. Fresh elections to the State Assembly in a free atmosphere were suggested when the elected members of the Assembly would decide the issue. Another alternative suggested by the National Conference was a referendum on the basis of the present electoral roll as was done in Sylhet and the North-West Frontier Province.

The National Conference deputation made clear to him that the conference would participate in the referendum or fight elections to the State Assembly, only when Sheikh Abdullah was released.

A deputation of the Kashmiri Pandits’ Conference is understood to have told him that they do not want to play the role of obstructionists. They explained the resolution passed recently on this behalf [sic]. Following the Mahatma’s meeting with the Maharaja on Sunday, signs of hopefulness were noticeable. Whispers were also heard that he may visit Kashmir again or that Pandit Nehru may visit Kashmir after August 15.

39. Kashmir Will Join Neither India Nor Pakistan
*Telegram from Resident at Kashmir to Private Secretary to Viceroy, 13 August 1947*

From Resident Kashmir.
To P.S.V.
No. 86. Dated and Recd 13th Aug. (TOO 1500)/(TOR 2100)

IMMEDIATE

Your telegram No. 3352-S of Aug. 12th. Kak asked for permission to retire as he felt he had lost confidence of Ruler who he found had been corresponding with Congress through other
channels. I believe break came because of indecision of His Highness to make up his mind either to join one or other Dominion, or in peculiar circumstances for Kashmir to come into the open and ask for agreements with both. His Highness, Dogras and Hindu communities incline towards India but bulk of population are Moslem and if consulted would probably favour Pakistan especially Mirpur, Poonch and Muzaffarabad areas. Kak although Hindu clearly saw implication and felt that if Kashmir joined either Dominion especially India it would mean serious trouble. Kak further was advising His Highness he must fix his Privy Purse and that autocracy must gradually give place to democracy. Kak unfortunately had his shortcomings in that he placed his brothers in the way of good business while Prime Minister thus benefitting whole family. His Highness’ letter accepting his request for retirement stated that he had lost confidence of people.

3. I saw new Prime Minister yesterday, he is aware of the situation and although inclining towards India as a Hindu, realises bulk of Moslems will not accept decision. He therefore wishes for agreements with both. Kashmir Government issued Statement last night that they welcome standstill agreement pending further negotiations with both Dominions. From this Press note it is apparent that they are not likely to join either Dominion at present.

4. Kashmir Government is in grave dilemma as a decision to join either Dominion will result in serious trouble that might also have repercussions outside State.

B. Kalat and Swat

1. Future Policy of the Kalat Government
   Announcement about ceded territories by the Court of Kalat issued by Private Secretary of the Court of Kalat, 11 April 1947

Now that the ceded territories of Kalat are about to be returned to the State, a number of rumours are floating among the people. To dispel misunderstanding and to remove the current restlessness of the people, I have been directed to issue the following statement about future policy of the Government of Kalat.

1. By the Grace of Allah, nearly all the population of Kalat is Muslim. It is the desire of Khan of Kalat that the future Constitution of the Government of Kalat should be Islamic and in accordance with the jurisprudence preached by the Holy Prophet and that the State be ruled by a constitutional and Islamic ruler.

2. The present practices and way of life would continue wholly unaltered even after the restoration of the ceded territories to the State. However if it is found absolutely essential to make any changes in the current practices, the changes would be implemented only after their approval by the majority of the State’s people and their representatives.

3. The day the ceded territories are returned to the Government of Kalat, an Advisory Board will be constituted in every area which will consist of representatives of all classes, religions and groups to enable people to advise the Government of their country and to serve their country by participating in the affairs of the Government.

4. The Government of Kalat wants to make it perfectly clear to all of you that the position of the Government would be that of a group of persons serving the cause of Islam, the people and the motherland. It will be the duty of the Government to associate
people’s representatives in the conduct of the State affairs. The Government of Kalat is not a Government of aliens but that of the natives of this State itself, which is fully sympathetic to the people and strives for their well-being. It will be the duty of the state to continue to serve the cause of Islam, to eradicate illiteracy, to promote industry, to teach modern industrial and professional skills to the labourers and artisans, and to eliminate unemployment with a view to improving the economy of the State; ending poverty, promoting commerce to international level, and raising the living standards of the cultivators by modernizing agriculture.

5. The question of natives and non-natives is being hotly discussed. This question will be resolved as soon as possible. The best solution in this connection is to establish an Advisory Board on the restoration of the ceded territories which will include representatives of all classes, religions and sects. This Board would interview the out-of-State people to ascertain if they were willing to regard Baluchistan as their motherland and whether they agreed to being called Baluchistani on being given citizenship of Baluchistan. If they expressed their readiness to integrate themselves with us, to regard Baluchistan as their own land and to identify themselves with our interests and way of life, we would unequivocally accept them as our brethren and our equals. As for religion, all people will be free to practise their own religion. In case they did not accept the above-mentioned conditions and wished to return to countries of their origin, we would guarantee security of their lives and property and would make suitable arrangements for their return to their original lands, without any harm to their persons or belongings.

6. In future the Government of Kalat will be fully free and independent government in all internal and external affairs. It will, through treaties, establish friendly relations with neighbouring Muslim countries, such as Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia and especially Pakistan. In addition, it will enter into treaties and friendly relations with India and the rest of the world also.

7. As for the ideology of Pakistan, Muslim League Party and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Government of Kalat is in complete agreement with them and is ready to render any sacrifice for establishing Pakistan. The Baloch people should also remember that the policy of Khan-i-Kalat is the same as that of Quaid-i-Azam. Indeed the Khan of Kalat has been consulting the Quaid-i-Azam in all important matters and the Quaid-i-Azam fully approves of the restoration of all the ceded territories and their assimilation in Kalat and has assured the Khan of Kalat of his full support in this context, for which the Khan of Kalat and the State Government are most grateful to him.

2. Request for a Statement in Support of Kalat

Letter from Khan of Kalat to M.A. Jinnah, 14 April 1947


AIWAN-I-KALAT, QUETTA

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I returned to Baluchistan on the 29th of last month. Before I say anything, I wish to convey to you grateful thanks from my people and myself for the kind and very affectionate thoughts you
expressed in respect of our aspirations and for the sympathetic view with which you regarded
the Kalat case. Your conversations still pervade my thoughts, and they have had very benevolent
effect on my feelings. It was due to this influence that I, at the very first opportunity, made in
unequivocal terms a public announcement giving all my support to your demand for Pakistan—
not only your demand but rather a demand of the ten [sic for hundred] million Muslims of India.

I enclose for your perusal a copy of the announcement which is in Urdu. Kalat, I believe,
is the first and so far the only State which has publicly thrown its lot with Pakistan and has
promised its fullest support therefore. The attitude that the opposite camp will consequently
adopt in respect of Kalat and its demands is quite evident. At this juncture I request you to
do me a favour by giving a short public statement in support of my announcement. This will
have at least a soothing effect on the feelings of the pro-League public here, which at present
are very much prone to be swept by the Congress propaganda: it is this thought that tempts
me to request you for a statement in support of the Kalat Government announcement which
would otherwise seem inopportune.

2. I hope this letter finds Miss Jinnah and you both in good spirits. I wish you both good
health and long life to serve the cause of the Muslims of India. In the end I must once again
thank you both for the kind hospitality you showed me while I was last at Bombay.

With kindest regards to you both,

Yours very affectionately,

AHMAD YAR KHAN

3. Report from Baluchistan

Extracts from the fortnightly report for Baluchistan for the first half of April, 22 April
1947
Home Poll. 18/4/1947, NAI

1. Political. (a) The predominating news of the fortnight under report is a manifesto issued
by His Highness the Khan of Kalat in the form of pamphlets distributed widely in Quetta and
throughout Baluchistan. The professed object of the pamphlet is to set at rest rumours regarding
the return of the Leased Areas to Kalat State....

The most intriguing portion of the manifesto, however, is the declaration that it is issued
with the approval of Mr. Jinnah. The local Muslim League appears to have been unaware that
an agreement of this kind had been reached between His Highness the Khan of Kalat and Mr.
Jinnah and Qazi Muhammad Isa after stating as much at a public meeting left for Delhi by air
on 14th April with the object of verifying the fact from Mr. Jinnah personally.

The Pathan group of the Provincial Muslim League have not yet formulated a definite
attitude towards co-operation with Kalat and it is even reported that some extremists were on
the point of taking out a mock funeral procession of His Highness the Khan.

(b) There has been considerable activity on the part of the Muslim League since the return
of Qazi Muhammad Isa on April 2nd.

(c) The Anjuman-i-Watan has also been active and in a two-day session which ended on
March 30th resolved to constitute a committee of 21 members, with Khan Abdus Samad as its
Chairman, with the object of drafting a democratic constitution for Baluchistan for submission
to the Sub Committee of the Advisory Committee. An announcement of this resolution was
made by All India Radio on April 4th....
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

4. Report from Baluchistan

Extracts from the fortnightly report for Baluchistan for the second half of April, 7 May 1947
Home Poll. 18/4/1947, NAI

1. Political....

(b) An interesting reaction to the Manifesto by the Khan of Kalat reported in my last diary is the use made of it by Khan Abdus Samad Khan, leader of the Anjuman-i-Watan, to point the case for the assimilation of the Pathan portions of Baluchistan with the North West Frontier Province. Articles in this connection were published in the Civil and Military Gazette and in the Statesman of April 27th. Asserting that the Manifesto had issued with the knowledge and support of Mr. Jinnah, Khan Abdul Samad Khan argues that this implies the acceptance by Mr. Jinnah of the principle of divisions within Pakistan. If the Baluch element in Baluchistan can be separated into Kalat State the remainder could be attached to the North West Frontier Province. His object may well be to cause a split between the Khan and the Muslim League.

(c) In the same connection a meeting of prominent sardars presided over by Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogeizai was held in Quetta on April 23rd and a decision was taken to appeal to Mr. Jinnah to come to Quetta to clarify his attitude towards the Khan of Kalat’s proposals.

(d) There are indications that the Khan of Kalat is seeking to win favour all round. He has made donations to the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and also to the Local Muslim Association. Both these organizations are said to be in sympathy with the Anjuman-i-Watan and opposed to the Muslim League. It is impossible, however, to read any long-sighted policy into these activities of the Khan, who appears to be hoping to win by backing every horse in the race...

(f) The Quetta Pathans view with considerable alarm and disfavour the prospect of being placed under Kalat State. A cleavage between Pathans and Baluchis appears to be forming to an extent never noticed before. The main objection to coming under Kalat State, however, appears to be economic and it is generally feared that business would be ruined by such a change.

Sd/-
C.G. Prior
Agent to the Governor General in Baluchistan

5. Concern about Baluchistan

Letter from M. Zia-ud-Din to M.A. Jinnah, 8 July 1947
Jinnah Papers, Vol. III, pp. 183–4

5 QUEENS ROAD, QUETTA

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been in Baluchistan for about eight months now, and consider it my duty to bring to your notice some important problems of this Province particularly at this juncture. The Province, as you are aware, consists of the British Districts of Sibi, Pishin and Duki, etc., the
tribal areas of Marris, Bugtis, Nushki and Zhob, and the leased territories of Quetta, Bolan and Nasirabad. According to the provisions of the Independence Bill which is now pending before Parliament only those districts are coming into Pakistan which are being administered by the Chief Commissioner of ‘British Baluchistan’ and that all agreements with States and Tribal Areas lapse from 15th August. This means that Quetta which is the heart of the Province and the only town with large and extremely important military installations will not become a part of Pakistan, and that the area of Nasirabad which is the only food and revenue producing portion of Baluchistan will also be lopped off from it. The Tribal Areas will become independent and all the leased areas including the Bolan Pass will revert to the Kalat State.

2. Those portions of Baluchistan which are described as British Baluchistan in the Independence Bill and which are coming into Pakistan, are in reality mountain areas and quite useless. They are isolated from the rest of Pakistan. Baluchistan as a province will in any case be a liability for Pakistan, but disintegrated [sic] and shorn of the Leased Areas, it will become a millstone round its neck. At the present juncture if Pakistan loses Quetta it loses one of the most important military stations, and the strategic and trade routes to Persia and Afghanistan. The people of Quetta are also horrified by the thought of coming under Kalat State, and there is great consternation. The Muslim League has been promising these people a place in Pakistan, and that is why the Sardars voted unanimously for it ten days ago. They could never dream of reversion to Kalat State.

3. According to the present arrangements of the Bill, on 15th August all the courts in Quetta will cease to have any jurisdiction and the whole headquarters of the Province will no longer function legally. Somehow I cannot visualise the scene on that day, but it will be a tragedy if while on the one hand the attainment of Pakistan is being celebrated, on the other hand one of our prize cities will be passing into a medieval state. The disintegrated, isolated, and poor districts of British Baluchistan cannot possibly exist as a province without Quetta and Nasirabad, and they will become hotbeds of intrigue for the neighbouring countries and ambitious tribesmen. Ninety per cent of the population of Quetta will leave the place if it reverts to Kalat. It will perish as a town and the railway, roads, aerodromes and military installations will be impossible to maintain. We shall also lose the Cantonments of Loralai and Fort Sandeman.

4. The potential mineral wealth of Baluchistan exists in the tribal areas only. Coal is found at Mach which is leased territory. Chrome is found in Hindubagh which is Tribal Area. Sulphur and copper are found only in Tribal Areas. Therefore all the potential sources of Baluchistan’s wealth also go out under the present scheme.

5. You know, Sir, that I belong to Peshawar and am here for a case only. I shall return to my own province in a couple of months. But from the point of view of Pakistan I am naturally interested in Baluchistan. I have had the unique advantage of visiting all the districts and many of the villages of this province and I feel for its people and their future.

6. I am not making any suggestions as to what should be done. That is a matter of high policy which you will determine yourself, but I beg you to take steps to prevent the loss of very valuable areas by Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,

M. ZIA-UD-DIN

Bar-at-Law
6. Pakistan the Only Solution for the Betterment of the Muslims
Letter from Ruler of Swat to M.A. Jinnah, 19 July 1947
Jinnah Papers, Vol. III, p. 513

SAIDOO SHARIF,
SWAT STATE, N.W.F.P.

Quaid-i-Azam,
I thank you very much for your kind letter. By God’s grace I am a Muslim and have all my sympathies for the Muslim League.

In the past I have done what I could and in the future too, if God pleases, I would do for it what I could. The Muslim world is very grateful to you and is proud of your great achievements. Pakistan was the only solution for the betterment of the Muslims and its attainment required only your perseverance, patience and able guidance. It was like a dream that has come true and thanks are due to your efforts for it. I congratulate you on achieving this.

Your appointment as Governor-General is most fitting, as the movement had been started and reared by you and you have a picture in your mind [of] what you wish to make it like. I wish you all success and most heartily congratulate you as the first GOVERNOR-GENERAL [designate] of the Dominion of Pakistan.

Assuring you that my services with all resources are at the disposal of Pakistan and with respects from my son Jahanzeb.

Pakistan Zindabad.

I am,
Yours sincerely.
The Ruler of Swat

C. PUNJAB

1. Unity of Sikh States
Letter from President, Shiromani Riasti Akali Dal, c. February 1947
AICC Papers, File No. CL-3, Part 4/1947, NMML

Bhawanigarh
Patiala State

Dear Sir,

We are passing through very critical times when the whole future of our country is on the anvil. Every step at this moment can make or mar the whole future of our country and community. After consideration of some of the leaders of the Panth we come to the conclusion that we, as Sikhs, cannot protect our culture, religion and honour without having some effective power somewhere. With this point of view the Sikh leaders of the Punjab States gathered at Sangrur on 2nd February to consider ways and means to consolidate the Power of the Sikhs of these States. They have unanimously adopted the following resolution:—
1. ‘This meeting of the representatives of the Sikh residents of the Punjab States unanimously resolves that the States of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot, Kalsia, Kapurthala and Malerkotla should be grouped together to form one unit in the coming constitution of India for the population of these States is above 33 lakhs and its annual revenue is about 5 crores. This unit will be an agricultural one and its residents are bound together by the ties of common language, culture, nationality, modes of living and economic interests. Therefore this meeting draws the attention of the rulers of these States, their government, British Government, Narendra Mandal, President and members of the Constituent Assembly, Political Agent and interested parties and organisations to the proposal made by this meeting. In the opinion of this meeting there will be difficulties in future if this proposal fails to materialise’.

The area and population of the Sikh States is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the State</th>
<th>Area in Sq. Miles</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patiala</td>
<td>5942</td>
<td>19,36,215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jind</td>
<td>1299</td>
<td>3,61,863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabha</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>4,40,044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapurthala</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>3,78,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farid Kot</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>1,99,283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalsia</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>67,393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malerkotla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be clear from this table that none of these States, except Patiala, can hope to survive as an independent entity as soon as the constitution of the federated India comes into being. Already the Crown Representative has, through a statute, brought about the merger of various Kathiawar States. A similar merger may take place in the case of other small states, because out of 562 States, hardly 25 stand the chance of existence as political units. It is, therefore, in the interest of the rulers of the smaller Sikh States to bring about their administrative integration with Patiala. Sikhs are deeply concerned in this matter because, they feel that such an integration will create for their community a Sikh majority unit where their culture may find means of expression. This greater Sikh State will compare very favourably in area as well as in population with some of the most modern States of Europe, as the following table will make clear:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the State</th>
<th>Area in Sq. Miles</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>16,575</td>
<td>3,85,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>27,137</td>
<td>29,65,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>15,944</td>
<td>42,18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>11,775</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td></td>
<td>29,37,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With a yearly income of about Rs. 5 Crores and with vast possibilities of development of its untapped resources, it will be a unit lagging behind neither in economic and cultural uplift of its people nor in asserting its individuality whenever need be. It will have a large number of Sikh youths encompassed within its fold and, given military training, they can prove a very valuable asset to the defence of the Sikhs to secure for themselves a National Home in the Punjab materialises [sic], as it must one day, then these two units with powerful Sikh influence will play a decisive role in the history of India.
The total population of the above mentioned seven States communitywise is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sikhs</td>
<td>13,05,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>8,91,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>9,34,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled Castes</td>
<td>2,03,137</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yours truly,

Sd/-

(Pritam Singh Gujran)
President,
Shiromani Riasti Akali Dal.

2. Shortage of Daily Necessities in Nabha

Statement by Pattabhi Sitaramayya on Nabha State, 14 February 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 118, NMML

ALL INDIA STATES' PEOPLES' CONFERENCE, NEW DELHI.
19, Canning Lane

The following statement has been issued for publication by
Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Regarding Nabha State.

There is in Nabha State, as perhaps elsewhere, great discontent and dissatisfaction due to non-procurement and shortage of daily necessities of life, such as cloth, oil, sugar and so on.

On the 23rd January last, some Socialist and Ahrar friends wanted to have an interview with the Maharaja of Nabha and place their grievances before the Ruler. When they were on their way to the Secretariat, a procession developed and at the gate of the Secretariat, the leaders were arrested and Sec. 144 Cr. P.C. was promulgated. 107 students and others were also arrested along with the three leaders. On the 24th January partly due to resentment over the arrests and partly to maltreatment in Jail of those arrested, a big procession led by girls proceeded to the Secretariat to secure from the Maharaja the release of the arrested and withdrawal of Sec. 144 Cr.P.C. They were lathicharged and firing was ordered, but was not resorted to, as the Police refused to carry out the order.

On the 25th January, the Nabha Public safety ordinance was enforced throughout the State. The ill treatment of the girls' procession outside and of the political prisoners inside, irritated the public. On humanitarian grounds, the Praja Mandal tried to intervene and remedy the situation, but the Chief Minister did not concede either of their demands. The situation was a challenge to the Praja Mandal which it took up readily though reluctantly. The Praja Mandal decided to defy the Nabha public safety Ordinance which was not, as alleged, due to any communal disturbances, as there were none and the object of which was to stifle and crush the Political organisations, so as to prevent them from making an effective demand for the early establishment of responsible government and for the redress of economic grievances. The Praja Mandal started satyagraha against these repressive measures. The Satyagrahis were brutally lathicharged on the Railway Station and inhumanly treated. Bad food, wet blankets, severe beating, pulling of beards, I learn, are the methods adopted by the State authorities to
crush and humiliate the Satyagrahi prisoners, so that they may be forced to apologise. Some of them are alleged to have been released after a resort to these objectionable methods by the State authorities.

The Prince of Nabha is a young man of about twenty-five, one would expect he was perhaps innocent or ignorant of what was happening, but it is pointed out that he was present when the girls were lathi charged. The attempt of the Chief Minister to give a communal colour to this, the people's struggle for fundamental and basic rights and to mislead a section of people on sentimental and communal grounds is a part and parcel of the policy pursued by almost all the autocratic States, wherein the responsibility must be chiefly borne by the ministers at least in equal measures with the Princes. How far the political department may be concerned with such events it is a matter for inference from recent events in states like Datia, but this much may be said here, that on the next day after the events had taken place in Nabha, the prince had an interview with the Resident of Punjab States at Jaitu in the Nabha State, and the policy continues.

While earnest efforts are being made by the Praja Mandal to befriend the Princes, the response from the Princes is anything but encouraging. Reports from Nabha, Bharatpur, and from Bikaner, pour in to show, how either the Minister or Jagirdars are combating the people's movement by medieval and barbarous methods unworthy of the modern age or the culture which is associated with it. If the friendly intervention of disciplined bodies like the Praja Mandal and the States' People's Conference prove unavailing, the situation that may develop is apt to be such as to make the perpetrators of such repression rue the day on which they began it, all the while throwing away the wiser counsels of their real well-wishers.

(B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA)
PRESIDENT

Copies to:—
1) National Herald, Lucknow.
2) Hindustan Times, New Delhi.
3) AISPC, New Delhi.

3. Report from the Punjab States

Extracts from the fortnightly report of the Punjab States for the first half of February 1947, 19 February 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5(1)-P(S)/47, NAI

... POLITICAL...

Muslim League Agitation in the Punjab

33. The arrest of Muslim League leaders in the Punjab has given rise to considerable indignation in Bahawalpur, where Muslims observed a complete hartal on the 26th January. Similarly Muslims in Patiala observed hartal on the 31st January and at Bhatinda on the 27th January. Muslim shopkeepers in Faridkot struck work on the 27th and the Muslim Leaguers took out a procession, and small Jathas were sent to Ferozepore on the 1st and 3rd February. Malerkotla has been quiet except for one small procession. Muslims in Sangrur expressed their sympathy...
with the arrested leaders in two meetings of the League, but there have been no repercussions in Chamba or Nabha except for one League meeting in the isolated Nizamat of Bawal in the latter.

**PRAJA MANDAL.**

34. Independence Day. Independence Day was celebrated on the 26th January at Malerkotla, Ahmadgarh (Malerkotla) and Tehri by the Praja Mandal and at Sangrur (Jind) by the Students Congress.

35. Jind. Thirteen meetings were held by the Praja Mandal in the State during the fortnight, and some of these were addressed by the two Praja Mandalist members of the Jind Council. The Zamindara Praja Mandal a rival body of the Praja Mandal, have passed a resolution of no confidence in these Praja Mandal members.

36. Patiala. At public meetings held in the State the Praja Mandalists again demanded the establishment of representative Government in the State based on joint electorates.

37. Theog and Madhan. At a meeting of the Theog and Madhan Estates Praja Mandal a resolution was passed asking for the establishment of an Advisory Committee composed of public nominees so as to frame laws for the Estates.

**COMMUNAL RELATIONS.**

38. Nabha. The ring leaders of the agitation at first made Dhuri (Patiala) their headquarters, but on February 2nd they moved to Sangrur (Jind). A Nabha Satyagrah War Council was established there and volunteers from some of the Punjab States collected and batches proceeded to Nabha almost daily from the 6th February to defy the order promulgated under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. On arrival in Nabha these batches were served with a prohibitory order and on defying the order were arrested. After February 11th, however, the despatch of Jathas from Sangrur to Jind ceased. Up to 11th February, 295 persons had been arrested in Nabha. Of these, only 111 were put in jail, 97 of whom tendered apologies immediately. On 16th February, the ‘leader’ Hardev Singh with his immediate followers wrote out and signed a full apology, exonerating the Nabha Government of any ill-intentions towards liberty and has also publicly withdrawn the agitation. His apology was to be considered by the Nabha Government on 17th February, and was likely to be accepted. All is now quiet throughout the State and it seems that the agitation is finished.

39. Chamba. The communal situation in Chamba has improved. An Aman (Peace) Sabha composed of members of both the communities has been formed and it has invited the Darbar to send representatives to its Executive Committee and also to give financial assistance to its activities. Separate drilling by volunteer youths of both the communities has ceased.

40. Baghal. There is some tension between the Hindus and Muslims over the permission granted by the Durbar to build a mosque at Arki, the capital.

**LAW AND ORDER.**

41. Tehri Garhwal. Convict Paripurna Nand Painoli has not yet been arrested. Six prisoners in the jail went on hunger strike on 9th February in support of a demand that they should be retried in a British Indian Court.
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

42. Sikh States: At an educational conference of the Akalis held at Mastuana Sahib (Jind) on the 30th January, 1947, Sardar Bahadur Ranjit Singh of Delhi, the President, advocated the grouping of Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Kalsia, Kapurthala, Faridkot and Malerkotla into one unit. Until the establishment of this unit, it was proposed that interim Governments with Sikh majorities should be set up in each of these states. The same demand was also made at a meeting of the Riyasti Akali Dal held at Sangrur on 2nd February, 1947, and was reiterated at further dewans held in Sangrur on the 3rd to 5th February, 1947.

43. At meetings of the Students Congress held at Sangrur (Jind) on the 23rd January, 1947, the Ahrar members condemned the idea of Pakistan while Brish Bhan, Secretary of the Punjab States People Conference suggested the amalgamation of Jind State with the Punjab.

GENERAL.

44. Jind. A strike was declared in the Cement Factory at Dalmia Dadri (Jind) on 23rd January 1947, and still continues.

45. Malerkotla: (Para 30) On the 30th January, 1947, the Kisan Committee took a procession to the main gate of His Highness’s palace and asked for the closing of Bir Imamgarh. Arrangements have since been made for the destruction of the wild animals in the Bir, and permission has been granted for the grazing of village cattle. A proposal to re-afforest the Bir is now under consideration.

46. Theog, Madhan and Ghund. Some of the Praja Mandal leaders of Simla advocated the floatation of a joint cooperative society, independent of the Darbars, with their nominees as office bearers, but the people refused to purchase shares as the Darbars had not recognised the body.

47. Khairpur. His Excellency the Governor of Sind paid a visit to the Khairpur State from the 6th to 8th February, 1947.

48. Kapurthala. According to a Press report a serious fire broke out in the Sukhjit Starch and Chemicals Ltd. Phagwara (Kapurthala State) on the 11th February, causing a loss of about Rs. 3 Lakhs.

Sd/-
Resident
for the Punjab States

No. X47-1/47
Lahore
To,
L.C.L Griffin, Esquire, CSI., CIE., ICS.,
Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative, New Delhi.
4. Report from the Punjab States

Extracts from the fortnightly report of the Punjab States for the second half of February 1947, 5 March 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5(l)-P(S)/47, NAI

... POLITICAL.

Declaration by His Majesty’s Government dated 20th February.

49. Hindus and Muslims seem respectively to believe that the declaration is more favourable to them than to the other party. In Chamba the first reaction was that it side tracks the main issue of resolving the present difficulties in the Interim Government.

50. PRAJA MANDAL.

(a) TEHRI-GARHWAL. (Paras 388 and 412 of the 1946 report). Daulat Ram and five other prisoners, who were undergoing various terms of imprisonment in the Tehri Jail, submitted an application to the Darbar on 29th January that either the cases against them should be withdrawn or they should be tried in some British India Court, and threatened that, if their request were not met, they would go on hunger strike. As the Darbar could not accede to their demand, these six convicts went on hunger strike on 10th February. One of them broke the fast after two days and on February 23rd, all of them along with 21 other convicts were released on the occasion of the Namkaran (naming) ceremony of the Maharaja’s newly born son and heir.

(b) BILASPUR. For lack of influence the Praja Mandal movement is quiescent. Sher Singh of the I.N.A. is tipped as the next president, in place of Sada Ram who is resigning.

(c) THEOG AND MADHAN. The Praja Mandalists have capitulated and asked the Wazir’s pardon.

(d) PATIALA. The Praja Mandalists are as active as ever.

(e) PATAUDI. On February the 15th the local Praja Mandal organised a meeting in the Hailey Mandi in honour of a projected visit from ‘Colonel’ Shah Nawaz and ‘Col.’ Habibul Rahman of the I.N.A. About 700 people mostly from Gurgaon District attended the meeting which was addressed by Habibul Rahman in the absence of Shah Nawaz who did not turn up. The main topic of Habibul Rahman’s speech was the demand for the immediate release of those I.N.A. men, who are still in jail. At the conclusion of the meeting the Praja Mandal presented him with a purse of Rs. 101/- for the relief of the families of these I.N.A. convicts.

51. MUSLIMS.

Kapurthala. When the Sessions Judge announced his order convicting one Wahidullah for delivering objectionable speeches, a Muslim crowd endeavored to prevent the Police from taking the accused to the jail. The Inspector of Police and some of his men sustained injuries from brickbats and the Police were obliged to use some force to disperse the crowd.

52. SIKHS.

Jind. At an Akali Dewan held at Balian (Jind State) on the 20th February, 1947, Jathedar Pritam Singh Gujran of Patiala urged the necessity of raising an Akali Regiment as a counter to the Muslim League agitation in the Punjab. The Muslim League’s action in tearing down
the Union Jack from a Government building at Amritsar and replacing it by a League flag was considered to be a challenge to the Sikhs.

53. **COMMUNAL RELATIONS.**

(a) Nabha. (Para 38). On the 16th February, 1947, the leaders of the agitation confined in the Nabha jail issued a statement admitting that communal tension in Nabha town justified the promulgation of emergency measures, and their own mistake in launching the ‘Satyagrah’ movement. They also called upon their co-workers outside the State to cease sending more batches of men to break the law in Nabha town. The Nabha Government considered it therefore no longer necessary to restrain these men and their companions, remitted the sentences of all those who had been convicted under section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code and withdrew the cases pending against the remaining accused. 129 men, who were confined in the jail at the time, were therefore immediately set free. It appears, however, that after his release Hardev Singh and all his colleagues repented of their surrender, and according to recent information,—which however has not yet been confirmed,—the Nabha Praja Mandal have reorganised the Council of Action under Babu Ram Sud, with a view to resume jathas and satyagraha.

(b) LOHARU. The Loharu Darbar anticipated communal trouble in Loharu town on 23rd February on the occasion of the opening of the new Arya Samaj temple, when it was expected that about 10,000 persons from outside the State would attend. The organizers of the opening ceremony declared their intention of leading a monster procession through the Muslim quarter of the town, and as the local police of about fifty were considered inadequate to cope with the prospective situation, a detachment of the Crown Representative’s Police was brought to Loharu. The news of their impending arrival had an immediate effect and the Arya Samajists abandoned their previous intention of going in procession through the Muslim quarter of the town. Nothing untoward happened and the detachment has returned to Neemuch.

(c) CHAMBA. Difficulties have arisen in Chamba town between a small section of the Hindus and the Muslim butchers over the attempted construction of a mosque in the vicinity of a temple and land in the occupation of the Sanatan Dharam Sabha, but nothing serious has so far happened.

54. **LAW AND ORDER.**

On the 3rd February, 1947, four Hur outlaws (three armed with guns and one with a hatchet) surprised seven Misrani Mehar women 12 miles away from Tar Ghat (Bahawalpur State) and robbed them of five camels and other property. The camels were let loose subsequently as they were in poor condition. It is believed that these men came from Jaisalmer State. The Hurs are quiet in Khairpur State.

55. **CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.**

Kapurtala: The Muslims are active in their demand for the establishment of a responsible Assembly on a population basis and the representation of Muslims in the higher State services.

56. **GENERAL.**

Bahawalpur. The school masters in Bahawalpur are on strike. On the 15th February an examination centre was overrun and furniture broken up. The ringleader, a son of ‘Colonel’
Gilani, I.N.A. is a bad character. He was arrested on the 15th February. But under the guidance of the teachers small processions are organised by the students in each town.

Patiala. Agitation of Muzaras (tenants) against landlords has flared up again and spread throughout the State. The abolition of the Biswedari system and the nonpayment of batai has been demanded at various meetings and demonstrations.

Sd/-
Resident
for the Punjab States

No. XH/-1/47
Lahore

5. Instruction to Muslim Leaguers to Attack Hindus

Report in Khalsa Akhbar, 11 March 1947

IT IS THE SACRED DUTY OF EVERY HINDU & SIKH TO SEND AT LEAST 5 COPIES OF IT TO 5 DIFFERENT PERSONS SO THAT THEY MAY KNOW THE LEAGUE'S DESTRUCTION PROGRAMME. THE CHAIN SHOULD NOT BREAK.

All India Leaguers must obey the instructions and put into action.
Pakistan ZINDABAD- QAID-I-AZAM-ZINDABAD.

(1) All Muslims of India shall die for Pakistan. (2) With Pakistan established the whole of India should be conquered. (3) All Muslims should join hands in the sacred work of Islam. (4) One Muslim should get rid of 5 Hindus i.e. for the murder of 1 Muslim 5 Hindus must be murdered. (5) Until Pakistan Empire is established in India the following steps should be taken by all the League Muslims:

(a) All factories and shops owned by Hindus should be burnt, destroyed and looted and the list must be given to the League Office. (b) All Muslim Leaguers should carry weapons with them for their defense and assault on Hindus. (c) All the nationalist Muslims if they do not join the League must be murdered and their population be reduced. (d) All Hindu temples be destroyed. (e) Congress leaders must be murdered one by one in every month by secret methods (f) Congress Newspaper Offices should be destroyed by the League gestapo. (g) Karachi, Delhi, Bombay, Madras & Calcutta be paralysed by Dec., 1946, by Muslim League Volunteers. (h) Muslim Leaguers must not be allowed to work in Army, Navy and other Govt. Services or any other Hindu firm. (i) Muslims should carry on sabotage on the vast scale all over India and be prepared for final invasion on Hindu India. (j) Financial help is being given by the Nizam Bhopal State and rich League Zimindars [sic] and merchants. (k) Punjab, Sind, Bengal and other Muslim States will be places of manufacturing of all kinds of weapons, which will be distributed privately all over India by the chief Leaguers to establish Pakistan in India. (l) All Muslims should carry weapons with them at least pocket knives all the times. (m) Drive all Hindus from India. Destroy them. (n) All transport should be organised and used for battle against Hindus. (o) Hindu women, girls should be kidnapped and converted to Islam. (p) Hindu culture should be abolished (q) All Leaguers should try to be cruel to Hindus, boycott them socially, economically and any other way. The first part has since been changed to read:—

Muslim Leaguers in Army must try to work and capture the key jobs, ammunition Depot, Vehicle Depot and such other important Store Depots.
6. Communal Situation in Punjab

Extract from a letter from Chief Minister, Nabha Government, to the Secretary to the Resident for the Punjab States, 24 March 1947

Office of the Chief Minister, Nabha State, File No. 666E/47, Confidential Part (A), Punjab State Archives

Extract from confidential D.O. Letter No. 208/693-A/10 282-E, dated the 24th March 1947, from the Chief Minister, Nabha Government, to the Secretary to the Hon’ble the Resident for the Punjab States, Lahore.

Exchange of Information Fortnightly Statements. 5504169

... 2. POLITICAL, LABOUR AND LAW & ORDER

Press and radio reports of the communal troubles in the Punjab have caused a certain amount of nervousness and panic among the State subjects, especially among the Musalmans, who are reported to have taken measures on the quiet to prepare themselves against any eventuality. A day or two before the 11th March, fixed by non-Muslims in the Punjab as the Anti-Pakistan Day, the Nabha Muslim League, under the leadership of Ghulam Rubbani, their President, passed round word to male members of the community to remain indoors on the 11th in case there was any trouble in the town. It is also reported that arrangements were made to summon the Musalmans by beat of drums, located in city mosques, should any trouble occur. Reports of collection of arms as the result of panic arising out of wild rumours were also received. There was a Hartal in the Nabha city on the 11th; otherwise the day passed off without any untoward incident anywhere in the State. Panic, however, still prevailed and on the 18th March a poster was issued by me, on behalf of the Nabha Government, drawing attention of the general public to the fact that the Public Safety Ordinance was in force in the State, and that the Nabha Government were determined to take the severest possible measures to check any communal disturbances and to punish rumour-mongers and mischief-makers regardless of what community they belonged to. State subjects of all castes and creeds were exhorted to suppress false rumours, expose mischief-makers and to help the Government in the maintenance of law and order, and to form peace committees all over the State. These posters, which were distributed among the inhabitants of all the three Districts of the State, had a steadying effect. Reports, however, still continued to come in from the Mofussil of nervous tension and, with a view to creating a sense of security, especially among the minority community, two sections of Troops each were dispatched to Phul, Dhanaula and Amlon and one section to Jaitu to help the Civil authorities there in the maintenance of law and order. Leading citizens of all communities of Nabha town made a written request for the extension of the ban on meetings, processions and demonstrations which was to expire on the 22nd March. In view of this and the general situation the District Magistrate, Nabha, has banned meetings, processions and demonstrations in the Nabha town for a further period of two months under section 12 of the Ordinance with effect from 23rd March 1947.
7. Demand for Responsible Government

Letter from Praja Mandal Secretary to Raja Sahib of Bilaspur, 24 March 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

Office of the Bilaspur Rajya Prajamandal
C/o
73 the Mall, Simla

To
His Highness the Raja Sahib,
Bilaspur State.

Sir,

Your Highness addressed a press conference at Lahore in January last. Many of the assertions made by Your Highness left us agape with wonder. For instance Your Highness said that there was full freedom of speech and association in the state and that the basis of Your Highness administration was ‘SOCIALISTIC’. That it is entirely divorced from truth Your Highness knows more than anyone else in the world. The Prajamandal refrained from contesting these statements because they thought that there was no harm in swallowing them on if the Legislative assembly for Bilaspur which you promised at the conference materialised and answered the demands of the Prajamandal.

We have waited in vain for these three months for a formal announcement giving an outline of what it is going to be. The promised date of April 1st is close at hand yet nothing has been vouchedsafed to the public. We wonder what sort of an assembly it is going to be when freedom of speech and freedom of association remain under a strict ban and Prajamandal the only non-official organisation of the state continues to be exiled from its very birth. We need not remind Your Highness that unless non-official organisations are allowed full freedom to educate and enlighten public opinion at least six months ahead the elections can not be anything but a farce. Steeped in ignorance and illiterate and psychologically reduced to an inert mass the people of the State may be made to say ‘Aye’ to any thing sponsored by the executive. Such a thing may be called anything but not a legislative assembly.

It is therefore our earnest prayers that if such an assembly is seriously intended Your Highness may ask the official concerned to favour us with an outline of the same and forthwith lift the ban on the Prajamandal.

Your Highness knows that our aim is responsible government under your aegis and nothing but good will result from such an action.

JAI HIND.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd/-
S.F. Chandel
President
Bilaspur Rajya Prajamandal.
8. Survey of the Praja Mandal Activities in Punjab

Letter from Harbans Lal, General Secretary, The Punjab States Regional Council, to AISPC, 1 April 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 261, NMML

Dear Comrade,

I am sending the Report on Punjab States. I am sure it will be given its due place in the All India Report.

The date of the session of the A.I.S.P.C. is so [sic] at hand. But we have not received so far any information regarding the programme, tickets of visitors etc. The Press also does not give so much of Publicity to the Conference.

I am sure all these matters are receiving your due attention. Miss Kaur has been sent to Gwalior.

Yours sincerely,
Harbans Lal,
General Secretary.

Report on Punjab States

The Praja Mandal movement in the Punjab States began in 1928 but due to the absence of civil liberties and the iron rule of the Autocratic Governments its pace was rather slow. Upto the end of 1945 it had many ebbs and tides. The workers under unimaginable hardships and restrictions spread the message of freedom and democracy and for this noble cause they had to undergo long terms of rigorous imprisonment and even had to lay down their lives. After the historic session of Udaipur in 1945-1946 a new life was infused, as it were, into the old texture. The Punjab Riyasti Praja Mandal with its Head Office at Ludhiana, a non-State territory, was changed into the Punjab States Regional Council and its Head Office was also established in one of the States, namely at Bhatinda in Patiala State.

Under the bold and inspiring leadership of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru the organization of the Praja Mandal caught the imagination and the emotion of the people; its workers came into the open field, throwing all restrictions on civil liberties to the winds. The popularity of the movement can be judged from the fact that whereas at the time of the Udaipur session regular Praja Mandals existed only in Patiala, Jind and Malerkotla States, at present well organized Praja Mandals function not only in these States but also in Nabha, Faridkot, Pataudi, Loharu and Dujana States. Even in Kapurthala State Congress Committees are in existence at two of its towns and the people are quite politically conscious. Only in one State of Bahawalpur the Punjab States Regional Council has not been able to spread the Praja Mandal message for various reasons. It is also interesting to note the strength of the various State Praja Mandals and the population of the States in the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of States</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Prajamandal Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patiala</td>
<td>19,75,000</td>
<td>Approx. 30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jind</td>
<td>3,62,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabha</td>
<td>3,75,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

The Praja Mandal has a mass character in the Punjab States. Its strength lies in the popular struggles it has waged in various States. Section 144 was defied in Narnaul, Bhatinda and Fatehgarh (Sirhind) and public meetings were organized. The biggest and the most heroic struggle was fought in the small State of Faridkot in defiance of the fundamental rights of free speech, free press and free association and public meeting. This was a fight on Punjab basis and the States people from all the Punjab States made a common cause. The most inhumane barbarities were perpetuated by the withering Autocracy but nothing could deter the workers. Faridkot, in the words of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, represented the symbol of degradation of the small States. This historic struggle met with a historic success. This enhanced manifold the prestige and dignity of the Punjab States Regional Council.

As a result of the ceaseless organizational activity and pressure the Punjab State Governments have been forced to restore civil liberties and annul the wornout and much maligned Hidayat and Registration of Societies Act. But the Autocracies have forged new weapons as the 'Protection against Seditious Meetings Act' and 'the Regulation of 1811' in Patiala, Nabha, Malerkotla State and the Public Safety Ordinance in Patiala and Nabha States, for use at their sweet will to crush political organizations.

Though the Regional Council has been able to achieve remarkable success in securing the restoration of civil liberties but in the field of constitutional development the autocracies have not gone further than making pious and vague declarations and setting up official Constitution Committees. The nefarious attempts are being made by various State Govts. to stifle the popular demand for constitutional reforms by the enforcement of Section 144 under the pretence of communal tension as in Patiala and Nabha towns.

Below is given a short survey of the Praja Mandal activities and development of representative institutions in different States of the Punjab:

1. Patiala. Patiala is the premier State with a Sikh Ruler. The distribution of population between different communities is 47% Sikhs, 31% Hindus and 22% Muslims according to the 1941 Census Report. About 85% of the population depends on agriculture. There is an acute agrarian struggle between the Biswedars (landlords) and the tenants going on for the last decade or so. The State Praja Mandal has always been advocating for the rights of the tenants. In its annual conference on 5th October, 1946, it vehemently demanded the Abolition of Biswedari (Landlordism) system. This economic popular struggle has recently borne fruit. The State has by an extra-ordinary declaration dated 1st of Chet 2003 abolished the Biswedari system as between the landlords and the occupancy tenants giving two third lands to the tenants as full proprietors and one third to the Biswedars, u/s. 5 of the Tenancy Act. But the struggle is not yet over as the declaration does not touch the tenants at will.

In the constitutional field the Praja Mandal has carried on ceaseless campaign for the establishment of full Responsible Govt. based on Joint and Adult Franchise and Direct election. The Maharaja set up a Constitution Committee on 8th Sept., 1945 consisting of officials and some retired officials to propose introduction of Legislative Assembly in the State. The public was never consulted and no steps to implement the Declaration have been taken so far.
As regards Municipal reforms there exist 2 Municipal Committees and Small Town Committees with nominated majorities and official Presidents. The election of the Small Town Committees took place eight years ago. There are no District Boards and elected Panchayats.

Communalism is being fostered by the Govt. by the introduction of communal representation in services and by the State encouragement in the formation of communal organizations such as Akali Party, Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League.

The Praja Mandal is the only political organization in the State with mass backing. Its strength lies in its band of wholetime workers with sincerity of purpose and zest for selfless service of the people.

Nabha State. It is one of 3 Phulkian States with Sikh Rulers. The population of the State is divided amongst different communities as Sikhs 36%, Hindus 43% and Muslims 21%. Civil liberties in this State were restored long after the Declaration of 17th January by the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. The organizational strength of the Praja Mandal has much progressed in respect of its membership as well as the number of primary committees. It has a regular constitution. It held its plenary session last year in the month of April in Mandi Phul which was attended by thousands of people.

Present struggle for the restoration of civil liberties and introduction of constitutional and economic demands including the elimination of professional taxes is going on in Nabha since 23rd January, 1947.

There are no Constitutional reforms yet introduced in the State. Only last month the Punjab Municipal Act in the mutilated form has been introduced giving Municipalities to 4 towns. The darkest feature of this reform is that separate Electorate system has been introduced. This has given momentum to communal elements. The policy of the State is reactionary and always tinged with communal considerations.

Jind State.—It is another Phulkian State where the Ruler is a Sikh but the Sikh population is in a minority of about 10%. The Hindus form the bulk of the population and are about 75%.

Here also the Praja Mandal has made tremendous progress since Udaipur session. It is specially very strong in the districts of Dadri and Jind which are situated at a distance of more than 100 miles from the capital of the State.

It has an Assembly since 1930 but it is a sort of advisory body with no powers. Its existence is a mere camouflage to hoodwink the outside public opinion and meets only for two or three days in a year. Before 1945 the House consisted of 65 members but now it has been reduced to 47. Franchise qualifications have also been raised. The whole House is an elected one but its constituencies are so framed that only the State stooges can be returned. For instance, there is Graduate Officers Constituency, Title Holders’ Constituency and Factory Owners’ Constituency, while there is only one factory and only one voter. In the last election one more constituency was created to accommodate the daughter-in-law of the Maharaja who is now the Education Minister. There are also four Municipal Communities with official majorities with nominated Presidents.

As a result of successful peoples’ agitation, a sort of Interim Govt. has been formed in which two Ministers from Praja Mandal have been taken. But the portfolios allotted to the popular ministers have reduced them to the position of dignified clerks. For example, there is one Minister for Charities; another for Printing & Veterinary Hospital when there is only one Press and one Veterinary Hospital. It is doubtful if the whole arrangement marks any progress from the past and will prove stable and lasting. On the occasion of the last Diamond Jubilee of the Maharaja on the 13th March titles of Honours were conferred on the basis of donations.
Faridkot State.—Faridkot is a small State with a Sikh Ruler but quite notorious for its beastly repression and aggressively communal and reactionary policies. The civil liberties and the freedom to hoist National Flag were secured through a hard and grim struggle by the Punjab States Regional Council in May 1946. The People’s struggle attracted even Pt. Nehru, the then President of the A.I.S.P.C., to Faridkot. The terms of the Agreement reached between Pt. Nehru and the Raja are not adhered to by the Ruler. The commercial community of the Faridkot town in particular and other residents in general who took heroic part in the struggle are now given discriminatory treatment by the State and have been deprived of the trade rights and privileges. The Praja Mandal workers are harassed in all sorts of ways and are even prosecuted and tried under false cases.

There are no representative institutions in the State.

Malerkotla.—It is a petty State with a Mohammadan ruler. Before Udaipur session there was a Congress Committee but now there is a regular Praja Mandal affiliated to the A.I.S.P.C. It is quite a strong organization with branches in the villages. There are no representative institutions.

Loharu, Dujana and Pataudi States.—These are three petty States brought into existence after 1857 out of the territories of the Jhajjar State whose Nawab took part in the 1857 Rebellion and was executed by the Britishers in Delhi. All the three Rulers are Mohammadans but the majority of the population in them is Hindu.

Praja Mandal organizations were formed after Udaipur session. They are quite strong in Dujana and Pataudi. There have also been successful struggles for the restoration of civil liberties in Pataudi and Dujana and people of these States also took part in Faridkot Satyagraha.

A movement is afoot in these petty States and amongst the people inhabiting Narnaul (Patiala State), Bawal (Nabha State), Dadri (Jind State) Districts for creation of a separate province known as Hariana Province. Culturally, linguistically and historically they do not form part of the Punjab and are more akin to Delhi.

Kapurthala State.—Here there are no representative institutions but Municipalities exist in Kapurthala and Phagwara with nominated official Presidents. Muslims form the single majority community. People of this State took prominent part in Faridkot Satyagraha. Its Maharaja is Sikh. A Constitution Committee to propose legislative reforms was set up in 1934, 1938 and again in 1946, but nothing has come out of the labours of these committees.

Bahawalpur State.—It is the only State with a Mohammadan ruler and the majority of the population is also Mohammadan. The population is very backward educationally, economically and politically. No political associations are allowed to come into existence.

Harbans Lal
Sd/-
General Secretary.
9. Communal Constraints on Prajamandal Work

Letter from Hira Singh Chinaria and Nihal Singh Taxak, non-official Prajamandal members, Jind Government, 5 April 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 251, NMML

Sangrur, Jind State

My dear Sir,

Thanks for your kind letter Dt. 5.3.1947. The appeal for the A.I.S.P.C. Building Fund has been placed before His Highness the Maharaja Sahib. He was out and when he came it was to celebrate his Diamond Jubilee. Hence the delay. He will probably refer to the Executive Council here and it may come in the next Council meeting, Wednesday next. We are also making collections thro' the Prajamandal also. Will let you know of the result shortly but we may assure you that we will do our best in the matter.

As regards our work here, we are getting on steadily but it cannot be said to be going on well. There are so many difficulties in the way. First of all there is the most insurmountable communal barrier to retard all progress. There were already the Akali Dal & Muslim League, although not well organised and strong locally, but with full support & backing from their All India & provincial bodies & leaders, having direct influence & effect on the Maharaja & the Ruling family. And we are getting very little help from outside. Our region also is weak & the failure of the Nabha Satyagrah also had very bad effect here on the national movement. Nabha had their headquarters here at Sangrur satyagrahis were pouring in from all around but alas Nabha leadership failed & betrayed the whole region. The Region also overlooked this weakness of the Nabha leaders and all around are suffering for it.

Besides, there have sprung up two more communal or sectional bodies i.e. Hindu Mahasabha & the Zemindar League or Zemindar Prajamandal as they like to call it, solely started by three opportunist state employees, encouraged by one or two of the Official Ministers and supported by some Police officers. Although Hindu Mahasabha is still only in name but the so-called Zemindar Prajamandal or League has gained some ground at least in one of the three districts of the State, because of the official support and also because there was yet Chhoturam, Zemindar or Jat (Punjabi Unionist type) mentality & the Jind Prajamandal had not enough time to reorganise after the 1940-42 repressions. In British India only one League is so much obstructing the way to freedom. We have three here but nevertheless we are yet optimists and hope to achieve the goal of full responsible Govt., if not before but not later than British India, the mother country.

Moreover, too high hopes and too early expectations of their fulfillment by our own people and fostered and engineered by our own comrades, who could not compete us in field of public service, talents, followers and organisational work, not on any matter of principle or difference of opinion, simply by personal jealousy wish to pull our legs. They are proving a greater hindrance in further progress because they are weakening the Prajamandal by spreading dissatisfaction and dissension within and encouraging the opponents.

Yours truly
Hira Singh Chinaria
&
10. Refugee Influx and Communal Tension in Nabha

Letter to Major Harington-Hawes, Secretary to the Hon’ble the Resident for the Punjab States, Lahore, 9 April 1947
Political Dept., File No. 666E/47, Part B, Punjab State Archives, Patiala

Exchange of Information—
Fortnightly Statements.

Dear Major Harington-Hawes,

In continuation of my confidential D.O. letter No. 244/837-A/ 10 282-E, dated the 9th April, 1947, the Nabha State Fortnightly Statement is as follows:—

(1) WAR.

On the 14th April, simultaneously with the Budget Estimates of the State for the year Sambat 2004, His Highness-in-Council finally approved of the revision of the pay and allowances of the personnel of the State Forces so as to bring them on par with those in force in the neighboring States. This measure is at once calculated to ensure contentment in the force and to improve recruitment to the Nabha Akal Infantry now being raised to the full battalion strength.

The Financial Advisory staff of the Headquarters Military Adviser-in-Chief, Indian States Forces, visited Nabha from the 7th to 12th April, 1947 for purposes of auditing the Grant-in-Aid accounts.

(2) POLITICAL, LABOUR AND LAW & ORDER.

Considerable numbers of refugees from the North West Punjab have arrived in various towns of the State. Those who have taken asylum in Nabha town alone number some 2000. Another 700 from Mianwali District are staying in Jaitu. These are being fed and looked after by private Hindu and Sikh Organisations.

Detachments of troops sent in aid of the civil authorities to outlying areas of the State have to some extent allayed panic in the minds of members of the minority community though a certain amount of tension still continues.

On the 9th April a Muslim tailor committed rape with the daughter of a Hindu Mahajan of Bhairupa. For a day or two this incident accentuated the communal tension in the village but it soon subsided. A case has been registered and is under investigation.

On the 12th April, one Nikka son of Alla Ditta a Musalman of Bhatinda was seen moving about in suspicious circumstances in Mandi Phul. When at the railway station Rampura Phul, a member of the Mandi Phul Peace Committee complained to the Railway Police Official that he suspected this Nikka of having stolen his purse. On search of Nikka’s person ten 12-bore cartridges were recovered. On interrogation Nikka stated that these had been given to him by the Canal Overseer, Rampura Phul (Patiala State). Searches conducted by the Patiala State
Police in the Canal Colony at Rampura Phul are reported to have led to several arrests. It has been alleged that this Canal Officer had sent these cartridges to the S.D.O. at Bhatinda. Both the Officers are Musalmans.

A Muhammadan Patwari of Ateli (District Bawal) was assaulted by some Hindu Gundas during the fortnight under report and a case under section 324 I.P.C. has been registered and is under investigation.

Akali Dewans were held simultaneously at Mandi Phul and Mandi Gobindgarh on the 13th April, 1947. Certain refugees from North West Punjab narrated their tales of woe and funds were collected for the relief of the sufferers. At the latter place one Dharam Singh Vaid, Chhimba of Dadri, also made an appeal on behalf of Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader for Contributions towards the Punjab Relief Fund.

His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Malvendra Bahadur has sent a donation of Rs. 25,000/- towards the Punjab Relief Fund in response to the appeal of the Hon’ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Ram Nath of Jaitu, President of the Nabha State Praja Mandal, while staying outside the State is still busy in trying to keep the so called Satyagrah Campaign alive. Reports show that the intention is that it should now take the shape of individual Satyagrah. Accordingly one Siri Ram of Bawal came to Nabha on the 21st April, 1947 and shouted objectionable slogans, in defiance of the ban. He was consequently arrested.

Tension is reported between the Biswedars of Village Ramgarh, Pargana Jaitu, and their tenants, causing apprehension of a breach of the peace. The Head of the Phul District Police has been directed to go to the spot personally and try to settle the matter or take action accordingly to law. To cope with any emergency arising out of the present communal tension all over the country and the future uncertain conditions the Nabha Government have decided to raise a Military Police Force consisting of 6 Platoons or ... all ranks. Recruitment to the force is proceeding.

**ECONOMIC**

There has been no rain in any part of the State during the fortnight under report. The weather is warming up. Wheat crop has been cut and winnowing has started. Prices of food grains have fallen to some extent as compared with those prevailing during the preceding fortnight.

4. **GENERAL**

In response to an appeal by the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Lahore His Highness has made a Contribution of Rs. 5,000/- towards the Smadh of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

The Laboratory Technician of the Lansdowne Hospital, Nabha has just returned after successfully completing his course in Microbiological Technique at the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta.

National Savings Certificates to the value of Rs. 13,835/- were sold by the State Post Offices during the fortnight under report bringing the progressive total to Rs. 15,21,415/-.

(Yours sincerely)

Sd/-.
11. Redress the Legitimate Grievances of Muslims

Letter from Leadet Nawab to the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur, Faridkot State, 10 April 1947
Office of the Faridkot Government, Political Dept., File No. 148, Punjab State Archives, Patiala

City Muslim League, Ferozepur

Sir,

I am hereby to forward a copy of the resolution passed by the Council of Action of City Muslim League Ferozepur at its meeting held on the 9th evening.

‘During the past few days the presence of the Sikh refugees in Faridkot State, the issuing of large No. of gun & Rifle licenses to Non-Muslims, the recruitment of non-Muslims in Armoured Division of Faridkot Police have caused grave apprehensions in the mind of Muslim State subjects of Faridkot in respect of their safety with the result that about 7000 to 8000 of them have left the State territory & a large number of them have taken shelter in Ferozepur City, Cantt and distt. This meeting of the Council of City Muslim League strongly requests His Highness to create confidence in the mind of Muslim subjects by assuring them their safety and taking strong measures against the mischief mongers. This meeting also urges the Resident Punjab States & H.E. The Governor General of India to exercise their personal influence upon the rulers of Faridkot State to redress the legitimate grievances of Muslims and also to assure them about their safety, protection & well being. In this connection it may be mentioned that Faridkot State subjects were living in perfect peace & harmony among themselves and that the Muslims of Faridkot have completely followed the instructions of the League Leaders to maintain peace & order.

Copies to

2. Sir Evan Jenkins the Governor of Punjab.
3. Hon’ble the Resident Punjab States Lahore.
4. M.A. Jinnah, President All India Muslim League.
5. The President, Punjab Provincial Muslim League, Lahore.
6. The Editor, The Dawn.
7. The Editor, Pakistan Times.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/-.

Leadet Nawab, B.A.L.L.B
Pleadder
President
City Muslim League Ferozepur City.
12. Precarious Position of Muslims in Faridkot

Letter from S.R. Rabbani to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, 24 April 1947
Office of the Faridkot Government, Political Department, File No. 148, Punjab State Archives, Patiala

Kotkapura
Faridkot State,
24th April, 1947.

My dear Maulana Sahib,

We will be failing in our duty if we do not record our appreciation for a telegram believed to have been sent to the state authorities bringing to their notice the true position of Muslims. It is not very difficult to presume the reply likely to be sent by the State authorities. At the most they will say that there is nothing to worry about. Life and the property of the Muslims would be safe. It is very difficult to admit such allegations. These are hard facts.

As Maulana you know there are in every section a sufficient number of bindings. These can be easily be displayed by any Government. Exactly the same is the case over here in Faridkot State.

This letter is a sort of S.O.S. Believe us that the situation is passing through a crucial stage. We are afraid that by the time this letter will be in your pious hands so many Muslims by that time will be knocked down. Everything is ready on the part of the non-Muslims. They need connivance of the State. That is there. They need a signal. That is there. They need some motive. It can very easily be made. Such minor accidents have recently taken place. They are the foreshadows [sic] of the coming events.

The Sikhs are bent upto any length to take revenge. It would be a horrible revenge. This could not be imagined at present. The force, the Military, the police, the majority of Sikhs is on the other side. The Muslims, less in numerical weight, with no arms, with no unity, and with no strong faith in themselves are on the other. There is only one thing that can create a little hope. That is God. We feel ashamed to look to God without such a demoralized character and no Islamic action. Anyhow we trust in God. The time is very short. There is much to do. There is not time to write out the full details of what is going on here. We fear we would not be able to protect the sacred trust of Islam. You are putting your weight with the Congress. Kindly see what the Congress, the Sikhs and the Sikh States are doing for the Muslims. We should be going a bit out of the way if we say that it must be taken by you, and all others as an eye opener.

For God Sake arrange for our safety. We are losing everything and anything.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/-

(S. R. Rabbani, B.A.),
Kotkapura,
Faridkot State.
13. Report from the Punjab States

Extracts from the fortnightly report of the Punjab States for the second half of April 1947, 1 May 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5(1)-P(S)/47, NAI

Communal disturbances in the Punjab and N.W.F.P.

86. Patiala. Although considerable tension continues in the State, the situation is well under control.

87. Bahawalpur. Some Hindus and Sikhs have migrated from the eastern part of Bahawalpur State to the adjoining State of Bikaner and the Ferozepore District. In order to restore confidence the Bahawalpur Government have sent a detachment of their State Forces to the affected area, and this has had a good effect.

88. Malerkotla. The Sikhs continue to organise themselves while two former Sikh members of the I.N.A. have been making communal speeches.

89. Kapurthala. As the result of communal tension between the Hindus and Muslims of Phagwara (Kapurthala) some of the Muslims have taken their families into the adjoining district of Jullundur. Elsewhere all is quiet in the State.

90. Pataudi. The recent disturbances in the surrounding Gurgaon district created considerable panic in the State, but after the Nawab toured the whole State confidence was gradually restored and there were no incidents.

Akalis.

91. Jind. In order to enforce a boycott of the State Assembly session some local Akalis staged a demonstration at Sangrur on the 22nd April. Inflammatory speeches were made against the State Ministry and demands were made for the appointment of a Sikh Chief Minister and for 55% representation of Sikhs in the State Assembly. Exaggerated accounts of the atrocities committed by the Muslims in the Punjab were also given and this caused some resentment amongst the local Muslims.

PRAJAMANDAL.

92. Bilaspur. (Para 50) There is no direct Praja Mandal agitation in the State at the moment but attempts are being made to create dissatisfaction against the Darbar in connection with the land to be inundated by the Bhakra Dam, and the people are being advised not to abide by the agreement reached between the Ruler and the Punjab Government.

Muslim League.

93. Patiala. The local Muslim League’s activities have been carried on in secrecy and often under the cover of Friday prayers.

94. Bilaspur and Bashahr. Although the number of the Muslims in Bilaspur and Bashahr States is small, the influence of the Muslim League has made itself felt in both States.

Volunteer Corps.

95. Muslim League National Guards have started parades in Faridkot.
Law and Order.

96. Khairpur. The Hurs committed an armed robbery at Tar Dangahu in Khairpur State at the farthermost Eastern boundary and about two miles from the Jaisalmer border. The four raiders who were heavily armed came from Jaisalmer and after committing robbery escaped into the Rohri desert of the Sukker district.

REFORMS.

97. Chamba. (Para 76) As no Muslims were successful during the recent elections to the new Chamba Municipal Committee, the Darbar have now nominated two Muslims.

98. A Committee composed of eight persons with the Revenue Member as Chairman has been constituted to report as to how the people of the State may be more closely associated with the administration. The people of the State, except for a few persons in Chamba town, are completely unacquainted with constitutional issues of this kind.

99. Khairpur. The draft of the new Khairpur Government Act was recently examined by a Constitutional Advisory Committee. Despite the opposition of four of the five Sahibzadas, all of whom were among the eighteen members of the committee, the draft was speedily approved. The opposition led by Sahibzada Mir Khan Mohd Khan Talpur are continuing their agitation against the Act.

GENERAL.

100. The Bahawalpur Government have created the following new appointments:—

1. Minister for Constitutional Affairs.
2. Secretary to Government in the Department of Constitutional Affairs.
3. Director of Industries who combines the post of Secretary to Government in Labour Department and Foreign Secretary.

Sd/-
Resident for the Punjab States.

No. XR7-1/47
Lahore
To
L.C.L. Griffin Esquire, CSI, CIE, ICS.,
Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative,
New Delhi.

14. Timely Action Needed against Autocratic Ruler

Extracts from a letter from the President and Members of the Working Committee, Bilaspur Rajya Prajamandal, to the President and Members, AICC, 15 June 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

Gentlemen,

The members of the Bilaspur Rajya Prajamandal make the following solemn declaration with a full sense of responsibility and having carefully weighed every word therein:—
1. BILASPUR is a state in the Lower Himalayas with an area of 451 sq. miles and a population of 1,10,396. Its total income has been raised from Rs. 2,90,000/- in 1938-39 to about 12 lacs in the last year without the least bit of increase in the people’s income.

2. The rulers of Bilaspur have always followed a policy of progressive usurpation of the rights of the people to their property moveable and immoveable and their freedom, personal, social and political.

3. Rights which have survived under this continued onslaught have been further whittled down by accelerated spoliation [sic] of the present ruler.

4. As a consequence the whole population has been practically reduced to serfdom and the present ruler has consistently followed a policy of striking down any who dared lift his head above the level of mean vassalage.

5. A quadrupled military and police force, organisations of his henchmen under misleading names and recently mobilised men of his racial stock in general and retired British Indian military officers and ranks in particular are his instruments of suppression.

6. His favourite methods are indiscriminate and brutal beatings, plucking of whiskers, murga position and dragging with the nose pressed against the ground, trumped up prosecutions, spine breaking fines and nocturnal house searches and every other conceivable from of terrorisation. The number of people thus beaten by the raja personally and by his military runs into thousands including cases with tragic consequences.

7. His levies under various pretexts, his personal business monopolies under the name of Bilaspur Commercial Corporation and the Bank of Bilaspur Ltd. with its capital of 3 lacs collected by third degree methods and his motor transport monopoly his manipulation of food and cloth controls combined with the high incidence of land revenue have reduced the population to extreme penury.

8. Out of sheer vanity the administration has been made unconscionably expensive, the tiny state being burdened with three ministers and twenty secretaries and under-secretaries.

9. His new palace with its furniture of foreign manufacture and flooring of Italian marble has cost about twenty lacs of rupees.

10. His dramatic society and other hobbies are the white elephants maintained at the cost of poor taxpayers. During the last twelve years he has purchased 35 cars for personal use.

11. He has twice made tours of Europe and spends every year four months at Poona and lavishly bets in races. Any ailment in the family brings the foremost medical practitioners from Poona to Bilaspur at fabulous fees.

12. His excessive greed and timid sub-missiveness of the people have made him oblivious of all obligations, legal or moral. His mother owed a large amount in loans. Requests for payment have met with kicks and abuses, gratuitous house searches and other harassments.

13. He has committed greatest atrocities on people, beatings and externment from the state during raja’s pleasure by verbal orders without leaving behind a shred of documentary evidence.

14. To lay by untrue white washing documentary evidence for the edification of outsiders or for any possible future use is his special care.

15. Wide awake for the need of propaganda for outside consumption he sticks at no untruth to beguile British Indian public and leaders. Without twitching a muscle he posed as a ‘socialist’ at the Press Conference at Lahore on the 3rd January 1947. He is indeed a socialist in the same sense in which a road roller is one.
16. ‘Hands of Bilaspur’ is his open challenge to the Indian National Congress and the All India States People’s Conference whose leadership he paints in the blackest colours in his bloody speeches. With the instinct of a carnivore he becomes ferocious at the slightest suggestion of outside approach of help to his quarry, the helpless people of the state.

17. The Bilaspur Rajya Prajamandal is an exile from its birth. He will not allow it to have its being on Bilaspur soil. The atrocities committed on Prajamandal workers and its suspected sympathizers make a horribly woeful tale. A hundred young men are suffering exile from the state for their connection or sympathies with the Prajamandal. Eighteen state employees have been under suspension for the last seven months while eight have been dismissed on mere suspicion of sympathy with Prajamandal direct or vicarious.

18. For a hartal which never took place fifteen shopkeepers were sentenced to imprisonment and fine amounting to Rs 32,500/- while the total income from fines in the preceding year came only to 6000/- The scandalously illegal sentences brought a hint from the Political Department to please which the raja made an announcement of remission of these sentences in the exercise of his ‘royal prerogative of mercy’. When his purpose was achieved he forgot all about it. Hitherto not a single rupee out of the fine had been refunded.

19. In his calculations the raja seems to be reckoning upon anarchy in British India and extending the boundaries of his state right upto Simla and right up to Kullu in the other direction. To this end he is militarizing his administration. He has only two weeks ago appointed as his Home Secretary a retired Captain of the British Indian army almost illiterate and belonging to the raja’s racial stock. Another Subedar of the British Indian Army of the same racial stock barely literate has been appointed as Asstt. Collector and Magistrate. Two other unschooled military men have been taken in the supply department as inspectors. All retired or discharged British Indian military personnel excepting I.N.A. have been organised into a new body to be always at raja’s beck and call.

We have come to this Conference with the hope that the Conference will decide on some suitable corporate action against this budding Hitler so that political work may be made possible in the state and the suppressed people relieved of this incubus. Failure to take timely action will make the people sink in the slough of despondency from which it will be almost difficult again to take them out. Other princes in the Simla Hills and those of Mandi and Suket have taken a cue from him and become aggressive towards the Prajamandals. Bushahar State only a few days ago fired upon a peaceful assembly of people and in the neighbouring state of Suket a tragedy was only averted by the wisdom of the leaders of the Prajamandal. There is a real danger of the ground so far being lost beyond redemption.

JAI HIND

President and the Members of the Working Committee
Bilaspur Rajya Prajamandal, c/o
73, The Mall SIMLA
15 June 1947.
15. Election of Representatives to Constituent Assembly Invalid

Letter from the President, Patiala State Prajamandal, to the President, Constituent Assembly, 9 May 1947
AICC Papers, File No. 29/1947, NMML

Sir,

The petitioner submits as under:—

1. Under the Cabinet Mission's plan of May 16th 1946 according to the population of Patiala State, two seats to the Constituent Assembly were allotted to the State.

2. That according to the formula agreed upon between the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly and the Negotiating Committee set up by the Chamber of Princes, one representative could be nominated by the Ruler and the other could only be 'elected by the elected members of legislatures or, where such legislatures do not exist, of other electoral colleges. The States would endeavour to increase the quota of elected representatives to as much above 50% of the total number as possible.'

3. That no legislature exists in Patiala State.

4. That on the 26th of March 1947, before a gathering of different interests communal, political and religious, the Maharaja of Patiala declared that both the representatives to the Constituent Assembly of India from Patiala State would be sent by election through an electoral college. The electoral college never came into formation.

5. That no subsequent announcement was made regarding the method of election of representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

6. That on 27th April 1947 all of a sudden the following announcement was made through an extra-ordinary Gazette:—

Orders of the Ijlas-i-Khas
No. 3 dated, Motibagh Palace, Patiala, the 27 April '47

In the Constituent Assembly set up under the Cabinet Mission’s plan of May 16th, 1946 providing a constitution for India, two seats have been allotted to Patiala State. We decided to appoint both these representatives in consultation with the various interests in the State and on their advice. Out of the panel of names submitted to us, we have selected the following, who have been supported by the majority, to represent the Patiala State in the Constituent Assembly:—

1. Sardar Jaidev Singh, Bar-at-Law
2. Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala, B.A.

We, therefore, accordingly direct that these two representatives shall take part in the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly on behalf of Patiala State.

MAHARAJADHIRAJ
MAHENDRA BAHADUR

The above method of nomination and selection of representatives to the Constituent Assembly is directly in contravention of the settlement arrived at between the two Negotiating Committees set up by the Constituent Assembly of India and the Chamber of Princes.

7. As no electoral college was ever formed, technically there could be no elector or a candidate. Hence this election petition is filed by me. I claim exemption of Rules 54, 55 of the
C.A. of India for the reason above mentioned. As the President is not here, I am depositing the security money, as I do not want the petition to be dismissed on this technical ground.

8. It is therefore prayed that the nomination and selection of Sardar Jaidev Singh, Bar-at-Law and Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala, B.A., as representatives of Patiala State to the Constituent Assembly of India be declared null and void.

I am,
Sir,
Yours obediently,
sd/-
SUNDER LAL.

16. Repression on Popular Struggle

Memorandum presented to Jawaharlal Nehru by the deputation of Patiala State Praja Mandal, 18 May 1947

AISPC Papers, File No. 133, NMML

After the British declaration of February 20, 1947 to quit India the utterances and activities of the Maharaja of Patiala outside the Patiala State have created an impression in the nationalist circles of India that he is a very progressive and democratic prince. His role in connection with the Constituent Assembly is very much applauded but the internal administration of his State and the policy recently adopted to crush all progressive and political forces in the State give a direct lie to the above.

Under the pretext of communal tension the State enforced the Public Safety Ordinance and the Maharaja maneuvered to send both the nominated officials to the Constituent Assembly. In order to lodge a protest against this and to implement the resolutions passed at Gwalior Session of the All India States People’s Conference the Patiala State Praja Mandal decided to carry on a peaceful campaign for the ESTABLISHMENT OF FULL RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT THROUGH A PEOPLE’S CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY: SETTING UP OF INTERIM POPULAR GOVERNMENT FORTHWITH: AND SENDING PEOPLE’S REPRESENTATIVES TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. Its programme was adjusted in such a way as to avoid clash with the administration. The first protest meeting was fixed at Barnala City, on 5th May where there was no restriction on public meeting. Three workers were arrested while making an announcement for this meeting. In the night five prominent workers including 2 members of the Standing Committee of the Patiala State Praja Mandal were taken into custody while attempting to make a speech. They were dragged, humiliated and beaten on the spot. The audience was severely lathicharged and dispersed. The city observed hartal on the next day as a mark of protest. The Police terrorised and threatened the shopkeepers to open hartal failing which they arrested some of them including Dr. Raghbir Prakash M.B.B.S, an elected member of the Small Town Committee and President of the City Praja Mandal Barnala. Those arrested were handcuffed on both hands and publicly beaten.

From the next day wild, inhuman and barbarous repression was let loose on those detained. They used to be taken out of the lock up in the middle of the night one by one, slapped, kicked and mercilessly beaten with shoes on their buttocks for hours. Their testicles were squeezed and young workers were indecently assaulted and molested. Their cheeks were bitten, fingers
were thrust into their rectums and they were subjected to all sorts of humiliation and cruelties by the goonda policemen.

Arrests of prominent Praja Mandal workers were also effected in other parts of the State. In order to crush the agrarian movement the police resorted to lathicharge and firing in various villages resulting in heavy casualties. Wholesale arrests of village workers were made and the number of those arrested has gone up to about 150 by now. In order to misrepresent the political movement, majority of them are being prosecuted under various criminal offences ranging from Section 107 Cr. P.C. to Section 424 and 302 I.P.C. Even those tried under Section 121 and 124 A are treated as ordinary felons and are confined to dark and solitary cells. No interviews or any other facility is allowed to them. The Praja Mandal workers are labelled as ‘goondas’ and are treated as such in jail. It may be noted that some of the arrested persons are members of the General Council of the A.I.S.P.C and members of the Standing Committee of the Patiala State Praja Mandal and Regional Council. They also include men of high social status as Doctors and Advocates.

It is evident that the Maharaja of Patiala is out to root out the Praja Mandal and other progressive national forces by camouflaging public opinion outside the State. There is a widespread resentment against this repressive and reactionary policy throughout the State. If the things remain as they are a major clash between the Praja Mandal and the Government may become imminent and unavoidable.

As the all India situation is tense and delicate we feel it our bounden duty to apprise you of the true state of affairs in the Patiala State. Should the things take a serious turn the people of the State in their march for freedom count upon your sympathy and support.

General Secretary,
Patiala State Praja Mandal.

17. Disturbances on National Flag Day
Telegram to J.B. Kripalani from Zail Singh, 29 May 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

FARIDKOT
ACHARYA KRIPALANI ND.

FARIDKOT NATIONAL FLAG DAY CELEBRATED ON 27TH MAY BY STATE PRAJA MANDAL STOP PEACEFUL MEETING DISTURBED BY SOME GUNDAS GIVING SLOGAN JAWAHARLAL MURDABAD AND CUTTING LOUD SPEAKER WIRES STOP POLICE INFORMED TELEGRAPHICALLY STOP POLICE BEING ON SPOT TAKEN NO ACTION AGAINST MISCHIEF MONGERS STOP HIS HIGHNESS REQUEST TO MAKE ENQUIRIES.

ZAIL SINGH
18. Report from the Punjab States

Extracts from the fortnightly report of the Punjab States for the second half of June 1947, 2 July 1947

Pol. Dept., File No. 5(1)-P(S)/47, NAI

Communal Disturbances in the Punjab and N.W.F.P.

120. (Para. 116). All remains quiet in the Punjab States but owing to continued disturbances in the Punjab tension still prevails particularly in Dujana and Pataudi States, where the renewed rioting and arson in Gurgaon district have caused great uneasiness. A flag march in Dujana during the last days of June which was carried out on the request of the Political Agent had a very salutary effect.

The number of refugees has increased to about 1200 in the Mandi State.

Praja Mandal

121. (Para 117) Jind. Members of the Praja Mandal are busy enrolling volunteers in Dadri and Jind districts. A meeting of the Kissan Labour Party was held at Sangrur during the fortnight under review.

Mandi. Members of the Praja Mandal held two meetings in the State.

Law and Order.

122. (Para. 118). During the fortnight Rahim Hingoro with two accomplices abducted two men from Thar Athlao in Khairpur State. These men were released after being taken to a distance of about 8 miles. This gang came from the direction of Makhi and retired towards Rounta Forest. A detachment of the Khairpur State Military Police from Magro Camp pursued the gang and had two encounters on the 14th June. The gang left behind a saddled camel, three quilts and a sword stick. Detachments of the Sind Police joined in the search for the gang, but failed to contact them. According to a Sind report Rahim Hingoro has retired into Jaisalmer State again.

A conference of about 3000 Akalis was held in village Bhairpura (Nabha State), during which speeches were made strongly criticising the British Government and Mr. Jinnah for the plan for the partition of India and of the Punjab.

Some communists of Pargana Dhanaula (Nabha State) who defied the ban on processions and slogans were arrested under section 4 of the Nabha State Public Safety Ordinance.

Anti-Pakistan speeches were made in an Akali Dewan held at Dhanaula (Nabha). A demand was made for the appointment of Sikh Ministers, and resolutions were passed urging:—

(a) the grouping of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Malerkotla, Faridkot and Kalsia States, and
(b) the establishment of responsible Government in Nabha State.

General

123. A session of the Punjab States Council was held in Nabha on the 15th and 16th June. The States of Tehri Garhwal, Faridkot, Bilaspur, Jubbal and Pataudi were represented by their respective Rulers, Malerkotla by the Heir Apparent and those of Jind, Kapurthala and Sirmur
by their Chief Ministers. The following resolutions were passed on His Majesty’s Government’s latest plan on India:—

1. The Council fully endorse the policy of H.M.G. pertaining to States and reiterates the maxim that Paramountcy can only lapse; it cannot be inherited by any Successor Government or Governments.

2. The new announcement further simplified in the Press Conference held by H.E. the Viceroy clearly shows that the Cabinet Mission’s plan of May 16th has been finally abandoned and as such the States’ cooperation with the proposed Dominion or Dominions of India can only be on the basis of negotiations.

3. In order therefore to implement the decisions arrived at in the meetings held at Bilaspur in May 1947, certain essential points need immediate clarification and the Raja of Bilaspur is accordingly authorised to take further steps in the matter forthwith.

4. In the meanwhile preparations for the Electoral College proposed to be set up for the States in Group XIV will continue.

Sd/-
Resident for the Punjab States.

No. XR7-1/47
Lahore
To
L.C.L. Griffin Esquire, CSI., CE., ICS.,
Secretary to H.E. the Crown Representative,
NEW DELHI.
Chapter 41. South Indian States

A. Hyderabad

1. Hindu Organization in the State

Extract from a letter from Yashwant Rao Joshi of Hyderabad State Hindusabha to S.P. Mookerjee, 17 February 1947

S.P. Mookerjee Papers, Instalments II to IV, Subject File No. 100, NMML

Hyderabad State Hindusabha

Council of Action

To,
Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji

Revered Sir,

Received your post card dated 12th February and as per your instructions therein I am sending herewith a copy of our demands.

While starting Civil Resistance movement on the 29th of July 1946 to oppose the introduction of the present scheme of Reforms in our State, we placed these our demands before the Nizam’s Govt.

The movement continued for over two months, when the All India Hindu Mahasabha Deputation, consisting of Pt. Anand Priyaji, Kunwar Chandkaranji Sarada and Advocate Ramachar of Bangalore saw Sir Mirza Ismail, the then new Diwan of Hyderabad State. Sir Mirza promised the deputation on the 4th of Oct. 1946 to grant various items of civil liberties, mentioned in our demands and requested them to ask us to suspend the movement & give him some time to get them done.

At the Working Committee meeting of the All India States Hindu Sabha at Ahmad Nagar, we were asked to suspend the movement, which we did, for a period of two months. By 31st of Oct all our Civil Resisters were released. But during these two months Sir Mirza could do nothing except relaxing a few restrictions placed so far upon the holding of public meetings.

After the lapse of two months the Standing Committee of the Hyderabad State Hindu Sabha met at Barsi in the Province of Bombay on the 16th of Dec to study the situation and to decide whether it was worthwhile to keep the movement suspended as it was or to restart the same. The majority favoured restarting the movement, provided Sir Mirza was not going to fulfil his promises.

In the meanwhile the Nizami Bureaucracy followed a very clever policy. To divide the Hindu Sabha ranks, to overawe and terrorize the Hindu Public, while at the same moment writing to
the various members of the Deputation that the promises given to them will be fulfilled in as
short a time as possible. This three-fold policy was very cleverly followed.

Though Sir Mirza had promised us full scope and liberty to voice our opposition to the
introduction of the Reforms scheme, attempts were freely made by the officialdom to put
obstructions in our way and to issue arrest-warrants against me and my colleague.

Gulburga had remained the centre of our activities in our present movement and the
Lingayat Community in particular had participated in the same. To sever the Lingayats from
the Hindu Sabha, a bomb was thrown upon our chief worker there the Late Sharanappa
Bherji by some unknown Muslims on the 16th of Dec. Mr. Bherji, along with a friend of his
was seriously injured and both were removed to the local civil hospital, where Mr. Bherji was
gradually improving, when on the 23rd of Dec. the Muslim doctor gave him an injection and
only two hours after he died. The second injured is gradually improving but the local police
wants to involve a number of local Hindu Sabhaites in a Bomb-case.

While Mr. Bherji lay in the hospital the Gulburga police was busy inviting the Hindu Sabha
workers, who had participated in our movement, to the police station, beating and harassing
them and asking them to give in writing to the effect that the exploded explosive, that injured
Mr. Bherji was of his own make and that he was busy in preparing bombs to murder Muslims.
The police went even so far as to harass, molest and make brutal assaults upon Mr. Bherji’s
wife to compel her to give a statement to that effect. The houses of our Gulburga workers were
searched and all means of self-defence were removed from them. In these and various other
ways the Gulburga police terrorized the local Hindus so that they dare not, in the event of our
restarting the movement, join us in any way.

While this was going on Sir Mirza was writing to Pt. Anand Priyji and other Deputationists
that he was doing his best to fulfill his promises etc. Very recently however, arrest warrants
against us workers have been withdrawn and two of our demands are partially granted. The
ban on the entry of about a few hundred Bombay province papers has been lifted. But the ban
on Kesari the famous Marathi paper of Poona still continues. Secondly he has issued orders
for the release of riot case prisoners.

Still however the religious liberty items and the Press Act of his promise are still in the
air. We are not getting any permissions to start our own papers. The younger section in the
Hyderabad State Hindu Sabha Camp wants to restart the movement if the remaining items in
Sir Mirza’s promises are not granted. There is another group that is deadly against any such
move. This in short is the gist of Hyderabad State Hindu Sabha situation.

I am writing all this only with a view to apprise you with the state of things here.
Please inform me of your programme, when fixed & oblige.
Thanking in anticipation

I remain Sir
Yours sincerely
Sd/-
Yeshwantrao Joshi
2. ‘Hyderabad Will Be a Kingdom: Dr. Latif’s View’

_The Times of India, 28 February 1947_

Hyderabad (Dn.). February 26: The view that Hyderabad would automatically become a kingdom when complete transference of power is made to Indian hands, was expressed by Dr. Syed Abdul Latif in the course of an interview on Mr. Attlee’s statement on India.

Dr. Latif said that smaller States would find it to their advantage to coalesce with the all-India union, if it is established or with any contiguous sovereign state carved out of the present British India. The bigger States may stand apart themselves and enter into treaty relations with the rest of India.

‘Hyderabad’ he added, ‘is big enough in the extent of its territory and population as well as its economic resources to look after itself. On the day power in India is transferred to Indian hands in British India, Hyderabad automatically becomes a kingdom. On that very day the Nizam can proclaim himself as His Majesty the king of Hyderabad.’—A.P.I.

3. The Newly Formed Legislature in Hyderabad Is Unacceptable as It Does Not Represent the Will of the People

Letter from Swami Ramananda Tirtha to Dr. P. Sitaramayya, 28 March 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 173/1946-8, NMML

In your letter dated 4th March you had asked for my views in regard to the representation of Hyderabad to the Constituent Assembly. The Working Committee of the State Congress, in its recent sitting considered the matter.

The recently formed Legislature in Hyderabad represents none but the reactionary elements. It was effectively boycotted by the State Congress. Under these circumstances the State Congress cannot accept the Legislature as representing the will of its electorates, much less the will of the people as a whole. It cannot have, therefore, any right to get any representation on the Constituent Assembly.

Hindu-Muslim parity has been introduced in all the Statutory Bodies of the State including the village panchayats. The State Congress has been opposed to such an undemocratic and unjust principles. Any Hindu–Muslim parity, therefore, in the representation to the Constituent Assembly cannot be agreed to by the State Congress.

Further when the Negotiating Committee has already limited the scope of popular representation by accepting the formula of 50% for the people and 50% for the rulers, there should be no further encroachment on this limited popular representation. The State Congress, therefore, as the democratic organisation of the people should naturally get this entire popular representation. The claims, if any, of the Legislature or any other organisation may be met from the quota of nominations, as they in fact represent the autocratic Government and its supporters.

The State Congress would, therefore, suggest that the present Legislature should have no place in the representation, that the principles of Hindu-Muslim parity in the State should not be applied to it, that the basis and proportion of representation should be as in British Indian provinces and that the entire popular representation should be from the State Congress. However, if situation were to arise wherein acquiesce [sic] is required to any of the undemocratic principles, the Working Committee is of opinion that it would be better
for the State Congress to forgo the privilege of being in the Constituent Assembly and make room for others.

You will herewith find the political resolution adopted yesterday by the Working Committee. The [sic] makes our position very clear. I am sure you will appreciate our decision to forgo our privilege if need be. Of course if there is any just suggestion the Working Committee will consider it dispassionately.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/ Swami Ramananda Tirtha

FOR FAVOUR OF PUBLICATION:
The following resolution has been passed by the Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress held on 16th, 17th and 18th March 1947:—

HYDERABAD MUST JOIN THE INDIAN UNION:

'While taking note of the general reception by the people of India to Premier Attlee's statement declaring British Government's intention to transfer power to the responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948, the Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress views with grave concern that with the end of British paramountcy, the statement does not provide for, similar transfer of power to the people in the Indian States. It further vaguely lays down that for the intervening period it is contemplated that the relations of the Crown with individual states may be adjusted by agreement. Thus with people's sovereignty not in the picture, and separate dealings with individual states, the statement has increased the fond hopes of some of the Indian States to keep out of the Indian Union, and perpetuate their autocratic regimes. That is bound to threaten the democratic freedom of the people and integrity of India. The various statements made by the spokesmen of the princedom, immediately following the statement and the vehement assertion of the call of 'Azad Hyderabad' in our State, are significant pointers.

The Committee, therefore, wishes to reiterate that in the interests of the freedom and prosperity of India it is imperative that a democratic constitution for whole India be evolved in which the States should be integral parts. The people of Hyderabad have been obviously part and parcel of Indian people and it is their natural desire and indisputable right to join the Indian Union. In the opinion of the Committee, any attempt to keep Hyderabad out of Indian Union shall not be tolerated by the people. It calls upon the Hyderabad Government to forthwith make unequivocal declaration that Hyderabad shall join both the Indian Constituent Assembly and the Indian Union.

The Committee is further of opinion that the formula reported to be evolved by the Negotiating Committees, under the exigencies of the situation, for the representation of the Indian States on the Constituent Assembly, cannot be considered to be democratic in character. The representatives of the States people alone should have been taken upon it as it is the Assembly embodying the will of the Indian people. The Committee, therefore, considers it necessary that only popular representatives of the people of Hyderabad be sent to it on the basis and proportion similar to that of British Indian provinces. However, in this regard the Committee wishes to point out that the present Legislature in Hyderabad cannot be taken as basis for popular representation, as it is done in other States. The elections to it were boycotted by the people at large, and the members therein cannot be considered to be competent to represent the people.
The Committee finally wants to impress upon the people of Hyderabad the rapid pace with which events in India are shaping, the responsibilities that might devolve upon them, and the critical times that be ahead. It rests with them to build up the State Congress with determination and sacrifice, and see that the political power in Hyderabad shall vest in the people’s hands; that a democratic and responsible Government is established, and that Hyderabad shall join the Indian Union and be its integral part.

4. Protest against Britain Supporting Princely States Like Hyderabad
   Letter from Ramniklal Chhotalal to Congress President J.B. Kripalani, 14 April 1947
   AICC Papers, File No. 9/1947, NMML

   The All-India Judicial Revolution

   Bombay

   Today’s News:—

   (1) As per my humble request to the Congress Pandit Nehru declared yesterday at New Delhi, that the Congress does not want Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj or religious Raj but only Indian Raj.
   (2) I broke my fast to-day (the first day) because Mr. S.K. Patil advised me.

   ***

   By Reg., A/D

   To,
   Acharya Kripalani,
   Congress President, New Delhi

   Respected Sir,

   I beg to humbly request the Congress Leaders and the Editors of India:—

   (1) To call to India urgently Sir Stafford Cripps, India’s unity shatterer, who dimmerised Congress Leaders and April-fooled Mahatma Gandhiji in 1946, in 1947 and who will do so possibly the most in 1948 to break his heart.
   (2) Ask Attlee why the British government are supplying, from other countries, modern arms through Nizam’s States, etc. to the Muslim Leaguers. Is it so because the age of the sword is gone?
   (3) In this Briton’s 1945–50 War of TREACHERY, against the Congress, through Nizam and Jinnah, ask Mr. Attlee why the British Government is secretly determined never to quit India though orally pretending loudly to quit India.
   (4) Open the eyes of the Muslim masses by means of a gigantic anti-League propaganda in an honest and nationalist spirit against their secret masters who want to slave Britons as before, the League High Command.
   (5) Ask His Excellency the Viceroy to enquire from Mr. Jinnah whether or not the widespread rumour is correct to the effect that Mr. Jinnah took a private vow on the resolution day of ‘Direct Action’ in Bombay ‘to kill one crore Hindus in his life time’ without any appreciable reaction. If so, investigate into his ‘secret magic’.
Mr. Jinnah documentarily whether his vow will lead to the counter-killing of poor, innocent Muslim brothers to the extent of an equal number.

(6) Ask Mr. Jinnah documentarily why he treats and speaks of the Hindus as the enemy or the minority, never as friends or brothers—I intend to go on Fast unto Death or till Mr. Jinnah speaks of the Hindus as brothers—advise me.

YOUR’S TRULY
Sd/-
Ramniklal Chhotalal

5. Popular Upsurge against Nizam’s Rule

Note by Office Secretary, Andhra Mahasabha Office, c. April 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

PEOPLE’S PROGRAMME

Have you ever seen houses being looted, women stripped naked, people murdered in broad day-light? Yes, if you haven’t, go to Nizam and you will see there not the burglars and thieves but the police themselves, the savours of ‘Law and Order’ resorting to all the above atrocious deeds. Don’t you believe? Here below are the facts and figures:

MURDERED TO DEATH: After the firings in Namaram are over (P.A. dated 20/4/47), the police took the two wounded kisans, Lachayya and Gopayya in a lorry. While they were on the way, Gopayya felt thirsty and asked for water. The police all the while thought that he was dead. But soon they came to know that he was alive, then they became mad with fury, and began to beat him with their rifles on his neck and body. With these Nazi acts of the police, the last speck of life disappeared from him.

Not satisfied with this, these murderers are not allowing the prisoners and on the other hand, threaten them with poison if they don’t give out the information they wanted.

TERRORISING NAMARAM VILLAGERS: Even after the firing the reserve police remained in the village and began to terrorise the people and extract from them milk, rice, eggs and all other necessities.

They went from house to house and at the point of bayonet, collected on(e) seer rice and an anna from each house besides salt, chillies, maize etc. Thus, from a handful of 50 houses, 80 bags of rice was looted! Even Muslim houses were not spared.

While the poor are thus being grabbed of all their food-stuffs, leaving not a single day’s rations with them, the police give protection to the village bosses in smuggling away their stocks into blackmarkets. In return for this help, they are given sumptuous feasts, liquor etc.

Inhuman is the torture—the people are subjected to if they don’t give them bribes. They entered a 80-year-old woman’s house and began looting the grain when the old woman appealed to them ‘what is there for us to eat if you take away all the grains’. Inspite of her old age, she was beaten so severely that she urined in her clothes.

They broke open the house of one Antayya and demanded the whereabouts of her husband who is the local leader and when she expressed her ignorance of his whereabouts, she was brow-beaten.

Some families left the village fearing the police atrocities. And these houses were forcibly opened by the police and removed away to the last article. Not even an earthen pot was spared.
People, when they left the village, are never allowed to enter in. Only after paying bribes, they are allowed to enter their villages. Those who refuse to pay bribes, had to face severe tortures at the hands of the police.

ARRESTS, COLLECTIVE FINES: Leave alone the intense police searches for leaders of Andhra Mahasabha and Communist Party, they are arresting the ordinary kisans, and youth who are members or sympathizers of Andhra Mahasabha (AMS) and Communist Party (CP) with an intention to demoralise the people and wean them away from their organisations.

On 8-4-47, 5 kisans of Penchikala Dinne were beaten and arrested and were taken to Huzurnagar Jail.

For example, Pichodu, a member of AMS was arrested on 12-4-47 in Bakkavantalagudom. In Suryapet, one student Veeraswamy was taken to the police station on a false pretext and was arrested.

In Huzurnagar, the reserve police headed by the hated Sub-Inspector, Guru Dayal Singh, sealed the houses of Sri. B. Rama Krishnasastri and Koteswara Rao and drove the inmates out. He declared in the town by beat of drum (tam-tam) that any body who give shelter to them would be fined Rs. 500/-.

These atrocities are not still at an end. A sum of Rs. 7,000/- was collected from a small village Chilukuru. In Velidanda village, the local AMS leader was fined Rs. 600/- and he was forced to pay it.

WOMEN STRIPPED NAKED: The incidents that happened in Bandepalligudem beat all records even Aknoor and Machireddipalli.

The police raided this village on April 15th at 4 in the morning. Two women who were going out to the fields were caught hold of, stripped naked and were raped. Also the wife of Pullayya, a washerman was raped by 5 police. Again the police forcibly entered the house of Balla Rangiah raped his wife and stole away silver articles weighting [sic] 30 tolas and Rs. 20/- cash.

They forced the wife of Kaki Venkiah to tell about her husband’s whereabouts and beat her though she was pregnant.

Thus, in a few hours, men were beaten, women were raped and in the last, 25 people were arrested.

100 KISANS ARRESTED: On April 15th, 50 police raided Timmapuram village. They first played the trick telling the people that they didn’t come to arrest them except a few leaders and asked the leaders’ whereabouts. But the people flatly refused to give any information. When they were questioned whether all of them were in the Sangham, straight came the reply from the people all in one boldly in the affirmative.

The police went away and came at midnight, pounced upon the sleeping people, kicked them with boot legs, beat with rifle ends, hands tied back. They arrested 100 kisans and taken [sic] them away.

In two places, the police tried to rape women. In the first instance, her sisters came to resist this when the police took to heels whereas in the second instance, she fought single-handed, thrown [sic] chilly powder into his eyes and ran away [sic].

WHY THESE RAIDS?: The Banzardar of Bandepalligudem village, Vazirmia, has won a name for his atrocious deeds. He extracted vetti (forced labour), set one section of people against another, extract illegal exactions forcible occupation of kisans’ lands and what not?

Against this, the kisans of the village fought back Banzardar before 13 years itself and saved their lands. Since, the Banzardar had put into operation all his nefarious plans and everytime, he miserably failed. At long last, 3 years back, he occupied 60 acres of land belonging to
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

Gopayya, Ramayya and Latchayya. The kisans were helpless all these three years but since they came to know of AMS, new vigour and strength infused into them. They rallied under the flag of AMS and warned the Banzardar to give back their lands.

In spite of the kisans’ resistance, on 14-4-47, he began to send manure into the fields. No sooner the kisans heard of this, they said, ‘this is our land. All these days, you shut our eyes and did what you please. Hereafter, you cannot play the old game.’

With this he retreated and sought the help of the reserve.

As regards the Timmapuram incident, the people of Timmapuram could not bear the sight of their brother kisans being inhumanly tortured while they themselves are fighting back the zamindars under the red flag. So, they went to Bandepalli, helped those kisans to form AMS. With this the Banzardar of that village ran to Suryapet, conspired with officials and brought the reserve to raid on Timmapuram villagers who were responsible to create consciousness among his village people. The result is these shameless acts on women.

ILLEGAL EXACTIONS RETURNED: During the good old days when there is no AMS, the zamindars illegally exacted thousands of rupees from kisans. But those days are over. The kisans are in no mood to pay. On the other hand, they are now forcing the zamindars to return back their illegal exactions.

In a village of Jannareddy Pratapareddy, the robber-owner of 1,30,000 acres, the people bent him down to pay Rs. 1,400/- out of his illegally exacted amount of Rs. 2,000/-. So also, the village official of Vepur gave back Rs. 1,500/- to the peasants.

The Patel of Bhaktalapuram paid back all the amount, due to people’s pressure.

But there are also some hot-headed zamindars who refuse to pay. Thus when the Patel of Veegeri refused to pay, the people did not meekly submit to his ‘wishes’ but confiscated all his produce in the fields and distributed among themselves as a compensation towards the illegal exactions of the zamindar.

This, on the one side, the Nizam is letting loose a reign of terror on poor kisans for no fault of theirs. But the people are resisting it, fighting back the police zoolum, assert their rights, and march forward to their goal.

PEOPLE OF MAHARATTA FOLLOW THEIR TELANGANA BRETHREN IN THEIR FIGHT AGAINST NIZAM’S AUTOCRACY

The people of Maharatta (the area in the Hyderabad State where Maharashtra people live) inspired by the heroic fight of their brother people in Telangana have come to the forefront to put an end to the zagirdar oppression and Nizam’s autocratic rule. When they have fought against the levy system; and when they celebrated Pansare-Day (Pansare was killed by goondas sent by the Government), the Government tried to twist these struggles on communal lines; but failed.

Now, more news comes from the far-off villages in Maharatta about people’s heroic deeds.

SOCIAL BOYCOTT OF SAHUKAR

The Marwadi Seth of Jotegav village in Beed District (This village is on the border of the famous Satara District), in spite of the peoples’ boycott, participated in the recent bogus elections conducted by the Nizam.

The people could bear this no longer. They declared social-boycott of this Seth. The boycott was so successful that not even a barber attended to his service. Getting alarmed at this, he
ran to the State Congress office and sought for their help, at the same time criticising the State Congress that it is adopting ‘Communist’ lines. But, here too, the poor Seth was disappointed when the State Congress leader replied: ‘If it is Communists, they wouldn’t have left you with lives. Because they are Congressmen that you were left with mere social boy-cott’.

**HOIST TRI-COLOR ON GOVT. HOUSE**

The villagers of Rampur in the same District, under the leadership of one Gnanba, a Marathi youth, hoisted the Tricolor flag on the village Chavdi (used for Government purposes) and took an oath in the name of the Tri-color to put an end to blackmarket and bribes. And the surrounding villages followed Rampur. This struck terror in the sahukars’ minds. When the police came to Rampur and arrested Gnanba with the help of the sahukars, the people gave a fit reply to the police and got released their leader Gnanba with their united strength.

On knowing that the Sub Inspector with his police will be arriving at the place the next day to remove the Flag, Gnanba gave a call to the surrounding villages to come and save their Tricolor flag.

No sooner this call reached the people, than 3000 people came with lathis, swords etc. and demonstrated before the Village Chavdi where the Sub Inspector with the police are camping.

With this, the Sub Inspector took to heels to save his skin apologizing to the people that he hasn’t come to arrest Gnanba but to do his routine job.

**GNAANBA ARRESTED**

But the retreated Sub Inspector all of a sudden came with 200 reserve a few days after and arrested Gnanba along with some others.

Today, they are rotting in jails, cruelly tortured by the police. Chilly powder is being thrust into their anus and they are forced to do very hard labor. Gnanba was not even allowed to talk to others.

What surprises the people is the State Congress doesn’t know this incident at all for many days and even after that, they neither supported the peoples’ acts nor tried for the release of the arrested.

**TAHSILDARS WELCOMED WITH BROOMS**

The arrest of Gnanba furiated the kisans of the surrounding villages. When the tahsildars dare to enter their villages for forcible grain procurement, the women of the village take brooms into their hands and the tahsildars flee for their lives.

How autocratic the Nizam’s rule can be estimated from the fact that the kisans have no right to cut down the trees in their own fields!

But, the kisans pay no heed to these meaningless rules and regulations. They first cut down the trees and then talk.

**REOCCUPY LANDS**

In Aurangabad District, the now-sahukars are once ordinary people; they grabbed the lands from the peasants by all possible illegal methods on such a horribly extensive scale that some 15 or 20 sahukars own the vast majority of the lands in Gangapur taluk alone!
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

But, the kisans, inspired by their brother people’s fights in Telangana area, marched forward and reoccupied their own lands. Interesting to note is the fact that the majority of these kisans are muslims.

The local Majlis-Ittehadul Muslimeen leader, a pleader, led the movement; but later beat a retreat due to the pressure of the sahukars who boycotted him without giving him their cases. The State Congress, which ought to have taken the thread, left the kisans to their fate and hence the kisans had to lose their lands once again.

**ROHILAS TAUGHT A LESSON**

Just like Kabuliwallas in our parts, these Rohilas, Arbas and marwadis give loans to these poor kisans at exhorbitant [sic] rates of interests, sometimes reaching even 300%. Some have become rich landlords by occupying those kisans’ lands who fail to pay their money. Besides, thus confiscating their lands, they put the kisans as well as their women to inhuman beating and torture.

The Kisans and the Agricultural labor at last rose to their feet, bravely faced the Rohilas’ goondas who come to collect interest and taught them a lesson for their lives.

However, these Rohilas succeeded in suppressing them by killing 3 kisans arresting them and foisting false cases on them.

**PEOPLE HAVE INITIATIVE BUT NO LEAD FROM STATE CONGRESS**

Thus, you will find a common feature in every incident mentioned above—the people are tired with the repression and oppression that is being let loose on them. They feel like putting an end to this state of affairs and lead a happy life. They take initiative and fight back repression; but no support nor lead comes forth from the State Congress which has got a strong base in Aurangabad District, generally in Marathwada area.

People know much of State Congress than Kisan Sabha or Communist Party or Andhra Mahasabha. The youth of the village on their own initiative organise State Congress in their own villages and hoist tri-color flags. United under their flag, they march forward to put an end to blackmarket and bribery.

But the sahukars are not keeping quiet. They make up nefarious plans, get goondas and terrorise the kisans. They try to convert the struggles into Hindu-Muslim clashes. As usual, the Nizam’s Government will be always at the beck and call of these feudals and sahukars to suppress the peoples’ upsurge.

The State Congress, instead of taking the lead and organise the movement, are just passing on time with mere discussions and compromise talks, while the people are anxiously looking to them for a lead.

Even today, there is a great future for the people of Mahratta if the State Congress takes a bold step forward, organise the people with the co-operation of other organisations and by leading the movement forward, thus putting an end to the autocracy of the Nizam and his henchmen, the zagirdars.

Sd/-
Office Secretary
Andhra Mahasabha Office,
Gopalreddi Rd., Governorpet, Bezwada
6. Hyderabad’s Designs on Berar, Bastar, and Parts of Orissa
   Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Harekrushna Mehtab, 28 May 1947
   SPC, Vol. VII, p. 33

My Dear Mahtab,

I have received your letter of the 22nd instant. I had already got a report about Hyderabad State having got a mining lease for iron ore from Bastar State and I was making inquiries about it. I had no idea of the Nizam’s move demanding from the Government of India the annexation of that State and some portion of Koraput district of Orissa, etc.

2. I have heard all sorts of reports about the Nizam’s preparations of aggressive designs in the event of the British quitting India in June 1948.

3. You must have heard about Sir Mirza Ismail’s tour in Berar with the same object in view, as suggestions have openly been made for the retrocession of that province. If these reports are true, there is enough cause for us to be on our guard. In Orissa, the Muslim population is infinitely small, and even if the Nizam is able to get the sympathy of all the Muslim population of that province it would hardly be of much help to him in gaining his objective; but it is true that it is a signal which shows which way the wind blows and you have got to be careful.

4. I know that the Political Department in their recent conference of all Residents held in Delhi decided to wind up the Agencies and to transfer some of the existing functions to the States. I am taking up the matter with the Political Department.

5. I am glad you have sent me the report. Any such information of value from your Special Branch officers’ reports may be communicated to me so that we may be kept informed of the undercurrents.

Your’s sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon’ble Mr. Harekrushna Mehtab
Prime Minister of Orissa
Cuttack

7. Jayaprakash Narayan’s Visit to Hyderabad and the Resulting Impact
   Letter from C.G. Herbert to L.C.L. Griffin with note enclosed, 30 May 1947
   Poll. Dept., File No. 15-PS/47, NAI

The Residency
Hyderabad

Camp Ootacamund

Visit to Hyderabad of Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, Socialist leader of Bombay, his arrest and deportation.

* * *
My Dear Griffin,

I enclose a report on the recent unrest which resulted from Mr. Jai Prakash Narain's visit to Hyderabad.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

To
L.C.L. Griffin, Esq., CSI, CIE,
Secretary to His Excellency the
Crown Representative,
New Delhi.

Note on the disturbances consequent on the visit to Hyderabad of Mr. Jai Prakash Narain of Bombay and his arrest.

On the invitation extended personally in Bombay by Mahadev Singh on behalf of the Hyderabad State Socialist workers, Jai Parakash [sic] Narain, General Secretary of the All India Socialist Party, arrived in Hyderabad by air on the afternoon of the 7th May 1947. He was met at the Hakimpet aerodrome by about 6000 Congressmen and Socialists, who accorded him an enthusiastic reception. He motored from Hakimpet through Bolarum, Trimulgherry and Mudfort in the Administered Areas, and was welcomed at each of these places by some of the prominent residents mostly from the merchant class, and was also presented with a purse. At about 6.30 p.m. on the same day, a public meeting was held at Karbala Maidan in Secunderabad (restored area) where he addressed a gathering of about 20,000 persons for about 2 hours in Hindi. Translations of the most objectionable portions of his speech are enclosed. At the end of the meeting a purse amounting to Rs. 6,201/- was presented to him on behalf of those who had assembled. He then motored to the residence of Mahadev Singh in Secunderabad, where he was staying as a guest.

2. The Nizam's Government took exception to the speech for the reasons given in the enclosed press communique, and served on him an order under the Defence of Hyderabad Rules externing him from the Hyderabad State in the early hours of 8th May. As he refused to accept the orders they arrested him and deported him by air (Deccan Airways Ltd.) to Bombay at about 9 a.m.

3. The Nizam's Government requested the Residency to issue a parallel order extemng Jai Prakash Narain from the Railway lands, should he enter them. This request was complied with.

4. The sudden deportation of Jai Prakash Narain aroused resentment among some of the local Hindus, who organised demonstrations, both in Secunderabad and Hyderabad on the 8th May and attempted to hold a meeting in Hyderabad City, though it had been banned by the Nizam's Government earlier in the day. The police had to use tear gas to disperse the crowd which became unruly and indulged in hoolganism [sic], stoning the police, breaking street lamps, and holding up and burning buses. It is reported that 4 policemen and a few rioters were injured as a result of these disturbances.

5. The same day Mahadev Singh and a batch of 30 Hindus, who attempted to offer Satyagraha in Kingsway, the main thoroughfare in Secunderabad town, were arrested by the police. The disturbances took a communal turn, during the night 2 Muslims and 2 Hindus being killed. A press communique issued by the Nizam's Government on the 9th May is enclosed.
6. The workers of the Railway workshops in Lallaguda and the Allwyn Metal Works also struck work on the same day (8th May) and marched in procession to the Railway Employees Union Office, where they held a protest meeting and then dispersed peacefully.

7. An order under Section 145 of the Asafia Cr. Pr. Code, prohibiting the assembly in public places of more than 5 persons was issued and a curfew order imposed from 7 p.m. to 6 a.m. from 8th to the 11th.

8. On the 9th May, tension between the two communities remained high and most of the shops in Secunderabad and Hyderabad were closed. At night communal clashes occurred in 2 or 3 localities in Secunderabad town, resulting in 2 more deaths and 10 other casualties.

9. On Saturday the 10th May shops were reopened between certain hours of the day, and peace committees were formed of members of both communities.

10. On the 11th May the Secunderabad town area was quiet till about 3 p.m. when trouble again started and five assaults were reported in which 2 Muslims, 2 Hindus and a Sikh were stabbed. A further press communiqué issued on the 12th May is enclosed.

11. The above incidents had some slight repercussion in a Sikh village, Bowenpally and Mudfort in the Administered Areas, where a Hindu was attacked and belaboured by a batch of Muslims. The Cantonment police however intervened and restored order.

12. No incidents occurred in the Secunderabad town area on the 12th May except that a cow was stabbed by some unknown persons. Shops were kept open from 9 a.m. to 12 noon and from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. The curfew remained in force.

13. The situation improved from the 13th May but the curfew order was extended for a further four days i.e. till the 17th May with the hours altered from 8 p.m. to 5 a.m. as a safety precaution. A press note issued on the 13th May is enclosed. The total number of arrests up to the 13th May amounted to 418. Most of these were for disobeying the curfew order.

14. The 14th and 15th May were quiet. The 16th May was declared a ‘day of protest’ by the State Congress against the extremity of Jai Prakash Narain and a peaceful ‘hartal’ was observed by the shop keepers and members of the Hindu community both in Hyderabad and Secunderabad (including the Administered Areas). No incidents however occurred. The next day, Saturday 17th May, things returned to normal. Shops were reopened and the curfew order was withdrawn.

Translation of the most objectionable portion of Jai Prakash Narain’s speech.

1. I hope that the Prime Minister and other Ministers will advise Your Highness to walk with the times. It is possible to suppress the people for 2, 4 or 6 months but the people cannot remain suppressed for long. If an attempt is made to suppress them there will be a revolution from which Rajas and Maharajas far from deriving benefit will suffer loss. If Rajas in India hope to remain on their thrones the only way for them is to follow the aspirations and wishes of their people. If they try to place obstacles in the path of their subjects they will not do so for long, the people will move forward and will remove the obstacle from their way; and it is possible that if the throne is in the way, they may remove it too (cheers).

2. You have reminded me that your State has become a land of grief and sorrow. India has shown you how to turn a land of sorrow into a land of plenty, by sacrifices and blood. Freedom cannot be secured except by fighting. Indian people offered great sacrifices. You have to follow the path of their sacrifices. There is no other way for you.

3. Unfortunately Mr. Jinnah is doing the same work as Mir Jaffar did in his own time. (Note. He had previously advanced the theory that the British were creating Pakistan and supporting
the States in order to retain areas in India in which they could maintain troops and air forces and continue to rule. Mir Jaffar handed over Bengal to the British in the olden days and the words ‘Mir Jaffar’ are alleged to be synonymous nowadays with the word ‘traitor’; in fact to refer to a man as ‘Mir Jaffar’ is to signify that he is a traitor).

8. Control over Railways in Hyderabad State Not to Be Relaxed

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to John Matthai, 9 June 1947

New Delhi

My dear Matthai,

You know that all manner of intrigues are afoot in some States. More particularly in Hyderabad which talks vaguely in terms of independence. Without definitely declaring in favour of independence, a number of different approaches are being made to get control of communications, etc. Whatever the future decisions may be will depend upon political factors. Meanwhile I suggest to you that nothing should be done or agreed to which relaxes our control over the railways or the police force on the railways in Hyderabad State. This applies particularly to the Sholapur-Raichur and Bezwada-Nagpur sections. I hope you will keep this in mind.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Concern over Efforts of States to Strengthen Their Military Position

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Baldev Singh, 9 June 1947

New Delhi

My dear Baldev Singh,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th June sending me correspondence with the Viceroy regarding military officers for the Frontier.

I should like to draw your particular attention to the efforts being made by various States now to strengthen their position in a military sense. This naturally applies to some of the major States only. In particular it applies to Hyderabad. Hyderabad does not wish to shout about its independence just at present after the manner of Sir C.P. Ramaswami and Travancore. But it wants to proceed more cautiously by getting more and more footholds and opportunities especially to strengthen its army and its arsenals. I hope that you and the Defence Department will keep a vigilant eye over all these States matters. Whatever final political decisions are arrived at will, of course, be given effect to. But there is no reason why these political decisions should be extorted from us against our will.

The main thing is to see to it that no facilities are afforded for increase in the strength of the Army or recruitment of outside elements, or of obtaining modern arms. Also we should not encourage the manufacture of precision instruments.

You will remember speaking to me about the retrocession of cantonment areas. I do not know how far this matter has proceeded, but the more this is held up the better. Indeed the
proper time to deal with such matters is in connection with the general settlement with the Government of India about many other matters common to the Government of India and Hyderabad State.

Hyderabad has got vague ambitions of having a port, either Masulipatam or Goa. All this is fantastic nonsense. In any event we have to be careful in all our dealings with the States at the present moment. I do not know what the exact position is of Bolarum and Thrimalgiri. As far as possible these should be retained by us in all-India defence interests.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. Future of Hyderabad

Nizam of Hyderabad’s Firman, 11/12 June 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

12th Amardad 1356 Fasli

FIRMAN-E-MUBARAK.

At the time of the Cabinet Mission issued the statement of May 16, 1946, the States were invited to join one representative Constituent Assembly for the whole of India. I thought it wise then to wait before making my decision till I saw how the political situation would develop. His Excellency the Viceroy’s the recent announcement of 3rd June 1947 makes it clear that in all probability British India will now be divided into two parts and there will accordingly be not one Constituent Assembly but two. I have now therefore, to consider whether my State should send representatives to one or the other of these Assemblies.

2. The basis of division of British India is communal. In my State, however, the two major communities live side by side and I have sought since I became ruler to promote by every means good and friendly relations between them. My ancestors and I have always regarded the Muslims and the Hindus as two eyes of the State and the State itself to be ‘the indivisible asset of air the communities inhabiting it. I am happy to say that there has not been in my State the same acute cleavage as has led to the recent events in British India. The subjects of my State have affinities and common interest with the both contemplated new unions. By sending representatives to either of the Constituent Assemblies, Hyderabad would seem to be taking one side or the other.

I am sure I am consulting the best interests of my subjects by declining to take such a course. I have, therefore, decided not to send representatives to either of the Constituent Assemblies.

3. The result is law of the departure of the Paramount Power in the near future will be that I shall be entitled to resume the status of an independent sovereign. But the question of the nature and extent of the association or relationship between my State and the units in British India remains for decision at a later state, when their constitution and powers have been redetermined. Whatever form of constitution they ultimately adopt, it will be the desire of Hyderabad to live in the closest friendship and unity with both. Meantime, I and my Government will loose no opportunity of reaching by active negotiation working agreements on matters of common interest for the mutual benefit of all. When the time comes to decide on the nature of the State’s association or relationship with the new units after they have settled
their constitutions, I shall continue to be guided by a consideration of the best interests of both of Hyderabad and of India as a whole.

4. The political and constitutional picture in India has in the past few years been changing rapidly and who can say whether two units now contemplated for British India represent the final solution or whether there will still be further division or whether after all unity may eventually be achieved by mutual agreement? In these rapid changes I am satisfied that the course of political wisdom lies in not taking sides, in concentrating on the maintenance of the integrity of my Dominions and fostering the welfare of my people. The achievement of that object depends upon the continuance of mutual goodwill between the two communities in my state and in the unsettled conditions all round upon ensuring for all my subjects the benefits of peace and security.

5. Before making this declaration I have taken into consideration the divergent views of local political opinion and I feel confident that the best solution is to follow the policy which I have adopted in this firman.

11th June 1947. Signature of His Exalted Highness

For Din Yar.

11. Hyderabad’s Stand on the Issue of Accession
Letter from Mir Osman Ali Khan to M.A. Jinnah, 18 June 1947

CONFIDENTIAL HYDERABAD, DECCAN,

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of Ali Yavar Jung’s letter addressed to Kazim Yar Jung regarding his recent visit to Delhi in connection with the State business, which speaks for itself. Also, Sir Walter Monckton gave me the gist of his talk with you in Delhi about State matters, where he had gone with other officers of mine. Still I should be grateful if you express your own views regarding the contents of the letter referred to above so that I may chalk out my programme accordingly, and trust you will reply in due course as time is pressing and fresh developments are coming up in quick succession.

2. I may add that Sir Mirza Ismail has retired from service and the Nawab of Chhatari has assumed the post of the President of the Council at least for a year to begin with. Since he has already rendered faithful service for a period of 5 years during the last war, he is not anxious to be in service for a longer period in view of his declining health and years.

3. Since you were busy with your important matters, I had deferred our meeting till some time in June, or failing that in July for personally I considered that it was not advisable for you to come here at a time when our enemies (I mean the Hindus) were bent on making all kinds of mischief for this or that in order to gain their own ends; still we are ready to cope with any situation that may arise.

However, we must meet now without further delay as times are critical.

Yours sincerely,

MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN
Enclosure
Ali Yavar Jung to Kazim Yar Jung
7 June 1947

My dear Kazim Yar Jung Bahadur,

With reference to your question which you put to me verbally today, the position as I understand it is as follows:

The Congress would like us to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly and of course also the Union. But they would not mind our not joining the Assembly while joining ultimately the Union in one of the three ways, namely, organically or as federated State or by an agency agreement for the three Union subjects. Mr. Jinnah was quite clear, on the other hand, that we should declare forthwith that we would not join either of the Constituent Assemblies and that we would stand out for independence.

2. As against the above, the Viceroy, while he would like us to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, appears to understand, perhaps even to appreciate, that we are likely immediately to announce our intention to stand out of the Constituent Assembly. As regards declaring independence, he was apprehensive of the dangers of isolation when the British go, and of the pressure, economic and political, from within and outside the State. He was for our not taking any definite stand on that issue except by way of opening negotiations with the Interim Government on matters of common concern. On the issue of Dominion status, the present official attitude of H.M.G. was against the Balkanisation of India or the recognition of more than two Dominions. However, if a State insisted on separate political or commercial relations, the question would have to be put to H.M.G.

Yours sincerely,
ALI YAVAR JUNG

Nawab Kazim Yar Jung Bahadur,
Sadrul Moham, Peshi Mubarak,
King Kothi Mubarak, Hyderabad.

12. ‘State Congress Opposes Nizam’s Move’
The Tribune, 19 June 1947

HYDERABAD, (DN.), June 18.—Resolutions resenting the recent declaration of the Nizam, protesting against the repressive policy of the State Government and demanding that the State should join the Union Constituent Assembly were adopted yesterday, the second day of the plenary session of the Hyderabad State Congress. Swami Ramanand Tirath presided.

The resolution on the State’s declaration to be an independent State on the lapse of paramountcy says that the declaration does not represent the will of the people. Further, Hyderabad cannot maintain independence without external help, which will endanger the people’s prosperity. Besides the resolution continues, the people of Hyderabad come of the same stock as their brethren in the neighbouring areas and, therefore, they, cannot be separated from them.—United Press
13. ‘Scheduled Castes Jubilant over Hyderabad State’s Declaration of Independence’

*Dawn*, 27 June 1947

AURANGABAD, Thursday.—‘Four million Scheduled Castes have decided to swim and sink with the Hyderabad Government and resolved to shed the last drop of their blood to safeguard the integrity of the State,’ observed Mr. Sarwade, a Scheduled Caste leader during the course of a stirring speech which he delivered on the ‘Independence Day’ celebrated here on June 20.

He added, among other things, that the Independence of Hyderabad spelt the emancipation of the Untouchable community. Hyderabad was the only State where they had come into their own. He thanked the administration for the various schemes which had been implemented for the uplift of the suppressed Untouchables and all along hoped that further steps would be taken to improve their lot so that they could claim parity with other communities on the economic plane.

The entire city rushed outdoors to celebrate the ‘Independence Day’ programme. A mammoth procession comprising representatives of various communities started from the neighbourhood of Shaista Khan Mosque and paraded the main streets which were aglow with colourful pageantry reminiscent of the historical greatness of the city. Muslim National Guards with fanfaronade led the van of a huge mass of humanity palpitating with unbounded enthusiasm.

In the evening a meeting of the citizens of Aurangabad was held in ‘Sikandar Talkies Hall’ where Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Scheduled Castes had thronged in large numbers. The President Mr. Joshi, an MLA of the Hyderabad Legislature opened the proceedings with a message of congratulation to all present on the new political status which Hyderabad was destined to attain in the immediate future.

Mr. Ram Nick Lal another MLA and a labour member amid thunderous cheers felicitated HEH the Nizam and the State administration on the unique occasion of national liberation. He made particular reference to the progressive outlook of the Hyderabad Ruler and assured the audience that measures of constitutional advances, political progress and economic prosperity will be taken consonant with the march of times.

Mr. Dwarkadas, a local prominent pleader read out the resolution of loyalty to HEH the Nizam on behalf of the citizens of Aurangabad. Seconded by Sardar Duleep Singh another MLA. The President while applying the closure laid special emphasis on the imperative need of Hindu-Muslim unity which had been the sheet anchor of the Hyderabad people.’

14. Strategy for Encircling Hyderabad

Letter from D.P. Mishra to Vallabhbhai Patel, 29 June 1947


Nagpur

Revered Sardar Sahib,

Our speaker, Shri Guptaji, is keenly interested in Hyderabad. He had done much for the success of satyagraha there in 1938. Recently Swami Ramanand Tirtha met me. I have advised him not to precipitate matters up to 15 August. Accordingly he has asked his workers either to leave the
State or to go underground. We in the CP have posted on our border trusted Hindu DCs and DSPs with instructions to help those who are working in Hyderabad. Such workers can agitate in Hyderabad and when pursued can cross back into CP and Berar districts. I had requested Morarji Desai to make similar arrangements in their border districts. Shri Ramanandji has gone to Bombay to see Shri Desai. When I visited Mysore in March last I had spoken to Reddiar and Bhashyam, the two veteran Mysore Congress leaders, to help the Hyderabad workers on the Mysore border. If a similar situation could be created by Dr. Subbarayan on the Andhra border, I think we would have succeeded in throwing a ring round this treacherous State. Of course all this is subject to your approval and you will kindly instruct Guptaji accordingly. I have also advised Swami Ramanandji to see you and I am sure he will meet you soon.

Another matter is regarding the future of our province in view of the linguistic redistribution movement. So far as Berar and Marathi CP districts are concerned, they do not want to join united Maharashtra but would prefer to form what they call Mahavidarbha. But this is merely for your information. What I am more anxious about is naturally Mahakoshal. I feel it is impossible to form a province of only eleven districts. We want four districts of Bundelkhand from the UP; the intervening Central India States and also the Chhattisgarh States including Bastar. I have got a map prepared and Guptaji will show it to you. The UP districts will be willing to come with us. The Maharaja of Orchha is also willing. So are some of the Chhattisgarh States. But if Meerut and Agra districts are taken away from the UP to form a province of Delhi then I am afraid the UP people will not be willing to give us any of their districts. In that case we may be tacked on to the UP. Guptaji and myself are not unwilling to join the UP. But it is no use to say anything without being sure of our position. At the same time we cannot keep quiet long as people have begun to discuss the matter and want a lead from us. I would be obliged if you will advise us in the matter.

Guptaji knows all about the Hasan episode. Your last letter has made Shuklaji anxious. He feels unhappy. In my opinion he is not at all to blame. I hope you will send him a word of encouragement through Guptaji.

Apologising for this long letter,

Yours sincerely,
D.P. Mishra

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

15. ‘Hyderabad Plans for Mass Struggle’

_The Hindustan Times_, 5 July 1947

HYDERABAD, (Dn.) July 4.—A resolution passed by the working committee of the State Congress yesterday calls upon the people of Hyderabad to be prepared for any contingency that might arise in the struggle for establishment of responsible government and to resist the attempts at isolation of the autocratic regime.

The working committee deplored the Government’s action in banning the circulation of the political resolutions passed at the recent open session of the State Congress. This step was not only illegal and high-handed but calculated to throttle the voice of the people.

In another resolution the committee condemned the Travancore Dewan’s isolationist policy. Travancore and Hyderabad were no longer a Princes’ concern, but an all-India issue.
The committee also congratulated the Mysore ruler for joining the Union Assembly and hoped that responsible government would soon be established in the State.

A Council of action was appointed to plan a comprehensive and peaceful struggle to be launched at the earliest possible moment.

The Hyderabad Independent Progressive Party in a statement issued yesterday says that the deterioration of the political situation in the State is the result of the adamant attitude of the minority backed by the Government and the suppression of the rights of the majority. It adds that, by allowing its policy to be dictated by Majlis-et-Thadul-Muslimin, the Government is heading towards a crisis.

16. Hyderabad Government’s Attempts to Procure Arms
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Vallabhbhai Patel, 9 July 1947

SPC, Vol. VII, p. 38

New Delhi

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Here is the piece of information which I showed to you. The note is dated 5 July, and is anonymous.

‘The Hyderabad Government have just placed an order for four crores of rupees worth ammunition with Mr. Kral, calling himself representative of the Czechoslovakian Government, and the Army Commander Idrus has left today for Europe to arrange for immediate dispatch. Dated 5 July.’

It may or may not be of value, but it is certainly worth enquiring into, in so far as you can. I shall try to enquire into the matter by other means.

I am also informed by a reliable authority that the Hyderabad Government has come to an arrangement with the Birmingham Small Arms Company [of Britain] for supply of arms.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal

17. Nizam’s Expectation from the British
Letter from Mir Osman Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten, 9 July 1947

IOR, R/3/1/138, NAI

HYDERABAD
DECCAN

Confidential

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have during the last few days seen Clause 7 of the India Independence Bill as reported in the Press. I regret that (as has so often happened in recent months) the clause, though it was closely discussed with British Indian leaders, was never disclosed to, much less discussed with me or any representative of my State. I am distressed to see that Clause not only contains a unilateral repudiation by the British Government of the treaties which have for so many years
bound my State and my dynasty to the British, but also appears to contemplate that, unless I join one or other of the two new Dominions, my State will no longer form part of the British Commonwealth. The treaties, by which the British Government many years ago guaranteed the protection of my State and my dynasty against external aggression and internal disorder, have been constantly and solemnly reaffirmed in recent years, notably by Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942. I have been taught that I could safely rely on British arms and the British word and I have been persuaded, in consequence, right up to the present to refrain from increasing my army and from establishing in my State factories for the manufacture of arms and equipment. Nevertheless, the repudiation in Clause 7 of the Bill has been made not only without my consent but without any consultation with me or with my Government.

(2) As Your Excellency knows, both before you went to England and while you were there, I asked that my State should be accorded Dominion Status when the British should leave India. I have always hitherto felt assured that after more than a century of faithful alliance, during which I have reposed all my confidence in the British, I should certainly be able to remain without question within the family of the British Commonwealth. Clause 7 appears to deny me even that. I still hope that no difficulty will be allowed to impede direct relations between me and His Majesty’s Government. I was recently informed that Your Excellency had undertaken to ensure a pronouncement in Parliament to establish that such relations can be entertained. My hope is that, once established, these relations will develop into closer union between my State and the British Crown to which, for so many years, I have been tied, in faithful alliance.

(3) Meantime, I shall undertake and continue active negotiations with the new Dominions in order to reach sensible, practical arrangements for the transition period, so that the future of Indian States and India generally can be assured, so far as possible, in an orderly fashion.

(4) I feel bound to make this protest to Your Excellency against the way in which my State is being abandoned by its old ally, the British Government, and the ties which have bound me in loyal devotion to the King Emperor are being severed. I hope that Your Excellency will place my letter before His Majesty’s Government. I shall, for the present, refrain from publishing it, lest I should in any way embarrass my old friends and allies in the eyes of the world. I must, nevertheless, retain my right to publish it at a later stage, if it should become necessary in the interests of my State.

Yours sincerely

Sd/-

18. Discussions between Hyderabad Delegation and the Viceroy

Extract from a letter from Mir Osman Ali Khan (Nizam) to M.A. Jinnah with enclosure of Hyderabad Delegation Report (excerpts), 17 July 1947


CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD DECCAN

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Since you take keen interest in the affairs of Hyderabad so I want to keep you well-informed as to how our affairs are progressing. In view of this I am enclosing herewith [a] copy of the
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

Hyderabad Delegation Report, which had gone to Delhi, for your information. This Delegation is proceeding to Delhi again by next Monday [21 July 1947].

Yours sincerely,
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

Enclosure

Said-ul-Mulk to Nizam of Hyderabad
F. 696/127

HYDERABAD DECCAN
16 July 1947

Your Exalted Highness,

I beg to submit herewith, for your Exalted Highness' gracious perusal, a note of the discussion which the Hyderabad Delegation had with His Excellency the Viceroy in Delhi on the 11th July 1947.

With deep respects,

I beg to remain,
Your Exalted Highness' most loyal and devoted servant,
SAID-UL-MULK

Annexure I
F. 696/128-42

SECRET

The Hyderabad Delegation consisting of the following members met H.E. the Viceroy at Viceroy's House on Friday, the 11th July 1947, at 10.30 a.m.

i. H.E. the President, Executive Council
ii. Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur
iii. Sir Walter Monckton
iv. Syed Abdur Rahim, Esq.
v. Pingle Venkat Rama Reddy, Esq.
vi. Mr. Nizamuddin (Deputy Secretary)

The meeting dispersed at 12. 45 p.m.
H.E. the Viceroy was assisted by the following officials:

i. Sir Conrad Corfield
ii. Mr. Thompson
iii. Mr. V.P. Menon
iv. Mr. Wakefield
v. Mr. Akhtar Husain (as observer on behalf of Pakistan)

2. His Excellency welcomed the Hyderabad Delegation and thanked His Exalted Highness for sending them to Delhi for the discussion. In the course of his preliminary remarks, His
Excellency explained why he had asked Hyderabad to come to a meeting first, apart from the leaders of the political parties. This method of negotiation with one party at a time proved most successful in the formulation of the Plan of 3rd June. The two parties had not come together at the same meeting until 2nd June. His Excellency then went on to describe the role he had played in obtaining from the political parties in British India an acceptance of the Memorandum of May 12, 1946, regarding Indian States. He had come out with instructions not to deviate from the Cabinet Mission’s Memorandum of May 12, 1946, nor to enter into fresh discussions on the subject of future relations with the States. Till then the Memorandum had not been accepted by any political party. He had been successful, however, in persuading the parties representing the two future Dominion Governments to accept the Memorandum and this was implicit in their acceptance of the 3rd June Plan. He said that just as he had endeavoured to resolve the differences between the Congress and the Muslim League, it was his ambition to resolve the differences existing between the Congress and the Indian States. In order to have a properly constituted Department representing both successor Governments, the new States Department had been set up under Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, a great realist. He was glad that Mr. V.P. Menon, a member of his own staff, had been selected as Secretary to the new States Department. Mr. Akhtar Husain was present. His Excellency added, as he was holding a watching brief on behalf of the Muslim League. His Excellency said he was proud that both political parties had trusted him with the conduct of the present negotiations as Crown Representative. He said that he was endeavoured to find a solution which would involve minimum sacrifice and dislocation in the internal economy of the States—specially Hyderabad which, with her size and importance, could also exercise a great stabilising influence. He said that both by family and by conviction he was an ardent believer in constitutional monarchy as there was no better form of Government provided that it was allied with democratic institutions. Given a wise ruler who associated effectively the voice of his people with the constitution and administration of the State, a State could have nothing to fear. He was aware that Hyderabad was making strides in that direction and hoped that, in the interests of India and in her own interests, she would take a statesmanlike view of the future. It was his desire to bring as many States as possible into some system or scheme which would produce stability. He added that a few weeks ago he would never have believed it possible that he could bring Sardar Patel or the new States Department to take a reasonable view. The Department was, however, under heavy fire from the rank and file of the Congress Party. His Excellency said that, during his talks with Sir Walter Monckton, the latter had pointed out the great difference between the Cabinet Mission Plan of 16th May, 1946, and H.M.G.’s Plan of 3rd June 1947, as they affected the States. This difference lay in the fact that, in the former, a set of circumstances was created in which States could adhere to the Central Government without in any way surrendering their own rights over their internal economy. They had been asked to join only on the three subjects which they could not fully control by themselves, namely, overall Defence, External Affairs and Communications. On the other hand, as a result of the 3rd June Plan, the future Governments both apparently envisaged a much tighter form of centre. However, it had occurred to him, and the future Governments now recognised, that the only way to induce the larger States to associate themselves with the future Dominion of India would be on terms no stricter than those envisaged by the original Cabinet Mission Plan. The present was not the time for argument. It was necessary now to face up to realities. This in itself was a great advantage to the States. He had asked the leading personalities of the political parties and of the States, as well as the
Editors of the most important newspapers, to avoid making provocative statements for this next month. So it was to be hoped that there would be a standstill agreement at least on verbiage.

3. The Prime Minister thanked His Excellency for the kind welcome extended to the Delegation and for the decision taken by His Excellency to himself preside over the negotiations. The Hyderabad Delegation fully appreciated this. It was in the fitness of things that His Excellency should deal with the matters about to be discussed as the majority of them were the outcome of Treaties and Agreements or relationship between the Crown and H.E.H. He explained that the recent announcement of His Exalted Highness which was made on the unanimous recommendation of his Government had made it clear that His Exalted Highness had no intention of obstructing the administration of India and was willing to negotiate a settlement on matters of common concern. The Nawab of Chhatari said that he considered it to have been a great personal triumph for His Excellency to obtain acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of 12th May 1946, as also to persuade both parties to accept Dominion status. It was quite clear from His Majesty's Government's statements that the States were free to take any action they liked when paramountcy lapsed. His Excellency said that he agreed that there was no shadow of doubt that the legal position was that the States would be absolutely free after 15th August.

4. His Excellency then went on to say that the object of the meeting was to discuss the following subjects:
   1. Evacuation of the Secunderabad Cantonment
   2. Retrocession of jurisdiction over Railway lands and Cantonments in the State
   3. Berar
   4. Standstill Agreements
   5. Relationship with the Union of India....

**RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNION OF INDIA**

His Excellency referred to the request by his Exalted Highness for Dominion status. He had reviewed a telegram from His Exalted Highness before he had left London. However, before he had got this telegram, His Majesty's Government had decided that it could not agree to the grant of Dominion status to individual States. This decision was based on reasons of realism. Dominion status implied that there were no military secrets between countries in the Commonwealth. Although Hyderabad was [a] country of the size of France, with a population bigger than any existing Dominion, she was completely enclosed by the territories of British India. His Majesty's Government did not feel that they could commit themselves to the responsibility to come to the aid of a country which was thus surrounded. The case was to be compared with that of Poland before the war. The question, therefore, arose as to how the Hyderabad Government could be given full benefits without actually becoming a member of the Commonwealth. In His Majesty's Government's view, this could only be done through one or other of the two new Dominion Governments. For this purpose, adherence on the three main central subjects would be necessary. It appeared to him that adherence for the purposes of Defence represented an elementary requirement on the part of Hyderabad. Without it Hyderabad's Army would be out of date in twelve months as it would not have access to modern military discoveries or secrets. Nawab Ali Yavar Jung asked what would happen in this connection if the Dominion, to which Hyderabad adhered, decided, after a period, to go out of the Commonwealth. In that event Hyderabad would lose the British connection and
count [sic for could] not secede. His Excellency replied that he could not prophesy what line H.M.G. would take in such circumstances. He did not personally believe that either Dominion was likely to leave the Commonwealth at an early stage. In any case, if Hyderabad adhered on the three central subjects, she would have a big voice in the decision. What was the alternative to adherence on the three central subjects? There was no other means of coming into the Commonwealth. He had already mentioned Defence, by which he meant overall Defence. Moreover, the defence of Hyderabad was bound up with the defence of India. The second subject was External Affairs, and it was impossible to separate it from Defence. The third subject was Communications which would in any case be covered by the Standstill Agreements which were to be made. Sir Walter Monckton pointed out that [the] representatives of Pakistan, although an observer was present, were not a party to the present discussions. The position of Hyderabad was a special one as the Ruler, owing to the position and structure of his State, was naturally anxious to maintain friendly relations both with his neighbours and with Pakistan. Without contemplating the possibility of mutual warfare between the two new Dominions it was at least possible that, in the conduct of External Affairs, they would be engaged in political strife. If Hyderabad joined the Indian Union, she would be committed to share in such political strife. He asked how it would be possible to refrain from adopting an un-neutral [sic] attitude if Pakistan and India engaged in disagreements or worse. Mr. Menon, intervening, said that he thought Hyderabad would be entitled to remain neutral in the sense that if actual warfare broke out she could refuse the use of her troops against Pakistan. Sir Walter said that until it was known whether, for instance, such ideas as Mr. Amery had put forward for a Standing Conference for what might come to be known as the Indian Commonwealth had been considered and perhaps adopted, it would be most difficult for His Exalted Highness to contemplate the possibility of accession to the Indian Union. His Excellency replied that this question was exercising the minds of all parties and specially that of Mr. Gandhi. It would not be possible to take it up before August 15, but he hoped that before the Joint Defence Council disintegrated, there would be meetings which would clear this point up, at any rate on the military side. On the political side, an idea which had occurred to him was that a Commonwealth Relations Conference might be held in Delhi which would, after August 15, be the geographical centre of the Commonwealth, to discuss what would happen in the case of strained relations between two members of the Commonwealth. Before such a conference took place, perhaps there would be talks on the subject within India. Mr. Menon said that after all His Exalted Highness did not exercise his sovereignty even at present in respect of Defence and External Affairs and that, so far as land communications were concerned, all-India standards would have to be followed in any case. Besides, if Hyderabad adhered to the Legislative Assembly of the new Dominion of India, not only would a greater degree of stability throughout the sub-continent be introduced but the voice of Hyderabad would also be heard in all matters of policy from within. This would be far more effective than any treaty relationship, particularly as, in addition to participation in the Legislature, he could hardly contemplate a Union executive without a representative of Hyderabad being on it. He thought that Hyderabad should declare its intention to join the Union of India immediately when the going was good and when the State could gain advantages for which the time would soon be past. Sitting on the fence would not pay Hyderabad. Nawab Ali Yavar Jung said that these were of course all the well-known arguments in favour of joining any federal constitution. The division of India was, however, based on communal considerations and, by joining the one or the other, His Exalted Highness
would appear to be taking sides. His subjects had affinities with both the Dominions and His Exalted Highness as the premier Muslim Ruler had a natural attachment to the other Dominion. His Exalted Highness’ announcement took all these different factors into account and its implications were quite clear. Sir Walter Monckton repeated that an idea which, in his opinion, might attract His Exalted Highness would be a standing conference of the different parts of India on the subject of Defence (and perhaps also External Affairs). Sir Conrad Corfield suggested that the States might be represented on the Joint Defence Council, but His Excellency said that there was no possibility of representatives of the States joining the Joint Defence Council as such, because it consisted of only 4 persons. Sir Conrad then asked if adherence could be made easier for Hyderabad by providing for the right of secession. His Excellency said that he wanted nothing said publicly or provided for constitutionally which might contemplate the possibility of the units falling out or the two Dominions fighting a war against each other. His Excellency suggested that any reservations by way of neutrality in the event of war between India and Pakistan should, rather than be published, be contained in a personal letter from His Exalted Highness to himself. There had already been too many declarations which had served to spoil the atmosphere but Hyderabad had behaved well and had created an atmosphere of goodwill for herself. Sir Walter Monckton emphasised that His Exalted Highness would have great difficulty in taking any course likely to compromise his independent sovereignty. Rather than ‘accession’ or ‘adherence’, would not an ‘Agreement’ be better? Such a language and conception might be more acceptable to His Exalted Highness. His Excellency said that if His Exalted Highness decided not to adhere, he would be doing himself and his State the greatest possible disservice. He would be abdicating the lead which he should rightfully give to the States, indeed the lead of one of the greatest single parties in the Legislative Assembly. That was where the State’s influence would be able to exert itself. If this was thrown away Hyderabad would be depriving itself of a great opportunity. The Prime Minister suggested that it would bring about closer collaboration between the different Governments in India if there was a common Defence Council and a similar body for External Affairs. Such joint bodies would create the machinery for mutual co-operation. His Excellency said he could not prophesy the trend of the future nor would he be drawn into any discussion of mere possibilities. The present situation was such that suggestions of the kind would result in mutual suspicion. Surely, for the present, the forum for discussion on those subjects would be the Legislative Assembly. The Assembly would probably have committees dealing with various subjects, on some of which the representatives of Hyderabad would serve. He appreciated, however, the suggestion made by the Prime Minister and undertook to inject the views expressed by the Delegation in this connection into future discussions with the political leaders. He pointed out that the States had the greatest experience of administration in India and the mere presence of carefully selected representatives of the States in the Assembly would have enormous influence. He said that on August 15 the State would no doubt be free to choose its own course but the path of practical wisdom lay in the direction of adherence to the Union of India. Sir Walter Monckton said that, if joining one of the Dominions was necessary for continued association with the British Commonwealth, there was the other constitutional alternative open, namely, adherence to the Union of Pakistan. His Excellency replied that there was no doubt that this was legally possible, but the mechanical difficulty in the facts of geography was very real. Whereas the two parts of Pakistan could communicate by sea, this was not possible for Hyderabad. The Indian Union would soon make it impossible, in some mysterious way, for Hyderabad to adhere to that course. The Pakistan Union would be too far away to assist effectively.
Moreover, the State would be faced with disruption internally. The State was militarily defenceless. He did not wish to utter a threat, and he would personally deeply regret any such disaster as he would like to see His Exalted Highness and his State prosperous and progressive, but if Hyderabad took such a wrong decision, she would be finished off in a few months or a few years. His reading of the crystal was that there would be a bitter struggle which would cause comparatively minor injury to India but a fatal blow to Hyderabad. It might even mean the disappearance of the Dynasty and the loss of His Exalted Highness’ throne. As a constitutional Governor-General, he would have no power to intervene or protect.

The Prime Minister stated that the subjects dealt with, namely, Defence, External Affairs, and Communications and the wider issue of relationship with the Indian Union, could not be discussed without previous notice. In any case, it would be difficult to persuade His Exalted Highness to accept any form of organic association with any Union. Short of that, there could be Treaties or Agreement or Instruments, effecting the closest friendship and collaboration. He could not, therefore, commit His Exalted Highness or his Government and would place His Excellency’s views before his Ruler.

ALI YAVAR JUNG

19. ‘Nawab of Chhattari Analyses Hyderabad’s Position in New Set-Up’
_Dawn_, 23 July 1947

HYDERABAD, (Dn.), Tuesday.—Broadcasting from the Hyderabad station on Monday evening the Nawab of Chhattari, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, referred to the troublous times that lay ahead, not only for the people of Hyderabad but also for those of the entire sub-continent of India, in which a crisis had been precipitated due to the transitional period; the people having to face a grave food situation and also upheavals of the political changes.

The Nawab alluded to the communal strife which, he said, ‘has made life a burden and misery’ and which the people living in the Indian States could not even conceive of. He pleaded for the disregarding of words calculated to excite communal feelings or incite people to violence or to wound the feelings of others.

He appealed to the people in the name of their own kith and kin, creed or community and above all in the name of the Great Dominion, to exercise restraint in speech and action, so that communal bitterness, which had unhappily complicated the situation in British India, might not pollute the atmosphere of Hyderabad.

Analyzing Hyderabad’s constitutional position in the new set-up, the Nawab said Hyderabad was confronted with grave constitutional issues. He felt that if the State had decided to join the Indian Union it would have caused universal resentment among the Muslim subjects of the Nizam, while if it had elected to join the Pakistan Union, the decision would have injured the feelings of some sections of the Hindus in the State. With this background, the people should go through the recent ‘Firman’ of the Nizam and analyse its contents dispassionately and without prejudice. This would lead them to the inevitable conclusion that the decision was the only way to avoid mutual recrimination among the members of various communities.

LEGAL RIGHT

Turning to the question whether or not Hyderabad had any right to keep itself aloof or whether it had any constitutional or legal right to declare her independence after the lapse of
paramountcy, the Nawab contended that no clarification was needed in view at the Cabinet Mission Statement of May 12, 1946.

He declared that Hyderabad with its vast territory, position, population and revenue could be compared favourably even with some of the member countries of the UNO. He, therefore, felt convinced that those who took exception to the Nizam’s ‘Firman’ were manifestly wrong.

Continuing the Nawab said, it was the foremost duty of every Government servant to win the confidence of the people, to eradicate nervousness and tension wherever found. The maintenance of law and order was a primary responsibility of the Government.

The Government had therefore issued strict instructions to the local officials to exert themselves to their utmost in preserving law and order and harmonious relations between the various sections of the population. This was a path, following which the people of these Dominions could enjoy peace and prosperity and achieve progress under the care and guidance of the Nizam.—Globe.

20. Communal Feelings between Hindus and Muslims

Letter from C.G. Herbert to L.C.L. Griffin, 28 July 1947
Political Department Files, File No. 12(6)-P(S)/47, NAI

Top Secret.

Bolarum

My dear Griffin,

Hyderabad Affairs

I am writing this letter with the object of describing the situation in the State with reference to the present constitutional changes since an appreciation of the existing position may be of interest. I propose also to attempt to forecast how events may develop after the 15th August in the various differing circumstances which may then exist.

2. The dominant factor in the situation is the communal feeling between Hindus and Muslims. This has recently increased considerably and is now very intense, particularly in the towns. In the countryside it is not so much in evidence partly because the large majority of the villagers are Hindus and, partly perhaps at the present time, because most of the country population is too much engaged in work in the fields to have much time to attend to other matters. Were serious communal rioting to occur at any point however it might well spread throughout the State. Even now all political questions are considered almost wholly on a communal basis. A constant recollection of this fact is essential to a correct appreciation of the present state of affairs and to any accurate forecast of the course which events may take in future.

3. In these circumstances the division of British India into communal units greatly increased the difficulties of the Nizam and his Government in solving the problem of the State’s future political relationship with the rest of India. So long as the whole country remained a single unit in some parts of which Muslims predominated and in others Hindus, there could be no reasonable objection to the State joining the rest of India under some such arrangement as that described in the Cabinet Mission’s plan. The problem in the State was merely an extension of the All-India problem. The position was wholly changed by the division of British India on a communal basis. Thereafter the Hindus in the State clamoured for the inclusion of the
State in the Union of India, while the Muslims agitated for it to remain independent or to join Pakistan. In those circumstances had the Nizam announced his intention of acceding to the Union of India he would have outraged the feelings of his Muslim subjects: had he elected to join Pakistan he would have alienated his Hindu subjects—in addition to leaving many of the State’s administrative problems unsolved. Thus the reasons by which in his recent firman, he justified his decision to remain independent of both the new British Indian units were not merely sophistical arguments but a statement of cold hard fact.

4. The problem of the State’s future relationship with the Union of India by the territories of which it is completely surrounded, however, remained unsolved. The Nizam, in his firman, had indicated his desire to negotiate on this subject and as a basis for such negotiations Monckton suggested that the State should agree to enter into a treaty with the Union of India by which, in return for certain concessions, the Government of the latter would be allowed to conduct the State’s foreign relations and defence against external aggression and to be responsible for its through communications. This plan, while, for practical purposes, it fulfilled the recommendation of the Cabinet Mission that the three subjects in question should be administered by the Federation, did so by a method which had a reasonable chance of being accepted by both communities. On the one hand, it avoided the accession of the State to the Union of India—which, as I have pointed out, would almost certainly have been resisted by the Muslims: on the other, it afforded a means of solving the problem of the State’s future relations with the Union of India in a manner which might be acceptable to Hindu opinion. It was probably the only method of achieving a practical solution of the difficulty by peaceful means. The plan at first seemed to have a good chance of being adopted by the Nizam’s Government as a basis for negotiation: subsequently, however, objection was taken to it by the non-official Muslim member of the Council on the ground that it merely conceded indirectly the position which accession to the Indian Union would have yielded directly. This view was first put forward by the Muslim Member in question in Delhi during the recent visit of the State’s delegation of which he is a member to that place. The other members of the delegation appear to have adopted a non-committal attitude being, no doubt, characteristically unwilling to commit themselves until they knew the Nizam’s reaction to the proposal. Meanwhile objection to the plan is increasing among members of the Ittihad-ul-Muslimin who apparently consider that the State’s best policy would be to agree to negotiate a treaty with the Government of the Indian Union and to enquire what subjects that Government desired to have included in it. Since, assuming the Indian Union to be prepared to negotiate a treaty at all, the principal matters with which it would deal are already well known, this suggestion is particularly fatuous and could only result in the State being left on the 15th August with its future relationship to the Indian Union wholly undefined. Up to the present the Nizam has adhered to his original opinion in favour of Monckton’s plan, but it is uncertain whether he will continue to do so should Muslim agitation against it increase. If he changes his opinion and decides in favour of the policy suggested by the Ittihad-ul-Muslimin, Monckton, upon whom some veiled attacks have been made in the local Muslim press, will I understand refuse to continue as his Constitutional Adviser.

5. The present position therefore is one of considerable difficulty and uncertainty. As regards the future should Monckton’s plan prevail and be accepted by the Government of the Union of India as a basis for negotiation there is a reasonable chance of disturbance, at any rate on any considerable scale, being avoided. Should however no effective action to reach an
agreement with the Union of India be taken in the near future there is a strong probability that an active agitation will be started by the State Congress and widespread rioting may result. It is unfortunate that both the State Congress and the Ittihad-ul-Muslimin which represent the majority of vocal Hindu and Muslim opinion in the State are at present under the control of their more extreme members. Meanwhile many of those who can afford to do so are sending their families and valuables to places of safety outside the State in anticipation of the trouble which may come.

6. I will keep you informed of any further developments.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

To
L.C.L. Griffin, Esq., CSI, CIE, ICS,
Secretary to H.E. the Crown Representative,
New Delhi.

21. Plea for Assistance against Oppressive Policy of Nizam

Statement issued by Purushottam Tricamadas, Chairman of the Travancore and Hyderabad Aid Committee, Bombay, 28 July 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 68 (Pt. II), NMML

Mr. Purushottam Tricamadas, Bar-at-law, Chairman of the Travancore & Hyderabad Aid Committee, Bombay, has issued the following Statement:—

Hyderabad has become a big problem for the Indian democratic forces. The Government of Hyderabad has refused to send its representatives to the constituent Assembly of India. The Nizam of Hyderabad has declared this intention to revert to the status of an independent sovereign after the lapse of paramountcy on 15th August, in spite of the popular opposition to the same. Preparations are said to be afloat to raise more military and police to suppress the rising tide of political consciousness among the people, who are determined to see that Hyderabad sends elected representatives to the Constituent Assembly and joins the workers of the State Congress, which has been the spearhead of the people movement in Hyderabad and has decided to launch a mass struggle to assert their opposition to the autocratic regime of the Nizam.

The History of the State Congress is the history of a continuous struggle of the people of Hyderabad for organisational existence. The State Congress was banned before it came into being, in 1938. The State Congress resorted to individual satyagraha. More than 400 people suffered imprisonment, with no success. The ban continued. Individual Satyagraha led by Swami Ramanand Tirth in 1940 and the struggle resorted to by the State Congress in 1942 could function legally. In 1946 that this pan of its existence, it has rallied under the banner all progressive and conscious sections of the people of the state. To-day, it represents the bulk of the people of the State.

There are no civil liberties in Hyderabad previous intimation or permission is necessary for every public meeting, and often it is refused. Press is kept under heavy subsidy and men
with independent outlook are not allowed to start newspapers. Externment orders are served on non-Hyderabad on filmsy grounds. Sjt. Jay Prakash Narain was recently externed from the State on the charge of having delivered an objectionable speech.

Though the language spoken by the people is Telugu, Marathia and Kannada, the official language is Urdu, which a vast number of people in the villages do not understand. Even the original courts in Taluks places conduct their business in Urdu, putting the villagers to such inconveniences and expenditure.

Reactionary, fascist-communal type of reforms are imposed on the people. There is a mock legislature with practically no powers. Many pernicious principles like parity between 85% Hindus and 12% Muslims, functional representations, etc. are incorporated in the reforms. As a net result, Muslims form a statutory majority in the legislature. The State Congress has effectively boycotted the reforms.

As a result of this statutory majority being conceded to the Muslims, who form a small percentage of the population, and as a result of the Government acceptance has developed in the Muslims of the State. They think of Hyderabad as a Muslim State, a sense of racial superiority has developed in the Muslim State. They think Muslims are the rulers and Hindus are the ruled. Overwhelming percentage of Muslims in the services, increasing opportunities given to the Muslims in all walks of life in preference to Hindus, have made [communal] sense take deep roots. Muslims do not want any democratisation of the States. They want status quo to be maintained at all costs. Thus the Government is using this vested interest of the Muslims for its own end. Their activities are freely allowed and even encouraged.

Recently preparations have been made to keep the people under the continuous spell of terrorism. Arson, loot, rape and murder are being resorted to for political purpose. They are taking organised shapes. They are being planned deliberately. Speeches inciting Muslims to violence are openly made. Arms are being supplied. It is heard, for nominal princes [sic], Government is obviously callous in all such matters. It is confident that the armed Muslims will serve as an ‘army of occupation’ when independence becomes an established fact. They could suppress the mass upsurge with the help of these.

Peasantry in Hyderabad is terribly hit in recent years. Collection of levy has been throughout unjust. Corruption is rampant. Severity of the officialdom on the dumb villagers is untold. Numerous cases of rape committed by the officers of the police and the revenue departments on the womenfolk of Machireddyapalli and Aknoor should serve as pointers. The standard of life in the villages has greatly fallen in the war years.

Thus the bureaucracy works in Hyderabad. By deciding to remain independent, it has made a problem for the whole of India. An autocratic independent state in the heart of the Indian Union is a potential danger to the security of the Indian Union itself. This cannot be tolerated by the people of India.

We do not know what the future has in store for the people of Hyderabad. On the one hand the Hyderabad Government is carrying no negotiations with the Government of India and on the other hand repression and terrorism are taking their toll.

Whatever may be the outcome of the negotiations one thing is certain. The people are not going to have any freedom and the people led by the State Congress have decided to be free. In the circumstances a struggle is inevitable.

On behalf of the Travancore and Hyderabad Aid Committee I appeal to the freedom loving people of India to give all possible assistance to the people of Hyderabad. Funds are
urgently needed. Please send your contributions without delay to the committee at Congress House.

Travancore & Hyderabad Aid Committee,
Congress House,
Bombay 4.

PUBLICITY SECRETARY,
HYDERABAD STATE CONGRESS,
CONGRESS HOUSE BOMBAY-4.

22. ‘Nizam Adamant Not to Accede to India’
   Letter from Walter Monckton to Louis Mountbatten, 28 July 1947
   Mountbatten Papers, File No. 70A, NMML

My dear Dickie,

I have had long and intimate talks with H.E.H. on the question which you discussed with me, namely, what chance there was of Hyderabad acceding to the Dominion of India before the 15th August. The whole subject has been discussed from every point of view and I am quite satisfied that H.E.H. has definitely made up his mind not to accede. I am sure that nothing—not even a visit by you—has the smallest hope of modifying this attitude. The truth is that the Moslems in the State would undoubtedly revolt if he acceded now. On the other hand, I do think that, in spite of great opposition from influential quarters within the State and outside it, he is quite likely to be willing to offer by treaty substantially all that could reasonably be asked of him. I cannot, of course, commit him to this by a casual letter but I am faithfully recording my own appreciation of the position. The local Ittehad, supported by our mutual friend from Delhi, are attacking me hard. But so far H.E.H. is not moved by it.

    I shall probably be returning to Delhi about Wednesday and will ask for an interview. But I honestly cannot advise you to come here.

    I think the association of Hyderabad with the Indian Dominion is inevitable in the interests of both but I believe it can’t be rushed. The difficulties, as I am discovering to my cost, are real and intractable.

Yours ever,
Walter
23. Not All Muslims Want Pakistan
Note by Shaik Pashamian, 5 August 1947
AICC Papers, File No. P-24/II (1947), NMML

**PAKISTAN AND AFTER**

It is gratifying to see that during the life time of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah India got her independence, though a portion of it has been called by a separate name, Pakistan. Before the establishment of Pakistan, many tried to get its definition from its author, Mr. Jinnah, but failed to get a proper response from him. Hence Pakistan appears to be more a creation of the British Government than of Mr. Jinnah himself. The British while anxious to leave the shores of India after complete domination of over 150 years, seem to be anxious to create a place for themselves in India with the help of the Muslims. Unfortunately the Muslims of the minority provinces have become scapegoats, to serve the cause of Muslims of other provinces and of the British as well. Now that Pakistan has been achieved, let us search our hearts and see whether we are really happy at the division of this great ancient land of ours. How many of us are willing to leave our beloved homes and go to Pakistan? Whatever the hatred among the communities in other provinces, we in this province have been living in perfect amity and concord—in fact there is more hatred among the Muslims themselves than between the Muslims and Hindus—and we are now really ashamed to move with our beloved Hindu brothers and sisters who loved us so much and who showed us so much forbearance in the face of such atrocities in the north—with the same amity and good will. We admire the inherent good nature of our Hindu brothers that even after the establishment of Pakistan, with the intransigence [sic] of our northern brothers, they do not taunt us with the words ‘Quit India’ and ‘Karachi Chelo’ but are still accommodating us and are still loving us as before, as if nothing had happened.

We cannot turn the course of history. The establishment of Pakistan has become a FIAT [sic] ACCOMPLI. We cannot unite India again in the near future. But the utmost that we in this province can do is to live amicably with our Hindu brothers. Let us not be proud of the fact that we have got an independent Government of our own in Pakistan which will look after our interests whatever we do here. The Hindus were in the past indulgent whatever we did from within. It was formerly like a case of the children of the same father fighting with the father or the mother. But now it is not so. It is like children of two different parents fighting with each other. We in this province must realise that we are a hopeless minority. The position of Muslims in the villages is simply deplorable. In villages the Muslims are wholly dependant upon the munificence of the Hindus. In these circumstances we have to try our best to get their love if we want to live in peace. We can only do this by our good character and conduct. In the past the Hindus appreciated the skill and gift of Muslims in all technical works and handicrafts like tailoring, motor driving, watch repairing, shoe making, carpentry, carpet making, coir industries, jewelry etc. It is up to the Muslims to show great proficiency in these Arts so that the Hindu brothers might vie with one another to get their services. It is only in this way that we can dispel the suspicions of our Hindu brothers. We can win back their love and though at a distant date reunite the broken India. Let us not twist our moustachios, which we have not and say that we have won a victory over the Hindus. If Pakistan has been achieved it is mainly due to the good nature of the Hindus who abhor bloodshed. Mr. Jinnah like Hitler has created first class conditions for the division of India. The orgy of blood shed arson and looting
filled every one with horror that each wished that it should be stopped at once at whatever cost. Even today the average Hindu and average Muslim does not know what Pakistan is. But he rather feels relieved when he is told that Pakistan means the end of communal strife. It is in this light that we have to view the creation of Pakistan. I am glad that leaders like Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan have given a proper lead to the Muslims of this province in his statement a few days ago. He said that the Muslims of this province should try to live in peace and harmony with the Hindu brothers. It is up to the other leaders also to come out with similar statements and allay the panic in the minds of some ignorant public who think that after the establishment of Pakistan the Muslims of this province have to migrate, leaving all their belongings, to the Pakistan areas. Muslim culture and genius upon which Mr. Jinnah laid so much emphasis for the creation of a separate State for Muslims in India, are so very different among the Muslims of north, say, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Bengal and Sind and the Muslims of south say, Tanjore and Madura, that it can be safely said that culture and genius of the Muslims here are more akin to the culture and genius of Hindus here than to that of a Punjaby Muslim or a Bengali Muslim. Hence which South Indian Muslim will be willing to go and live with the Muslim of Bengal and Sind? Is there any single Muslim League leader of this province, who advocated vehemently for Pakistan and who got votes on Pakistan ticket, now willing to go to Pakistan leaving his dear owns [sic] here? Hence my advice to my Muslim brothers is ‘Don’t put on Pakistan feathers and try to create ill feeling among the Hindus but let us try to live amicably with them’. This is the only way for our Salvation. I hope my Muslim brothers will whole heartedly participate in the Independence Day Celebrations on 15th August.

SHAIK PASHAMIAN.
Congress Muslim.
5-8-1947

B. **Berar**

1. **Berar’s Struggle Is between Democracy and Autocracy**

   Letter from W.G. Joshi, Congress leader of Berar, to Vallabhbhai Patel, 6 March 1947


   Amraoti (Berar)

My dear Sardar Sahib,

You will kindly excuse me for troubling you when you are already overburdened with the heaviest responsibilities.

I have nothing more to say than to remind you of the question concerning the transfer of Berar to the Nizam.

I am fully aware of your views and I am absolutely confident that you still hold the same. It is a great calamity, you know, if we are thrown back on the kind mercies of a State ruler. The very idea is abhorrent.

We have our representatives in the Constituent Assembly, no doubt. But unfortunately we dare not pin our faith on them. We do not feel sure that they are strong enough to stand the temptations a patronizing hand might put forth. All our hopes are centred on you and the Congress High Command whom we trust to be our only protection.
We shall ever stand by you and will do your bidding. We are determined to fight the battle of freedom to the last.

It is not a Hindu-Mussalman struggle. It is a fight between freedom and slavery—a fight between democracy and autocracy. Had there been even a Brahmin ruler I would have fought him with the same fanaticism.

In short, we are not in the least willing to break our bond of love and affinity with the free India of our dream, let whatever come.

Nothing more to add.

I am doing well and hope this finds you same.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

WG. Joshi

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

2. Patel Rejects Possibility of Transfer of Berar to Hyderabad
Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to WG. Joshi, 9 March 1947
\textit{SPC}, Vol. VII, p. 15

New Delhi

My dear Veer Wamanrao,

I have received your letter of the 6th instant.

You need have no anxiety about the question regarding the suggestion of transfer of Berar to the Nizam. There is no conceivable justification, nor any the remotest chance of such an event taking place. The idea is too absurd to contemplate, and no Berari should have any apprehension about it.

I am glad you are keeping fit.

Yours sincerely,

Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri WG. Joshi
Amraoti, Berar

3. Berar All Parties Conference Rejects Nizam’s Sovereignty over Berar
Letter from Brijlal Biyani to Vallabhbhai Patel, 23 April 1947
\textit{SPC}, Vol. VII, pp. 16–17

Rajasthan Bhavan
Akola

Respected Sardarji,

Berar all parties’ conference was held on the 20th at Akola. Your message was received. It gave a great stimulus and strength to the conference. The conference was successful. I am herewith attaching copy of the resolution passed in the conference. I know as president a heavy
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

responsibility is cast on me. Your guidance and help will only enable me to carry out the work to successful termination. I am reaching Delhi on the 27th and shall speak to you personally.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Brijlal Biyani

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

Resolution I

Whereas Britain has declared its intention to transfer all power to the people of India by June 1948, and

Whereas efforts are being made for retrocession of Berar, and

Whereas all power and authority of the State is derived from the people and every people have an inalienable right to determine the constitution under which they will live, and

Whereas no treaty or engagement in respect of a people can bind a people unless they are consenting parties to the same, and

Whereas it has become necessary for Berar now to express its opinion on its constitutional future,

This conference of the representatives of all shades of public opinion in Berar declares its firm and solemn resolve not to accept the de jure sovereignty of HEH the Nizam not to form part of the dominions of HEH the Nizam but to form part of the Indian Union, the constitution of which is being framed at present by the Constituent Assembly.

Resolution II

This Assembly invites the attention of His Majesty's Government and HEH Nizam to the declaration of its objectives made in this conference and earnestly desires that HMG and the Nizam should not in future enter into any treaty and agreement concerning Berar. This conference further asserts that in case such an agreement is entered into, it will not be binding on the people of Berar.

Resolution III

It is resolved that a committee be formed to be called Free Berar Committee to devise ways and means for securing the achievement of the objectives agreed upon in this conference, regarding the future of Berar. The Committee will consist of 45 members.

(All the above resolutions were unanimously passed.)

Resolution IV

This conference resolves that no independent private talk be opened or carried directly or indirectly with the Government of HEH Nizam or any of his officers by any Berari regarding the future administration for the status of Berar, as this conference is now the sole authority to determine this question.

This conference earnestly appeals to all those gentlemen who are individually or in their representative capacity, invited by Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, to discuss
the Berar question, not to hold any talks, discussions or negotiations regarding Berar, without
the authority of the committee of this conference.

(This resolution was carried by a majority.)

The resolutions passed by Free Berar Committee, expressing opposition to retrocession of
Berar to Hyderabad were endorsed by the following local bodies in Berar:—

(1) Notified Area Committee, Telhara
(2) Shegaon Municipal Committee
(3) Amraoti District Council
(4) Khamgaon Municipal Committee
(5) Berar Chamber of Commerce

4. The People of Berar Must ‘Stand on Their Own Feet’
Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Punjabrao S. Deshmukh, 22 May 1947

Mussoorie

My dear Dr. Deshmukh,

I have received your letter of 13 May and I am glad that you have written to me about this
matter in such great detail.

Now I must give you my frank opinion about this affair. I agree with you that in the past
Berar leaders have not been firm or straightforward in their attitude towards the Nizam. They
have often expressed their loyalty and devotion to the Nizam and presented addresses to the
Prince. They have even gone to the length of utilising respectable ladies of their families for
garlanding the Prince. Donations have also been received in the past. All this conduct on the
part of the Berar leaders would certainly have a direct or indirect effect in favour of the Nizam’s
claim to have Berar under his rule.

If you would accept my advice, you should never accept any more donations, however
unconditional and however good the purpose may be, from the Nizam. You must learn, and
make the people of Berar learn, to stand on their own feet. They must contribute for their
own education but not take tainted money for educational or other beneficial purposes. The
donor’s object is obvious, in spite of there being no condition. Berar will have to pay dearly if
they will voluntarily keep any contact of this kind in future. The people of Berar must stand on
their own dignity and must make it clear by their conduct that they do not depend upon the
Nizam for small mercies or for crumbs. You know the Nizam has not given any donations in
any other province. He is doing this with a purpose, and you are either consciously exploiting
his weakness or being exploited by him for your weakness.

You need not give me any assurance for your incorruptibility. I believe nothing against
anybody till I have got clear evidence to justify such an inference. I have already written to
Biyaniji about our attitude towards Berar.

I agree with you that Shri Shankarrao Deo has given a wrong lead at this juncture. He is
suffering from a narrow, parochial complex, which he thinks is patriotism. The Beraris can
afford to disregard him if they stand firm and united.
Don’t worry about the Press or Brahmin propaganda, if any. The days of Brahmin-non-Brahmin quarrels are over. We are now about to enter into a free India where Indian citizenship will overshadow all castes and creeds.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Punjabrao S. Deshmukh
Shamsadma
Amraoti Camp.

5. ‘Berar Cannot Be Pawn in Imperialist Game’

*People’s Age, 1 June 1947*

The following statement has been issued by B.N. Mukheijee, Secretary of the Central Provincial Committee of the Communist Party:

‘Berar cannot be a pawn in the imperialist game. It is the inherent right of the Berari people to decide their destiny.

‘The strength of our national movement has forced the British imperialists to fix a date-line for the transfer of power to Indian hands. But they are striving their utmost to carve out as much territory as possible to keep under their control through various schemes of partition and lending full support to the feudal Princes.

‘It is this strength lent by the British to the Nizam that is not only giving courage to the Nizam to ruthless suppress the movement for Responsible Government within the State, the movement of peasants of Telengana and Marathawada and the movement of workers for better living and democratic life, but also emboldening him to make a claim on Berar.

‘It is good that the All-Parties Conference in Berar decided that Berar should not be ceded to Nizam. It is good that the leaders of the Congress Government of C.P. and Berar have expressed their resistance to the claim of the Nizam on Berar.

‘The Communist Party at the same time cautions against attempts at compromise with the Nizam by influential, important sections in Berar. Retrocession of Berar is not a constitutional problem. The freedom of 40 lacs of Berari people cannot be bartered.

‘The Berari people must assert their right to determine their destiny along with all the freedom-loving people of our country. The fight of the Berari people is a fight against imperialism and against autocracy. They have their allies in the anti-imperialist forces in the country and the people’s movement in the Nizam State.

‘The one problem before the Berari people is that of building a broad-based anti-imperialist, anti-feudal unity of the Berari people to determine their status in free India. The Communist Party would throw its entire weight in building that unity.

‘The Communist Party in the end appeals to the Marathi speaking people to raise their voice in defence of the right of the Berari people to determine their future and thus preserve the unity of the Marathi people. The people of Marathawada and Telengana must support the demand for freedom of Berar and thus cement the bonds of unity of peoples struggling for the assertion of their freedom against the Nizam.’
6. Resolution Calling on the People of Berar to Resist Retrocession of the State

Resolution passed at the All India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha meeting, 7-8 June 1947
AIHM Papers, File No. 162, NMML

Resolution No. 3.

Berar Resolution

Whereas

the declaration of H.M.G. on 20th February '47 to the effect that they were determined to transfer all power they held in India to Indian hands not later than June 1948 raised hopes and expectations in Hyderabad about the retrocession of Berar which were expressed both from the press and the platform.

And whereas

this meeting of the All India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha feels greatly concerned about the future status of Berar in the Projected State of Hindusthan as envisaged by the latest declaration of the Viceroy made on behalf of H.M.G. and considers it as one of her primary duties to express its opinion on this matter for future guidance of Berar public and for the information of these [sic] whom it may concern now therefore it is resolved as follows:—

(a) The cessation of Berar to Nizam by the Hon: East India Co., in 1804 by the treaty of Hyderabad was gratuitous [sic] and in fact the Nizam has no claims over Berar legal or moral. Therefore, after the paramountcy of the British is withdrawn Berar cannot possibly form any part of the dominions of the Nizam.

(b) From 1804, till 1853 Nizam never obtained any real hold over Berar and practically anarchy ruled in the district of Berar during the 50 years. Nizam leased out the province to money lending individuals and companies working for profit realized the dues and much more by loot and zuloom and other most unconstitutional and tyrannical methods. In 1853, therefore, the British took back the administration of Berar for the maintenance of a force and for liquidating very heavy debts owed by Nizam to the British. Now that Berar has made progress under British administration politically, educationally, socially and other walks of life for a century who [sic] administrative and social conditions in the Nizam's dominions and Berar are so widely different that they cannot be put under a common unitary administration.

(c) The perpetual lease of Berar to British Government in 1902 the subsequent agreements between the Nizam and British Govt: the fact that Berar was given the right of representation in legislatures set up under the constitution of 1935 and was administered as a joint province of C.P. and Berar and is now represented in the Constituent Assembly and the replies which the Nizam received from time to time in response to his efforts to get back the Districts of Berar clearly prove that permanent transfer of Berar to British was contemplated and effected. The Nizam now, therefore, cannot claim back these districts under any guise.

(d) The basic ideology of politics between 1853 and now has undergone vast change and treaties and agreements entered into under the old and worn out ideology cannot hold good now. It is now admitted on all hands that the power of sovereignty now rests in the
people and not in any person or dynasty. All treaties and agreements therefore entered into the past between the Nizam and Britain without the knowledge and consent of the People of Berar as any such agreement that may be brought into existence hereafter must be and will be repudiated by the people of Berar and the Nizam claim neither de facto nor de jure sovereignty over Berar without a referendum to the people of Berar in that behalf. All vestiges and signs, therefore, of Nizam’s sovereignty over Berar however nominal must disappear immediately and the Nizam have no authority or voice in the appointment of the Executive and Governing head of the province.

We call upon the people of Berar to resist any attempt on the part of Nizam for the retrocession of Berar either directly or otherwise by entering into fresh agreements with Britain without the consent of the people of Berar and further call upon the then Govt. of Hindusthan to resist all such attempts on the part of Nizam which will be considered as an act of hostility towards the Indian Government.

7. ‘No Legal Bar to Berar Joining C.A.’

**The Hindustan Times, 7 July 1947**

**MADRAS, July 6.**—Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, member of the Constituent Assembly, who was recently associated with the Congress leaders in examining the Indian Independence Bill, in an interview today urged the immediate need for amending the Bill so as to ensure the future of Berar as an integral part of the Union of India.

In the recent discussions at Delhi, Sir Alladi said, the question of Berar did not come up for consideration, but, on a careful reading of the Bill, he doubts very much whether Berar can be brought in at all under Section 2 of the Bill relating to the territories of India.

Section 2 of the Bill referred only to the territories under the sovereignty of His Majesty the King. The inclusion of Berar as a part of the Central Provinces rested on an agreement which might be liable to be terminated under the terms of Section 7 of the Bill, he said.

‘Section 47 of the Bill’, Sir Alladi continued, ‘is the provision relating to Berar which recognizes in theory the sovereignty of the Nizam over Berar’.

**Grave Situation**

The present situation is that the people of Berar are insisting upon joining the Indian Union. At the same time, Hyderabad has declared its intention to be independent and not to join the Indian Union. If, therefore, Hyderabad insists upon its claim to sovereignty over Berar, it would necessarily create a grave situation. Hence, it is up to H.M.G. to make a proper provision in the Bill before the second reading.

‘I have no doubt that if their attention is drawn to the provisions of the Bill and the position of Berar, the Congress representatives in the Interim Government will take the necessary steps to see that the just rights of the people of Berar are respected and that there is no legal or constitutional impediment to Berar joining the Indian Union without reference to Hyderabad.’

Sir Alladi, it is learnt, has sent a telegram to Pandit Nehru and other leaders in Delhi inviting their attention to the question of Berar as affected by the provisions of the Bill, and suggesting the need for taking steps to ensure the future of Berar as an integral part of the Indian Union.—A.P.I.
8. ‘Ambedkar Doubts Nizam’s Claim Can Be Refuted’

The Hindustan Times, 8 July 1947

BOMBAY, July 7.—‘There may be some excuses for dividing India into two Dominions, but there is none for sowing the seeds of disintegration between the Dominions and the States. Surely, the British people will be answerable before the bar of the world for such a wanton act,’ says Dr B.R. Ambedkar commenting on the India Independence Bill.

Referring to the replies given by Sardar Patel and Mr. V.P. Menon, Reforms Commissioner, at the Press conference last week in Delhi on the future of Berar, Dr. Ambedkar says:

‘The view expressed by Mr. Menon, if it was correct, would no doubt serve as a great solace to the people of Berar who have been anxiously waiting to know what their fate is going to be under the new dispensation.

The question is: Is the view expressed by him correct? In my judgment, having regard to the provisions contained in Section 7 of clause 2 of the Independence Bill the view expressed by Mr Menon is quite untenable. Sub-section 1 (B) of Section 7 says that as from the appointed date, i.e., August 15, not only the suzerainty over India by His Majesty will lapse but all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty in or in relation to Indian States by treaties grants usage, sufferance or otherwise will also lapse. What does this mean when applied to the treaty with regard to Berar? Obviously, it means that the treaty by which Berar was ceded to the British will also lapse. If this construction of the clause is correct, then the effect of this sub-section is that on August 15 Berar will revert to the Nizam.

No Mention Of Berar

To argue that this clause does not apply to Berar because Berar has not been specially mentioned is to read into the sub-section a limitation which is not there. The sub-section is so general that specific mention of Berar is unnecessary. Specific mention of Berar would be necessary only if the intention was to save it from the effect of the general clause of sub-section as it stands must have full operation on Berar as well as other territories belonging to Indian States and which forms part of British India by reason of treaty or agreement.

‘One is therefore bound to say that Mr V.P. Menon has missed the import of sub-section 1 (B) of Section 7 and thereby created a wrong impression by his answers at the Press conference.’

It is equally incorrect to suggest as was done at the conference by Sardar Patel that the position of Berar will stand as it is until a new agreement is made with the Nizam. The reason is that the standstill clause which Sub-clause (C) of Sub-Section (1) of Section 7 makes a distinction between treaties and agreements which refer to transfer of territories and those which relate to arrangements regarding customs, transport, communications, posts and telegraph or other like matters.

It saves treaties of the latter class only. It does not save any agreement which relates to transfer of territory. The agreement relating to Berar is an agreement which relates to transfer of territory, and as such is not saved from the general effect of Sub-Clause 1 (B) of Section 7.

Nobody would be more happy than myself if it was shown that the construction I put upon Section 7 was wrong. All I want to say is that the people of India and the people of Berar should take note of Section 7 as it stands and should have the matter cleared up by a direct question to the Prime Minister, Mr Attlee, when the Bill comes up for discussion in the House of Commons.
I do not know how many people would be glad over the sort of independence which the Labour Government proposes to bestow on the people of India by this Bill when they contemplate the consequences that are likely to arise in India as a result of the provisions of Section 7 of this Bill.

The British people have always regarded the unity of India as their achievement in which they can take legitimate pride. One would have expected that the British people would think it a matter of greater pride to transfer it without impairment.

The tragedy, however, is that on the eve of the transfer of their authority to the people of India; the British Parliament has decided not to hand over a united India but to destroy that unity and to hand over India in the original state in which they found it with all the rents and patches it had. There may be some excuse for dividing India into two Dominions. But there is none for sowing the seeds of disintegration between the Dominions and the States. Surely, the British people will be answerable before the bar of the world for such a wanton act.—A.P.I.

9. Arms and Ammunition Confiscated from Licensees in Berar
   Letter from R.S. Shukla to Vallabhbhai Patel, 21 July 1947

   New Delhi

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I spoke to you today after the Assembly meeting about the taking over of arms and ammunition from the licensees in my province and not returning them to the Muslims till their position became definite and clear. You approved of the action taken. I placed before you the main points. I am now writing to you in detail so that, if necessary, you may be able to give further direction.

The circumstances and feelings of the people of Berar and also of other parts of the Central Provinces are in short described in the letter of Pandit Mishra, a copy of which I gave you this morning. It is certain that if either by order of the Nizam or by his connivance the goondas of Hyderabad State create trouble in Berar or in the border district of Chanda the Muslims within my province will also create trouble. It is also quite evident that the Muslims of CP and especially of Berar not only have sympathy with the Nizam but they would even render every help to the Nizam so far as it lies in their power. In view of these facts, some time before I left for Delhi I had issued orders that all Hindu and Muslim licence-holders, except Government servants and exemptees, should deposit their arms and ammunition in the nearest police station house. It was stated in the order that this was only a temporary measure taken to meet an emergent situation. Notwithstanding the fact that arms and ammunition were taken away both from the Hindus and Muslims, the Hindus of Berar heaved a sigh of relief inasmuch as they felt that Muslims, who could create trouble were deprived of arms. As this surrender of arms was only a temporary measure, I ordered the district magistrates to return to the Hindus their arms, except to such of them as were considered undesirable. A list of these undesirables was to be submitted to the Government with reasons to show why their arms were being withheld. As for the Muslims, I ordered that a list of Muslims whom the district magistrates proposed to return arms and another list of those whom he considered undesirable should be submitted to the Government and arms were not to be returned to them unless approved by the Government.
I do not propose to return the arms and ammunition of the Muslim licence-holders till it is clear what their attitude is. Perhaps they will never promise or declare that they will not help the Nizam. I, therefore, consider it is not safe to return the arms to them immediately. Though it looks discriminatory, it is justified under the present extraordinary circumstances stated above, and I am glad I have your approval of it. The interview and talk which Pandit Mishra had with Syed Rauf Shah are significant and have a great bearing in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
R.S. Shukla

The Hon’ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

10. Akola Bar Association Opposes Sovereign Hyderabad
Letter from Secretary, Akola Bar Association, to Ravi Shankar Shukla, 22 July 1947
Pol. & Military Deptt., Govt. of CP & Berar, File Nos 16-18, Vidarbha Archives, Nagpur

Hony. Secretary

Bar Association
Akola (Berar)

To
Hon’ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla,
Prime Minister, C.P. Government,
NEW DELHI.

Sir,

I have the honour to send herewith the copy of the Resolution passed by the Akola Bar Association on 22-7-1947, for your kind and earnest consideration.

Yours faithfully,
Sd./
Secretary,
Akola Bar Association

Encl:
Copy of Resolution
Dt. 22-7-1947.

Resolution No. 11

‘It is resolved that the Bar Association, Akola, strongly impresses its view that by virtue of the Transfer of Power by His Majesty’s Government and by conferring Independence on Indian Nation, Berar could not be deprived of the Free Citizens’ Right of Independent India to continue their membership and allegiance to India Dominion and as such the acceptance of Sovereignty of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, would be against their inherent rights of citizens of free India and in view of the aspirations as well as the determination of the people of Berar to be free citizens of India Dominion, no action should be taken to prejudice their aspirations, determinations and rights.’

Unanimously passed.
11. Berar Can Threaten Hyderabad Negotiations  
Telegram from Viceroy, New Delhi, to Governor, CP, 4 August 1947  
*SPC*, Vol. VII, p. 25

From Viceroy  
New Delhi  
To Governor  
C.P.

The Nizam’s Government State that demonstrations are being arranged in Berar with threats to remove Nizam’s flags from buildings they are flown. The Hyderabad Government hope that action can be taken to prevent any movement calculated to create contempt or hatred against neighbouring state of Hyderabad, and particularly to prevent insults to Nizam’s flag.

2. Have you any information of such demonstrations?

3. Negotiations with Hyderabad are now entering their last and most important and most difficult stage. Any incidents now might upset agreement being reached, please do all you can to prevent.

12. Berar Intends to Declare Independence  
Telegram from Vallabhbhai Patel to Brijlal Biyani, 8 August 1947  
*SPC*, Vol. VII, p. 27

Brijlal Biyani  
Rajasthan Bhavan  
Akola (Berar)

YOUR PRESIDING ON FREE BERAR COMMITTEE AND REPORTED INTENTION BOYCOTT INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS AND DECLARE BERAR INDEPENDENT ON THAT DAY REQUIRES CLARIFICATION AND CONFIRMATION. ADVISE TAKE NO INDEPENDENT ACTION WITHOUT CONSULTING ME. ANY SUCH ACTION WILL INJURE BERAR’S CAUSE. YOU MUST KEEP US INFORMED OF YOUR COMMITTEE’S ACTIVITIES AND INTENTIONS. SUGGEST COME HERE IMMEDIATELY.

VALLABHBHAI

13. Berar to Disown Allegiance to Nizam  
Telegram from Brijlal Biyani to Vallabhbhai Patel, 9 August 1947  
*SPC*, Vol. VII, p. 27

Akola  
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel  
New Delhi

Received your telegram. Free Berar Committee passed resolution advocating boycott government functions only if Nizam’s flag flown with national flag. Resolved requesting people
declare in public meetings disowning allegiance to Nizam. Above resolutions already posted. Congress Committees celebrating independence day under their own auspices in fitting manner. In view your advice convening emergency meeting of free Berar Committee on twelfth. Shall keep you informed. Had detailed talk with Shankarao Deo while here yesterday.

BRIJLAL BIYANI

C. MYSORE

1. Mysore Should Participate in the Constituent Assembly

Letter from K. Chengalaraya Reddy to Jayachamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, Maharaja of Mysore, 4 January 1947

AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

MYSORE CONGRESS

Congress House
Cottonpet
Bangalore City

To,
His Highness Sri. Jayachamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur G.C.S.I., G.C.B.
Maharaja of Mysore.
May it please Your Highness,

As desired by the Working Committee of the Mysore Congress, I beg leave to bring the following for Your Highness' gracious consideration at this momentous hour in the history of India and that of Mysore.

Your Highness is doubtless aware that after a long spell of serfdom India is on the threshold of freedom. The British Government have recognised India's inherent right to frame her own constitution. In pursuance of that, active steps are being taken to evolve a constitution for a free and independent Indian Union in which the Indian States are to be integral part. There can be no gainsaying that in this supreme task, Mysore should play a historic role.

The time has come when Mysore should unequivocally declare its readiness to join the contemplated Union and to agree to participate in the Constituent Assembly. The Committee desires to stress that the representatives of the State in the Constituent Assembly should be elected by the legislature—the elected element thereof—and that no other arrangement will satisfy or be acceptable to the people. What is more fundamental, the establishment of Responsible Government in Mysore which has long been overdue, has, in the vastly changed Indian context, become urgent and inevitable. It is unnecessary now to canvass all the reasons in justification of this stand as they are well known and need no reiteration. It may be observed, however, that the political evolution of Mysore justifies such a consummation and will also be in keeping with Your Highness' august declaration at the joint Session of the legislature on the 9th of June 1941. The present constitution, unsatisfactory as it was at the time of its inauguration, is now completely out of date. The Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council have repeatedly demonstrated that the ministries under the present constitution have not the confidence and support of the elected element in the legislature. The Assembly in particular has time and again defeated, on that issue, a number of Bills sponsored by the Government.
social and moral welfare of the people of Mysore and the satisfactory tackling of the manifold problems relating to food, clothing, education, housing, health and other vital issues require the immediate establishment of democratic responsible government.

I beg to invite Your Highness' kind attention to the Memorials submitted about six months back by an overwhelming majority of the members of the Assembly and by a considerable majority of the elected members of the Legislative Council, belonging to the various political parties, praying among other things for the immediate establishment of Responsible Government. It is a matter for deep disappointment and grief that the memorialists have not been granted any reply till now and one is constrained to state that it has deeply wounded the people's self respect.

It is an inescapable conclusion that the State will suffer more and more by the continuance of a constitution whereunder the Dewan and the Ministers are not responsible to the legislature and that the inauguration of a democratic government with Your Highness as the constitutional Head exercising power through a cabinet responsible to the legislature is an immediate necessity. I am therefore bringing this to Your Highness' notice with the prayer that Your Highness may be pleased to take immediate steps to inaugurate such a government.

Herewith is enclosed a copy of the resolution passed at the Sixth Session of the Mysore Congress held at Subhas Nagar, Bangalore City on 2nd and 3rd November 1946, authorising the Working Committee to take all necessary steps for the realisation of Responsible Government. In pursuance of the same the Committee has considered it to be its duty to place before Your Highness direct, the just and rightful aspirations of the people and to express its deep desire that Your Highness may be pleased to fulfill them in an atmosphere of peace and good will.

In conclusion I am desired by my Committee to express my readiness to wait on Your Highness for any further explanation or elucidation that Your Highness may be pleased to require regarding the matters raised above.

I earnestly request that Your Highness may be pleased to vouchsafe a gracious reply at an early date.

I beg leave to remain,
Your Highness' most devoted
and loyal subject,
Sd. K. Chengalaraya Reddy.
President, Mysore Congress.

2. Constitutional Progress in Mysore State

Maharaja of Mysore's address to the people, 8 January 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

MESSAGE

MAHARAJA'S MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF MYSORE

Now that the stress and strain of the Great War in which we were all engulfed are over and we are faced with new problems, the attention of all people is turned towards constitutional progress and economic development. I have not been unaware of the feeling of my own
people in these directions and I have been considering for some time how best I can meet their legitimate desires. In inaugurating the Reforms Constitution, I said in the course of my speech to the joint session of the Legislature that 'the torch of constitutional progress has been handed down to me as a family heritage' and that it was 'my ambition to ensure that its light did not grow dim, but will grow ever brighter with the passage of time'. In fact it has been the policy of the House of Mysore to follow the principle of associating representatives of the people more and more with the administration of the Government. The new Legislature which I inaugurated in 1941 has now had five years of existence. The constitutional position in British India is now under examination. The place which Mysore will occupy and the part which it will play in any new structure which will be devised for British India are engaging the attention of my Government and people.

Taking all these facts into consideration, I have directed my Dewan to review the whole position and to submit to me proposals regarding the constitutional progress in my State. My Dewan has had very considerable knowledge of political constitutions and experience in their working. He will bear in mind the course of discussions and events in the rest of India. He will also take into consultation all sections and classes of my people and with the benefit of their help, advice and co-operation formulate his proposals for my consideration.

Whatever form these proposals may take, I trust they will fulfill the one great objective which I have at heart, viz, that it will ensure equal opportunities for all and will promote the security, contentment and hapiness [sic] of my dear people. I ask all my people to co-operate in this great endeavour.

3. Popular Support for the Establishment of Responsible Government
Letter from K. Madhava Rao to J.B. Kripalani, 13 January 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 273, NMML

MYSORE CONGRESS

Dear Friend,

Events in Mysore are moving very fast. The President of the Mysore Congress has undertaken a State wide tour with a view to mobilise the public opinion and to prepare the Congress workers to shoulder the responsibility of conducting the proposed struggle, if it became inevitable, in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Sixth Session of the Mysore Congress held in Subhas Nagar, Bangalore City on 2nd and 3rd November 1946. He completed his tour in eight districts and is touring at present in Mysore District which is the last district. There has been very good response from the public in general. Public meetings are very well attended to. The demand of the Mysore Congress, viz, immediate establishment of Responsible Government in Mysore is receiving unprecedented support from all the sections of the people. The people are ready for any amount of sacrifice and suffering that may become necessary to achieve their cherished goal, viz., Responsible Government.

The Working Committee of the Mysore Congress decided at its meeting held in the last month to submit a memorial to H.H. the Maharaja containing the demand for the immediate
establishment of Responsible Government in Mysore among other things. This was done with the intention of preserving peace and tranquility in the State. The draft of the memorial was approved by the Working Committee at its meeting held on 1st of this month. The memorial was submitted to His Highness through his Private Secretary on 7th inst. A copy of the memorial is enclosed for your kind perusal. Till now we have not been favoured with a formal reply. Meanwhile the Maharaja has given a message to the people through the Dewan. A copy of the message is enclosed for your perusal. It is significant to note that the message does not declare the goal in clear and unambiguous terms. I have herewith sent a copy of the press statement issued by the President on this behalf.

The Government have been resorting to repressive measures to prevent the Congress from mobilising the public opinion. Repressive orders have been passed prohibiting the holding of meetings and processions in all the important towns of the State on the pretext of avoiding the communal tension. Prohibitory orders have been passed at places where there were no traces or fears of communal tension. In many places Hindus and Muslims had assembled in large numbers to receive the President and hear the message of the Congress. At some places resolutions have been passed at meetings attended by Hindus as well as Muslims condemning the promulgation of prohibitory order.

The Working Committee will be meeting on 22nd and 23rd of this month to consider the Royal message.

Yours Sincerely,

Sd/-

(K.R. Madhava Rao)
General Secretary

Acharya J.B. Kripalani
President, Indian National Congress
19, Windsor Palace
New Delhi

4. Congress Not Representative of Whole Population of Mysore

Letter from Desabandhu M. Sankar Lingegowda to Vallabhbhai Patel, 21 January 1947

SPC, Vol. V, pp. 400–1

Nagamangala

From

Desabandhu M. Sankar Lingegowda
Member of the Assembly
Nagamangala Post (Mysore State)

To

The Hon’ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Member
New Delhi

Honoured Sir,

While releasing the correspondence between myself and the President of the Mysore State Congress from 18 December 1946 to 21 January 1947 and at the same time respectfully
submitting the copies of correspondence for your kind perusal, I beg to state that the president of the Mysore State Congress is demanding ‘responsible government wherein sovereignty vests with the people’ violating your definite advice tendered to the Baroda (Congress) Praja Mandal to demand ‘responsible administration without ending the Princely Order.’

In Mysore the Representative Assembly consisting of 311 members (of which 10 are nominated by the Government) are the real representatives of the whole of the 75 lakh people in the State. Out of 301 members only 130 members do belong to the Congress party in the Assembly. The Mysore Congress is definitely a minority party and the rest non-Congress members do desire that ‘sovereignty should be vested with the Maharaja and not with the people.’ Under these circumstances, the Mysore Congress cannot boast that they represent all the people of Mysore State. At the most, the Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly can represent the views of 30 lakhs of people. When the majority of the members of the Assembly object to the demand for ‘responsible government wherein sovereignty vests with the people,’ the cry of the Mysore Congress will be only in the wilderness. As such I humbly request your honour to advise the Mysore Congress to demand only ‘responsible administration without ending the Princely Order.’

I would not have submitted this correspondence to your honour but for the Mysore Congress President [who] is [freely] advertising your honour’s name during his tour with a view to get support from the gullible public for their proposed satyagraha movement to attain ‘responsible government wherein sovereignty vests with the people.’

I solicit your kind instructions in the matter.

I beg to remain,
Honoured Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. Sankar Lingegowda
Member of the Assembly

5. Call for Reforms Other than Responsible Government

Statement by P. Sitaramayya, 22 January 1947
AICC Papers, File No. S.P.I. 1945–8, NMML

ALL INDIA STATES’ PEOPLES’ CONFERENCE

NEW DELHI

The following statement has been issued to the Press by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiyya
Officiating President of the ALL INDIA States’ Peoples’ Conference,

Amongst the recent notable events that have taken place in the domain of political development in the Indian States, must be mentioned the proclamation made by certain Princes, chiefly The Maharaja of Mysore, the Maharaja of Baroda and the Maharaja of Gwalior. While Gwalior has made a distinct reference to the responsible government as the goal and proposed to take certain steps immediately which he had already chalked out, Mysore and Baroda, do not speak of responsible Government at all. Mysore’s announcement however, is welcome in that his Dewan had recently made a reactionary statement to the effect that if people asked for
more, they would lose what they had. On this the Mysore State Congress was determined to resort to direct action and they drew up a programme of civil disobedience. The Maharaja has nobly responded to the call of the state Congress, but his response is not adequate. He asked his Dewan to review the political progress as five years had already elapsed since the last change took place in the political setup of the state. But that is not enough. The time has come for responsible government to be implemented in Mysore more than in any other state since Mysore is closely copying the administrative systems of Madras on one side and Bombay on the other between which it stands jammed as it were. The fact that prior to the rendition of Mysore in 1881, to the Maharaja, for about 40 years the British Government administrators were in direct charge of the Government of Mysore and was responsible for close affinity between the Mysore Government and the Government of Madras and Bombay. That was not all. The plans drawn up by Dewan Rangacharlu in all his too short a period of 2 years of Dewanship were big enough to be executed by Sir Sheshadri Iyer who added to them considerably during his 18 years of unbroken term of administration. Sir Sheshadri’s memorable period was followed by a hum-drum period of mere administrative conservatism under the Dewanship of Ananda Rao who rose from the ranks and by V.P. Madhava Rao who was no doubt a dynamic personality but who made no mark on Mysore Administration during his office. Then came the genius, Sir Mokshagundam Vishvesvaraiah who achieved during his 7 years of Dewanship much more than any other Dewan had done. But one fine day he went to the palace in the state car and returned in his own car home having resigned his job. He was followed by Sir Mirza who had been Private Secretary to the Maharaja for 11 years and who succeeded Sir Vishvesvaraiah as Dewan holding this office for another 11 years. All these facts coupled with the fact the Mr. Vishvesvaraiah was a Bombay Engineer and one or two other Dewans were Madras administrators left a deep British Indian impress upon the administration of Mysore and peculiarly qualified it for responsible Government. It is therefore not too late in the day to think of reforms other than responsible government. Sir Ramaswami who has had a wide experience in administrative matters both in India and in England may yet retrieve his reputation by yoking himself along with the people of the states to the plough of Mysore administration in order to fertilize the rich soil of Mysore politics and reap the fruit of responsible government for the Mysore people.

6. No Difference between Responsible Government and Responsible Administration

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Sankar Lingegowda, 2 February 1947
SPC, Vol. V, pp. 401-2

New Delhi

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of 21 January.

I do not understand what is your stand regarding the demand for responsible government in Mysore. This is an old demand which has so often been repeated by the Mysore Congress and its representatives in the Assembly that no exception can be taken by anybody to such a demand. The words ‘wherein sovereignty vests in the people’ added to the ‘demand for responsible government’ are superfluous, and its addition in the principal demand makes no change in the meaning.
Your inference that these words would mean ending the Princely Order is only unjustified. Sovereignty in England vests in the people of England and not in His Majesty the King. It is a constitutional phrase and its meaning is clear. No man in his senses in the modern world believes that sovereignty vests in any single individual, whether he be a prince or a monarch, or a Czar or a Hitler.

Responsible administration means nothing. What is wanted is responsible government in the Indian States, and any attempt to draw difference between responsible government and responsible administration is bound to create suspicion. Therefore, I would advise you to join the demand for responsible government with the Mysore Congress; and if you make a unanimous demand of that nature from the Legislature, I am prepared to advise the Mysore Congress to drop the words to which you object about the vesting of sovereignty in the people. Even without your admission in that behalf, sovereignty is not going to vest anywhere else. I do not understand this kind of quibbling. Let us tackle this problem in a more practical manner. If Mysore, which has been one of the most advanced States in India, gibes even at this stage in granting the long overdue demand of the Congress for responsible government, you may take it that the State will have to face serious troubles in the near future. Nothing in the world can prevent the rapidly marching forces of progress, and it is wise to recognise the writing on the wall.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Desabandhu M. Sankar Lingegowda
Member of Assembly
Nagamangala Post (Mysore State)

7. Immediate Establishment of Responsible Government in Mysore
Letter from K. Changalaraya Reddy to Vallabhbhai Patel, 10 February 1947

Bangalore City

Dear Sardarji,

I am in receipt of your letter of 2 February, enclosing copies of the letter from Shri Sankar Lingegowda and your reply thereto.

I have been touring the entire State during the last two and a half months. The tour ended only recently. It was undertaken to strengthen the Congress organization, mobilize the strength of the people for the struggle to achieve the goal of responsible government and to collect funds. I am glad to inform you that the tour was successful and satisfactory from every point of view.

I regret I was not able to write to you personally till now. I hope, however, you know the political situation in Mysore from the periodical letters that you are receiving from our office and Shri Nijalingappa’s personal talks with you.

The Working Committee of the Mysore Congress resolved demanding that the objective of the proposed reforms contemplated in the Royal message should be the immediate establishment of responsible government. The copy of the resolution has been sent to you. There has been no reaction on the part of the Dewan so far to our resolution. Meanwhile, however, the Government have introduced the cumulative voting system of District Board
election to prevent the Congress from getting majorities in the District Boards, where two-fifths of the members are nominated by the Government. Prohibitory orders are also passed all over the State on the pretext of communal tension. The communal organizations and their activities are being given a fillip by the Government.

Our Working Committee is meeting on the 16th instant to review the present situation and decide upon a dynamic course of action. It appears to me that the objective of full responsible government at an early date can be achieved only by a programme of direct action. The only question is when it has to be started.

I shall be glad to have your guidance and advice from time to time.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

K. Changalaraya Reddi

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

8. Great Opposition to Union of India

Letter from Nijalingappa to Pattabhi Sitaramayya, 10 February 1947
AICC Papers, File No. P-9 (KW-I)/1946-9, NMML

Dear Doctor,

I had to come away from Delhi before the 29th January and could not be present at the discussion you had with some of the Deccan States' Rulers. But I have received from Rao Bahadur Godbole copies of the proceedings and the letters you and Shris Deo and Diwakar have written to him. I have also written to him and a copy of the letter is enclosed for kind reference. I read a news item that some representatives of the Deccan States are shortly meeting you in connection with the Union proposals. A list of the gentlemen is also given. I have great respect for those that are to see you at Delhi: But they are gentlemen who are known to be mostly in favour of the Union from a pretty long time and it would have been better if others who are opposed to it were also invited. You know Karnataka people are mostly against it. Many of the Maharashtrians also. I am afraid such one-sided approaches make matters difficult to get through over here. I have also often felt that you have not fully understood the feelings of people in the Deccan States and we will be hard put to it to convince the people of the desirability of accepting the present proposals.

You probably know that I have opposed this scheme from the beginning and have often asked the people of the States to reject the idea of the Union. I know that the people mostly are more inclined to reject the idea of the Union than accept it and it requires lot of taut [sic] and persuasion to make the people to accept it. Let me frankly tell you that we have to face considerable opposition. At the Sangli Convention, if the proposal had been put to vote, it would have been thrown by a very large majority and it was at the request of Shri Deo that I managed to have the proposal to be left open and that the people may be allowed to give further consideration to the proposal. Even now I am not sure of the soundness of the proposal, consideration being had for the responsibilities which a modern State has to shoulder and the incapacity of the proposed Union to do so. But the democratic gesture of the Princes in unreservedly recognizing the sovereignty of the people and the formation of the linguistic divisions which can join the linguistic Provinces when formed have attracted me considerably
and tempted me to appeal if occasion arises to the people to give the scheme their earnest consideration.

It is best that you approached the entire convention without allowing batches of representatives to approach you. It is no use trying to convert the faithful. I felt it my duty to keep you informed of the correct position as per my estimation and leave it to your better judgement to do what you think best.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Nijalingappa

9. Resolution of Maharaja of Mysore on Responsible Government Awaited
Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to K. Changalaraya Reddy, 13 February 1947
SPC, Vol. V, p. 408
New Delhi

My dear Changalaraya,

I have received your letter of the 10th instant.

I have seen the resolution of the Mysore Congress demanding that the objective of the proposed reforms contemplated in the Royal message should be the immediate establishment of responsible government. I was expecting that the Dewan's reaction would be known in course of time, but I understand he has kept quiet and is now proceeding to America for six weeks. What is going to happen in the interval I do not know.

The cumulative voting system may affect the Congress position to some extent, but it should not be such as to reduce it to a minority in the election. The Congress must have a hold on the general population.

I do not know why the Congress should be forced to resort to direct action at this stage when the Constituent Assembly is going to draft the Constitution for an Indian Republic and the States have agreed to join in it. Why has your Maharaja left the thing to the Dewan and not made the declaration himself? In any case, I will await the developments there with interest.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri K. Changalaraya Reddi
Bangalore City

10. Nehru on Deccan States’ Rulers’ Declaration
Statement issued by the rulers of the Deccan States, 15 February 1947
SWJN, Vol. II, p. 224

On the Scheme for a Union of the Deccan States

1. I welcome the idea of the Deccan States Rulers making a declaration embodying the various points contained in the draft. I suggest that such a declaration should be a joint statement by the Princes and the representatives of the people. I further suggest
that the declaration should, besides accepting the fundamental rights of the people, also lay down that full responsible government will be the basis of the constitution and that, during the interim period, interim governments will be introduced in the States.

2. The Constitution-making body should endorse the resolution on objectives passed by the All India Constituent Assembly.

3. The Constitution-making body should at the outset frame a resolution regarding its objectives laying down that the Union of Deccan States will form a unit in the Union of India.

4. There should be no time-limit, i.e., 10 years as given in the draft, for the revision of the constitution or for any change in the Union.

5. Procedure laid down for the election of Muslim and Harijan members to the Constitution-making body should be simplified.

6. Rulers or their nominees should also be associated with the Constitution-making body. They should not have an overwhelming influence in that body and they should also be brought in by the process of election.

11. Alternative Scheme of Reforms to That Proposed by the Mysore Congress

Letter from Desabandhu M. Sankar Lingegowda to Vallabhbhai Patel, 16 February 1947


Camp General Hospital
Mandya

From
Desabandhu M. Sankar Lingegowda
Elected Member of the Mysore Assembly
Nagamangala Post (Mysore State)

To
Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel
Member of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress
1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi

Respected Sir,

I received your kind letter dated 2 February 1947 on 11 February 1947 at Mandya Camp, while I was an in-patient in the General Hospital. I carefully studied your letter and noted the contents therein.

Before I begin to reply, I beg to state that the gist of your letter addressed to me has been published in The Indian Express. Perhaps, the Mysore Congress must have given this information to the Press, as the Mysore Congress must have received the copy of the letter sent by you for their information. You have replied to me in the capacity of [a] member of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress; but the Mysore Congress have given the information to the Press that you, in the capacity of Home Member of the Interim Government of India, have replied to me. This is the way how Mysore Congress are creating mischief.
(2) When you were at Baroda to preside over the Praja Mandal Conference, you openly declared that the best suitable form of government applicable to Indian States is the 'responsible administration without ending the Princely Order.' In the evening, when I had a discussion with you at Baroda, you explained to me the meaning of 'responsible administration without ending the Princely Order' as 'elected ministers responsible to the Legislature subject to the control of a king.' Now you definitely say 'responsible administration' means nothing and what is wanted is 'responsible government in the Indian States.'

(3) You say that you are prepared to advise the Mysore Congress to drop the words 'wherein the sovereignty vests with the people' used after the term 'responsible government' and at the same time you are of opinion that the words 'wherein the sovereignty vests in the people' added to the demand for 'responsible government' are superfluous and its addition in the principal demand makes no change in the meaning. If that be the meaning, His Gracious Highness will certainly lose his sovereign powers enjoyed by him from time immemorial. Hitherto, we were under the impression that the demand of responsible government does not take away the sovereign powers of His Highness and you have now made it clear that it does take away the sovereign power; as such, I am justified in saying that 'responsible government' ends once for all the Princely Order.

(4) The Mysore Congress have accepted the following fundamental principles at the time of getting their political party recognized by His Highness's Government: (1) His Highness shall be the hereditary monarch, (2) His Highness shall be the Commander-in-Chief of Forces, (3) The executive power of the State should be vested in the Maharaja, and (4) His Highness shall represent the State in all its foreign relations. The Mysore State Congress now desire to have a 'Democratic Government with His Highness as the Constitutional Head exercising power through a Cabinet responsible to the Legislature' in their Memorial submitted to His Gracious Highness on 4 January 1947. Again, the Mysore State Congress Working Committee have made a resolution on 24 January 1947 desiring to have 'an Interim Government consisting of leaders of public opinion capable of having the support of the Legislature.' Supposing the order of His Highness is not carried out by the Cabinet, what will be the position of His Highness? His Highness should remain as a figurehead. Supposing the order of His Highness is carried out by the Cabinet against the will of the Legislature, what will be the position of the Cabinet? The Cabinet will be removed by the Legislature at once. This system of government will not at all work smoothly. Instead of plainly requesting His Highness in their Memorial to establish 'responsible government wherein sovereignty vests with the people', they have used a different language curtailing the powers of His Highness making him a figurehead.

(5) You clearly write that Mysore State will have to face serious troubles in the near future, if the Congress demand of responsible government is not granted. Out of 311 members in the Assembly nearly 182 non-Congress members do not desire to have responsible government and at the same time they desire the sovereign power should be vested with the Maharaja. In this connection, the Mysore Congress will not get any help from the non-Congress members of the Assembly.

(6) On 6 February 1947, I have finally submitted a scheme regarding the grant of future reforms with reference to His Gracious Highness's Message dated 8 January 1947 and I am enclosing it for your kind perusal. The main principles are:

a. His Highness shall be the Supreme Head of the State and his Dewan is his representative responsible to His Highness.
b. To gain back the territories ceded to the East India Company in the year 1799 before the Britishers quit India.

c. There should be a unicameral legislature consisting of not more than 200 members.

d. The policy of the Government should be conducted by His Highness’s Executive Council consisting of the Dewan and other two members elected and removable by a unicameral legislature subject to the veto of the Maharaja.

e. Eight Ministers and eight Secretaries to Government shall be chosen by His Highness from different recognized political parties in the Assembly according to their strength in order and these Ministers and the Secretaries are removable by the members of the Assembly.

We have taken oath that we will be loyal to His Highness, his heirs and his successors and we will stick up to the very end and we do not like to commit sin by demanding the ‘responsible government wherein sovereignty vests with the people.’

In conclusion, I humbly request you to advise the Mysore State Congress to support my scheme of reforms which has been so designed safeguarding the fundamental rights of the Maharaja as well as his subjects.

I crave your pardon for having occupied your precious time,

I beg to remain,
Respected Sir,
Yours most obedient servant
M. Sankar Lingegowda
Member of the Assembly

12. Proposal to Launch Satyagraha

Extract of a letter from K. Changalaraya Reddy to Vallabhbhai Patel, 25 February 1947

SPC, Vol. V, pp. 409-11

Bangalore City

Dear Sardarji,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 13th instant. I regret I have not been able to reply earlier as I was on tour.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the resolution passed by our Working Committee [of the Mysore Congress] on the 17th instant. The resolution is self-explanatory. The Dewan after his return from Delhi made an apologetic statement at a communal conference, where he was presented an address, that he could not take expeditious steps in the matter of formulating further reforms, as he had to be away at Delhi for a long time and he has to proceed to America as the principal delegate for India to participate in the UNESCO meeting. He, however, has issued a communique inviting that opinions on certain matters be sent by the public on reforms in general and certain items in particular. He also issued a Press statement before his departure to America, and after having come to know our latest resolution, that he was very sorry he could not meet the leaders of political parties and other representatives of the public as also important individuals to consult them about the contemplated reforms as he had no time, and that he would do so after returning from America. He has not said a word about the demand that the objective of reforms should be declared to be responsible government.
It is deplorable that H.H. the Maharaja has asked his Dewan to formulate the reforms proposals instead of himself making a definite declaration that the objective is responsible government and inviting the people's chosen representatives to formulate the details of the constitution. You would have, I am sure, noted that in our resolution we have taken exception to the procedure entrusting the Dewan with a highly responsible task.

Since there was no appreciation of and satisfactory response to our demand, we have been left with no alternative but to intensify our struggle and to launch satyagraha. We have not yet fixed the date for the starting of satyagraha. That has to be done at the next meeting of our Working Committee meeting on 6 March....

Yours sincerely,
K. Changalaraya Reddi

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Enclosure

Bangalore City
17 February 1947

Resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Mysore Congress at its meeting held on 16 and 17 February 1947, regarding the political situation in Mysore:

The Working Committee of the Mysore Congress desires to review the development of political events in the State since some time past in the matter of the establishment of responsible government, and to decide upon its future course of action.

The country is aware of the resolution passed by the Mysore Congress at its open session at Subhas Nagar, Bangalore City, on 3 November 1946, demanding the immediate establishment of responsible government and authorising the Working Committee to take all necessary steps, including satyagraha, to secure the fulfilment of that legitimate demand.

The first step taken thereafter was the President's tour throughout the State to mobilize the people in general and strengthen the Congress in particular for struggle culminating in satyagraha at the proper time, if inevitable, to bring home to the authorities the urgency for the fulfilment of the demand. The Committee desires to congratulate the country for the magnificent way it responded to the call of the Congress in this behalf.

The Committee then felt it to be its duty to take the next necessary step of addressing a memorial to His Highness, stating the position of the Congress and to seek a reply from His Highness before considering what should be its future course of action.

The Committee thereafter considered the message of H.H. the Maharaja to the people... and resolved at its meeting on 24 January 1947 ‘...that only an authoritative announcement in clear and definite terms at a very early date—that the objective of the contemplated reforms is the establishment of democratic responsible government—will enable the Congress to cooperate in the “great endeavour” referred to in the message of the Maharaja. The Committee further urges that as an earnest of the desire to transfer responsibility to the people, an interim government composed of the leaders of public opinion capable of securing the support of the legislature should be appointed forthwith. Meanwhile the Committee calls upon the country in general, and Congressmen in particular to continue mobilising their strength and to be prepared for any eventuality.’

The Committee has waited till now to see what the reaction of the authorities would be to the stand taken as above. It regrets to note that in spite of the lapse of reasonable time no
pronouncement has been made giving satisfactory assurances on the matters raised by the Committee. The Committee desires to point out that, on the other hand, the Dewan, who was charged by His Highness with the task of doing the needful in the matter of formulating reforms—a procedure, by the way, regarding which exception has already been taken as being undemocratic—has been marking time and is having recourse to dilatory and disruptive methods in spite of his protestations to the contrary.

The Committee, in the light of the above, and in view of the fact that only a system of full democratic responsible government can assure ‘equal opportunities for all’ and convinced that during the inevitable period required to evolve and implement such a scheme, an interim responsible ministry is an immediate necessity for eliminating inefficiency and abuses from the administration and for affording security and satisfaction to the people, holds that it has no option but to stage satyagraha for the realisation of its objective.

The Committee, therefore, decides to launch satyagraha and resolves that the time of starting it, however, be determined at the next meeting of the committee to be held before the next AICC sessions on 8 and 9 March 1947.

13. Proposal to Start a Satyagraha to Resist the Dewan’s Plans

Letter from K. Changalaraya Reddy to Pattabhi Sitaramayya, 26 February 1947
AICC Papers, File No. 18/1947, NMML

MYSORE CONGRESS

50, Cottonpet
Bangalore City

Dear Doctor,

I am sure you are in receipt of the information being regularly sent from our office regarding the activities of Mysore Congress. And Shri. S. Nijalingappa has been requested to keep himself in constant touch with you and get your advice from time to time.

I could not write to you personally these four months after I became President of the Mysore Congress since I was on tour throughout the state. The tour was undertaken to strengthen the Congress and prepare the people for struggle and finally for satyagraha. I am glad to inform you that the tour has been a success.

Herewith is enclosed the latest resolution of our Working Committee. It is self-explanatory. We have now to decide when to start satyagraha. This has to be done at our Working Committee meeting on 6th and placed before our All Mysore Congress Committee meeting on 8th and 9th instants. The District Board Elections are to be held in April. Government has introduced newly, the cumulative voting system for these elections also, though 1/3 of the Board is nominated by the Government to provide for minorities etc. In spite of this we have provisionally decided to contest the elections to prevent the reactionaries from having everything their own way. But whether running for elections and preparing for satyagraha simultaneously are compatible is engaging our attention. We have to take our final decision at our next meeting.

The Dewan is away in America. He has been active here fomenting and encouraging communal claims and cleavages. I am afraid he has not changed. The Constitution he will hatch will be far from democratic and will not be based on Responsible Government. We want, therefore, to create sanctions in support of our demands.
The latest British declaration may stiffen the attitude of the reactionary section of the Princes or their Dewans. Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer holds that states can negotiate with the British on all matters arising out of the announced termination of Paramountcy by June 1948, ignoring the fact that the British statement provides for the states to negotiate with the British only for the intervening period from now and June 1948. Anyway, some states may want to exploit the position by claiming full sovereignty and independence and refusing to have any truck with the provinces or the union. But the obstacle to them must and will be the determination of the people of the respective states to enforce the demand to join in the efforts to bring into existence a union in which the states should be integral parts.

I desire to add that there should be no compromise during the negotiations between the two committees on 1st March—provided the talks take place as per time table previously fixed—on the demand that representatives of states on the Constituent Assembly should be all elected.

I am looking forward to meet you at Lashkar on 15th April provided there are no serious developments here by then if not earlier.

I shall be glad to have your advice on our problems from time to time.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

Dr. Pattabhi Seetaramayya,
President
All India States Peoples’ Conference,
New Delhi

14. Princes to Adapt Themselves to Changed Circumstances

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Desabandhu M. Sankar Lingegowda, 26 February 1947


New Delhi

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 16th instant.

I do not see any objection to the publication of the substance of my letter to you in The Indian Express. It is possible that the Mysore Congress may have given this information for publication, but I do not see why we should worry about such publication. What I had written to you was nothing secret. My opinion in the matter is not one for private information and another for public information.

I have no recollection of your being present at the time of my presiding over the Baroda Praja Mandal Conference, but what I said then still holds good. Responsible administration does not mean ending the Princely Order. Nobody in the Mysore State Congress desires the ending of the Princely Order, but your idea of Princely Order seems to differ materially from others’ and also from mine. No one in the world believes that sovereignty vests anywhere except with the people—either in England, or in any State in India, or anywhere outside. If you believe that the Mysore Maharaja has got the hereditary right to enjoy unlimited authority over his people, or any authority different from that which His Majesty the King Emperor enjoys over his people in England, you are much mistaken.
Any commitments made by the Mysore Congress in the past may not be binding in the changed set of circumstances. All the Princes in India were swearing loyalty to His Majesty the King and they felt proud in doing so. From June 1948 there will be no Sovereign in India, and paramountcy will evaporate in the air. You don't seem to realise the momentous changes that are taking place with electrical rapidity and therefore you find difficulty in understanding the attitude of the Mysore Congress or the contents of my letter. All Princes in India will have to adapt themselves to changed circumstances and accept the position of a constitutional head as that of His Majesty the King Emperor in England.

The arguments that you have advanced in paragraph five are such as were used against us by the British Government in the past, but they have now realized the force of our claim and decided to quit. It is wise to recognize the sign of times, and it is unwise to persist in old theories which are antiquated.

To talk of loyalty on the ground of oath is absurd. You know we have also taken oath, but that does not mean that it is inconsistent with our claim for free and independent India. Your ideas of morality and sin are antiquated and such as would befit the old type of courtiers in Indian States. It is not surprising that your scheme of reform is consistent with your attitude as disclosed in your letter with reference to the position of the Princes and their people.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Desabandhu M. Sankar Lingegowda
Nagamangala Post (Mysore State)

15. Report from Mysore

Fortnightly report of the Mysore Residency for the second half of February 1947,
1 March 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5 (4)-P(S)/47, NAI

Confidential.
No. F.1/1947

The Residency,
Bangalore

1. Communal.
   The situation is quiet.

2. Political.
   (a) Mr. K. Chengalaraya Reddy, President, Mysore State Congress, has been invited to attend the First All-Pudukottah Congress Conference to be held during the first week of March 1947.
   (b) Mr. K.F. Patil, Parliamentary Secretary to the Government of Bombay, arrived in Mysore on the 30th January and delivered the Valedictory Address of the University Union, Mysore. In the course of his speech he expressed the hope that the Maharaja of Mysore would establish Responsible Government at an early date. He left for Bombay the next day.
(c) The Council of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee has addressed a letter to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore forwarding a copy of a resolution passed at its recent meeting urging the immediate establishment of Responsible Government in Mysore and suggesting that a Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government consisting of people's representatives be formed for the purpose.

(d) The Working Committee of the Mysore State Congress met on the 16th and 17th February under the presidency of Mr. K. Chengalaraya Reddy and reviewed the development of political events in the State. The Committee decided to launch satyagraha since no pronouncement had been made on the matters raised by them. The time of starting satyagraha will be decided at the next meeting of the All-Mysore Congress Committee to be held on the 8th and 9th March 1947.

(e) Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, an All-India Congress Socialist leader, is expected to visit the State during his forthcoming tour in the Karnataka in April 1947 and the Mysore Congress intend presenting a purse to him.

(f) Leaders of the Mysore State Muslim League have carried out an extensive tour of the Mysore State to strengthen the League by obtaining new members.

3. Labour.
   (a) About 350 beedi workers of Tumkur went on strike on the 18th February but resumed work on the 20th on an assurance given to them that their demands for increase of pay would be met.
   (b) The labourers of the Mysore and Champion Reef Mines went on strike on the 17th February but resumed work unconditionally on the 18th and 19th.
   (c) The various labour associations in Mysore and the Kolar Gold Fields have formed an Executive Committee to consider ways and means of improving the general condition of the labourers.
   (d) Reference paragraph 3(b) of my fortnightly report for the first half of February 1947. All precautions have been taken by the Municipal Commission to avert the proposed strike of sweepers. Propaganda has been carried on during the fortnight under report to convince the public that the proposed strike is both mischievous and unjustified. Steps have been taken to mobilise unemployed sweepers. The municipal sweepers of Bangalore City intend staging a sympathetic strike if the strike in the C & M Station materializes.

4. Volunteer organizations.
   A note on the volunteer organizations in the Mysore State is enclosed.

5. Food.
   The rice situation in the Civil and Military Station and Mysore State is satisfactory but stocks of wheat and wheat products are low and are causing anxiety in the Station.

   (a) I visited Banganapalle from the 17th to the 20th February.
   (b) Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar K.C.S.I Dewan of Mysore, left for Delhi on the 17th February en route to America to preside over the fourth session of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organisation. Dr. T.C.M. Royan, Minister for Education, is acting as Dewan-in-charge.
(c) Reference paragraph 4(c) of my fortnightly report for the second half of January 1947. Gopal Rao has been declared insolvent and charges have been framed against Mr. Sarvothama Rao (Civil and Military Station Police) and two others under section 392 (robbery) read with section 34 I.P.C.

7. Sandur
8. Banganapalle.

Nothing of interest to report.

Sd/-
Resident in Mysore

L.C.L. Griffin Esq., CSI., CIE.,
Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative,
New Delhi.

Enclosure

Volunteer Organisations in the Mysore State—Note on Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangha.

Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangha
The Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangha, a Hindu volunteer organization, formed during the latter part of 1942 in Bangalore City, with the object of fostering discipline and developing moral character and good physique among the Hindus, particularly the youths, consists of about 500 members in Bangalore City and of about 30 in Shimoga. It is said to have no political aims. The daily programme of the organisation consists of playing Indian games, foot-drill and instructions on the importance of character, discipline and the need for maintaining a good physique. At Bangalore City, Mr. Shankar Rao Mavinakuruve of Minerva Mills is taking interest in the organization of this Sangha.

Rashtra Seva Dal
The Rashtra Seva Dal started in October 1944 on similar lines as those of the Hindustan Seva Dal, founded by Dr. N.S. Hardikar of Hubli, and affiliated to the Karnataka Rashtra Seva Dal, has for its object the training of young men and women, irrespective of caste and creed, for efficient and disciplined national service. The strength of the various branches of the organization in the City is about 200. The Seva Dal enjoys the sympathy and support of leading Congress men in the State. Many of its members are also members of the Bangalore Students’ Congress. The daily activities of the organization consist in hoisting the tri-colour flag and imparting of instructions in drill and physical exercises to the volunteers. The volunteers generally participate in functions of the Mysore Congress and the Students’ Congress and observe all important national festivals like Gandhi and Nehru Jayanthi, National Week, Independence Day etc. N.C. Raja Rao who has undergone a course of training at Dharwar, is the organiser of the Dal in the City.

A branch of the Rashtra Seva Dal with strength of 30 members exists in Mysore and is organised by N.R. Krishnaengar, also trained at Dharwar. It was recently resolved by the Central Executive Committee of the Seva Dal to organize branches throughout the State.
The Muslim League National Guard

The Muslim League National Guard movement which first came to notice in 1943 in the State in Chamarajanagar, Mysore District, consisting of a unit of 40 volunteers and affiliated to the All Mysore State Muslim League, is now defunct.

There are, at present, several volunteer organizations styled the ‘Navjavan Corps’ formed in pursuance of the decision of the All Mysore State Muslim League in September 1946, and as a sequel to the communal tension prevailing in several parts of India, with the ultimate object of amalgamating these bodies with the Muslim League National Guard (under formation). The strength of these volunteer organisations in the State is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Strength</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bangalore City</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimoga</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alur</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadravathi</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hassan</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>509</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The volunteers, for sometime, were instructed in drill and other physical exercises, and instructions in lathi exercises at some places: all of which have now been discontinued on account of the existence of prohibitory orders in several parts of the State. The members of the above volunteer organisations have come to notice for maintaining law and order among the Muslim public on ceremonial occasions like the League Convention, Tipu Sultan Day, Mr. Jinnah’s birthday, Prophet’s birthday and other religious functions; their uniform being white shirts, black caps and either pants or knickers. During the recent Hindu-Muslim clashes in the State, they have also come to notice for patrolling in Muslim localities with the object of safeguarding the life and property of Muslims. Abdul Razack Khan Hussaini and Abdul Huq Humma (formerly of the Khaksar organisation) have been entrusted with the task of organizing and instructing the members of these volunteer bodies.

A Sub Committee consisting of Messrs. Mahmud Sheriff, Hakim Syed Bawkher, Syed Mohiyuddin and S.N.M. Razvi (State League leaders) has been recently appointed by the Mysore State Muslim League/National Guard on a well-organised and State-wide basis, and framing rules and bye-laws [sic] of the organisation, which is in a dormant stage at present. A delegation of the Mysore State Muslim League consisting of Messrs. H.R. Abdul Gaffar and Syed Bawker Saheb, Joint Secretaries, and other members of the League, has also recently undertaken a tour in the State to enlist Muslim sympathy, particularly of the youths, in the interests of the organisation. The question of organising the Muslim League National Guard in the State will be taken up at the ensuing session of the All Mysore State Muslim League scheduled to be held at Shimoga during April 1947.

A close watch on the activities of the above volunteer organisations have so far revealed no indications of their being used as private armies, nor have they come to adverse notice.
16. Political Future of Mysore
Letter from H.C. Dasappa to Pattabhi Sitaramayya, 11 April 1947
AICC Papers, File No. 18/1947, NMML

Yasobilas
Vani Vilas Mohalla Post
Mysore

My dear Dr. Pattabhi Sitarammaya,

It is a very long time since we met or even wrote to each other. I just heard on the radio your suggestion that Congress and League should meet and settle their quarrels. Sri Shankar Rao Deo also thinks likewise. Let me ardently hope it will be possible.

I hope to attend the Gwalior Session of the A.I.S.P. Conference, and am eagerly looking forward to meet you. It is going to be a very important session and I am glad you are there to guide it. The case of the large states where people are striving to secure their rights and responsible Government is easy enough to understand, whatever the difficulties in the way of realising the objective.

The more difficult problems are the future of the small states and the creation of linguistic provinces inclusive of state areas with like linguistic affinities. I saw recently Dr. C.R. Reddy’s solution for Hyderabad, to have three sub provinces in the division for Andhra, Maharashtra and Kannada Districts and a Central Union at Hyderabad—not a bad suggestion after all at any rate until the British Indian linguistic provinces of Andhra, Maharashtra, and Karnatak are strong enough to absorb the corresponding districts of the State.

Mysore Darbar is maintaining a sphinx like attitude. It may not be anxious for an all Karnataka union including Mysore. Would it not be better for the A.I.S.P.C. to set up its own committees to consider problems such as All Kerala Unification, All Karnataka Unification and the relation of such unions vis-à-vis the all India Union.

You must have heard enough of Mysore Admn. and the new regime more of it when we meet.

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely

Sd/-
(H.C. Dasappa)

17. Political Developments in Mysore State
Summary of discussions between President, Mysore Congress, and the Mysore Dewan, 23 April 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

Notes on talks between the President, Mysore Congress and the Mysore Dewan
Points raised were

(1) Mysore joining the Indian Union and of sending representatives to the Constituent Assembly,
(2) Declaration of political objectives,
(3) Setting up of a constitution making body, and
(4) Interim arrangement

Regarding point one: The Dewan agreed that Mysore should join the Union and about sending representatives to the Constituent Assembly the Congress view is that the legislatures should elect their representatives instead of parties sending their nominees. Likely six out of seven members may be non-officials, the seventh man being the Dewan.

Second point: There should be immediate declaration of full responsible Government as the political objective. Interpretation of the Maharajah’s message will not satisfy.

Third point: A constitution making body must be democratically set up instead of having nominees either of Government or parties. The legislatures must elect the members.

Fourth point: The present Ministry must be scrapped and Ministers enjoying confidence of the legislatures be set up.

The Dewan has promised to arrange the next meeting after consulting other parties on 27th, 28th and 29th, and he has been informed definitely that the matter be settled before the end of the month in view of the Congress decision to launch a fight from the 1st of next month.

18. Demand for a Unified Karnatak Province on Linguistic Lines
Letter from S. Nijalingappa to the President, Indian National Congress (Resolution enclosed), 25 April 1947
AICC Papers, File No. CL-3 Part-I/1947, NMML

Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee, Hubli

Ref. No. 478/47

Dear Friend,

I am herewith enclosing for your kind information a copy of the resolution passed at the Convention held at Hegde in 1946 at Karwar District consisting members of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee, members of Legislatures of Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Coorg and concerned states of Deccan and Bangalore Cantonment and also Presidents of all Municipalities and District Local Boards and Karnatak Chambers of Commerce, Banks and also other important public men of Karnatak. The desire for a unified Karnatak consisting of areas both in the British Provinces and States is growing in volume. The resolution is an expression of its intensity. A resolution is to be moved in the Constituent Assembly regarding formation of Provinces on linguistic and other basis. The demand is shared by most of the Provinces. I request and hope that you will kindly see your way to support the resolution in the Constituent Assembly when it comes up.

S. Nijalingappa,
President of the Convention

To
The President,
Indian National Congress
Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi.
Enclosure

All Karnataka Unification Convention, Hegde, Dated 20.4.47

RESOLUTION

‘While fully endorsing the view expressed in the resolution adopted by the first All Karnataka Unification Convention at Devangeri (1946), this Convention resolves that the Constituent Assembly should bring into existence all necessary machinery including the Boundary Commission with a view to give effect to the Principle of formation of linguistic Provinces and declares that no constitution that does not provide for a separate Karnataka Province shall be acceptable to Kannad people.

19. Consultations Leading to Responsible Government in Mysore

Mofussil, 30 April 1947
AICC Papers, File No. 18/1947, NMML

Dewan’s Belief and Important Pronouncement

BANGALORE—Apr. 29. The Dewan, Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, who has been consulting party leaders in the State on the Constitutional future of Mysore, in a statement this evening on the eve of his departure for Delhi, stated that he believed as the result of these consultations a type of responsible Government suited to and agreeable to the people of the State would be evolved and that this would be consistent with sovereignty of the Ruler.

The Dewan who met representatives of the Mysore State Congress early last week, had further consultations today with the Congress President and Secretary when the questions before formulating the proposals and the possibility of forming an Interim Government were discussed. Congress representatives also raised the question of representation of Mysore in the Constituent Assembly. The meeting lasted for two hours.

The Dewan left for Delhi this evening. On the eve of his departure to Delhi, the Dewan made an important pronouncement on the political future of the State. He said in his statement; ‘His Highness’ gracious message addressed to the people of Mysore has been before the public for some time.’

MINISTERS

In my opinion that message requires neither amplification nor elucidation.

I conceive it my duty in formulating proposals for submission to His Highness to bear in mind clearly the objectives of these proposals, namely, conferment of equal opportunities to all and promotion of peace, contentment and security within the state.

I have been asked what type of Government is contemplated to achieve this objective. I am of the opinion that Ministers of the future should be chosen from Legislatures. The type of responsibility of Ministers to Legislature and its extent varies in different constitutions. Checks and balances that must be provided in consultation with the different parties. It is my hope that the largest amount of unanimity may be obtained as the result of these consultations. I believe that as the result of these consultations, a type of responsible Government suited to and agreeable to the people of the State will be evolved and that this will be as has been made clear from all platforms, consistent with sovereignty of the Ruler.
QUESTIONS OF SATYAGRAHA

The Mysore State Congress Working Committee which has been given a mandate by the State Congress to start Satyagraha on May 1 for achieving responsible Government, will assemble tomorrow to discuss the talks the Congress representatives had with the Dewan and study the Dewan's pronouncement after which the Working Committee is expected to consider whether in the light of developments it is necessary to start Satyagraha.—A.P.I.

20. Report from Mysore

Fortnightly report of the Mysore Residency for the first half of May 1947, 17 May 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5 (4)-P(S)/47, NAI
Confidential
No. F.1/1947

The Residency,
Bangalore, 17th May 1947

Fortnightly Report of the Mysore Residency for the first half of May 1947


2. Political

(a) Reference paragraph 2(e) of my fortnightly report for the second half of April 1947. Mr. K. Chengalaraya Reddy, President of the Mysore State Congress, flew to Delhi on the 3rd May to meet the All-India Congress leaders and acquaint them with the recent political developments in Mysore and have consultations with them.

(b) Mr. S.A. Dange, President of the All India Traders Union Congress arrived in Bangalore on 30th April en route to the Kolar Gold Fields. Addressing a meeting in Bangalore City on the 3rd May he said that India's attitude towards the U.S.S.R. in the future was of paramount importance. There were those who looked upon Soviet Russia as a friend and ally of India and others who looked upon Russia as a potential menace to Indian freedom and security but, he said, the Soviet economy was such that it held no dangers of an imperialistic expansion.

(c) Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Food Member of the Government of India, addressed a meeting of the Cantonment District Congress Committee on the 10th May, which was attended by about 6,000 people. Referring to the States entering the Constituent Assembly, he said that many States had sent in their representatives to the recent sitting and expressed the hope that Mysore would soon follow suit.

3. Labour

About 25,000 labourers of the Kolar Gold Field Mines absented themselves from work on the 1st May which was observed as 'May Day'. A mass meeting was held which was addressed by Mr. S.A. Dange, President of the All India Traders Union Congress, who appealed to them to stand united.
4. Food

(a) Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Food Member of the Government of India, visited Bangalore for three days and discussed with the officials of the Mysore Food Department the food position in the Mysore State, the progress of its ‘Grow more Food’ Campaign and the nature of the help Mysore required from the Central Government.

(b) Every effort continues to be made to conserve the low stock of wheat and its products. Only bakers and basic wheat eaters are allowed to draw this cereal.

5. General. Nothing of interest to report.

Sd/- for Resident in Mysore

L.C.L. Griffin Esq., CSI., CIE.
Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative,
New Delhi.

21. Formation of United Karnataka

Copy of Resolution of Council of Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, 9 July 1947
AICC Papers, G-45/1947-8, NMML

KARNATAK PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

President
S. Nijalingappa

General Secretary
V.T. Magadi

Joint Secretary
Gudleppa Hallikeri

Hubli ..............194

Ref. No.
Copy of the resolution passed at the meeting of the Council of the K.P.C.C. on 9th July 1947 at Mysore
Resolution No. 220/4

MYSORE STATE:

‘The K.P.C.C. while appreciating the declaration of the Ruler of Mysore to join the Indian Constituent Assembly notes with regret that H.H. the Maharaja has not yet taken steps to establish full responsible Government inspite of insistent demand of the people of Mysore. The State has been unfortunately maintaining its status-quo inspite of rapidly changing political conditions in India.

This attitude on the part of Mysore State has become a great impediment in the way of Karnataka people combining to form a separate and United Karnataka.

The K.P.C.C. therefore, authorises its Council to take necessary steps in this behalf with the object of achieving Karnataka Unification by contacting the concerned authorities.’
22. Mysore State Congress Decides on Launching Satyagraha

*National Herald, 14 July 1947*

BANGALORE, July 13.—The Mysore State Congress which had kept in abeyance its decision to launch satyagraha in May last in view of the negotiations between the dewan and the state Congress president has now decided to go ahead and forge effective sanctions for the early realisation of the people’s demands.

The state Congress working committee, meeting here last night, issued a lengthy statement narrating the political developments leading to this decision. The statement recalls the Congress resolution of November last deciding on satyagraha, the Congress memorial to the Maharaja on this behalf and the ruler’s message to the people announcing that he had asked the dewan to evolve proposals for constitutional reforms in consultation with the people, the dewan’s invitation to the Congress President to hold talks on the question and the former’s pronouncement on April 29 hoping for the introduction of a revolutionary type of responsible government and that the ministers in future should be chosen from the legislature and how after returning from Delhi early in June, the dewan failed to take any tangible steps in this direction, despite early promises. The dewan had stated publicly that he would constitute a representative committee for consultation on the question of constitutional reforms but this remained unfulfilled.

**DEWAN MARKING TIME**

Repeated letters from the Congress President to the dewan have not brought out satisfactory replies.

The statement adds, ‘It is obvious from the above that the dewan had not realised the urgency of the issues involved or realising the same, is not earnest to tackle them. The committee holds that the dewan is marking time and, meanwhile, is assiduously endeavouring to encourage reactionary forces and communalists to the detriment of the people. The working committee has thus ample evidence that the dewan is disinclined to continue the talks with the Congress representatives. And the dewan’s attitude thus makes the committee conclude that it would be futile to expect from him democratic proposals in accordance with the wishes of the people. The talks with the dewan must, therefore, be assumed to be at an end.

The committee is thus left with no alternative but to forge effective sanctions for the early realisation of the people’s objectives. The committee has decided to take necessary steps in that behalf’.

The statement concludes: ‘The committee further resolves that any arbitrary and unjust prohibitory orders that may be passed obstructing the vital work of mobilising the country’s strength, may be disregarded and work proceeded with’.

The secretary of the Mysore State Congress revealed yesterday that the Congress had decided to convey to the President of the Constituent Assembly that the election of delegates from Mysore was not proper.

The ground of the appeal is that Mr. Hanumanthiah, leader of the Congress Party in the Mysore Representative Assembly, was denied an opportunity of standing for election. Mr. Hanumanthiah is at present in jail convicted for sedition and government refused permission to obtain his signatures on the nomination paper.—API
23. Decision to Join Constituent Assembly and Election of Members
Letter from H.C. Dasappa to Vallabhbhai Patel, 16 July 1947

Yasho Vilas
Vani Vilas Mohalla Post
Mysore

My dear Sardarji,

Mysore's delegation to the Consembly is there already. Sir Arcot [A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar] has managed to strengthen his block in it all right. He had held out that Mysore would go much further than the agreed formula of 50-50. On 17 June he announced the decision to join the Consembly and soon after that announced that a joint session of the Legislature would be summoned on 5 July for electing members to the Consembly, but gave no indication of the procedure as to the number to be elected, the persons who could contest, the method of voting, etc., until 2 July, three days before the joint session. That day he surprised us by saying that only four out of seven would be elected—two from each House on the basis of single transferable vote—and that only the sitting elected members of the Legislature could contest. It was designed evidently to [keep out] those Congressmen who on account of this disqualification could not contest the general elections last time. If it were a joint session at which the members could be elected there was just a chance of Congress getting three seats out of four. In order to have their own favourites, the Government split up the electoral college into two. I must say that our Congress also did not move sufficiently vigorously in time to bring pressure on the Government.

The President, Shri K.C. Reddi, wrote to the Dewan only on 2 July—the day on which the Dewan made the belated announcement of the procedure. Since it was [based on] preferential vote and we had more than the required quota for one seat each in the two Houses, we could easily get Shri K.C. Reddi from the Council and Shri S.V.K. Murty from the Assembly. The Government backed up Shri Guruva Reddy (father-in-law of Shri K.C. Reddi) from the Council, as he is fighting the Congress and supporting Government, and Shri D.H. Chandrashekariah from the Assembly and got them returned. The Dewan nominated a Muslim and a Harijan and so they are five as against our two. The Congress put up a Harijan as a second candidate in the Council and as expected he lost. Two European members, who had declared that they would not participate, took part and evidently voted for Guruva Reddy. It is something that you have our two friends, Shri K.C. Reddi and Shri S.V.K. Murty, to keep in touch with you.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely
H.C. Dasappa
A. TRAVANCORE

1. Reference para 2 of F.R.1/47 regarding Constitutional Reforms.—The Government of Travancore have issued a Press Communique outlining the proposals for the new Constitution for the State. The proposals are –

(i) There will be a Bi-cameral Legislature, the elections to the Assembly being on the basis of universal adult suffrage for men and women without any weightage in favour of any class or community. The members of the Sri Chitra State Council will be elected on a functional and facultative basis. The Legislature will have jurisdiction over the entire field of Government. Subject to certain specified exceptions each House will elect its own President and Deputy President;

(ii) The Executive administration and machinery of the State shall be under the general and disciplinary control of the Dewan, who shall be appointed by His Highness the Maharaja and shall hold office during His Highness’ pleasure;

(iii) The control of the Legislature over the policy of Government Departments will be exercised through Executive Committees elected by the Legislature of which there will be six;

(iv) The Dewan may convene meetings of one or more or all of the Executive Committees and may confer with or address them on matters within their jurisdiction. He will have the power to veto any recommendation of the Executive Committees for reasons to be stated in writing; and

(v) The High Court will interpret the provisions of the Statute and nothing contained in the proposals will affect or derogate from the powers of His Highness the Maharaja.

2. Reference para 6 of F.R.1/47 regarding the State Students’ Congress.—Four leaders of the All Travancore Students’ Congress (including Ravindra Varma, President of the All-India Students’ Congress) who tried to hold and address a meeting of students in defiance of the ban imposed by the State were arrested, tried and sentenced to imprisonment by the local magistrate. The sentence was however remitted by Government and the four leaders were set at liberty with a warning.

The local Ayurveda College has been closed until further orders as the students who absented themselves from their classes when the four student leaders were arrested declined to apologise for their absence as demanded by the College Authorities.

Ashok Mehta, who had been ordered not to enter the State, declared his intention to defy the ban if it was not lifted and lead jathas from Malabar etc. into the State. The Travancore Government lifted the ban on reconsideration and he is now touring the State lecturing to people ostensibly about ‘Socialism’.

Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar has commented in public on the inconsistent attitudes taken by Acharya Kripalani the Congress President in regard to student activities in defiance of local
laws in British India (which the President actively disapproves) and in the Travancore State (which he does not view with disfavour)....

5. In the course of a statement given to the Press the Dewan has refuted as totally baseless the allegations from certain quarters that he gave the monopoly in working thorium deposits in the State to a British firm under the pressure of the Political Department. He has made it clear that the processing will be carried out by a Travancore concern in which the State has controlling interest....

C. PUDUKKOTTAI

12. A full size statue of Mr. Gandhi was unveiled in front of a Panchayat Office in the Tirumayam Taluk of the State....

Sd./
C.G.N. Edwards
RESIDENT FOR THE MADRAS STATES.

L.C.L. Griffin, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E.
Secretary to H.E. the Crown Representative
New Delhi

2. Report from the Madras States
Fortnightly report of the Madras States Residency for the second half of February 1947, 1 March 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5(5)–P(S)/47, NAI

TRAVANCORE

1. Reference para 1 of F.R.2/47 regarding reforms and State Congress. The All-Travancore Congress Committee met for two days and after long discussion endorsed the resolution of the Working Committee to abstain from discussions with Government.

At a Press Conference held on the 22nd the Dewan replied to the various criticisms leveled against the proposed reforms, explained the object of vesting veto powers in the Dewan and asserted that the Constitution that would eventually be framed, with whatever modifications that may be agreed upon as a result of discussions, would have as its basis a non-removable executive and the monarchical system placing the Ruler outside the reach of controversy and party politics.

Sd./
RESIDENT FOR THE MADRAS STATES.

Madras States Agency,
Trivandrum,
1st March 1947.

L.C.L. Griffin, Esqr., C.S.I., C.I.E.
Secretary to H.E. the Crown Representative
Political Department
NEW DELHI
3. ‘Travancore to Be Independent Kingdom’
   *The Tribune*, 20 March 1947

**‘RULER AND PEOPLE MUST WORK TOGETHER’**

TRIVANDRUM, March 17. – Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Dewan of Travancore said today that Travancore State was an independent Kingdom in 1795 and at the end of June 1948 Travancore will revert to her status of 1795.

The Travancore Dewan who was having discussions with prominent men of the state made among others the following statements in the course of those discussions.

The policy of the Travancore Government will be to prepare itself to take up the status and position of an independent kingdom from July 1, 1948.

Travancore was never conquered or overrun by the British. Although, the rulers of Travancore conceded certain powers of advice in the final treaty of friendship in 1805, there was no question of conquest or assumption of sovereignty.

The Dewan said that in all future constitutional discussions it should be remembered that they are dealing as an independent state which can remain independent if the people and the sovereign worked together and gave no room for any outside interference. If by going into the Constituent Assembly they could negotiate best they would choose that line. If it is better to stand outside and negotiate with the future Government as an independent entity they would do it that way.—A.P.I.

4. Report from the Madras States
   Fortnightly report of the Madras States Residency for the first half of April 1947, 16 April 1947
   Pol. Dept., File No. 5(5)–P(S)/47, NAI

**A. TRAVANCORE**

1. Reference para 1 of F. R. 6/47 regarding Travancore Constitutional Reforms

   The new Constitution Act was passed by a Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja incorporating all the important amendments suggested and agreed to in the discussions between the Dewan and the various representatives. The existing legislature was dissolved with effect from the 15th April and a Franchise and Delimitation Committee (with three sub-Committees) was appointed to submit a report in four months time. A judge of the State High Court is the Chairman and there are about 35 members of the Committee representing various organizations and interests. The State Congress has declined the invitation to nominate representatives on the Committee.

   2. The Travancore State Congress held its annual session at Nagercoil in the second week of April. Mr. Prakasam, ex-Premier of Madras, who was to have opened the session, arrived only on the second day of the Conference and in the course of his address expressed the view that the reforms just announced by the Travancore Government were not adequate to meet the popular demand for Responsible Government. The Session had earlier passed a resolution rejecting the reforms scheme as being unacceptable. Representatives from Malabar, Cochin and Pudukkottai attended the session.
The Tamilnad Congress of the State, through complete hartal, hoisting of black flags on buildings and parading of volunteers with black badges, demonstrated their protest against the State Congress Conference being held at Nagercoil. A public meeting was also held in the evening of the 8th April to record their decision to boycott the State Congress which in aligning itself with the United Kerala movement had shown itself to be completely a Malayali organisation....

5. Explaining the non-participation of the State in the meetings of Rulers and Ministers of States which took place in Bombay in the beginning of the month, the Dewan remarked that with certain Rulers taking an independent line of action not in conformity with that pursued by the Chamber of Princes there appeared to be a definite break in the solidarity and outlook of the Rulers and their Advisers, and that Travancore had decided not to be drawn into controversies on such matters....

Madras States Agency,

Trivandrum
16th April 1947

Sd/-

RESIDENT FOR THE MADRAS STATES

L.C.L. Griffin, Esqr., C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Secretary to H. E. the Crown Representative,
Political Department,
New Delhi

5. ‘Arrests in Travancore for Defiance of Ban’
The Tribune, 14 June 1947

TRIVANDRUM, 13 June.—Seven State Congressmen were taken into custody this afternoon in the State for defiance of the ban on meetings and demonstrations which were planned to observe ‘Constituent Assembly Day’.

In Trivandrum, crowds gathered near Railway Station Maidan, where the meeting was announced to be held but, in view of the ban, they did not enter the meeting place. Two State Congressmen were taken into custody there for defying the ban.

As the crowd was dispersing some persons from the crowd started pelting stones near the railway over-bridge. On the Main Road the police dispersed the crowds and a number of those involved in the stone-throwing by taking them into custody.

Arrests have also been made at Quilon, North Parwar and Nagercoil.—A.P.I.

6. ‘Gandhi Surprised at Idea of Independence’
Dawn, 16 June 1947

NEW DELHI, Saturday.—Referring to a telegram received from the Dewan of Travancore, Mr. Gandhi declared in a prayer meeting today that, if a referendum were taken in Travancore, the Christians as also the Hindus would vote against Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer’s ‘strange idea of independent Travancore’ in which ‘he hugged the suzerainty of the British’ but rejected the suzerainty of the Union of the people of India.
The following is the full text of the telegram received from Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore: 'I have just heard over the radio with surprise and regret a statement by you during your prayer meeting that I asked the persons, who did not accept the independent status of Travancore to leave the State. Such a statement was never made by me. On the other hand, I asked the opponents openly to state their opinion.

'You are aware that Travancore was willing to come into the Constituent Assembly of a United India, but it had decided that if there are to be two independent sovereign states in India, Travancore, which had never been conquered during many centuries with its tradition of independence in the past, could also maintain an independent status, while working in closest co-operation with the rest of India and entering into necessary agreements and treaties on matters of common concern as she has been doing even within the past few weeks.

'I have also made it clear that elections on the basis of adult sufferage [sic] will shortly be held under the new constitution and the will of the people may then be ascertained, though I am able to assert that the vast majority of the people of the state, including Christians and Muslims as well as Hindus, prefer independent status. Many have already been expressing themselves in newspapers to that effect.

'In spite of the expressed willingness of the state to co-operate with the rest of India, I am surprised that you should have expressed such sentiments as are attributed to you. I trust you will mention this matter at your next prayer meeting.'–API

7. ‘Sovereignty Resides in Ruler, Not in People’

The Tribune, 16 June 1947

Sir C.P. On States Peoples’ Conference Resolution

TRIVANDRUM, June 15.—Interviewed on the resolution of the Standing Committee of the All-India States Peoples’ Conference, Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, said: ‘I have read with much surprise the resolution of the Standing Committee of the States Peoples’ Conference which obviously proceeds on the basis of misconceptions and misrepresentations.

'It is not legally nor constitutionally correct to say that on the lapse of paramountcy sovereignty vests in the people. Even when there was paramountcy sovereignty resided in the ruler and not in the people in Indian States although the ruler was, and is, bound to rule according to ‘Dharma’ and for the benefit of the people.’

8. Report from the Madras States

Extract from the fortnightly report of the Madras States Residency for the first half of June 1947, 17 June 1947

Pol. Dept., File No. 5(5)–P(S)/47, NAI

A. TRAVANCORE

...3. The question of independence of States after the lapse of British paramountcy, with particular reference to Travancore, has been the subject of sharp controversy between Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar on the one side and leaders of the Congress and All-India States Peoples’ Congress parties on the other. Through Press Conferences and Press Statements, the Dewan has explained that the decision of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore to
declare the independence of the state after the lapse of British paramountcy was taken when the Congress accepted the partition of India but that the independence so declared will not be for the purpose of remaining in isolation from the rest of India but for the purpose of entering into mutually beneficial treaties and agreements on questions of common concern with any future Government or Governments of India. The Dewan has repeatedly emphasised that the Maharaja’s decision is supported by a vast majority of his subjects and has pointed out, in answer to the plea for a referendum made by the Travancore State Congress President, that the forthcoming elections on the already-announced basis of Universal adult franchise may well be utilised by the State Congress for seeking a verdict on their contention that the people are not in favour of a declaration of independence.

The State Congress, which is unyielding in its attitude of opposition to the constitutional reforms announced by His Highness the Maharaja, wanted to hold meetings and demonstrations to celebrate the Constituent Assembly Day on June 13th all over the State. The Travancore Government authorised the District Magistrates to ban such meetings wherever any breach of peace was feared. A few State Congress men who defied the ban in some places were arrested....

Madras States Agency,
Trivandrum
17th June 1947.

Sd./

RESIDENT FOR THE MADRAS STATES.

L.C.L. Griffin, Esqr., C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Secretary to H.E. the Crown Representative,
Political Department,
NEW DELHI.

9. Resolution against Declaration of Travancore as an Independent State
Resolution passed by the Working Committee of Kerala Provincial Congress Committee sent to General Secretary, AICC, 20 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. 10 (KW-II)/1946, NMML

To,
The General Secretary
The All India Congress Committee
Swaraj Bhavan
Allahabad

Dear Friend,

Herewith please find copies of two resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee.

Yours Sincerely
N.A. Krishnan
(Office Manager)
RESOLUTION.

The working committee of the K.P.C.C. protest against the decision of the Travancore Government to declare Travancore as an independent state on the 15th of August. The people of Travancore desire to join the Indian union. The declaration of independence by the Travancore Government can be viewed only as a device to destroy the movement for the establishment of the peoples’ government, to perpetuate an unbridled autocracy of the Nazi type, and to suppress the peoples’ desire for a united Kerala. This committee welcomes the decision of the Travancore State Congress to resist with all force, this dangerous and reactionary policy of the Travancore Government. As the issue is one which affects gravely the solidarity and progress of the Indian union, this Committee requests the A.I.C.C. to change the Congress policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of native states, and give a clear lead to the K.P.C.C., so as to enable it to take an active part in the struggle for independence of the people of Travancore. Further, as the Travancore Government have decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly this Committee appeals to the Constituent Assembly to ask the Travancore State Congress, which represents the people of Travancore, to send representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

RESOLUTION

This committee while recording its faith in the indivisibility of India, agrees with the Congress working committee’s decision to accept the Mountbatten scheme under existing circumstances.

K. Kelappan

10. Nehru’s Advice to Madras Government to Refuse to Cooperate with Travancore Authorities

Extract of a letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Subbaroyan, 21 June 1947


New Delhi

My dear Subbaroyan,

You will remember that I mentioned to you, when you were here, about Travancore. In view of the Travancore Government’s attitude there is no reason whatever why any kind of facility be offered to it by the Madras Government. This would apply especially to cases of extradition. I think we should make it clear whenever occasion arises that we are unable to cooperate with the Travancore Government, more especially in regard to any repression that it may indulge in....

3. I understand that one or two leading Communists are in prison chiefly because of their doings in Travancore. Their cases might also be reconsidered.

4. Some reports have reached us that the armed police in Malabar has been misbehaving and molesting women. This is worth inquiring into.

Yours sincerely

Jawaharlal Nehru
11. ‘Travancore to Send Envoy to Pakistan State’
*Dawn, 22 June 1947*

**Sequel To Jinnah – Sir C.P. Discussions**

**Nominee To Take Charge As Soon As Paramountcy Lapses**

TRIVANDRUM, Saturday.—As a result of personal discussions and correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and the Dewan of Travancore, the Dominion of Pakistan, on its establishment, has agreed to receive a Representative of Travancore and to establish relationship with this state which will be of mutual advantage, says a Communique issued by the Travancore Government.

‘In pursuance of this decision, the Travancore Government have nominated Rajyaseva Pravina Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim Sahib, retired Inspector-General of Police, Travancore, as Representative of Travancore State in the Dominion of Pakistan, and he will take charge of his duties from the date on which Paramountcy lapses and Travancore becomes independent.

‘This agreement with Pakistan is especially valuable because it banishes the prevalent fear as to rice supplies for Travancore which can hereafter be expected from Karachi and will be despatched direct to ports in Travancore.

‘As already stated in more than one conference by the Dewan, the chief surplus areas in India in respect of rice are Sind and Baluchistan, parts of the Punjab and parts of Bengal. Karachi will also be an important marine centre through which Travancore can obtain petrol and petroleum products from countries of the Middle-East.

‘Those countries and the Dominion of Pakistan will be most valuable markets for Travancore’s tea, spices, coconut products and coir. The Government have been assured that these markets are even more valuable potentially than European countries.

**GOVERNMENT’S ASSURANCE**

‘It may be remembered that as a result of similar discussions and correspondence with the present Interim Government, an agreement has been entered into in respect of utilisation of Travancore’s minerals for atomic research.

‘It has already been notified that Rajyaseva Pravina A. Parameswara Pillai has been nominated Representative of Travancore State in Delhi for negotiating temporary and standstill arrangements pending the establishment of permanent relations between the Hindustan Dominion and this State.’

12. Implication of Travancore’s Declaration of Independence

*Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 22 June 1947*


New Delhi
22 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Your attention must have been drawn to the various statements made by Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar or on his behalf regarding Travancore. He has declared that Travancore will be independent on the lapse of paramountcy on the 15th August. This raises vital issues and any
perseverance on his part in this attitude and declaration will inevitably bring Travancore into conflict with the Government of India.

2. He has nominated a representative of Travancore for Delhi. Normally we would welcome any representative from any State and deal with him directly in order to facilitate business of common concern. But after the declarations made by Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, any recognition of his envoy here becomes undesirable and objectionable.

3. In today’s paper it is stated on behalf of the Travancore Government that ‘as a result of personal discussions and correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and the Dewan of Travancore, the Dominion of Pakistan, on its establishment, has agreed to receive a representative of Travancore and to establish relationship with the State which will be of mutual advantage’; further that in pursuance of this decision the Travancore Government have nominated a certain person ‘as representative of Travancore State in the Dominion of Pakistan and he will take charge of his duties from the date on which paramountcy lapses and Travancore becomes independent.’

4. This statement is extraordinary in many respects. There is no Dominion of Pakistan in existence and I am not aware of envoys being sent to a non-existent State. Normally two existing States confer together and come to an agreement about exchange of representatives. Apart from this, I take it that till paramountcy lapses, it is still functioning and any statements affecting paramountcy are to be made only with the consent of the Political Department. I do not know if the various statements that Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar has issued have been referred to the Political Department and that if that Department’s sanction or concurrence has been obtained. If they have not been so referred, then I think it is not only a breach of decorum but also of the rules at present governing the relationship of the States with the Paramount Power.

5. The Dominion Government of India will, no doubt, deal with this matter. But meanwhile such statements are mischievous and harmful and I think that Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar should be informed accordingly.

Yours Sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. ‘Steps against Travancore?’
*The Hindustan Times*, 23 June 1947

**Centre’s Disapproval Of ‘Independence’**

The Central Government are understood to be examining certain steps to be taken against Travancore State which has decided to declare itself independent on August 15. The contemplated measures are mostly of an economic nature and may lead to a crisis in the relations between Travancore State and the Indian Dominion.

The Government are also issuing orders for a census of all Travancore State subjects who are employed by the Government of India either as officers or as subordinates in many departments to decide what policy the Government should adopt with regard to the Travancore State subjects.

It is understood that this decision was taken following the announcement of the Travancore State appointing Mr. Abdul Karim Sahib, retired Inspector-General of Police, as representative of the State in the Dominion of Pakistan when it is established.

Many Travancoreans are now holding key positions in the Government including Ministership in the Interim Government.—A.P.I.
14. Aiyer’s Call to End Congress Hypocrisy and Uphold Hindu Interests
Letter from C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer to L.B. Bhopatkar, 28 June 1947
A. Lahiri Papers, Subject File No. 2, NMML

DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE

Bhaktivilas
Trivandrum
28th June 1947

Dear Mr. Bhopatkar,

I am very grateful for your letter of the 25th inst. and I fully agree with you as to the need for a newspaper for propagating the point of view of the Hindu Maha Sabha whose activities till now have been largely fitful and feeble. I also agree with you in your statement that what is needed at this juncture is the freedom of India from the stranglehold of that confused mass of inconsistent ideology which goes by the name of Congress policy.

You say that the interests of the Sabha and of the Hindu States are identical; but so far as I can see the Hindu Maha Sabha has done nothing and said nothing openly and unequivocally to range itself on the side of the States who are revolting against this stranglehold of the Congress and its attempt to dominate Indian public life. I take the view that Gandhiji’s particular gospel of non-violence is un-Hindu, that it is a confused mixture of Christianity, Jainism, Tolstoyism and the tenets of Thoreau, all taken out of their contexts. I consider that Gandhiji’s continuous attempts to camouflage nervousness as patriotism have led to the fragmentation and partition of India. I hold the opinion that the present state of things is not the victory of Jinnah but in essence the gift of the Congress to India of a division of the country. I further think that the Congress has brought about an atmosphere of hypocrisy beginning from distorted ideals of Brahmacharya and ending with the Gandhian brand of truth and non-violence which exists in professions and not in practice.

I consider, as a Hindu, that the first essential is to work against the present confusion of ideologies and rescue our faith from its false friends. I further consider that the creation of the Russian embassy and the rapidly growing alliance between the Congress and Communism will be the ruin of this country. Feeling as many of us do, it was the elementary duty and right of Travancore, which is ruled by a Sovereign, who is a pattern and exemplar of Hindu Dharma, to stand out against the domination of the Congress and to be independent in the same manner as Nepal has succeeded in being independent and as Pathanistan is allowed to be independent by Gandhiji and his followers. The man who says that he did not believe that it was always wrong on the part of a man to touch a woman, that he himself leaned on the girls’ shoulders during his walk and that this practice was wrong only if it was done with a lustful impulse, is not a man who is either Hindu in outlook and thought or fit to lead Hindu India. Will the Hindu Maha Sabha dissociate itself from such thoughts and ideals? If so a Hindu State like Travancore will be quite willing to come to their aid. If the Hindu Maha Sabha has divided loyalties I consider that a Hindu State is not called upon to help the Sabha.

Your recent resolution, for which I am thankful, is itself unfortunately a qualified one. I am sending through Mr. Lahiri a booklet containing some of my speeches on this question of
Travancore’s Independence. You will see that I have throughout stood for an undivided India and I am still for such an undivided India which has been destroyed mainly by the Congress. I consider that the present Constituent Assembly and the whole programme of the Congress based on a division of India and on a partition of the various Provinces are so utterly ruinous to the whole of India that it behoves all Hindus to oppose these movements. At this juncture people can take only one side or the other. If the Hindu Maha Sabha takes the line I have ventured to indicate you will find that the State of Travancore under the leadership of His Highness, will wholeheartedly support the Sabha. We do not ask for the praise of its administration or its particular programme, but the ideals must be outlined and they must be unambiguous.

I am writing this letter after a full discussion with Mr. Ashutosh Lahiri, who spoke to me with conviction and with feeling on the subject. It is written to you personally and confidentially but you have full liberty to show it to Mr. Savarkar, for whom I have the most unstinted respect. I appeal to the Hindu Maha Sabha to make up its mind to side with one group or the other at this juncture. Its history has been in the past a history of divided counsels, a history of doubtful programmes, a history of futile endeavour to please both sides. If its opinion is unequivocal and unambiguous, support will come from every Hindu State and not the least of such supporters will be the Ruler and the people of Travancore.

With kind regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) C.R Ramaswami Aiyer

L.B. Bhopatkar Esq.
President, All India Hindu Maha Sabha
Madras.

15. Travancore Claims Its Separate Identity

Telegram from C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer to Clement Attlee, 6 July 1947

TELEGRAM FROM THE DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE TO THE PRIME MINISTER
DATED 6TH JULY

Statement by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer in reply to Lord Listowel’s statement.

Adverting to Lord Listowel’s speech at the press conference in London with reference to Travancore I wish to emphasise on behalf of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore who has the overwhelming mass of public opinion behind him in the most highly educated State in South Asia, that Travancore cannot be forced to join a Dominion whose leaders have at this critical juncture in world history established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republic. This step cannot but be followed by the Establishment of Russian Embassies and Consulates all over India with results that need not be detailed. Within 50 miles of Travancore are the main centres of Communist influence in South India. The new diplomatic set up will afford immense facilities for infiltration of Communist propaganda, money and violent activities which have already been notorious in Cochin and British Malabar. The step taken by the Interim Government is all the more strange in view to [sic] the past declarations of Congress leaders.
2. Travancore’s economic and commercial position is special to itself. Its main imports will
be from Burma, Pakistan, the Middle East, England and America, and will be of the order of
twenty million pounds per year. Its imports from the Indian Dominion will be relatively very
small. Its exports will be to the Indian Dominion and the Pakistan Dominion and England
and America and will be of the order of twenty seven million pounds per year. The balance
of trade has been and will always be in favour of Travancore which can thus command dollar
and sterling credit without difficulty and independent fiscal and commercial policy is essential
for Travancore.

3. Although the State has offered to cooperate with the two Dominions and to enter
into the most friendly treaty and other relations with them in regard not only to defence
and communications but also such matters as public health, education and research, the
independence of Travancore is essential for its existence and for the maintenance of those high
standards of life, education and public health which are more easily realizable in this State than
elsewhere in India. The recent statesmanlike utterances of Sardar Patel and the President of
All-India States People Conference have partially realized these aspects and are in refreshing
contrast to previous bellicose statements.

C.P. Ramaswami Aiyer
Dewan Travancore State.

16. Mahasabha’s Stand on States, Constituent Assembly, and Congress
Letter from Ashutosh Lahiri to C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, 8 July 1947
AIHM Papers, Correspondence with Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, NMML
Draft.

To,
Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer
Dewan, Travancore State,
Trivandrum.

Dear Sir C.P.,

I am extremely grateful to you for the interview you gave to me and for the very enlivening
and instructive talks I had with you. Your letter to the President was, however, posted from
Calcutta which I received on the 2nd July. I now intend to stay in Bengal for two weeks, after
which I shall go back to Delhi. The President will, of course, send his reply direct to you, but
I think I can also usefully say something about the various points that require clarification.

I agree with you that the activities of the Hindu Mahasabha have been rather feeble and
it failed in the past to prosecute its programme with impressive vigour. I must say that it was
not entirely the fault of the Hindu Mahasabha leaders but the circumstances under which they
were placed. The whole country was after freedom from British yoke, and as the Congress
afforded the only platform for the so-called freedom’s [sic] struggle, the Mahasabha was left in
the background. The Mahasabha leaders were deprived of the support which they had a right
to expect from the Hindu masses. Besides the capitalist class invariably lent their support to
the Congress, particularly after the emergence of Gandhiji as the leader of the Congress, and
the Hindu Mahasabha, in spite of its temporary popularity at times, amongst the masses, was
kept starved and failed to secure the resources necessary for building up the organization to any appreciable extent.

Besides, the Princes also were mostly endeavouring to win the favour of the Congress leaders and were afraid to lend any support to the Mahasabha, lest it should alienate the sympathies of the Congress leaders. In short, my last twenty years experience with the Hindu Mahasabha has been that both the capitalists and the princes were after the Congress, as they thought that the Congress would, sooner or later, succeed in coming into power.

At various stages, the Hindu Mahasabha had openly and unambiguously taken the side of the States as against the Congress and its policy to bolster up troubles against the Hindu States and weaken their strength. The correctness of my assertion can be easily verified by a reference to the various resolutions passed at the open Session of the Hindu Mahasabha, and by its Working Committee during the last ten years. I can specifically mention the instance of Kashmir. At every stage the Hindu Mahasabha had given the State its open and unequivocal support, and condemned the action of Pandit Nehru and the Congress leaders. Not to speak of the Maharaja and his advisers—even the recognised leaders of Hindu opinion in the State was [sic] afraid to contact the Hindu Sabha leaders lest it would offend Vallabhai Patel and Gandhiji. The underlying idea everywhere was that the Congress must somehow be appeased. In the sequel, the Hindu Mahasabha suffered.

I think that right up to the last election, the stand of the Hindu Mahasabha as against the Congress, and also regarding the States, was quite definite and unequivocal, and there could be no mistake about it. But the Hindu Mahasabha was not taken seriously by the people as well as by the Princes, as the idea uppermost in every body’s mind was then the deliverance of the country from the British yoke.

After the reverses at the last election however, I must admit that there has been some change amongst a section of Hindu Mahasabhaites who have been imbued with the idea that frontal attack on the Congress being futile, it is more prudent to work in co-operation with them as far as possible. This accounts for what you consider to be ‘divided counsels’ or ‘futile endeavours to please both sides’. It is however not true to say that the history of the Hindu Mahasabha has been all along one of divided counsels and doubtful programmes. In fact, you will remember that beginning from the ‘Communal Award’ down to Rajaji’s Formula and Gandhiji’s offer to Jinnah and the Wavell Conference at Simla, the Mahasabha leaders most unsparingly criticized, opposed and fought against the Congress. In fact, it was due to Dr. Syamaprasad’s raging and tearing campaign against Pakistan and Wavell Plan, and the intensity of Hindu opposition created throughout India in consequence of Mahasabha propaganda, that the Congress leaders, on their release from confinement was [sic] confronted with a difficult situation and had to give a pledge to the Electorate that they would not accept vivisection of India under any circumstances.

Now, however, owing to the acceptance of Pakistan by the Congress, the situation has altered fundamentally, and, as I have felt during my recent tour in Bihar, U.P. and Central India, there is a resurgence of mass feeling in favour of the Hindu Mahasabha, and a most widespread bitterness of feeling against the Congress. In fact many people hitherto unconnected with the Hindu Mahasabha, including a number of Sadhus and Sannyasis, have taken the field against the Congress and are scouring the countryside in U.P. and Bihar and educating the masses about the evils brought about by the Congress, without any direction from, and in many places, without any connection with the Hindu Mahasabha.
The Congress leaders, particularly Gandhiji is [sic] too conscious of the declining influence and diminishing popularity of the Congress amongst the masses and is now trying to form new alliances in order to strengthen the position of the Congress. For that purpose, Gandhiji has already entered into a pact with Jaiprakash Narayan and Lohia, Socialist leaders, in consequence of which the Socialist Party remained neutral at the last A.I.C.C. meeting, and have now abandoned their open opposition to the Pakistan Plan of the Congress. Besides negotiation is now in progress with the Communist Party as well, whose leader P.C. Joshi recently saw Pandit Nehru and Patel. If the pact with the Communist Party materializes, the whole policy of the Congress is bound to undergo a revolutionary change. In short, the Congress is now seeking to maintain its monopoly of power by mobilizing all the Leftist forces to its aid. And at the next election you will find that the Congress in full alliance with the Socialist and the Communist Parties will take the field. This, I consider, will be a great disaster to the country, since our immediate fight must be with the Pakistanists whose political ambition is to dominate the whole of India, and any attempt to divide the Hindus on economic issues at this stage, is bound to undermine the solidarity of Hindu opposition to Pakistan and weaken our struggle against the Moslem League.

In that view of the matter, I have been trying to contact all the scattered units of Hindu strength in different parts of India and to create a solid party of Hindu opposition to the Congress, including Arya Samajists [sic], Mahabir-Dals, Sanatan Dharma Sabhaites, and other Hindu organised groups in close collaboration with, if not actually under the name of the Hindu Mahasabha. And I think, we have made a fair progress in this direction. As I told you, I have been also contacting various Native States and to this end I also have sought your help and co-operation. I keenly feel that the situation demands that we should lay aside our minor differences, and unite and concentrate on broad common issues, and co-ordinate all the Hindu Forces, in our struggle against the Congress ambition to maintain their monopoly of power, and unless we succeed in this struggle, we shall also fail in our fight against Pakistan. Our only hope lies in co-ordinating all the Hindu forces of which Hindu Princes form an invaluable link, just as the Congress is entrenching its position by allying itself with the Leftist Parties.

It may be asked, what organisational strength the Hindu Mahasabha at present possesses to justify its expectation that it can fight the Congress with a fair prospect of success. I have no hesitation in admitting that our organisation is weak and the number of workers are limited. The most reassuring factor, however, in the present situation is that the Hindu Mahasabha has now got the backing and support of the Hindu masses and this growing enthusiasm of the masses has now to be canalized into a fruitful channel and a new work of organisation with wholetime workers has to be set-up. Above all, we must have an organ of our own from New Delhi, which will serve as a powerful vehicle for broadcasting our news and views throughout the country. What we lack in organisation, can be easily made up, provided there is determination and hearty co-operation from all sides. After all we have yet two years’ time before us to get ourselves ready.

Now with regard to the broad issues on which we are all united, I may say that the Hindu Mahasabha has been all along the most outspoken opponent of Gandhism, as well as Communism, and I think nobody can entertain any doubt about it.

As regards our policy regarding the States particularly the independence issue, I hope you would not expect the Hindu Mahasabha to commit itself to a policy of unrestricted and unqualified independence in respect of each and every State. That is obviously a preposition
which you yourself will be the last man to ask us to adopt. Since we believe that having regard to the bungling of Congress leadership during the last 30 years, it is in the interest of the Hindus that we should have some independent units of Hindu strength which, if and when necessity arises, may be in a position to fight out our battle.

On a careful study of your speeches and statements I have found that your own conception of the independence of Travancore, is in perfect accord with the maintenance of a common policy, on a voluntary basis, between your State and the rest of India regarding defence, communications and foreign affairs, and even on such subjects as research in Education and Public Health. You only do not want the rest of India to infringe in your internal sovereignty. In your press interview on the 25th June last, you have made the attitude of the Travancore State perfectly clear, and I feel there is complete unanimity between the Hindu Mahasabha and the Travancore State (on) this particular issue. The difference therefore, between the independence of Travancore State as you conceive it and our call to the States to join the Constituent Assembly, as embodied in the Resolution of the Mahasabha Working Committee is more seeming than real and is easily capable of adjustment to mutual satisfaction. Besides, I think that participation in the work of the Constituent Assembly does not necessarily mean any immediate commitment on the part of any State to the ultimate membership of the India Union. Having regard to this I feel there ought not to be any hesitation on your part for an effective co-operation between the Hindu Mahasabha and the Travancore State on the lines suggested by us.

To-day’s newspaper reports suggest early visit of Pandit Nehru to Moscow. Evidently, some sort of understanding with Russia is in the offing. The danger of Congress alliance with the Socialists and Communists is now real and we must now leave aside all other considerations to the background and build up our strength in close co-operation. I appeal to you and through you, to His Highness the Maharaja for active support.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely

Sd./-

A. Lahiri

General Secretary.

17. Travancore Unleashes Repression

Telegram from Pattom A. Thanu Pillai to Vallabhbhai Patel, 10 July 1947

SPC, Vol V, pp. 446-7

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE AFTER DESIRING TRAVANCORE INDEPENDENCE AFTER 15 AUGUST ATTEMPTS SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST HIS POLICY [ of ] MAKING UNRESTRICTED UNWARRANTED USE OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL AGENCY RESOURCES AND POWERS. TERRORIST ORGANISATIONS COMPOSED OF GOONDAS ARE FORMED THROUGHOUT COUNTRY UNDER CONTROL OF POLICE AND OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES TO WRECK PUBLIC MEETINGS AND ASSAULT
PUBLIC MEN. K.A. MATHEW EX-LEADER OF STATE CONGRESS LEGISLATURE PARTY WOUNDED ON THE HEAD WHILE ADDRESSING PUBLIC MEETING ON 7 JULY. LIFE OF PUBLIC MEN IN DANGER. MEMBERS OF ABOVE ORGANISATIONS PARADE PUBLIC STREETS ARMED WITH LATHIS [staves] KNIVES AND OTHER WEAPONS. THEY ARE TRANSPORTED IN LORRIES FROM PLACE TO PLACE WHERE MEETINGS ARE ANNOUNCED. LIFE AND PROPERTY INSECURE. GOVERNMENT VICTIMISE PEOPLE NOT SUPPORTING GOVERNMENT VIEW. CONDITIONS RAPIDLY DEGENERATING INTO WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRY. TRAVANCORE IS SUBJECTED TO UNBRIDLED DICTATORSHIP BY AN IRRESPONSIBLE NON-TRAVANCOREAN DEWAN AND COMPLETE NEGATION OF LAW AND ORDER TO ENFORCE HIS POLICY OF KEEPING THE STATE OUTSIDE INDIAN UNION AGAINST THE WISHES OF PEOPLE. PRAY IMMEDIATE INQUIRY BY AN IMPARTIAL AGENT AND STEPS TO ENSURE GOOD GOVERNMENT.

PATTOM A THANU PILLAI
PRESIDENT TRAVANCORE STATE CONGRESS
TRIVANDRUM

18. ‘Try Sir C.P. for High Treason’
   People’s Age, 13 July 1947

As the time for the launching of struggle in Travancore draws closer, SIR C.P. is trying his hardest to bag at least some support for himself.

His agents are frantically busy ‘contacting’ the most toady elements in the various organizations in the State.

RECENTLY these gentlemen put up one Joseph Chazhikkadan, Vice-President of the Catholic Congress, to issue a statement supporting Sir C.P. This action, however, caused such an uproar inside the Catholic Congress that a meeting of its Working Committee threw out the excellent Joseph even from primary membership of the organization, passed a resolution condemning Sir C.P.’s anti-national move, and pledged full support to the State Congress.

Similarly, Sir C.P.’s agents put up some members of the Nair Service Society (organization of Caste Hindus in the State) to move a resolution at a meeting of its Board (Executive Committee) giving support to the State’s move declaring itself independent. There also they failed. The President of the N.S.S. just ruled the resolution out of order!

Inside the S.N.D.P.—organization of the Scheduled Castes in the State—whom Sir C.P. has fostered with all his might, a big movement has sprung up against the Dewan. Several branches of the organization have condemned the ‘compromising policy’ of their leadership.

The Dewan’s men are now trying to bolster up a Muslim League also in the State.

From a very reliable source I have learnt that recently the D.S.P. of Travancore had convened a meeting of some of his Muslim stoogelings at Trivandrum to get their support for organizing armed goondas against the State Congress.

Communal tension is being created through well-planned actions.

- At Thathambilli in Travancore, recently a Muslim police officer broke open a Christian Church and behaved most provocatively with the people who had assembled.
• In the same way some Marthoma Christians, while engaged in burying one of their dead in Central Travancore, were suddenly attacked by some unknown Izhuvu (Scheduled Caste) youth—supported by the police.

But so far, none of these attempts has succeeded. The people seem to recognise the dirty hand behind them.

Not meeting with much success, in his efforts inside the State, the wily Dewan is trying to raise one bogey after another to ‘get round’ the all-India leaders, also, if possible.

• In a statement, he has said that if any movement is started in Travancore the communal troubles of the North will be repeated in the South also.

• In another, showing the red rag for the Nth time since the talk of this struggle, Sir C.P. says:
  ‘... the threat to future world peace and the peace of India would come from social upheavals to be produced by Communistic ideals. Such a threat was only increased by the establishment of an Indian Embassy at Moscow....’

• Regarding the boycott that the National Government of India may organize against Travancore, he has tried to black-mail the leadership by saying:
  ‘As regards the threat of starvation, the State has got definite promises of rice supplies from quarters who produce them. As regards textiles, I have greater respect for the business acumen of the mill magnates than to think that they would be a party to a trade boycott of Travancore.’

Every conceivable weapon in his armoury this enemy of the Travancore people is trying to use against the threat to his autocracy.

Some people believe that the recent formal lifting of the ban on meetings in the State has been done by this man to strengthen the hands of some rightists inside the State Congress in their attempts to bring about some sort of a compromise.

Those who believe in this theory say that the lifting of this ban removes the possibility of individual civil disobedience movement on the question of an immediate issue of civil liberties. Now the State Congress must start only a mass struggle—which at least a section of the rightist leadership does not wish to launch.

But so far as the people of the State are concerned—the 60 lakhs of ordinary Travancoreans—they are unmoved by any of the tricks. They are waiting for the call to come. They are expressing impatience, and even anger at the delay in giving the call for all-out struggle.

Travancoreans not only in Travancore—but all over India have been roused against the anti-national British-inspired action of Sir C.P. who has used the most crooked and degenerate methods to keep autocracy in saddle in the State. And why only Travancoreans, in fact, all Malayalees have expressed themselves against him and his move.

• On June 26, 8,000 Malayalees of Calcutta met in a meeting to register their protest against the ‘fascist dewan’. They exhorted the Malayalees of Calcutta to get ready to make the ‘highest sacrifices’ in support of the fight in Travancore.

• Their meeting appealed to the Ministries in Madras and Cochin to release all political prisoners saying that ‘Sir C.P. is making political capital of certain of their policies in
respect to Socialist and Communist and other Leftist political parties, to justify his fascist technique.....’

• A well represented meeting of 700 Malayalees at Poona held under the presidentship of Captain V.P. Menon, declared Sir C.P. as the ‘State Enemy No. 1’ and demanded that he should be ‘tried for high treason.’

Travancore Aid Committees have been formed at Bombay, Bangalore, Cochin, Poona and Calcutta and the fullest help in men and money has been promised by the State Congress at Pudukottai and Hyderabad.

While the subjects in the State are marking time for the leaders’ orders, the long fingers of our people are closing round the neck of this British stooge and the State which he has led to the brink of a dangerous precipice—from all over India. The people in the State say—the day is not far when we shall be united with our brothers in the larger and free family of Mother India.

It is this hope which is giving us strength to exercise patience even in the face of such provocations by the State Government.

19. ‘Travancore Will Support Mahasabha’
Letter from C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer to Ashutosh Lahiri, 13 July 1947
A. Lahiri Papers, Correspondence with Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, NMML

Deer Mr. Lahiry,

I am deeply indebted to you for your letter of the 8th instant, and if the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha is really in line with the underlying sentiments and outlook as expounded by you and if the leaders of the Mahasabha can make this plain, you will find that His Highness of Travancore and His Highness’ Government will give their unqualified support to the Sabha.

Yours sincerely
Sd./
C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer

Ashutosh Lahiry Esq.,
General Secretary, All India Hindu Mahasabha
11, Sukea Street, Calcutta
TRAVANCORE
MEMORANDUM BY THE MINISTER OF SUPPLY

SECRET Ministry of Supply, 18 July 1947

In connection with the Secretary of State for India's memorandum on Travancore (I.B.(47) 139) the Committee should be aware of the following considerations.

2. Thorium may become a source material for atomic energy work comparable in importance with uranium. The richest known deposit of monazite sand (the source material of thorium) is in Travancore.

3. After negotiations last winter, an Agreement was signed on 2nd April, 1947 securing to the U.K. substantial exports of monazite in return for our help in setting up a plant in Travancore for treating monazite, from which the thorium content would still be secured to the U.K.

4. When the Agreement was made the Dewan stipulated that its fulfilment was dependent on the continuance of normal conditions and that 'any fundamental change of policy on the part of the British Government or the Indian Government or any force majeure will have to be recognised as disabling factors'. The Dewan has recently offered some criticisms of detailed proposals which we have made for the implementation of the contract, and the Secretary of State for India fears that he may be anxious to denounce the Agreement.

5. I doubt whether this is so, but the Dewan will undoubtedly try to turn the situation to his advantage in his campaign for independence by hinting that, if he is forced into close association with the Indian Dominions, their policy with regard to the conservation of India's natural resources will almost certainly bring about a situation which would threaten the fulfilment of the Agreement.

6. From my point of view, therefore, it would be an advantage if Travancore retained political and economic independence, at least for the time being; but I realize that considerations of broad policy make it impossible for H.M.G. actively to encourage this.

7. I do, however, suggest that while we should no doubt 'avoid any statement which would give this State leverage in asserting its independence or economic autonomy,' we should equally avoid any fresh action, over and above the broad statements on policy already made, which would give the Indian Dominions leverage in combating Travancore's claim for independence, and so strengthen the Dewan's bargaining position in discussions with us on the monazite agreement.

8. Whatever may be the legal or constitutional position, our chances of getting monazite from Travancore ultimately depend on the goodwill of the Government of the State, and of the Dewan in particular. I would urge, therefore, that, so far as general policy allows, nothing should be done to alienate that goodwill.

J.W. [ILMOT]
21. Viceroy’s Plans for Travancore

Extracts from Louis Mountbatten’s Personal Report No. 14, 25 July 1947

T.O.P., Vol. XII, pp. 333-7

TOP SECRET
PERSONAL

.... 16. I have had a preliminary meeting this week with Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyer who has been bombarding me with telegrams and issuing statements to the press during the last month about the independence of Travancore after the 15th August. At my meeting with him on the 22nd July he started off by presenting his own case through the medium of a series of files. The first of these contained a number of rather amusing cartoons, to which he took the greatest exception, and in particular one published that morning showing him being spanked by me at this very meeting! The next contained a number of rude cuttings about himself. I advised him to follow the example of Lord Balfour and not to read the newspapers if he is going to let himself get upset in this way. The next file contained cuttings to prove that Gandhi was a dangerous sex maniac who could not keep his hands off young girls. He considered him to be the most dangerous influence in India, and said that if he insisted on backing the unstable Nehru against the realistic Patel he would break up the congress party within two years. Sir C.P. said that he was not prepared to ally himself with such an unreliable Dominion.

17. By the end of an hour, Sir C.P. had worked off his emotional upset. He claimed that the statements which he himself had made were devised for the consumption of the people of Travancore itself, who were the highest educated in India. He declared that Travancore would never accede to the Dominion of India: he had indeed already made preliminary terms with Mr. Jinnah, including a trade agreement. I pointed out to Sir C.P. that there could be no objection on the part of the Dominion of India to a trade agreement between Travancore and Pakistan. I went on to say that the States had never controlled their own foreign affairs and defence; and to emphasise the advantage of accession on these two subjects and on communications.

18. Finally, after I had worked on him for more than two hours he came round as far as to say that he might consider a treaty with India. I felt that we had made some progress and let him go and sent V.P. Menon to work on him. Then next day he came back and I informed him that Patel would not be prepared to accept a treaty; Travancore could either accede to the Dominion or stay right out. I said that Dalmia had that morning paid 5 lakhs of rupees into the Travancore Congress Party funds in anticipation of starting internal trouble after the 15th August, and that I was confident that there was more to follow. I pointed out that his only escape from internal trouble lay in accession before the 15th August. He then said this was indeed a serious matter and asked me to write a letter to his Maharajah putting my proposals before him, so that he could take his Highness’ pleasure. As I gather the Maharajah is completely under Sir C.P.’s thumb I cannot but feel that this advice has at least left the door open for Sir C.P. to come in at the last possible moment, provided he finds that I have been able to get every other State into line.

19. Before leaving, he asked me what the position of Travancore would be if India decided to leave the Commonwealth. He asked me if the Maharajah would have the right then to secede from India and whether His Majesty’s Government would then allow him to remain within the Commonwealth. I told him I was unable to give him any official opinion, but I thought that it would not be difficult to disentangle himself from India if he had only joined on the basis
of the three central subjects; and that whereas His Majesty’s Government would never have agreed to allowing the Maharajah to enter separately on a Dominion basis as they did not wish to Balkanise India, I thought he would have a somewhat different case in demanding not to be thrown out once he was in. I re-emphasised, however, that I could give him no assurance beyond pointing out that if he did not accede he would never get into the Commonwealth, whereas if he was once in there might be some prospect that he would be allowed to stay in; and that if all the other States shared his view there would be good chance that India would not wish to leave the Commonwealth in any case....

22. Travancore Offers Conditional Accession to India

Letter from Rama Verma to Louis Mountbatten, 30 July 1947
IOR, R/3/1/144-Acc. No. 3459, NAI

Palace, Trivandrum

Your Excellency
Your Excellency’s letter of the 22nd July has been handed over to me by Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar. He has also told me of the discussions he has had with Your Excellency. I have perused the letter with the full realisation that Your Excellency has paid as much regard as possible to the history and traditions of this State, to the complete maintenance of its internal autonomy and to the need for trade, fiscal and commercial relations with the whole world which are the basic needs of this maritime State and are essential for its survival as an effective economic unit.

Having regard to the assurances conveyed by Your Excellency, I have decided, though not without hesitation, to take this step of accession to the Dominion of India subject to the conditions adverted to in your letter.

Your Excellency, of course, realises that the States have been given the option of reconsideration of the position when the final Constitution of the Dominion is formulated.

I am,
Your Excellency’s sincerely,
Sd./
Rama Verma

His Excellency Rear Admiral
The Right Hon’ble the Viscount Mountbatten of Burma,
Viceroy and Governor General of India,
The Viceroy’s House, New Delhi.
E. COCHIN

1. Report from the Madras States

Extracts from the fortnightly report of the Madras States Residency for the second half of January 1947, 3 February 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5 (S)-P(S)/47, NAI

...B. Cochin

6. Reference para (8) of F.R.I./47 regarding the temple entry agitation in Cochin.—The Board of the S.N.D.P. Yogam have welcomed the announcement by the Maharaja and abandoned the proposed satyagraha for securing temple-entry rights.

7. Presiding over the annual session of the S.N.D.P. Yogam held at Ernakulam, Mr. Govinda Menon, a minister of the Cochin Government, expressed the view that the Indian States were the British Government’s last supports in their fight against the Indian freedom movement and welcomed the Cochin Maharaja’s announcement promising full responsible Government and supporting the United Kerala movement.

8. Reference para (9) of F.R.I./47 regarding the Naval Ratings strike at Cochin.—It is understood that the President of the State Muslim League has also telegraphed to the members of the Interim Government at Delhi to intervene and enquire into the grievances of the ratings. Cochin Government have banned meetings and processions in the Willingdon Island.

9. Mr. Mathai Manjooran and Mr. Manakalath, members of the Praja Mandal Party were prohibited from addressing public meetings in Chittoor as a section of the public there did not like the tone of their speeches. Manjooran violated the order in defiance and was arrested, tried and sentenced to 6 months rigorous imprisonment.

10. Reference para (8) of F.R.22/46 regarding the repeal of the Cochin Press Act. His Highness the Maharaja has given his assent to the repeal.

2. Demand for Greater Representation in Constituent Assembly

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to the Maharaja of Cochin, 20 February 1947
SWJN, Vol. II, p. 225

New Delhi

My dear Maharaja Saheb,

I have received your telegram about the distribution of the 93 seats of the States for the Constituent Assembly. We appreciate what you say about the importance of Cochin because it is a maritime State and even more so because of the constitutional advance that has taken place there. Cochin has in many respects set an example to the other States and it would be fitting for this to be recognized. In the representation in the Constituent Assembly, however, we have to proceed very largely on the population basis and I do not know if it is possible for us to vary this to any appreciable extent. So far as we are concerned we would welcome any variation in favour of Cochin as suggested by you. But the matter is not entirely in our hands.
We shall gladly meet your Minister, Shri P. Govinda Menon, and discuss the matter fully with him when he comes to Delhi.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Report from the Madras States

Extracts from the fortnightly report of the Madras States Residency for the second half of February 1947, 1 March 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5 (S)—P(S)/47, NAI

...Cochin

3. Reference para 5 of F.R.3/47. The differences between the Right wing and the Left wing (represented by Congress Socialists) of the Cochin Praja Mandal party appear to have been reconciled. It has been agreed that the Congress Socialists as a group will have nothing to do with Cochin politics, and any difference of opinion between the Right wing and the Left wing of the Praja Mandal Party will be ventilated inside the organization and not on the public platform or in the press.

4. The Cochin Government have appointed their Advocate General as Constitutional Adviser to Government. His chief work is to prepare a scheme for the future relations of the State with the Union Government of India. It is reported in the Press that the leader of the Praja Mandal Party and Minister for Food & Education has been authorized by H.H. the Maharaja to conduct negotiations with the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly.

5. The Cochin Government have created a new Department for conducting the next general election based on adult franchise.

6. At a joint meeting of the Working Committee and the Parliamentary Party of the Cochin State Praja Mandal, a resolution was passed promising full support to the forthcoming Satyagraha movement in Mysore.

7. The scheme for educating the depressed classes made satisfactory progress in the last Malabar year which ended in the middle of August 1946. The number of students in Colleges rose from 36 to 55 and in schools from 15,000 to 17,500; one depressed class student took the law degree at Government expense and three more are undergoing the law course.

4. Report from the Madras States

Extracts from the fortnightly report of the Madras States Residency for the first half of April 1947, 16 April 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5 (S)—P(S)/47, NAI

...B. Cochin

6. The Aikya (United) Kerala Central Committee meeting held at Ernakulam on the 29th March under the presidency of Mr. K. Kelappan of Malabar protested against any cession of Anjengo and Tangasseri to Travancore without the consent of ‘Kerala’. His Highness the
Maharaja of Cochin has been invited to inaugurate the United Kerala Convention at Trichur on the 26th April.

7. Diwan Bahadur C.P. Karunakara Menon, the Dewan of Cochin has given a statement to the Press declaring the State's decision to join in the working of the Constituent Assembly.

8. With the idea of raising the status of the depressed class communities and dispelling the inferiority complex now felt by them, the Cochin Government have decided to appoint some members of these communities to certain higher executive posts in Government service. Posts of two Police Sub Inspectors, one Magistrate, one Tahsildar, two Revenue Inspectors, and two Excise Sub Inspectors have been immediately reserved for them.

5. Report from the Madras States

Extracts from the fortnightly report of the Madras States Residency for the second half of April 1947, 3 May 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5 (S)-P(S)/47, NAI

...B. Cochin

6. Reference para (11) of F.R. 6/47 regarding elected President for the Cochin Legislative Council. The Council met on the 15th April with the Dewan as President. The first business transacted was the election of the new President. Mr. L.M. Pailee, the Deputy President, was elected as the first elected President of the Council. This necessitated an amendment of the Cochin Constitution Act, which was promulgated by H.H. the Maharaja. The Dewan ceased to be the ex-officio President of the Council but is invested with authority to summon and address the Council as and when he deems fit and also to send messages to the Council on any subject matter under the consideration of or already decided by the Council....

7. The Council elected Mr. Govinda Menon, Minister for Food and Education to represent Cochin in the Constituent Assembly. H.H. the Maharaja accepted him as the representative of the State and authorized him to take part in the proceedings of the Assembly from its session of the 28th April.

8. The Trichur Taluk Prajamandal Conference was inaugurated on the 9th April by Mr. T. Prakasam, the ex-Premier of Madras. He paid a tribute to the Maharaja for his readiness to hand over power to the people and remain a Constitutional Ruler.

9. Reference para (6) of F.R. 7/47 regarding United Kerala. The Aikya Kerala Convention was inaugurated at Trichur by H.H. the Maharaja of Cochin on the 26th April. The Maharaja was given an official reception on his visit to Trichur and was taken in procession with great pomp and display along the important roads of the town to the decorated shed that had been put up for the Convention. In his inaugural address which was read by the Dewan, the Maharaja expressed his decision to grant full responsible government in the State and his confidence in his Ministers. By way of answering the criticisms that had been labelled against him he declared that the present traditional system of administration in Indian States—'a mixed tradition of subservience and autocracy'—must go and that the Princes must assume the role of Constitutional Rulers and perform some useful function in the Country's future as dispassionate and impartial heads of States. He deprecated the idea of any declaration of independence and said that Cochin would unhesitatingly continue to remain part of the mother country. Mr. Kelappan, President of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee presided over the deliberations of the Convention; and
a resolution was passed to achieve the political unification of Kerala in such a manner that the
Indian States of Travancore and Cochin, Mahe and parts of British India which on geographical,
linguistic, cultural, economic and administrative considerations shall form parts of Kerala and
be constituted into an autonomous Province. By another resolution the Convention protested
against the attitude of Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar towards Kerala unification and declared that
the right to decide the issue belonged to the people.

6. ‘Cochin Exploiting Urge for United Kerala to Extend His Domains’
An article by M.M. Cherian, People’s Age, 11 May 1947

Malayalee people’s struggle against imperialist and feudal domination

In a very patriotically-worded message to the Trichur Aikya Kerala Convention, held on April
26 and 27, the Ruler of Cochin made a fervent appeal for the immediate establishment of a
United Kerala.

United Kerala or ‘Aikya Kerala’ is today the slogan of almost all the 120 lakhs of Malayalees,
oppressed and exploited in their own homelands—Travancore, Cochin and what is called the
British Malabar—or exiled to the tea and rubber plantations of far-away Malaya and Ceylon
or to the tea and coffee houses of Bombay and Madras, where they have to slave on a footling
wage to keep their body and soul together.

For the obvious exigencies of their hated rule, the British had chopped off the fairly big¬
sized Malayalee nationality into several chunks, mixed them up with other peoples (in Kanara,
Coorg and the Tamil-speaking part of Travancore) and retarded their progress—culturally,
economically, politically—in every way.

The result of this policy is that today the 120 lakhs of Malayalam speaking people
do not possess even a dictionary of their language, the fertile land of Kerala produces
only 40 per cent of its food and the few industries that it has are mainly in the grip,
of European capitalists. In 1943-44, due to famine, 40,000 Malayalees died in Malabar
alone.

For a New Kerala

Hence it is not surprising that with the approach of Indian freedom the Malayalee people too
have been fired with a burning urge to rehabilitate themselves into a prosperous and happy life
through unity and freedom, and have held conferences in Madras (February 1947), Bombay
(March 1947), etc., to give shape to this most healthy yearning.

The great and magnificent edifice of this new Kerala, the United Kerala, which the people
desire and which will end all their woes, can be built only on the basis of complete elimination
of every form of not only imperialist but also feudal and capitalist domination and exploitation.

It is obvious that it requires that the people of Kerala should have the full freedom to
choose their own form of central democratic administration on the basis of adult franchise
and proportional representation. Not only the form of Government, but even the question of
monarchy will have to be decided by them freely, without any let or hindrance from anybody.

Has the Ruler of Cochin got this picture in his mind when he talks of United Kerala? Is it
for this freedom that the patriotic-mouthed Ruler of Cochin is pleading?
What Cochin Wants

No. What he wants is, ‘a scheme of Government for the whole of Kerala without destroying the connection of the people to the ancient Royal House.’ (The Ruler’s statement a few months ago).

His Prime Minister, Dewan Bahadur C.P. Karunakara Menon, has made it even more concrete by putting forward the suggestion not of a free democratic republic of Kerala as an integral part of the Indian Union, but of a ‘Sub-Federation’. He says:

‘The fact that there are two Indian States in this area no doubt complicates the formation of the Union. That is exactly the reason for suggesting a Sub-Federation and not a Province....’

Thus what the Ruler of Cochin wants is not only that his and the Travancore Raja’s rule and ‘dynastic rights’ be maintained intact, but also that the territory and the people of the present British Malabar be attached to their thrones to swell their might and riches, just as the Nizam of Hyderabad or the Khan of Kalat are trying to do.

That the Cochin Ruler’s clamour for United Kerala is not motivated by any desire to free and unite the people so that they might work out their destiny themselves is further revealed by the state of affairs prevailing in Cochin itself:

- 40 per cent of the land is owned by the Royal family and Government temples and the peasants are still made to live in the darkness of the Middle Ages.
- Though a Coalition Ministry containing two representatives of the Praja Mandal has been formed in the State, the real power is still in the hands of the Ruler. The ‘Cabinet’ has no right to ‘meddle’ in the finances of the State or to ‘interfere’ in the maintenance of law and order by the State Police and Army.

Not only Communist and Socialist, but Congress workers also are being put into jail under various pretexts.

A large section of the State’s people condemned as ‘untouchables’ does not have the freedom even to walk on public roads.

- To the ‘United Kerala Convention’ at Trichur which was organized by the deputed officials and ex-officials of the State, not a single representative of the Kisan Sabha, Trade Union or the Communist Party—admitted by everybody to be the second biggest political party in the State—was invited! On the contrary representatives of Jenmi Sabhas (landlords’ organizations) and Chambers of Commerce and communal organizations were invited.

Behind Patriotic Talk

Through his ‘patriotic’ gestures, appeals and hypocritical concessions, the Ruler of Cochin is merely playing upon the sentiments and urge of the Malayalee people for unity to stabilize his rule and to strengthen it with not only the moral support of the people but with further territory, if possible.

He knows that this is possible only with the help of the Congress and hence his ‘donations’ to the Congress and the All India States Peoples’ Conference; hence his loud appeals to his brother Princes to join the Constituent Assembly and so on.

The Malayalee people must see this and demand that before babbling about United Kerala, etc., this Ruler should set things in his own State in order—abolish untouchability, allow full civil liberties and hand over power to the people’s representatives through a sovereign Constituent Assembly.
They must not relax their effort against autocracy in Travancore and Cochin, the end of which is a condition precedent to Democratic India.

7. ‘Cochin: Not People’s Raj but Prison-House’
   _People’s Age, 29 June 1947_

Cochin has joined the Constituent Assembly. Cochin has got two Praja Mandal leaders in the State Cabinet. Cochin has appointed an Indian, a brown-skinned man, as its Dewan. It gave Rs. 60,000 to Acharya and Srimati Kripalani at the time of their visit to the State. Cochin is referred to every other day in their speeches and statements as the ideal State by the Congress leaders.

In Cochin there is ‘People’s Raj’!

But most people do not know what this ‘People’s Raj’ is like.

For instance, few outside people know that in this raj at this moment 10 full villages roundabout Anthikkad—the centre of the epic struggle of the tappers—are in a state of siege.

Several hundred policemen, armed and equipped with wireless sets and fast-moving vehicles, have set up a police rule. There is no house that has not been searched. It will be difficult to find a living soul—man, woman or child—who has not been beaten or harassed.

**Police Run Riot**

Few people know that the police of this State has run riot.

On June 3, at Pillil, a small island in the State, two girls, of the ages of 18 and 25, were raped by them, after they had broken into the house where the girls lived with their old mother at midnight.

On June 14, at Cheruthuruthi, the house of the greatest poet of Malayalam, Mahakavi Vallothol, was searched and ransacked by the State police.

Through this act, the brown Dewan C.P. Karunakara Menon (a notorious toady) and the Praja Mandal members of his ‘Cabinet’ have laid their hands on one of the tallest men of the whole of Kerala and achieved what even the White imperialist Dewans and their underlings had not dared to do in the past.

Over 200 workers (including some women) and their leaders—Communists, Socialists and other Leftists in the Praja Mandal—have been put in jail. At least an equal number have been forced underground. Over 500 are being prosecuted under all sorts of ingenious charges.

Sjt. M.P. Menon, the Socialist leader, has been on hunger-strike in the State jail for a fortnight, but the news has not been allowed to go out of the State.

For participating in politics over a 100 students have been disqualified from appearing at the SSLC examination. Many of them are being prosecuted in law courts.

The normal rule of law has been superseded in the State. Ordinance Rule under a Public Safety Act has been foisted on the people.

For the first time in the history of the State a curfew order has been introduced.

**State Backs Contractors**

Two thousand workers—toddy tappers—are being starved by the contractors who are fully supported by the State. The lock-out has gone on for three months. But instead of helping the tappers and backing the just stand of their Union, the State Government is lending help to the contractors to crush them.
This is the cause of the siege laid round Anthikkad.

The extent of the support for the struggle of the tappers can be judged by the fact that when the State launched repression against them, there was a general strike in the whole of the State. In the first week of May, an Anthikkad Day was observed through a giant rally jointly organised by the Praja Mandal, the Communist Party, the SNDP (organisation of the Scheduled Castes), the Students’ Congress and the Students’ Federation.

But this is of no consequence for the State authorities. They are demanding the dissolution of the Union.

The only paper Deshabhimani, of the Communist Party, which dared to write about these things has been banned entry into the State. Anybody selling or possessing it is liable to be prosecuted and sent to jail. All its copies since February have been confiscated and proscribed.

The scarcity of food and cloth is greater than ever before. Coconut oil, oil-cake, washing soda, matches cannot even be seen. While the burden of the rent and interest is weighing down the peasants and workers, and the cost of living is spiralling up, there is no rise in their income. The wages are proverbially low, just what they were years before.

There have been no agrarian reforms; and the procurement and rationing systems have, if anything, become more oppressive and corrupt.

This is a glimpse of the People’s Raj in Cochin!

It is good—and every freedom-loving Indian should welcome it—that Cochin has joined the Constituent Assembly. But that alone is not enough.

The act of joining the Constituent Assembly, i.e., of throwing the State’s lot with the freedom-forces of the people has to be accompanied by corresponding internal changes in the State machinery on the basis of a democratic programme.

Otherwise, the membership of the Constituent Assembly—as seems to be at present the case with Cochin—becomes an added weapon in the armoury of the Ruler and others who might be interested in the State to oppress and keep down the people.

The demands of the Cochin people are:

1) End the Dewan rule; establish an Interim Government of the representatives of the people;
2) Set up a Constituent Assembly in the State on the basis of adult franchise and proportional representation for drawing up a Constitution;
3) Abolish the jenmi (zemindari) system and the curse of Untouchability.
4) Supply of foodgrains should be made the monopoly of the Government, so that all blackmarketing and corruption are eliminated.
5) Implement the Manu Subedar Committee recommendations regarding industrialisation to relieve pressure on the land and develop the State;
6) Fix a minimum living wage for the workers;
7) Restore full civil liberties, release all political prisoners and withdraw all pending cases;
8) Give all power to the people’s Interim Government to push forward the above programme.

Only by the satisfaction of these demands can the present prison-house of the Cochin people be turned into a real People’s Raj.

If the national leaders and the nationalist Press—instead of merely showering praises on the Ruler—give some support to the people of the State, they will surely follow up their
previous victory of sending the State into the C.A. with a hundred per cent fulfilment of the above programme.

8. Suggestions for a Responsible Government in Cochin
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to the Maharaja of Cochin, 14 August 1947
SWJN, Vol. III, pp. 269–70

New Delhi

My dear Maharaja Saheb,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th August. I have also had a talk with your Dewan Mr. Karunakara Menon. It is very difficult for me to give any advice in detail without closely studying the situation existing in Cochin and coming into contact with the various leaders of public opinion there. All I can do is to give some general indication of what should be done. The country is passing today through rapid transitional phase and this inevitably provokes psychological and emotional responses in the people. The Indian States cannot escape these responses. It is desirable to understand these feelings and to meet them in so far as we can. A Government, however efficient it may be, loses its efficiency if it is not in line with popular sentiment. The psychological approach, therefore, is always important.

2. You have already announced full responsible government for your State and set up a committee with that end in view. This committee seems to have taken rather a long time to report. There appears no reason why it should not expedite this work and report soon. The subsequent steps, that is preparation of electoral rolls and elections could also be arranged fairly rapidly. The whole process should not take a long time.

3. While this is done, something in the nature of an approach in the present seems desirable to fit in with the psychological atmosphere of today. What form exactly this should take it is a little difficult for me to indicate except that it must be appealing to the people that another substantial step has been taken towards responsible government. I understand that Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar has suggested that popular Ministers should be put in charge of Law and Order and Finance, but that there should be this reservation—that important matters are referred to the Dewan during this interim period. In effect the Government should function as an interim government dealing with all subjects in a joint way. In regard to some subjects like Law and Order and Finance, important matters might be referred to the Dewan so as to avoid any wrong step being taken.

I do not quite know how this will work out, but it seems a feasible proposition.

You yourself have suggested something somewhat different, though in practice it may mean much the same thing. It is for you and your advisors to determine which way is more suitable at present.

With all good wishes to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru
Chapter 42. Western Indian States

A. Rajasthan

1. Conflict between the Government and the People

Extracts from a report on Bharatpur by Dwarkanath Kachru, 20 January 1947

AISPC Papers, File No. 15(1), NMML

BHARATPUR—A BRIEF REPORT

Dwarkanath Kachru
General Secretary,
All India States’ Peoples’ Conference.

ALL INDIA STATES PEOPLES CONFERENCE

New Delhi

BHARATPUR.

The recent trouble in Bharatpur which started on the 4th of this month, is becoming serious mainly because of the attitude of the ruler and his Government.

The trouble, to go back to its origin, started when the Maharaja decided to arrange for a duck-shoot and invited the Viceroy, the Maharaja of Bikaner and some of his other friends, to it. Ordinarily a private function like this should not have aroused public representation [sic] but the methods usually employed by the State to secure the services of a large body of men to assist in the shoot are resented by the people and to an extent even resisted. The Praja Parishad styled this as forcible labour or Begar and have, on many an occasion, tried to protest against it.

The men received some remuneration no doubt, but it is very low. And out of this also a part always goes as ‘ransom’ to the unscrupulous local officials. The Government fixed Re. 1/- per day as wages for these men and also serve them some gram and gur for meals. They are paid only for the days they work and receive no remuneration whatsoever, for the days that they take to come to the place of the shoot and go back to their homes. During the shoot they have to get deep into the water and remain there for a number of hours and then when the signal is given, to beat the water so as to force the ducks to fly from their hiding places. The ducks fly and are shot at by the hunters. They fall in water and are collected by these men. The Praja Parishad have persistently objected to the forcible mobilization of these men on the ground that ordinarily they earn three times the amount given to them by the Government. Compulsion and often even objectionable methods are employed to make them work. These days, when they can earn more elsewhere, they do not wish to come and work on such a low
wage. Besides, in this cold weather they do not wish to remain in water for long hours. This affects their health and reduces their vitality.

But this is only a part of the whole case. To appreciate the position fully it would also be necessary to digress a little and try to understand the present situation against the background and in the context of the differences and the consequent embitterment, between the Government and the people, over the issue of constitutional reforms.

Bharatpur had a legislative body which was purely advisory in character. It had no powers and no real functions. The Praja Parishad in order to demonstrate their popularity went into the legislature and captured a majority of the elected seats. But soon it came out of it and demanded better reforms. The All India President of the Conference, deputed Shri. Jainarain Vyas, General Secretary of the AISPC and Shri Hiralal Shastri, General Secretary, Rajputana States’ People’s Regional Council, to visit Bharatpur and effect a settlement. They were also accompanied by Shri. Gokal Bhai Bhatt, the President of the Rajputana Regional Council. They met the Maharaja and soon a settlement was arrived at. The Maharaja, subsequently, made an announcement and promised full responsible Government. He also agreed to appoint a Reforms Committee consisting of seven members. Of these seven members, four were to be from the Praja Parishad and the remaining three from the other parties and interests. Simultaneously with this arrangement it was agreed that the three popular ministers, who, the Maharaja had previously contemplated would be elected directly by the people at large, should not be elected from out of the new legislature which would come into being as a result of the recommendations of the Reforms Committee.

Some time after this, things however took a different shape in Bharatpur and the Maharaja began to back out of his previous assurances. Subsequently he made another announcement, wherein he changed the composition of the Reforms Committee contemplated under the previous agreement. It was now to consist of eleven members. Three of these were to be from the Praja Parishad, three from the Kisan Sabha, two from the Jamia Islamia and three from the Government. This announcement was very much resented by the people and the Praja Parishad sent a written protest to the Government. They resented that the Praja Parishad should have been reduced to a minority in the Reforms Committee and that undue representation should have been given to the Kisan Sabha, Jamiat Islamia and the official elements. The Kisan Sabha, they felt, was only a Government’s counterblast to the Kisan movement organised under the patronage of the Praja Parishad and that it represented only certain vested interests, mostly hereditary feudal interests of the State persons who were obliged to the Government in a variety of ways. The Jamiat Islamia, they also stated, was only a social and a religious body of Muslims and had nothing to do with politics. The reply of the government to this protest was not helpful and the Praja Parishad was contemplating some action. This action was to take concrete shape by the middle of February and the intervening period was to be utilised for preparing the people for any emergency that might arise.

This is the background against which the recent crisis in Bharatpur has to be understood and appreciated. Thus when the Maharaja decided to have a duck shoot the Praja Parishad people expressed their resentment openly against what they regarded as improper and illegal tactics of the Govt. to force the poor peasants to give up their work in order to go to assist in the hunt. On the 4th evening the Maharaja of Bikaner arrived in Bharatpur by train and a group of young men sympathetic towards the Praja Parishad collected at the station possibly with the intention of staging a hostile demonstration. One of them, it is said, had a black flag
in his pocket which he just made a show of by waving at the Maharaja. Another group of men, said to be belonging to the newly formed Kisan Sabha and who, in the words of the Prime Minister of the State, ‘loved the Maharaja and did not like him to be insulted’, had also collected at the station. Reports show that these people were hired for the occasion and brought from the villages in lorries owned by the Government at the Railway station, therefore, these two groups came into clash with each other and the Praja Parishad workers were given a beating. This gave rise to a confused situation and a sort of rioting all over the city. Having beaten the Praja Parishad workers these people rushed in different directions in the city, creating much disorder and panic. They went into shops and walked off with many things without paying for them. They threatened everybody and thereby increased the panic and confusion. Obviously they had the support of the Police for none of them was arrested or prevented from committing mischief. The shopkeepers thereafter closed their shops in pure self-defence.

These people, reports show, also rioted in the various towns and looted many houses and shops. Their main victims were the poor peasants who had refused to lend their services during the shoot. This incident obviously supplies the connection between these organised bands of goondas and the administration. At this stage, it may be of some importance to note, that the Rulers of Bharatpur belong to the Jat community and for some time past the Government have been trying to develop a counterblast to the Praja Parishad Movement, in the form of a revivalist movement among the Jats. Jats in the state number nearly a lakh, about 1/6 of the total population. These people, according to available information, are fed on strange rumours and odd pieces of information; the intention was to make them take a hostile attitude to the popular Movement. They are told that the ruler of the State being a Jat, the Jats of the State must muster around him and project him against the machinations and intrigues of the ‘Banias’ and ‘non-Jats’, who lead the Praja Parishad. Having been fed on these rumours and false propaganda it is not surprising that the self-seekers and the communal minded people in the State should exploit the situation for their own ends. The ‘Kisan Sabha’ mainly represents this tendency in the State Politics.

A State of general uneasiness thus prevailed and goondaism and gangsterism tolerated by the Government increased day by day. The hartal continued and as the Government would not put an end to the general lawlessness that had begun to spread to the other parts of the State also, the Praja Parishad decided to launch a Satyagraha for the abolition of forced labour; ending of this general lawlessness in the State, and for securing an efficient and sympathetic administration. The administrative machinery, they feel, is corrupt and incompetent and nepotism and black marketing thrive within its fold. The hartal, therefore, continues. The shopkeepers would not dare to open their shops for fear of the goondas. The Praja Parishad launched the Satyagraha in pursuance of this resolve and started picketing the Government offices. On the 15th of January, the day of terrible repression, while the Satyagrahis were picketing outside the Government offices a detachment of State Forces led by the Maharaja’s youngest brother appeared on the scene. The Satyagrahis, consisting also of a large number of women and with a large mass of people as sightseers, stood face to face with the cavalry and infantry. Without declaring the assembly unlawful the prince ordered his men to march over the picketeers. In the general confusion that followed, many arrests took place and several persons, including some women, received serious injuries. I examined many of them, found that some of them had serious injuries.
During my brief stay in the State I also met the Maharaja and his Dewan. Their attitude unfortunately was not reassuring at all. There was malice and vindictiveness in the Maharaja much more than I could discover in the behaviour of the Dewan. It must be remembered here that I had gone to Bharatpur at the request of the Maharaja himself and when I actually met him there I found him completely changed. He was stand-offish and if I may say, even haughty and arrogant. He assured me that he had established complete peace and law and order by putting everybody in Jail. When I drew his attention to the allegations that were being made by the Praja Parishad against the Government and particularly in regard to the newly organised Kisan Sabha which consisted mostly of feudal vested interests, he flared up and said that he was himself a member of the Kisan Sabha in his own right. Again when I drew his attention to the background of the present conflict and brought to his notice the breach of the agreement concluded between him and the States people’s representatives regarding the personnel and formation of the reforms committee he said that he was bound by no agreement and no advice. He was supreme in his state and could change or undo anything that had been done or said by anybody. Finally he told me that if I had any suggestions to make I could present them to His Government. He would then consider them in due course.

This is in brief the situation in Bharatpur. Over 60 prominent leaders of the public both Hindus and Muslims have been arrested and detained as criminals. Among the Muslims there are some prominent workers of the Muslim Conference also. Charges against them are those of dacoity, rioting with deadly weapons and obstruction in the discharge of duty—Sections 147, 148, 332 and 395. I met half a dozen of them in Jail and discovered that they were being treated very shabbily. Some of them had bandages on their wounds received on the 15th of January. They looked pale and had heavy, in fact the heaviest available, fetters on them. I inquired from them about the conditions under which they were made to live and they told me that they were being subjected to grave indignities and severities. Food and the sanitary conditions were very bad and the general behaviour of the authorities was also very deplorable.

The Praja Parishad of Bharatpur have brought very grave charges against the Government. Maladministration, corruption and nepotism in the administration of controls and of open encouragement to and abetment of the activities of gangster elements are among these charges. This gangsterism said to be flourishing under the patronage and guidance of the Government has certainly endangered public peace and safety and that is one of the reasons why the shopkeepers still hesitate to open their shops. Section 144 and curfew from dusk to dawn have been enforced in the city. The town presents a deserted look and an atmosphere of panic pervades everywhere. Military and police have been posted at various places in the city and at night, during the curfew hours, the military patrols prove a great nuisance. Petty officials charged with the duty of maintaining law and order, during these extraordinary times, often exceed their limits and misuse their powers. On the day of my arrival while I was being taken in a Tonga to my host’s place a policemen suddenly jumped up from somewhere in the way and demanded that one of the persons with me be handed over to him. In the meantime a Sub-Inspector of Police also came and after scrutinising the persons declared that he had mistaken him for another person who was wanted by the Police. But presently he stopped again and turning to the person sitting by my side—General Secretary of the Muslim Conference in Bharatpur—asked him to come down. We asked him if he was also wanted and he said: ‘I want to take him away’, ‘I charge him with dacoity and arson’. It is a cognizable offence, needs no warrant and no warning. When I asked him if he committed all these crimes just then he
said that it was his business and he wished to take him away without any warrant. He was dragged away from us and sent to jail. A shopkeeper came running the next morning saying that his shops had been burgled, the previous night. There was curfew all over the city and the military picket of his locality was posted in front of his shop. Obviously either the thieves were allowed to go free in the city during curfew hours or some others had organised the burglary. Another shopkeeper, who held licence for selling certain articles, was also informed that his licence had been cancelled because he kept his shop closed.

The Prime Minister of the State, Thakur Hukum Singh, also a Jat, seems to be the only person held responsible by everybody for this lawlessness and maladministration. The charges enumerated above are no doubt very serious and no Government can afford to take them lying down. There should, therefore, be an open public enquiry and the Praja Parishad should be given full facilities to prove these charges. The Government of Bharatpur should have no objection to such a suggestion. Refusal to have a public enquiry conducted would naturally strengthen the suspicions that are at present being entertained against the Government.

At the same time it would also be very helpful for the settlement of the present conflict if the Maharaja took a progressive view of the situation thereby making it possible for the Praja Parishad to help in the framing of the constitution of Responsible Government contemplated by him last year.

DWARKANATH KACHRU
General Secretary,
All India States’ Peoples’ Conference

2. Repression of the People’s Agitation in Bharatpur

Statement by Pattabhi Sitaramayya, 1st week of February 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 15(1), NMML

ALL INDIA STATES’ PEOPLE’S CONFERENCE

Statement by Dr. Pattabhi on Bharatpur Situation

I had issued one statement previously with a hope that his Highness the Maharaja would take up the matter in his own hand, and bring the situation to normal. But the subsequent events showed that Bharatpur Govt. instead of showing any sign of compromise is using all measures fair or foul to suppress the movement. The Bharatpur people have undergone during this period great suffering. The treatment that is being given to Satyagrahis is inhuman and devoid of all decency. The latest development is the tragic end of one Ramesh Swami which took place on the 5th instant at 3 P.M. while he was going to celebrate anti-begar day. He was not allowed to sit in the lorry on the plea that he being a Congressman could not get a seat under orders of the Govt. Thereupon Swami seems to have resorted to Satyagraha by lying down in front of the lorry. The matter was reported to the police and an officer directed that the lorry be driven over the person. The driver refused when he stepped in heroically [sic] and the lorry was driven. The Swami died and another person who was lying on the ground was seriously injured and is now reported to be in a precarious condition. Although 6 persons were obstructing the path, the proprietor deliberately diverted the car so as to cover the injured. While Swami has faced death like a martyr, the incident blackens the name of Bharatpur Govt. This incident recalls
the previous parallel of Babu Gami's death on the Kalpi road in Bombay in 1932 where at least there was the redeeming feature that the driver was non Indian and not Jat as at Bharatpur.

The Bharatpur Government can gain in no way by this kind of attitude. In these times when our country is at the threshold of independence, one would advise the Maharaja to meet the demands of the people by not only releasing all political prisoners but also granting responsible govt. and for the interim period reconstitute the council without a Dewan on a representative basis until responsible Govt. is unplemented [sic].

3. Development of University Education in Ajmer-Merwara

Memorandum from Ajmer Students' Congress to Shiva Chandra Garg, 25 February 1947

AICC Papers, File No. 18/1947, NMML

SHIVA CHANDRA GARG, B.Sc.,
Member
Indian Statistical Institute (Cal.)
and
Indian Science Congress Association.

Bihari Bhawan,
Kaisarganj, Ajmer

Respected Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of the Memorandum regarding the educational problem of Ajmer-Merwara for your kind consideration.

I hope that you will pay immediate attention to it and use your personal influence with the Education Minister and the Government of India to get things done at the earliest.

Thanks.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
Secretary,
Educational Development Committee,
Ajmer Students' Congress.

Encl: one

Enclosure

Education Minister,
Government of India,

Memorandum.

We note with great satisfaction that our revered leaders in the Interim Government are showing keen interest in the problem of the backward and undeveloped areas. We are grateful to the Honourable the Vice President and the Honourable the Home Member for their decision to set up an Advisory Council for Ajmer Merwara. We are indebted too for the generous grant of two crore rupees for the post-war-reconstruction and development. This is a happy augury and
we hope that this Memorandum of our needs will receive kind and immediate consideration of the Central Government.

This province has been excluded from the rest of British India and its people have thus been miserably prevented from making any progress. Any awakening here would have caused widespread discontent for autocracy in the neighbouring states and hence this exclusion. Formerly the Chief Commissioner of this province was also the Resident for Rajputana, but in order to preclude the state from the influence of the National Govt. the Resident for Rajputana was made a separate official. The policy underlying this change was that Ajmer Merwara may not have any direct or indirect influence if a Federation of Rajputana States is formed in future.

In the year 1944 a scheme for Rajputana University was prepared under the auspices of the Board of High School and Intermediate Education for Rajputana, Central India and Gwalior with Ajmer, as its headquarter. The establishment of this University would have increased the chances for the formation of Rajputana States Federation with the seat of Government at Ajmer. To prevent this, another scheme for a University of Rajputana States at Jaipur was sponsored by Sir Mirza Ismail and is now being given shape by Sir V.T. Krishnamachari. This step of the States will further hinder the present and future educational progress of Ajmer-Merwara by affecting the integrity of Rajputana Education Board, if adequate arrangements are not made to establish a University at Ajmer.

It is an admitted fact that inspite of its being a Centrally Administered Province, Ajmer-Merwara is educationally, socially, culturally, and industrially much more backward than any other province. Even the students of this area are at the mercy of other universities for the attainment of higher and technical education, while admissions are hardly ever granted. The talents of this province are thus barred from sharing in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of this province. Education is essential for agricultural and industrial development which provides more employment and raise the standard of living of the masses. In the words of Syt. C. Rajagopalachari (our ex-education Minister) ‘Education is the basic industry of the country. Education is the basis of the fabric that we all have our dreams to build up in this country in the near future. So, the importance of education is not different from that of other industries. Education is part of the scheme of industrialisation which most enlightened people have in their minds just now.’

Further in his words, ‘The university performs a very important function in the cultural life a country, being the source from which the cultures of land spreads to its youth. As youths form the backbone of the country it is necessary that they should imbibe the best of culture of this ancient land.’ With these words we request our worthy leaders and the members of the Interim National Govt., to establish at Ajmer, a University which should also set up a network of training and research institutions to provide necessary technical personnel and facility for the advancement of the province.

We are,

Sir

The Members of Ajmer Student’s [sic] Congress
4. Report from Rajputana

Extracts from the fortnightly report of Rajputana Agency for the second half of February 1947, 1st week of March 1947
Political Department, File No. 27-P/47, NAI

Appreciation of the strength, policy and activities of the various volunteer bodies.

Bharatpur.

Muslim National Guard. Organised in June 1946, total strength is now about 250. Aims are achievement of Pakistan and protection of Muslim rights in the State. Personnel have been trained by ex-military non-commissioned officers in squad drill etc. on Indian Army lines and have also learnt the use of lathis and swords in local ‘Akkharas’. No parades etc. have been held for the last 3 months owing to unfavourable weather.

Azad Hind Dal. Established in January 1946, strength is about 300. Members have been trained by ex-I.N.A. men, but no parades have been held for the last two months.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. A purely Hindu organisation, having about 500 volunteers in Bharatpur city, but no branches in Tehsils. It aims at improving the health of children and has not so far been noticed taking part in political or subversive activities.

Kotah.

There are two volunteer organisations in Kotah State, the Rashtriya Swyam Sewak Sangh and the Muslim Scouts, the former having about 200, and the latter some 150 members. Rashtriya Swyam Sewak Sangh hold daily parades and occasional private meetings. The Muslim Scouts hold occasional parades and on their religious or communal functions march in formation shouting communal and political slogans; they work generally under the guidance of the local Muslim League.

Mewar.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. This organisation has been in existence for a long time and has now about 1500 members who parade, drill and learn the use of lathi, swords etc. Its policy is to achieve Hindu unity.

Rashtriya Sewa Dal. This is a newly formed body consisting of about 500 members in Udaipur. Its activities are similar to those of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, but its aim is the achievement of Hindu-Muslim unity.

National Guards. This is a purely Muslim body newly formed in Udaipur and has 200 members who parade and learn the use of lathis etc.

Jaipur.

Volunteer organisations e.g. the Muslim League National Guards and the Arya Samaj Vir Dals are on a small scale. The ‘Sat Sangh’, a Hindu organisation of about 500 members, holds periodical meetings at which speeches are delivered on religion, and games and exercises are organised, but attendance is usually small. Muslim Akkharas with a membership of over 200 have been holding more regular meetings since the communal disturbances began.
5. Peasant Meetings Held at Bhavi, Jaitaran, and Nimaj

Letter from the I.G. Police, Government of Jodhpur, to the Prime Minister, Jodhpur, 8 March 1947

Jodhpur Confidential Series, File No. 51, 1946–7, Rajasthan State Archives (RSA)

On 26.2.47 a meeting of the Kisans was held at Bhavi in the ‘Maidan’ near the temple and the Nadi from 9.30 to 12 p.m. which was attended by about 800 cultivators of Bilara Pargana and Bhavi proper. Songs were sung by Hira Singh and short speeches were delivered by Gordhan Singh and Mirdha Baldeo Ram. The former asked the Kisans to educate their children and to keep arms with them always, and the latter asked them to unite and maintain such solidarity that people should begin to tremble and think that Kisan army would over turn the world. He said that all those who earned their livelihood by cultivation, were brethren and added that the instructions given by Gordhan Singh were very useful and should always be followed.

Next day on 27.2.47 again a meeting was held at Bhavi from 10 A.M. to 2 P.M. in which Mirdha Baldeo Ram delivered a lengthy speech reiterating what he had said at Dangiawas the previous day and explained the order issued in the Government Gazette dated 11.1.47. He also appealed to start a Kisan Boarding House at Bhavi. Narsingh Kachhwaha in his long speech traced the History of the Indian National Congress saying that at the time when the first salt satyagrah was launched only few persons took part in it and went to Jail but at the time of the second satyagrah the number increased to 70 thousands. Continuing he said that due to the Navy revolt and other similar circumstances the Britishers had been forced to hand over the control of India to the Congress and it was urged every where to establish responsible Government in the states also; but in Marwar the Assembly had no rights or powers and that it was an assembly of the Jagirdars. He said that the Lok Parishad and the Kishan Sabha had decided to boycott the Assembly elections, so no body should give vote in the elections. He criticised the introduction of Hal Bhavli lag and warned the Government to withdraw the order regarding it.

Mirdha Baldeo Ram addressed the meeting again. He criticised the introduction of Hal Bhavli lag saying that it was nothing but a fine imposed upon the cultivators. On the one side he added, the Government was asking the cultivators to grow more food and on the other side their necks were butchered and they were being thus hampered in cultivation by impositions of new lags. It was nothing but zulm over the cultivators perpetrated by the officials of the state due to the fact that there was no representative of the Kisans in the Council. The Ministers, he said, passed such laws blindly sitting on chairs in their offices at Jodhpur and never caring to examine the condition of the cultivators by going into the villages. Continuing he said, that the ministers toured in the District only to gain Bhatta in their car, they would go to Bilara and thence proceed to Nagaur without even looking towards the village situated in the way and would care for their two days Bhatt (Rs. 75/- for 2 days). The Prime Minister, he said, was a resident of Madras, he was in service in Allahabad and came to Jodhpur on a higher salary—nobody checked him from doing that then why Hal Bhavli lag was imposed upon the cultivators when they did cultivation in other villages. It was a matter of great shame, he said on the part of the Government to have enacted such black laws at a time when Darbar Sahib wanted to run the administration by means of public opinion. Before the enactment of such a black law the Prime Minister ought to have taken public opinion regarding it. In the end he said that the Government should withdraw the order and took votes of the cultivators who raised their hands in support of the withdrawal.
Narsingh Kachhawaha shouted slogans that the Government was of cultivators and said that though Bagar had been abolished yet the same was being exacted in Khalsa villages under the very nose of Venkatachar. He quoted the instance of Havaldar Sheo Ram in village Benon who daily got 20 jars of water filled by the Kumbhar free of charge.

Dwarka Dass delivered a lengthy speech in the meeting in which he said that in ancient days Rajas and Jagirdars were their chowkidars and the public used to give them grain in small quantities for their maintenance but at present they had become masters and were perpetrating all sorts of zulms over the cultivators. Further he informed them that the Rajputs had recently convened a meeting at Jodhpur in which they had decided to suppress the cultivators and loot them. He exhorted them to wake up, to keep arms with them, to make an army of young ones, to decide once for all what lags should be given and what not, and to oppose and attack the Jagirdars if they realised other lags then decided by force. The Jagirdars, he said numbered only 1200 and would not be able to stand against the cultivators whose number in Marwar was 20 lacs. He warned the cultivators that other powers were making grand preparations to suppress them and suggested to them to organise village wise committees, to prepare youths for going to Jails in large numbers and to make every effort to uproot the Jagir system and the present administration with a view to establish new Raj. Referring to the present administration of the State he said that Pandit Dharam Narain was a Jagirdar and the Police Department was handled by a Jagirdar and that under such circumstances it was futile for the cultivators to expect justice from the administration. Justice, he said, they would get only if they maintained solidarity and worked with cooperation otherwise their lands even would be snatched away. Regarding levy he asked them to give only the surplus grain after keeping with them the quantity required for their own use and that too at the market rate and exhorted them to attack the State Officials if they tried to take the grain by force.

Mirdha Baldeo Ram said that they should request the Government to take levy grain at a reasonable rate. He then took aside the mukhias of the cultivators and gave them secret instructions like those given at Dangiawas.

**JAITARAN**

The Kisan Sabha at Jaitaran was held near the Bera from 9 P.M. to 11.30 P.M. on 27.2.47 which was attended by about 70 cultivators of the neighbouring villages. Attar Mohammed of Beawar said in his speech that the Executive Hakim of place named Kazi was quite unfit for the job entrusted to him and besides being corrupt was Badmash also. Dwarka Dass reiterated his speeches delivered at Asotra and other places.

Narsingh Kachhawaha sang songs. Next day on 28.2.47 a procession of Kisans was taken out at 10 A.M. from the Kherapawalon-ki-Bagechi and passing through the main market terminated near the Hakumat. Baldeo Ram, Dwarka Dass etc. all walked on foot. Songs were sung in the procession and slogans like ‘Land belongs to cultivators, Jagirdars leave the Jagir etc.’ were shouted.

From 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. same day a meeting of the Kisans was held in the Maidan Near Hakumat under the presidentship of Attar Mohammad of Beawar. Speeches were delivered in the meeting by Dwarka Dass and Baldeo Ram in which they reiterated their former speeches. The latter appealed to the cultivators to open a Boarding House at Jaitaran and not to give vote in the Assembly elections. He (Baldeo Ram) then related the high-handedness of Thikana Ras in not releasing the 4 accused of Hunawas on bail in a case of 420 M.P.C. in the beginning,
when they were arrested and said that the judicially empowered Thikanas always misused their powers. He put the following two resolutions in the meeting which were passed:

1. Enquiry should be made into the above noted case of Thikana Ras and its judicial powers should be forfeited.
2. Hal Bhavli lag should be abolished in jagir as well as Khalsa areas.

Chawdhri Rama of Garnia appealed to the cultivators to unite and to educate their children and Attar Mohammad in his speech said that the Executive Hakum got thousands of maunds of grain exported from villages Balunda and Nibol after taking Rs. 2000/- as bribe.

Mukhias of the Kisans were then taken aside and secret instructions (Guru mantra) were given like other places.

On the evening of 28.2.47 Baldeo Ram, Dwarka Dass, Bansi Dhar, Hari Singh etc. reached Nimaj where they tried to hold a meeting in the night but could not do so due to the noise and hubbub caused by the Gheir processionists of the public who, it is understood, did not want the meeting to be held there. They (conveners of the meeting) stayed there at the house of Rikhab Dass the whole night. Next morning on 1.3.47 they reached Pipalia by car and staying for about 2 hours there talked to the cultivators of Pipalia and asked the Seths and Mahajans to give all sorts of help to the cultivators. The party then left for Sojat by car same day (1.3.47).

Sign. in English
Inspector General of Police,
Jodhpur.

Copy with compliments, forwarded, for information to:

1. The Personal Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur, Jodhpur
2. The Secretary to Shree Bada Maharaj Kunwar Sahib, Jodhpur.

6. Oppose the Piecemeal System of Reforms
Letter from Jt. Secretary of Socialist Party to Bhai Sahib, 28 March 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

Jaipur

Bhai Sahib,
Jai Hind.

Permit me to appraise you of some of the facts connected with the recent declaration of reforms by the Jaipur state on 10th and 11th March, 1947 at the opening of the 4th session of the Jaipur Legislative Council.

(a) The Prime Minister announced that two ministers will be appointed from the elected members of the Legislature, (b) A Constitution Committee consisting of 11 members—9 non-officials from all parties and 2 officials will be appointed to advise the members of the Constituent Assembly. (c) Three members one official and 2 non official are to be elected by the elected members of the Legislature on basis of single non transferable vote to be deputed to the Constituent Assembly. There are in the local Legislature in all 51 Members of whom (i) Independent 12 (ii) Jagirdars 9; (iii) Prajamandalists 15.
Our party has from the very outset been opposing the piecemeal system of reforms and insisting that there should be full fledged responsible Government on the basis of Adult Franchise or at least on the basis of open election from the Legislature. But the Government of Jaipur pressed Prajamandal which agreed to accept appointments in the selection. Prajamandal used to criticise the Independent Party on the allegation that they were in collaboration with the Jagirdars and as such could not be trusted while in fact there never has been any pact between the two and practically during the last three sessions of the Legislature, Independent Party have always been supporting Prajamandal proposals as opposed to those of Sardar groups—inspite of all that thanks to the political wisdom of all those who guide the policy of Prajamandal these days the latter have made a solemn pact with the Sardar Party with a slogan on their lips ‘Down with Jagirdari System’—vested interest are given a first chance to play. Prajamandal agreed to have one Minister and one member for the Constituent Assembly from among their ranks and the same number from the Sardar Group. This is the political awakening among the Prajamandalists here. Principal [?] or otherwise they are out to share even with definitely alien elements which can never coincide. Responsible Prajamandal quarters have gone so far as to declare that Congress Leaders like Pt. Nehru, Sardar Patel Pattabhi Sitarammaiya etc. have also given their free advise [sic] to Prajamandal to capture power although not to the mark [sic] even on the basis of unholy alliance. I may also venture to say that in all these affairs public opinion is kept at hay [sic] nay in the dark as to why and what was being done in the name of the public welfare. I may also add that Independent Party based on a pledge of Jaipur forming an integral part of Free India was rejected by Prajamandal in favour of Jagirdars will be interesting to note.

As you are always presented with a coloured picture of the entire show, I as a Jaipurian consider it to be my honest and foremost duty to bring these hard facts to your notice with the hope that you will be good enough to give your vert [sic] serious consideration to the local atmosphere of Prajamandal through some light on the subject.

Sd/-
Jt. Secretary
Socialist Party

7. Demand for Democratic Elections and Support to the Constituent Assembly of India

Resolutions passed by the Representative Council of Marwar Lok Parishad, 23–24 April 1947
Jodhpur Confidential Series, File No. 51, 1946–7, RSA

Madan Mohan.


Ist.
The Representative Council of the Marwar Lok Parishad has carefully gone through the Jodhpur Government notification of 10th April 1947 and given its thoughtful consideration to it in the
pattern of All India happenings shaping today towards the attainment of a free, united and democratic India. The Council has not been unaware and unresentful of the fact that since the arrival of the Cabinet Mission in India the States peoples point of view had not been taken into consideration even in matters directly affecting them.

While regretting the obstructive policy of the Prince’s Chamber towards the framing of the Union Constitution through the Constituent Assembly and that of resisting the rightful incorporation of popular representation in it the Council wishes it to be declared that during these speedily changing times the Marwar Lok Parishad is desirous of offering its cooperation to the Constituent Assembly in the process of hastening the withdrawal of British power from India, if it could not offered without impassing over struggle for freedom.

This Council emphatically reiterates that the truly democratic and satisfactory manner of representing the Jodhpur State on the Constituent Assembly would have been the adoption of adult suffrage as the basis for conducting such elections as has been demanded by the Marwar Lok Parishad long in advance, when it would have been possible to set up the demanded constituency; but since the Government has failed to do so the Marwar Lok Parishad has no alternative but to consider the acceptance or otherwise of the available constituency only the elective element of the Jodhpur Municipal Board determined by the Government. The Representative Council is of the opinion that it would be politically unwise and playing in the hands of the forces hostile to Indian Freedom and Union if it did not line up and stand as one with the national aspirations which are active within the Constituent Assembly. The Council, therefore, does not find any objection in utilizing this electoral college since the Municipal Board of Jodhpur is the only popular body in Marwar on which Marwar Lok Parishad, Marwar Kisan Sabha, Marwar Muslim League and other popular organisations are represented, and which is constituted on a fairly wide franchise with an elected president, where franchise is the widest possible and whose president is a non official.

The Council has noted the attempts of a few interested opportunities to get the recently set up Legislature and the undemocratic local bodies in towns and villages adopted as electoral college for the Constituent Assembly. The Marwar Lok Parishad has time and again expressed its strong condemnation of the Legislative Assembly which has disparity in franchise for the Jagir and Khalsa areas and has so many fundamental defects that it has been boycotted by all popular and progressive mass organisations of Marwar.

The district Municipalities and the village Panchayat which are generally either nominated or elected on communal franchise and have officials or Jagirdars as their presidents can in no way be considered a suitable franchise for the elected representative of the Constituent Assembly. The Representative Council, therefore approves of the action of the Lok Parishad and Independent Municipal coalition party of unanimously selecting Sjt. Jainarain Vyas the esteemed pillar of A.I.S.P.C. in the words of Pt. Nehru and the indispensable General Secretary of A.I.S.P.C. since 1936.

IIInd.

**JAGIR AFFAIRS AND DABRA**

The representative Council of the Marwar Lok Parishad has closely followed the events that have been taking place in the Jagir of Marwar, specially after the Installation of Thakur Bakhtawar Singh as Inspector General of Police. The Council is convinced that the Jagirdars have been
directly and indirectly encouraged to perpetuate their exploitation by using violence, and false poisonous ideas are being spread by them among the Rajput Community that the movements of the Marwar Lok Parishad and the Kisan Sabha for economic emancipation of the Kisan Masses is an anti-Rajput movement. The happenings in Dabra were the direct result of such propaganda and the way in which the police department has behaved in the case i.e. giving freedom to the aggressors to make assaults, loot properties and kill people, and arresting the relatives of those who were killed and those who were actually wounded has convinced this Council that the Government and people of the State would meet disastrous consequences if the Police department is allowed to remain in the present undesirable hands. The Council, therefore, demands that Thakur Bhakhtawar Singh whose term of office as I.G.P. has brought the State Government to shame be immediately removed and adequate punishment be awarded to those Jagirdars who have committed this plot and against who have committed and encouraged and allowed the commencement of atrocities and murders in order to facilitate the perpetuation of feudal exploitation.

The Council calls upon the working committee to collect funds for conducting the Dabra case and setting up a strong propaganda machinery both inside and outside the State to expose the unholy alliance of the Jagirdars and the Police.

The Council, however, wishes to make it clear that the Marwar Lok Parishad has no grudge against Rajput Community which in its opinion is as much a victim of Jagiri exploitation as are other communities, and calls upon all its branches to contact the Rajput masses and explain our attitude to them.

IIIrd

UNDEMOCRATIC REFORMS

The Marwar Lok Parishad has, in its various resolutions passed from time to time clearly exposed to the people of Marwar the hollowness and undemocratic character of the reforms recently introduced in the State. The Representative Council congratulates the people of Marwar in general and various sister institutions such as Marwar Kisan Sabha, all labour organisations, Women's Conference etc. for their co-operation in the boycott and rejection of these reforms.

The Council desires to make it known that most of the candidates returned to the Legislative set up under these reforms are either Jagirdars or their allies or the representatives of other vested interests in Marwar and the real representatives of the people are conspicuous by their complete absence. Under the circumstances this newly introduced Legislature has no popular backing.

The Council, therefore demands that:

1. These newly introduced reforms should be immediately withdrawn and the provision for appointing Ministers under these reforms be dropped.
2. A Constituent Assembly based on adult suffrage be set up to draw a constitution for responsible Government in Marwar under the aegis of His Highness.
3. Meanwhile the Marwar Lok Parishad which has the co-operation of Kisan and labour organizations and all the progressive sections of the people be invited to form Interim Government with the co-operation of the above elements.
8. Rajputana Must Form One Single Unit with Princes

All India States People’s Conference, Rajputana Regional Council Annual Report, 1946–7, April 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 261, NMML

Rajputana Comprises the following 26 States:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of State</th>
<th>Population in thousands.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Jaipur</td>
<td>3040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Jodhpur</td>
<td>2556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Udaipur</td>
<td>1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bikaner</td>
<td>1293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Alwar</td>
<td>823</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Kotah</td>
<td>777</td>
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<td>7. Bharatpur</td>
<td>576</td>
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<td>8. Tonk</td>
<td>354</td>
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<td>9. Palanpur</td>
<td>316</td>
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<td>10. Dholpur</td>
<td>287</td>
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<td>11. Dungarpur</td>
<td>274</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Idar</td>
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<td>13. Banswara</td>
<td>259</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Bundi</td>
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<td>15. Sirohi</td>
<td>234</td>
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<td>16. Karauli</td>
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<td>17. Jalawar</td>
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<td>18. Kishangarh</td>
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<td>19. Jaisalmer</td>
<td>93</td>
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<td>20. Partabgarh</td>
<td>92</td>
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<td>21. Shahpura</td>
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<td>22. Kushalgarh</td>
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<td>23. Danta</td>
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<tr>
<td>24. Vijayanagar</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>25. Nimrana</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>26. Lawa</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

13950

The Small Sambhar Shamalat area (including the Sambhar Salt Lake) belongs jointly to the Jaipur and Jodhpur States. The total area of the Rajputana States is nearly 134 thousand square miles and the total population nearly 14 millions. Besides the 26 States, there are (1) the little Abu District (area 6 sq. miles population 5 thousand) and (2) Ajmer-Merwara (area 2400 sq. miles and the population 583 thousand). Rajputana is a compact region with States having contiguous areas. The Tonk State which consists of six parts thrown apart from each other is a notable exception.
2. At the time of the Udaipur Session of the All India States’ People’s Conference, there were affiliated or recognised people’s organisations in the following 15 States:—


During the year (1946-47), people’s organisation is not yet prepared to get itself affiliated or recognised. It is expected that Lawa and Vijayanagar will have people’s organisations before long. The Rajputana Regional Council for 1946-47 consisted of 132 elected, 33 coopted members, and the number of the members of the General Council from Rajputana was 33. The Regional Working Committee was constituted as follows:—

1. Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt (Sirohi) President
2. Shri Hiralal Shastri (Jaipur) Secretary
3. Shri Mohanlal Sukhadia (Udaipur) Treasurer
4. Shri Jainarayan Vyas (Jodhpur) Member
5. Shri Manikyalal Varma (Udaipur) Member
6. Shri Jugalkishor Chaturvedi (Bharatpur) Member
7. Shri B.S. Deshpande (Jaipur) Member
8. Shri Bholanath Master (Alwar) Member
9. Shri Raghuvardayal Goyal (Bikaner) Member
10. Shri Siddharaj Dhaddha (Jaipur) Member
11. Shri Bhogilal Pandya (Dungarpur) Member
12. Shri Gokullal Asawa (Shahpura) Member
13. Shri Pukhraj Singhi (Sirohi) Member
14. Shri Abhinna Hari (Kotah) Member and
15. Shri Mithalal Trivedi (Jodhpur) Member

The people’s organisations have grown rapidly with hundreds of local branches and with nearly two lacs of primary members. The Regional Office was located in Jaipur State.

3. In the course of the year, there were three sessions of the Regional Council:—

1. Udaipur January, '46
2. Shivganj (Sirohi) May, '46
3. Jaipur January, '47

The Regional Working Committee held its sittings as follows:—

1. Kotah January, '46
2. Dungarpur April, '46
3. Shivganj (Sirohi) May, '46
4. Kishangarh Sept., '46
5. Karauli Nov., '46
6. Bikaner Dec., '46
7. Jaipur Jan., '47
8. Alwar Feb., '47
9. Sojat (Jodhpur) Feb., '47.
Besides the Regional Council and Working Committee, various sub-committees were at work throughout the year.

The Regional Office issued printed bulletins from time to time. There were eight issues of the said bulletin which would preserve a published account of the year’s work of the regional organisation. The Secretary visited each one of the 26 States at least once and some of them more than once. The President also toured some of the States. Whenever necessary, other members of the Working Committee also extended their full co-operation to the President and the Secretary in their touring work. There was considerable organisational and constructive effort everywhere in the region which resulted in mass contact on an extensive scale. Along with this, contacts were established on behalf of the regional organisations to lend a helping hand to some of the States’ organizations to enable them as far as possible to avoid conflicts with local authorities.

4. In Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Bikaner, Alwar, Kotah, Bharatpur, Palanpur, Banswara, Bundi, Sirohi, Karauli, Jhalawar, Kishangarh and Shahpura, there has been some activity on behalf of the States’ administrations about constitutional reforms. But except in a few cases, serious attempt has been made to satisfy the people’s organisations concerned. The position, therefore, is on the whole very unsatisfactory. In most of the States, no signs of real progress are visible and the local administration seem to be doing all that is possible to ignore and flout progressive public opinion. Direct and indirect repression is going on in many of the States but it appears that in some of them e.g. Bharatpur, Dungarpur, Dholpur unworthy attempts are being made to crush the people’s organisations. In big States like Jodhpur and Jaipur, the Jagirdars problem has become a most serious one and it will have to be handled with caution and wisdom on the one hand and courage and firmness on the other. It appears that most of the Rajputana Princes and their representatives are busy talking about what they call Rajputana Union, while there are a few others who are apparently taking greater interest in the confederation scheme sponsored by the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar. But there is yet no indication when, if at all, the people’s representatives are likely to be taken into confidence regarding the formation of the Rajputana Union which obviously cannot be accomplished in any shape or form without the people’s active participation in all that is being done and may be done in this connection. The correct and courageous stand taken up by the bigger Rajputana States regarding the Indian Constituent Assembly has been appreciated by the people, but the position in connection with the election of the allotted number of the States’ representatives (which is 13) is yet neither clear nor satisfactory.

5. Difficult times are ahead and events are moving with extraordinary speed. It may be that the people of the State, generally speaking, are anxiously waiting to have a glimpse of the Indian set-up which may finally emerge. But all the same, there is no doubt that the people are getting impatient and restive. The British are going to handover power to Indian hands within a specified time-limit but what about the Indian Princes? Will they not do the same simultaneously by transferring power to the people? Suppose the Princes are unwilling or slow then, of course, there will be a conflagration which the Princes may hardly survive. In Rajputana, as elsewhere there should be no difficulty, if only the Princes read the signs of the times and act accordingly with courage and farsightedness. Although the present boundaries of the Rajputana States are not natural and will, therefore, present unnecessary difficulties in the formation of a province, still the boundaries may be tolerated and the princely dynasties may continue if they fulfil on [sic] necessary condition and that is to divest themselves of the
power which they happen to enjoy today. The apparent diversity of conditions prevailing in the various States cannot conceal the fundamental unity and identity of purpose which is bound to make the people of all the States move on together towards the common goal. So Rajputana is one and will make the final effort like one mane [sic]. As an integral part of free and united India, Rajputana must form one single unit with the Princes, if possible, and without them, if necessary.

Jaipur,
April, 1947.
N.R.D.

9. Confederation of Kathiawar–Rajputana Is Not a Viable Option

Letter from the President, AISPC, to the Secretary, Rajputana States People’s Regional Council, Jaipur, 2 May 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 267, NMML

19 Canning Lane

Message

A confederation is an enemy of Federation. A Federation consists of units which surrenders a part of their powers in favour of the Centre and becomes homogeneous and identical with the centre while preserving its homogeneity. They are therefore organically bound up with the Centre and with each other. A confederation is the mere juxtaposition of States without such organic bonds. They are not close knit and compact but are merely amorphous. What we want is an adoption by the groups of States of principles of Deccan States Union, where geographical boundaries between States and States no longer exist and where the individuality of the rulers is merged in the concept of corporate constitutional monarchy.

The Confederation of the proposed Kathiawar-Rajputana-Central India States is therefore a hotch-potch and represents a desperate attempt at preservation of life by hugging the dead body from which the spirit has departed.

Sd/-
President.

The Secretary,
Rajputana States People’s Regional Council
Chauda Rasta,
Jaipur.

10. Bhilwara Prajamandal Opposed to Confederation

Statement by the Bhilwara Prajamandal, 8 May 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 267, NMML

At a largely attended Public Meeting organised by Bhilwara Praja Mandal in pursuance of the resolution of Rajputana States Regional Council, the Confederation scheme proposed by Jam Saheb of Nawanagar for the States of Rajputana, Malwar, Gujarut and Kathiawar was severely opposed. The meeting was of opinion that the Jam scheme is being sponsored to strengthen
the despotic hold of rulers on their subjects and is not based on geographical, cultural or educational necessities.

11. States Must Join India and Establish Democracy

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to the Maharaja of Alwar, 12 May 1947

New Delhi

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

I have your letter of the 8th May.

2. I have not seen the report of my speech in the Constituent Assembly in the press. The points you have noted are more or less correct in so far as the Constituent Assembly is concerned. That Assembly is a voluntary body and there can be no coercion nor does it intend in the making of its constitution to interfere with the internal arrangements of the States, their monarchical form of government or territorial boundaries. So far as the Fundamental Rights and the other structure of the Union are concerned, they would naturally apply to any State entering the Union. All this is correct in so far as the Constituent Assembly is concerned. But I should like to make it perfectly clear that this has nothing to do with my own views in regard to certain matters. There has been no change or reorientation in them. I have said nothing in the Constituent Assembly in April which I did not say there in December last because I realise that that Assembly has certain limited functions. I added then that obviously if any State does not enter the Constituent Assembly the gap between that State and the Assembly as well as the Union of India that follows will increase. I cannot conceive any State keeping out of the Union of India because of the compulsion of events. Nor can I conceive any State continuing to have an authoritarian form of government when the rest of India has free and democratic government.

Yours sincerely

Jawaharlal Nehru

12. Appeal for Assistance in Establishing a Hindu Newspaper

Letter from Ashutosh Lahiri to the Maharaja of Alwar, 15 May 1947

Ashutosh Lahiri Papers, Subject File No. 2, NMML

New Delhi

To

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar,

Mount Abu, Rajputana

Dear Maharaja Bahadur,

I take the liberty of addressing you on a matter which, I feel, is of such over-riding importance that some practical move forward must be taken without delay. I mean the question of starting a Daily Paper both in English and Hindi from Delhi with the specific mission to preach the
politics of true Indian nationalism and the idealism which Veer Savarkar has placed before
the Nation and which is now embodied in the programme of work of the Hindu Mahasabha.
To start with, the paper will be in English.

The Hindu Mahasabha has always stood by the cause of Princely India and we think
that there is a tie of common interests between the Hindus of British India and the Hindu
Princes. A News Paper at Delhi is as much a crying need for us as for the Princes, and I take
this opportunity of appealing to you to come forward with generous assistance in enabling us
to start this new venture.

We propose to have a public limited Company with ten lakhs of rupees capital for the
purpose and I think within a fortnight or so the Articles and Memorandum of Association, in
a printed form, will be available. Mr. Bhopatkar, President, All India Hindu Mahasabha, Dr.
S.P. Mookherjee, Dr. Moonje, Mr. K.C. Neogy (Central M.L.A.), Dr. N.B. Khare and a few
others including myself will be the first Directors of the Company.

Now the greatest difficulty is to have a suitable press. Now-a-days it is impossible to compete
with other papers or to make a decent impression at the outset, unless we have a Rotary Machine.
But a Rotary machine cannot be available in India and will have to be imported from outside.
On making enquiries from the various Agents and Importers of foreign printing presses, I have
found that at least six months' time will be required, if we book the orders just now.

I am sending herewith the quotation from a respectable firm which has supplied Rotary
machine to the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika; the 'Dawn', the 'Indian News Chronicle' (Delhi), the
'National Herald' (Lucknow) etc. Every effort has now to be made to place the order as soon
as possible. In accordance with the terms of the Firm, 15% will have to be paid in cash in advance. I have been assured that they may also agree to 10% payment. This means that, at
least thirty thousand rupees must be immediately found.

May I request Your Highness to undertake this financial burden for the present? In fact, my
idea is that the entire liability for the cost of this Rotary Press may be taken by Your Highness,
and the amount may ultimately be absorbed into the shares of the Company. The order may
be placed directly on your responsibility, or in the name of the 'Bharat Publishing Company'
as we propose to call it) with your guarantee.

I may also suggest another alternative, if what I have stated above does not meet with your
approval. Your Highness may purchase the machine and continue to be its owner but it may
be leased out to the proposed Company on suitable terms and the Company may be given
the exclusive right of using the machine and printing the paper.

I am impelled by the anxiety to place the orders without delay, since the appearance of the
paper will depend on our getting the machine as early as possible. Time factor is important,
and I hope my proposal will meet with your approval.

Thanking your Highness,

With deepest regards,

Yours sincerely,

General Secretary
13. Democratization in Udaipur

Letter from K.M. Munshi to Vallabhbhai Patel, 20 May 1947


My dear Vallabhbhai,

I received Shri Maniben’s letter of condolence [which] my wife brought here a few days ago.

After I left Delhi I came over here for a day and the Maharana asked me to help him in reorganizing the State and putting through a constitution. He has appointed me his Constitutional Adviser and I have accepted the work without any remuneration. I have overhauled the whole constitution subject to the peculiar conditions of Mewar which are medieval. I have tried to make it as democratic as possible. Possibly the constitution will be announced on the 23rd when Pratap Jayanti is being celebrated here. I have provided for adult franchise and practically all the power will go to the Legislature except those which are necessary to maintain the dignity of the Ruler and Defence and External Affairs. I have advised the Maharana to take up interim Ministers. Unfortunately the Praja Mandal is not very powerful in the State and has exaggerated notions of its claims. But I hope to satisfy them; otherwise we will have elections. At the same time there are large funds for religious charity which I am trying to apply to the purposes of a university. Perhaps that announcement will also be made on the 23rd. The efforts that I am putting forward are very strenuous. It may even lead to a wider union of Rajasthan, if I can do it.

The Jam affair seems to have gone phut. I am glad to learn that Jam saheb had come to see you. Everything must have gone well.

Things are moving very fast in Delhi and my heart is there.

With kindest regards to Maniben and yourself from both of us,

Yours very sincerely,

K.M. Munshi

14. Communal Tension in Jodhpur

Daily Diary of CID Political Branch, Jodhpur, 28 May 1947

Jodhpur Confidential Series, File No. 51, 1946-7, RSA

Due to the influx of refugees from the Sind and Punjab and especially the Sikhs, feelings amongst the Mohammedans are observed to be embittering and the communal tension is becoming tense in Jodhpur City. There is a rumour that if the League does not get any favourable decision out of the leaders meeting called by His Excellency the Viceroy on the 2nd June 1947, it is likely to have some adverse repercussions in Jodhpur also for which some mischief mongers amongst Mohammedans are said to be making prearrangements, and are carrying out silent propaganda.

Some of the Hindu youths are also reported to be undergoing physical training daily due to apprehension of a communal trouble too. The Mohammedans allege that the Hindus, especially the Sikhs are purchasing arms and ammunition to fight with the Mohammedans.

Hakeem Nisar Ahmed, President of one faction of the Marwar Muslim League is said to be in touch with the Sind Provincial Muslim League and undesirable persons from that said [sic] frequently visit him. It is rumoured that some time ago a Hur leader had secretly come to Jodhpur and interviewed Hakeem Nisar Ahmed.
Some cases of house burning are reported to have occurred in some villages near Phulera and panic is reported to be prevailing in the neighbouring villages. It is said that some Mohammadons in Hindu disguise were caught red handed at Phulera a couple of days ago in the act of setting fire to a fence and were produced before the Sub Inspector Phulera who it is said let them off after a cursory interrogation. The Sub Inspector of Police, Phulera is said to be a Mohammadon.

Besides this it is further learnt that the All India States Muslim League wants to create a sovereign Pakistan in the States areas also where there is a majority of Mohammadons. The President of the said League has sent the following cablegram to the Prime Minister of England Mr. Clement Attlee, Lord Listowel, Secretary of State for India, His Excellency the Viceroy, Mr. Jinnah etc. pressing for their demands.

Copy of Cablegram is as follows:

'Rectify Gross injustice to thirty Million States Muslims by British Cabinet Mission plan in not specifying their separate seats out of 93 allotted to Indian States in Constituent Assembly stop. No faith in Congress and Prince Chamber for their betraying states Muslims as proved from elections to Constituent Assembly in which not a single Muslim returned from any Indian States stop. Urge British Cabinet to provide before paramountcy terminate, effective safe guards for political, economic, social, cultural and religious interests of states Muslims with approval and consent of All India Marwar Muslim League stop. Otherwise Muslim majority areas in Indian States must be partitioned to form Independent Unit of Sovereign Pakistan.'

However the situation is being watched and the staff has been instructed to be more vigilant.

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CONFIDENTIAL
No. SB-C3616 Dated 29.5.47

Copy with compliments, forwarded, for information to:—

1. The Prime Minister, Jodhpur
2. The Personal Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur, Jodhpur.
3. The Secretary to Shree Bada Maharaj Kunwar Sahib, Jodhpur.

Signature
Inspector General of Police, Jodhpur.

15. Tyranny in Dungarpur

Report on the arrest of Prajamandal workers in Dungarpur, c. May 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 51, NMML

DUNGARPUR PRAJA MANDAL WORKERS UNDER ARREST

The people of the principality of Dungarpur, whose reactionary ruler is a henchman of the Nawab of Bhopal is at present stirred to their very depths as a result of the tyranny of the Ruler and his Rajput Jagirdars. The Seva Sangh of Dungarpur has started some time back a number of village schools for the benefit of the backward bhills [sic] in the remote villages of the State but the Maharawal suspected the bonafides of these institutions and regarded them
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

as the bulwarks of public awakening and of mass agitation and propaganda against the state and so wanted to crush them somehow, before they took a firm root.

It is recorded that on 29th of May 1947, at noon a posse of troops and Rajputs armed to the teeth arrived at Poonawada and asked Shivaram a school teacher to quit the village as he was an eyesore to the authorities. This village forms part of the Jagir of the feudal chieftain of peeth who is a favourite A.D.C. of His Highness and one of the most influential noblemen of Dungarpur. The teacher demanded a written order to that effect. The party started beating him for his defiance and almost beat him to death. The innocent victim of their zoolum was forcibly dragged out of the house and was further chastised till he became senseless. The people raised an alarm by beating a drum which brought a small gathering of the villagers on the scene but the offenders removed Shivaram to an unknown destination while unconscious.

The news of this incident ultimately reached Juthri the native place of Shivaram where it caused a great sensation and quite a large number of people rushed to Poonawada on the 1st of this month to contact their fellow villager. The Dungarpur Prajamandal also got scent of it and all its office bearers left for that notorious village to find out facts in regard to their beloved comrade.

Kuoa Jagirdar was the leader of this gang that attacked the teacher and so Shivaram’s friends thinking that he might have been removed him to Kuoa went in that direction in quest of him. The military pickets were posted on the route near Kuoa to encounter the approaching party and to thwart their progress. The people of Shivaram were threatened with dire consquence if they moved further. When the threat was ignored, firing was resorted to and five shots were fired at Mr. Bhogilal Pandya, the President of Dungarpur Prajamandal but he luckily escaped unhurt. Mr. Pandya boldly stood with expanded chest to welcome their bullets in the belief that every shot would be a nail in the coffin of absolute monarchy that prevails at present in the state. His courageous demeanour non-plused them and they said that the teacher was sent back to Juthri. It is gathered that he was forced to ride an ass and was left in a forest near Juthri. The Prajamandal and Juthri party returned to Poonwada where they were followed by the military force. When they were cooking a frugal meal they were attacked with the butts of rifles and shoes. It is alleged by the State propaganda that they set fire to a fence surrounding a custom Chowki and laid its blame on the party of Mr. Pandya and Juthri people and arrested some Prajamandal officer and 39 Bhills of Juthri on a charge of arson and marched them in a lorry to the Police station at Dhambola. They are still in custody and no body is allowed to meet them. Even the motor service that runs between Lunnawada and Dungarpur passing through Dhambola has been stopped so that the world outside may remain ignorant of the black deeds of Rajput chiefs. The whole idea of this fresh agitation is that the public of Dungarpur may remain ignorant of their rights and act as slaves to the wishes of their Rajput masters.

A Deputation consisting of Mr. Manikyalalji Verma, a member of the Constituent Assembly from Udaipur and two leading members of the Udaipur Bar Messrs Jwai Sunlia Chand and Tej Sunlia Mehta visited Dungarpur to study the situation on the spot on the 8th instant. As no outsiders are welcomed in the State in this connection, His Highness and his brother Veerbhadra Sinha who is the chief minister, were informed telegraphically from Kherwara of their impending arrival.

On reaching Dungarpur the party wrote a letter to the Diwan asking permission to interview the people under custody to ascertain truth and then to fix an appointment to meet His Highness
of Dungerpur in that connection. The Diwan called the party to meet him personally and in
the interview he informed that the arrested people were guilty of arson and not politicals and
hence his permission was unnecessary. He, however, permitted the party to go and take their
chance of meeting the people under custody if law permitted and gave a sealed letter to the
District Magistrate on the spot to that effect. The District Magistrate even then refused to meet
the members pretending to be asleep. The Police Thana and the camp of the District Magistrate
guarded by armed forces and appeared as if it was a military camp. The Deputation returned
much disappointed having covered a distance of about 30 miles in scorching summer heat.

In the evening Mr. Verma met His Highness who said that the magistrate might not have
succeeded in finding out the right section of the Criminal Procedure Code to convince the
advocates of the Deputation whether permission could be given or not and hence his refusal
to seen [sic] them.

The State is also indulging in propaganda against its victim asking the public to withhold
their sympathy, as they were criminals and not politicals.

It can be noticed that a charge against these people as is alleged in the State pamphlet is
a very simple one and yet it is more than a week that the police investigation is not over and
the accused are not submitted before the Magistrate. Even the district magistrate is on the
spot from the 2nd instant in this connection. Not only this but they are denied interviews to
their relations and legal counsels which is an inherent right of every accused. In the interview
His Highness alleged that he was a Sovereign ruler and his state was going to be independent
and no body had any right to interfere in the internal affairs of his State. It is a challenge to
the fundamental rights of an individual and we wonder whether such reactionary rulers who
oppressed their people would be permitted to exist in a free India.

16. People Resist State Repression

Note by Sayyed Muttalabi, General Secretary, Mewat Conference, 14 June 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 15(1), NMML

A NOTE ON THE SITUATION IN BHARATPUR STATE

Bharatpur State is probably the first native state in India where the Prajamandal Parishad,
Kisan Sabha and the Muslim Conference, all united in defence of popular rights and set up
a unity board to carry on their struggle. These organisations jointly boycotted the so-called
elections of popular ministers and carried on a united fight against the brutalities of the state
administration. Under the united leadership of these organisations, Hindus and Muslims of
the State together faced lathi charges, spear charges and imprisonment and even death. The
Bharatpur Darbar tried its best to disrupt this unity of Hindus and Muslims. When it failed to
do so inside the state, it planned to bring about Hindu Muslim conflict on a larger scale and
for that purpose conspired with the princes of Alwar, Patiala and the Unionist leaders of the
Hariana area. This combine of princes and reactionary unionists raised the slogan of ‘Jat Raj
in Danger’ and began to carry on communal propaganda among the Jats, particularly directed
against the Meos who were the backbone of the Bharatpur peoples’ struggle. They planned to
provoke communal clash in the areas of Punjab and U.P. bordering on Bharatpur.

On 15th and 16th March, the annual conference of the All India Jat Mahasabha was held
in Bharatpur under the presidency of Sardar Baldev Singh, the Defence Minister of the
Interim Government. Intensive anti-Muslim propaganda was done in this conference. The
result of this propaganda was a communal clash in the nearby town of Hodal in Gurgaon District only a week later (23rd March) in which the houses of Muslim minority were attacked and burnt down and even persons were killed and about eighty wounded. This led to another clash on 30th March between Jats and Ahirs on the one side and Meos on the other in which nearly thirty villages were destroyed. Alwar state army is also reported to have participated in destroying several villages during this riot.

Then on 4th May, the convocation of the Jat College in Rohtak was held. Here once again the Maharajas of Patiala and Bharatpur and many other Jat and Akali Jat leaders gave the slogan of establishing a Jat Raj from Agra to Lahore and then pushing its frontiers to the Khyber Pass (See Hindustan Times of 5th May). Here also speakers indulged in rabid communal propaganda.

The result of all this provocative propaganda has been what is happening today in the District of Gurgaon and neighbouring areas. The Princes of these states have taken a leading hand in these riots and arms have been supplied throughout the states. Inspite of all this Bharatpur Maharaja has not succeeded in rousing the Hindus of Bharatpur against the Muslims of the state and communal unity in the state has been maintained so far, mainly due to the efforts of the Praja Parishad. Praja Parishad leaders from prison have been sending messages to their followers outside not to fall in the trap of communal war laid by the Maharaja and maintain Hindu Muslim unity. Even the Jats of Bharatpur State have refused to fight against their Muslim brethren. Failing in this, the Bharatpur administration imported many Jats from the neighbouring areas. And now the army and police of the Bharatpur state together with these new recruits from outside are attacking and pillaging Meo villages in the state. The first of such attacks took place on 3rd June. By 10th June, according to confirmed reports, the State police and military has destroyed nearly 20 villages and massacred many inhabitants of these villages. This destruction is going on. Thousands of refugees from these villages in Bharatpur have fled into Gurgaon district and are seeking shelter in the Meo villages of British India. The refugees report that unless the state is checked immediately, all the one lakh and twenty five thousand Meo inhabitants of Bharatpur will run away from the State and no one can say how many will be killed. The plan of the Bharatpur Durbar is clearly to exterminate some Meos' villages and drive away the rest from the State.

Inside the jail in Bharatpur, the Political prisoners are being inhumanly treated and their lives are in danger. Syt Kishan Lal Joshi, the well known political leader of Bharatpur is being tortured in jail and it is feared that he may be either murdered or disabled for life. He has been singled out for barbarous treatment because he was one of the leading figures in the recent struggle and he was one of those responsible for achieving unity of all organisations in the State.

Under these circumstances, the All India States' People's Conference should send its representatives to investigate the situation in Bharatpur. The refugees should also be contacted and first hand information ascertained directly by the representatives of the AISPC. It should start a campaign for the release of the political prisoners and take all necessary steps to save the life and property of the peoples of the State.

Sd/-
Sayyed Muttalabi
17. Regressive and Repressive Activities of the Ruler of Dungarpur
Letter from the Secretary, Dungarpur Praja Mandal, to Pattabhi Sitaramayya, 19 June 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 51, NMML

From:—
The Secretary,
Dungarpur Praja Mandal,
Nagpur Branch.

To
Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya,
President, All India States Peoples' Conference,
New Delhi.

Sir,

At a time when the public of Dungarpur is maintaining peace and carries on its orderly duties, the Dungarpur State Officers are harassing the subjects with violence, threats, extracting money and food-grains and increasing land revenue etc.

On 2nd May 1947, at Sagwada funds were collected to weigh the Maharaja at his silver Jubilee, when very poor people were forced to pay money etc. These funds together with five lacs from State treasury were handed over to Mr. Jawaharlal Chouvisa District Magistrate, who is responsible for the arrest of many village leaders and reformers. Dungarpur Praja Mandal has done a lot to educate and improve the lot of the people and specially Bhils in the State, but the state is intent upon keeping them backward by removing prohibition and ordering them, with threats to their lives and property, to disassociate themselves from Praja Mandal.

On 30-5-47, Shri Bhogilalji President and Shri. Gaurishankarji Vice President Dungarpur Praja Mandal, with other workers and some 50 Bhils were arrested on false charges, and were threatened very badly and kept in prison without trial.

Mr Golulbhai Bhat and Mr. Maniklal Verma and Mr. Jaikishanji Chavan, Members in the Central Assembly were not permitted to meet the prisoners, to inquire about their condition. These and many other activities of the State Officers: i.e. interfering with educational efforts of Praja Mandal, compelling people not to wear Khadi caps, extracting food grains from villagers etc. are aimed at terrorising the public.

The rationing system in Dungarpur is irresponsible and public is forced to Black market.

Dungarpur Praja Mandal request you to inquire into the grievances of the public of Dungarpur and put an end to their troubles.
18. Constitution of the States to Be on a Sound Footing
Letter from Sadiq Ali to Siddhraj Dhadda, 21 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-18 (Pt. 1) 1947, NMML

Swaraj Bhawan
Allahabad

My Dear Siddraj,

This is a business letter. At Delhi Suchetaji, Krishna Kripalani and myself were discussing a compilation by P.D. Tandon of articles written on Acharya Kripalani. The compilation was not satisfactory in that some possible eminent contributors did not find a place in it. We felt that among others some persons outside the political field should be approached. Among such persons is Mr. G.L. Mehta of the Chamber of Commerce. He writes well. If he knows Kripalaniji a bit a [sic] contribution from him would be worth while. Could you undertake to write to him?

Then there is another piece of business. I wonder if you know Daulat Sinha Kothari of Jodhpur. He is a friend of ours. He wishes to send his brother to Pilani for admission in the Engineering College. He says that it is frightfully difficult these days to get admission. I wonder if you can do something in the matter.

It is a pity I could not see you at Delhi. The mistake as usual is yours and not mine.

How are things going on in Rajputana States. There is something very much fishy about the Udaipur Constitution. When constitutional advisors have personal and political axes to grind and when their motives are not above reproach and suspicion it is futile to expect Constitution soundly based and in consonance with the good of the people. Some features of the Constitution like the Vidyalaya business are highly distasteful to me. All this talk about the Hindu and Muslim culture is definitely reactionary. We should advocate 100 [per cent] secularisation of politics.

What is your programme. Are you going out? It is quite possible that I might undertake in the future a tour of some provinces.

More again.

Yours affectionately,

Shri Siddharaj Dhadda,
Editor,
Lokvani,
Jaipur,
Rajputana.

19. Communal Clash in Bharatpur
Letter from M.S. Yar Khan to L.C.L. Griffin, 29 June 1947

All India Jamiat Ulmai Hind

Delhi

Dear Sir,

From Bharatpur State shocking news are pouring in this office every day. Latest is that out of 300 Muslim Meo villages of the State more than 106 villages have so far been burnt by Hindu
mobs with active participation of State army and police, resulting in great loss of lives and property of the Meos.

About a fortnight back the General Secretary of the Jamiat had sent a telegram to the Maharaja requesting him to protect Muslims and a copy of the same was forwarded to H.E. the Viceroy, but to no effect. Just about a week back letter under registered cover was sent to H.H. wherein it is requested that a peace mission of this organisation be received and all facilities be given to them but this letter has not so far been acknowledged. Copies of this letter were sent to H.E. the Viceroy, Political Adviser and to you.

According to information, the condition in State of Muslims is getting worst, therefore, it is decided to send a peace mission to go around and see the villages personally and ask the State subjects to live brotherly and peacefully. This peace mission shall consist of S.M. Haq, esq., Barrister-At-Law, Delhi, Maulana Ronaq Ali and myself.

It is now to request you to advise us and inform the Bharatpur Darbar of it with a request that all facilities be given to the mission for their success.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/M.S. Yar Khan,
Advocate

L.C.L. Griffin, Esq., CSI, CIE.

20. Demand for Splitting Up Eastern Group of Rajputana States
Letter from N.B. Khare to Vallabhbhai Patel, 2 July 1947

Alwar

My dear Sardar Sahib,

With regard to the interview you so kindly granted me on 30 June, I have sent a letter to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly, of which I have enclosed a copy herewith. I hope you will kindly do your best and help me in this matter. Alwar joined CA at long last,

Yours sincerely,
N.B. Khare

The Hon’ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Alwar

My dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
Reference your DO dated 20 June 1947

It was very kind of you to give me this appointment to wait upon you for an informal discussion about Alwar and some other States joining the Constituent Assembly. I regret I could not keep this appointment because I was suddenly called to Bharatpur and had to leave at 5 a.m. on 29 June.
I am glad to inform you that Alwar has at long last joined the Constituent Assembly and I have sent an official communiqué to this effect to the Secretary of the Constituent Assembly of India.

I am now writing this letter on behalf of Bharatpur State, whose ruler has also appointed me as an Adviser in these matters. Bharatpur is also anxious to join the Constituent Assembly along with the State of Karauli, which is also anxious to do the same. But there are some difficulties in the way which are as follows:

There is a group of States called the Eastern Group of Rajputana States, which includes about 13 States. This group, having a population of about 3 million, is allotted three seats in the Constituent Assembly and the Raja of Bundi has been appointed the convener for the purpose of selecting them. This group includes the three States of Bharatpur, Karauli and Dholpur. These 3 States are divided from the other 10 States headed by Bundi by the whole of Jaipur State and have nothing common with the 10 States. The 10 States headed by Bundi have got a population of about 2 million and the three States, viz., Dholpur, Bharatpur and Karauli, have got a population of a little over a million. I have to request you, therefore, to kindly split this Eastern Group of Rajputana States into two sub-groups—one headed by Bundi with eight or nine other States having two representatives to the Constituent Assembly and (the) other consisting of Dholpur, Bharatpur and Karauli into another sub-group entitled to send one representative (to) the Constituent Assembly. If you kindly help me in this matter, (the) Bharatpur group will immediately join the Constituent Assembly. I think since the names of the three representatives from this Eastern Group of Rajputana States are not announced it may be possible to grant my request. If not, if you could see your way anyhow to provide one seat for this group of Bharatpur, I shall be grateful.

Yours sincerely,

N.B. Khare

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Chairman, Constituent Assembly
New Delhi

21. Muslims of the State Are in a Panic

Letter from L.A.G. Pnhey to Agent Rajputana States, 4 July 1947
Governor General Executive Council Papers, File No. 681/26/GG/43/1947, NAI

EXPRESS LETTER

SECRET

To
Rajputana, Abu

No. 25-P/47, Dated Camp Jaipur, the 4th July 1947.
Reference my telegram No. 4067 of July 2nd.

2. As instructed in Political Department's telegram No. 1670-P dated 30th June 1947, I left for Bharatpur by the next train arriving on the evening of the 1st July. I was met at the station by the Dewan and he gave me a resume of the whole situation. I arranged with him to visit Pahersar, Nadbai and Nagar the next morning. We left at 8 a.m. and took with us the Muslim
Collector of Bharatpur who is incidentally himself a resident of Pahersar. On arrival at Pahersar almost the whole village, the great majority of them Shia Muslims, came and I had a talk with them. I also saw the Military Officer in charge of the State Force detachment. The villagers were full of praise for the way in which the Military had arrived just in time on the 26th June to beat off the attack of about 3000 Hindus. They shot a number of Hindus—estimates vary but it is probable that about 8 to 10 were killed and many others wounded. The Hindu mob gathered again and attacked the next day, the 27th June, but were again beaten off, this time without casualties as they ran away as soon as fire was opened. His Highness the Maharaja arrived back from Udaipur and Alwar on the 29th evening and on hearing of the Pahersar incident he himself left at midnight to visit the village. He reassured the villagers and told them that he made no differentiation between Hindus and Muslims as they were all Bharatpurians first and he would allow no discrimination in favour of the Hindu population. All this was related to me by the villagers themselves who were full of gratitude and praise for the way the Military had saved their lives. Any families who wished to evacuate were provided with trucks and escorts and sent to Bharatpur. They were also grateful to His Highness and most impressed by his visit. The villagers also told me that the two nearby Hindu villages refused to take part in the attacks against them and had helped them as much as they could thereby earning the enmity of the Hindu attackers who were threatening to burn down these Hindu villages.

The immediate cause of this concentrated attack on Pahersar, an innocent Shia village far from the disturbed Meo area, was that on or about the 24th June a Mob of Meos, partly from Alwar and Gurgaon and partly belonging to Bharatpur State, attacked and burnt a village called Akhegarh in Nadbai Tehsil, the first time the trouble had spread to this area. The incident aroused the Hindu villages round about, but as they did not dare attack a Meo village, which would have been stoutly defended, they went some way south of the Meo area and attacked these innocent Shias at Pahersar. Another contributory cause was the only instance of real savagery so far reported in the State. A small Mali village in the Mewat area was assured by their Meo neighbours that they would not be molested. In spite of this a mob of Meos, probably from Alwar came and burnt the village and threw some women and children into the flames.

The Military post is still at Pahersar village and for the time being there is no indication of further trouble in this area. A number of the villagers have of course gone to Agra where they have connections and without knowing the facts are spreading false news of the incident from there.

I went round the village and saw the burnt houses on the outskirts. Property had undoubtedly been looted, but the villagers appeared to be thankful to have escaped with their lives. After leaving Pahersar we went on to Nadbai, five miles away, which is the Tehsil headquarters and a railway station. Here the Muslim population numbering about 200 consisted mainly of Kasais (butchers) who had evacuated their homes before the disturbances spread to this area. A Hindu mob came and burnt the empty houses, but there was no loss of life. A bad feature of the happenings at this place was that the Muslim Tehsildar and Muslim Sub-Inspector of Police shut themselves up with the armed Police guard inside the Tehsil until the Hindu mob had gone away. They refused to let the guard go out and disperse the rioters which they could easily have done with a few rounds. The Tehsildar and the Sub-Inspector then ran away and have not been seen since.

Having seen the damage at Nadbai we then moved on to Nagar passing several villages on the way at which we stopped and questioned the villagers. All were Hindu villages of course
the inhabitants denied having taken part in any of the disturbances. There were no signs of gatherings of mobs and the people appeared to be peacefully going about their ordinary business.

At Nagar a Military force is stationed which patrols the villages round about. No incidents had been reported for two days. While I was there H.H. the Maharaja arrived from Dig where he has established his headquarters for a few days and from where he intends visiting all the disturbed area including Patan, Kuman and Nagar. His visits undoubtedly have a good effect and he is trying to induce Meos and others to return to their lands. I returned to Dig with His Highness and spent a few hours there before returning to Bharatpur. His Highness is very anxious for the extra arms asked for by him for the special armed police to be sanctioned and issued immediately as with more armed posts and patrols in the disturbed area, the trouble could probably be brought to an end much more quickly. There has been a great deal of correspondence on this matter and naturally His Highness is aggrieved that whereas he is expected to maintain law and order in his State, the Government are reluctant to arm him with the weapons required for the purpose. I have recommended in my telegram 4067 dated 2nd July 1947 that 100 rifles be sanctioned and issued immediately pending completion of formalities and I would again urge most strongly that this be done.

On the 3rd July I again went out with the Dewan to visit Weir, and Bhusawar, two more centres where Muslims were alleged to have been badly treated and massacred. This area is in the south of the State and near the Jaipur border and is predominantly Hindu. There are no Muslim villages, but a few Muslim Jolahas (weavers) and Gaddis (converted Rajputs) live in the two small towns. In Weir there have been no incidents and no houses have been burnt. The Gaddis were given shelter in the Fort for three or four days when reports of Hindu mobs in the area were received, and were fed by the local townspeople. These persons have no intention of leaving the area as they are well treated and it is believed that they intend to return to their ancient faith. Their religious convictions have never been strong and they are said to have kept all Hindu and Muslim festivals indiscriminately. There has been no attempt at forcible conversion, but I have suggested to the Dewan, who also agrees, that a Muslim Officer should go and question them and find out their real intentions. Meanwhile they are carrying on their ordinary vocations and there is no fear of them being molested.

In Weir again, the Tehsildar was a Muslim (a Meo) and he went on leave at the critical time and has failed to return on the date on which he was due.

We went to Bhusawar, formerly a sub-Tehsil but now apart of the Weir - Tehsil, and found that about ¼ of the village had been burnt. The burnt area included houses of Muslim Jolahas and Hindu Malis but there had been no loss of life. The Jolahas had packed up and evacuated some days before the troubles started in this area and this was said to be at the instigation of the local sub-Inspector of Police, a Muslim, who himself left without leave and is still absent. He had four armed constables with him, three of them Muslims and these four have staunchly remained on duty with a Hindu Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police. It is understood that a number of the Jolahas crossed into Jaipur territory from where they went to Ahmedabad where a number of them have relatives in the Mills.

This area is quiet and there seem to be no apprehensions of further trouble. Provided the Northern part of the State remains quiet, there is no reason why all the Muslims of the Southern area should not return to their homes after a short time. From the three instances mentioned above, it will be seen that a disturbing feature has been the cowardly behaviour of senior
Muslim officers in the State. Besides those mentioned, the Tehsildar at Kumher and the Doctor and compounder at Nagar also deserted their posts, and only the Collector of Bharatpur has remained staunch and carried out his duties. Even the General [sic] Minster a Muslim of the Meo area, has seen fit to take a few days leave at this critical time on the excuse of his wife's illness. These Muslim officers are difficult to replace as few trained Muslims are available. But His Highness has ordered their replacement by Muslims as far as possible.

The Muslims of the State are obviously in a panic and large numbers have evacuated their families and a number of petty officials have run away. But the Muslim Press agitation against the State administration is entirely baseless and uncalled for and I would urge that steps be taken to curb their activities and to refute their allegations. His Highness the Maharaja, the Dewan, the officers of the State Forces and all senior officers are trying their utmost to establish confidence among the public and to allow no discrimination between Hindu and Muslim. The Pahersar incident is an instance of this which I have myself verified on the spot. A recent example of the absurd canards that are being put abroad is a telegram from Agra saying that armed R.S. Sangh volunteers were pouring into the Bharatpur whereas Muslim National Guards were not allowed into the State. The true facts are that there has been a training camp of the Rashtria Swayam Sewak Sangh in Bharatpur for over a month and at the end of their training on the 30th June one of their Gurus came to Bharatpur and a rally was held in his honour and a number of people came in from Agra, Alwar and elsewhere for this occasion. They all dispersed the next day and I myself arrived at the station on the evening of July 1st and saw large numbers of schoolboys with scout poles on the platform who got into my train and went to Agra. The camp has dispersed and all the volunteers have left.

A final impression I have gained is that the first frenzy of communal strife is coming to an end and the phase of looting and robbery has come. There have been a number of cases of individual attacks for motives of robbery only and the recent looting of the train at Jajjanpatti in Mathura district is a pointer in the same direction. In fact one version has it that the mob which held up the train included both Hindus and Muslims, though the former were predominant.

I have impressed upon the State authority the necessity for issuing frequent Press Communiques stating the true facts and His Highness has instructed his Dewan to do so.

There have been no incidents reported since the 28th June.

Sd/-

L.A.G. Pnhey,
Political Agent,
Eastern Rajputana States.

Copy to Polindia, New Delhi
22. Serious Riots in Alwar and Jaipur States

Letter from the Political Department, New Delhi, to I.D. Scott, Deputy Private Secretary to Viceroy, 7 July 1947
Governor General Executive Council Papers, File No. 681/26/GG/43/1947, NAI

My dear Scott,


Yours sincerely,

I.D. Scott, Esq., CIE., ICS.,
Deputy Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy of memorandum no 214-G/46, dated July 2, 1947, from the Hon’ble the Resident for Rajputana, to the Secretary to H.E. the Crown Representative.

COMMUNAL RIOTS

I enclose a copy of a memorandum No. 929-P/42-P/47, dated 26th June 1947, from the Political Agent at Jaipur regarding communal riots in Jaipur and Alwar States.

Copy of memorandum No. 929-P/42-P/47, dated June 26, 1947, from the Political Agent at Jaipur, to the Secretary to the Resident for Rajputana.

COMMUNAL TROUBLES

The Jaipur Government have reported that there was a serious communal riot on June 4th in an island territory of the Jaipur State that borders on the Gurgaon District and the Mewat area. The cause of the riot was a quarrel between Jats and a Muslim of Kotqasim. Several Muslims were killed and their houses robbed, but the immediate arrival of a contingent of the Jaipur State forces on the scene prevented further trouble in the town. The Hindus of other villages in which Muslims resided, killed men and looted their property. In one of the two villages the mob attacked Hindu families also, and killed several persons including Muslims, but the situation was brought under control.

2. The Alwar Government report that serious riots including cases of arson, loot and murder started in the Gurgaon district on the 27th May 1947 along the Tapukra border of the Alwar State. Intensive patrolling by the Military, Police and Magistracy in Tapukra area kept the situation under control there, but considerable repercussions took place in the Tijara, Kishengarh and
Ramgarh areas of the Mewat in the Alwar State. There was a general panic and any rumour resulted in the gathering of large number of people and big movements. Large number of Hindus left the Mewat area to take shelter with their relatives in the Hindu majority areas, and some Meos from the adjoining Hindu areas came to the Mewat. A big crowd of Kishengarh Meos wanted to force their way through Ramgarh to Gurgaon district, but timely action by the military and Police stopped this. Another crowd of Meos armed with guns and swords and Pharsis took up position on Chamroda hills in the Kishengarh station House area on 6th June 1947 for the purpose of committing riots and burning Hindu villages. After due warning the District Magistrate asked the Military to disperse this unlawful assembly. Five rounds were fired, and on this the people dispersed. One person was wounded and three were arrested.

23. Alwar Supports the Mahasabha Move for a Hindu Newspaper

Letter from Private Secretary to Maharaja of Alwar to L.B. Bhopatkar, 8 July 1947
Ashutosh Lahiri Papers, Subject File No. 2, NMML

From
The Private Secretary to
H.H. Shri Sewai Maharaj Dev of Alwar
Vijey Mandir-Alwar

To
L.B. Bhopatkar Esq.,
President, All India Hindu Mahasabha

Dated, Alwar, the 8th July 1947

Dear Sir,

Kindly refer to your letter dated 25th June, 1947 to His Highness.

2. I am commanded to say that His Highness will be pleased to buy shares worth Rs 50,000/- (Rupees Fifty Thousand) only, of the proposed Newspaper Company. On receiving information that the printing machine is available, steps will be taken to remit the amount by cheque to you or to any other person who is specially named by you and authorized to receive it. This amount would therefore, be treated as His Highness’ subscription to the share capital of the Company.

3. As you have said that when you visit Delhi, you will also come to Alwar, His Highness will be very glad to meet you.

Yours Sincerely,
Sd/
Private Secretary
24. ‘Bharatpur Carnage: Depose the Maharaja & Bring Criminals to Trial’

Dawn, 9 July 1947

The swift, silent and callous methods adopted for annihilating a section of the population of Bharatpur are unparalleled in the history of Indian States. Even Bihar and Garhmukteswar tragedies may be said to pale into comparative shadow in some respects when compared with Bharatpur atrocities. In Bihar the guardians of law and order only connived at the perpetration of inhuman crimes but in Bharatpur they actually participated and directed the arson, loot and murder.

The same uniform methods were adopted for the crimes in every village. State troops first arrived and surrounded the villages. They suddenly opened fire killing hundreds of innocent persons. The inhabitants fled for their lives and the village was evacuated or nearly the whole population was killed. Thereafter, the mobs that followed the troops were asked to loot the property of the deserted village. When this loot was completed the mob was asked to set fire to the entire village and the dead bodies were thrown in the fire.

**MANY TOWNS BESIEGED**

This was how village after village of Mewat was destroyed by the police and the military. The looted property was invariably taken away in motor trucks owned by the State. Having wiped out the majority areas of a particular community in the State the troops and the goondas are now annihilating rest of the same population. Mobs of goondas assisted by military and police of Bharatpur are besieging the towns of Bayana, Khanwa, Dig, Kaman, Roop Bas, Paharsar and Bharatpur. The siege of Kaman and Dig started a month ago.

Besieged people are not allowed to move out. Even external aid cannot reach there. Murders have also started in Bharatpur, the capital of the State. Many persons of Veir town have been confined in the State Fort and are being coerced for conversion. The town of Veir was looted under the direct supervision and orders of a certain DSP.

**ARMING THE RSS**

Up to June 28, thousands of RSS Sangh volunteers were staying in the barracks of Bharatpur Old Cantonment and the newspaper *Ujala* dated June 28 reported that H.H. the Maharaja of Bharatpur had ordered that arms be distributed to them for proper military training. Looted property worth crores of rupees can be recovered even today from the houses of a section of local population and also from the Government buildings where it has been stored for distribution as booty among the criminals.

The only remedy is to depose the Maharaja of Bharatpur forthwith. He has forfeited his right to rule. Thereafter, he and other leading persons in the State, including a close relation of his, should be impeached or indicted before an impartial tribunal. We can furnish the names of these men and produce evidence against them.

Our immediate requirements are: (1) Rescue of besieged persons, kidnapped women and recovery of looted property, and (2) resettlement and relief measures for the refugees and victims of the Bharatpur Carnage.
25. Congress Is Wooing the Powerful in Indian States

Letter from Siddharaj Dhadda to Sadiq Ali, 11 July 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-18 (Pt. 2)/1947-8, NMML

Siddharaj Dhadda
Editor, LOKVANI
Jaipur

My dear Sadik,

Your two letters are awaiting reply. I was in Delhi on the 11th June. I rang up 6, Jantar Mantra Road, and you were reported to be in the bathroom. I then got busy in my other programme and early next morning I flew to Hyderabad (Dn.).

I have written to Shri G.L. Mehta for a contribution on Kripalaniji and I shall let you know further on getting a reply from him.

I am doubtful whether I can do anything with regard to admission in the Pilani Engineering College. I am very shy in asking favours.

I have had your comments on Kashmir and Udaipur situation. It was published in the Lokvani along with some dirty photograph. Munshi is becoming the evil spirit of Rajputana. The way in which he has been hobnobbing with the princes under cover of being a Congressman and having the ear of the High Command, is distressing. The attention of Panditji and Sardar was drawn to this matter. Sardar’s reaction was not very happy. However, we are trying to counter Munshi’s game as far as we can.

To me it appears that the day of freedom in British India, which is drawing near, may not be the day of freedom for us States’ people. We thought that with freedom won in British India, the Congress will help us. However, the Congress has brought so many troubles on its head that instead of helping others it wants the help of everybody else to keep itself in position. Naturally, therefore, it is wooing those in power in Indian States and the unfortunate millions are left in the lurch. The shabby manner, in which the States’ peoples’ representatives in the Constituent Assembly were treated, was disgusting. There is resentment enough on this score.

My personal disappointment is all the more. It appears that the ideals for which we lived and suffered for the last so many years have all been thrown to the winds, without any regret. I would like to have your reactions to the whole situation.

With love,

Yours affectionately,

Siddharaj Dhadda
(Signature)

Shri Sadik Ali,
Swaraja Bhawan,
Allahabad.

P.S.—You may please have the following addresses registered in your office for your Research Department brochures to be sent to them regularly:

1. Shri Siddha Raj Dhadda, Chaura Rasta, Jaipur
2. The Editor, Lokvani, Jaipur.
26. Communal Feelings amongst the People

Daily Diary of CID, Political Branch, Jodhpur, 15 July 1947
Jodhpur Confidential Series, File No. 51, 1946–7, RSA

The partition of India into Hindustan and Pakistan has brewed the communal feelings and the Hindus in Jodhpur also feel annoyed whenever any Mohammedan utters the slogan ‘Pakistan Zindabad’. I had already submitted that the mohallas in which the Mohammedans are in majority, have been named after Pakistan and a similar name given to the roads passing through these mohallas. Some conflicts have also occurred between some Hindu boys and Mohammedan boys in this connection.

It was only yesterday that some Mohammedan boys were returning home from the Muslim School shouting Pakistan slogans. Some boys had written ‘Pakistan Zindabad’ on the walls of the house outside Jalori Gate-Ki-Bari and some Hindu boys objected to it by saying that in Jodhpur there could be no Pakistan and that it was Shree Darbar’s Rajasthan. Hot words between the two rival parties were exchanged and then ensued a scuffle which would have taken a serious turn had not some elderly Hindus intervened. Hakim Nisar Ahmed also happened to come on the spot at that time but he is said to have endeavoured to disperse the Muslim boys and thus to ease the situation.

2. Communal feeling is also visible amongst the employees of the Jodhpur Railway Workshop, and the Mohammedan workers are reported to be contemplating to start an association of their own apart from the existing two Railway employee’s [sic] Unions. The publication of an appeal by four workers of the Railway Unions requesting the Railway men to strive hard to maintain solidarity of the working class all over India and through it of the Indian Union, has created friction and the Mohammedan workers who foster love for Pakistan are contemplating to secede from the existing Unions.

3. Besides the scarcity of grain in Jodhpur the people complain against the grain distributing management, and especially old and helpless women get much annoyed when they do not get grain even after waiting for hours together.

The clerks of the various departments are also secretly clamouring over the soaring prices of commodities and the low salaries they are paid. This being a common cause is likely to create general discontentment amongst the clerks and the menials.

4. Amar Chand Jain President of the Jodhpur Railwaymen’s Union has informed the Railway men through a leaflet that the Railway Federation has not accepted the Pay Commission’s report as it did not satisfy the demands of the Railway workers. The Railway Federation had conveyed its disapproval of the report in its meeting of the 1st July 1947 to the Railway Board and demanded a reply by the 25th July so that it may decide by the end of this month as to the steps it was going to take next.

Referring to the Jodhpur situation the leaflet says that it was not known whether the Pay Commission’s report would be applicable to the Jodhpur Railway. The leaflet threatens the
authorities that the workers were in no way feebler than the workers on the other Railways and that they would take what they demand. It has also been mentioned that in August 1947 a Regional Conference of the Rajputana Railway Unions would be held in Jodhpur under the chairmanship of Mr. Guruswami to decide upon a common scheme for all state Railways in Rajputana.

An appeal to the workers of the Jodhpur Railway signed by Messers Hari Dass, Manohar Lal, Prabhu Dayal and Heera Lal has been published and was distributed yesterday. The workers have been asked to strive hard to maintain solidarity of the working class all over India and through it of the Indian Union. The two Unions of the Jodhpur Railway have been appealed to unite.

5. An appeal issued by the United Province Animals Protection Conference, Barilley [sic] has been received here requesting the people to dispatch telegrams and letters by the 14th inst. to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, India’s Constituent Assembly to enact laws banning cow slaughter in India. Each individual is requested to write 10 such letters to others.

6. The Thirtieth Annual Session of the All India Dahima (Dadich) Brahmins Maha Sabha would be held at Manglod (Marwar) on the 19th, 20th and 21st October, 1947. The members have been requested to nominate the names of two presidents one for the session and the other for the next year working of the conference.

7. REFUGEES:

(1) Lakhu son of Goka Mal Khatri of Sukker arrived here by 4 down on 13.7.47 with 3 men 2 women and one child.

(2) Gopi Lai son of Lal Chand Mahajan of Karachi arrived here by 4 Down of 13.7.47 with 3 males.

(3) Dayal Singh son of Sukhal Singh Sikh of Hyderabad Sind arrived by 4 Down of 13.7.47 with 31 males, 2 females and 7 children.

(4) Bhula Mai son of Hem Raj Gogri of Shikarpur arrived by 4 Down of 14.7.47 with 1 male 3 females and 7 children and are staying in Kabutaron Ka Chowk.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. S.B-C4143 Dated 15/16.7.47

Copy with compliments forwarded, for information to:

1. The Prime Minister, Jodhpur
2. The Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur, Jodhpur.

Signature
Inspector General of Police, Jodhpur.
27. ‘Princes Should Become Constitutional Heads: Shankarrao Deo Urges Rulers to Work as People’s Servants’

Extract from a report on the Ajmer-Merwara Conference from *The Hindustan Times*, 16 July 1947

AJMER. July 15—‘There is place in the Indian Union for Princes but only when they accept for themselves the position of constitutional heads. They must henceforth consider themselves to be the servants of the people. If they are not prepared to reconcile themselves to the new situation, their days are over.’

Thus observed Mr Shankarrao Deo. General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee, in his presidential address at the Ajmer-Merwara Political Conference organized by the Ajmer-Merwara (including Rajputana and Central India) Provincial Congress Committee, which concluded its one-day session on Saturday night.

This session of the conference had been specially called at short notice to discuss the political future of Ajmer-Merwara in the Indian Union on the eve of the meeting of the Indian Constituent Assembly.

The peaceful transfer of power by the British to Indian hands was, said Mr Deo, a rare phenomenon in history. It was a rare event in the history of India inasmuch as the people of India had never before been free in a democratic sense. They had never before enjoyed full responsible government based on the will of people.

This significance of the coming freedom, regretted Mr Deo, was not being fully realized. On the contrary, some people were getting sceptic over minor details. For instance, there was criticism of the Congress for agreeing to retain Lord Mountbatten as the Governor-General of the Indian Union. Mr Deo explained that when Lord Mountbatten had agreed to serve India as a strictly constitutional Governor-General during the pleasure of the Indian Government, his nomination could not be objected simply on the ground that he was an Englishman.

**No Shifting of Capital**

Some people, continued Mr Deo, were suggesting that the capital of India should be shifted from Delhi because it had been the burial ground of empires. His reply was that India was not establishing any empire and Delhi would now be ‘the living ground of democracy’.

Addressing the Muslims, Mr Deo said that India did not belong to any one community. But if the Muslims living in India thought that India was not their country, then we should also have to tell them that India did not belong to them. They would have to consider themselves as citizens of India. India could not afford to have two crores of Muslims as aliens in its territory, nor could Pakistan afford to keep four crores of non-Muslims as aliens. Consequently there should have to be common citizenship for both in the two territories.

**Warning to Princes**

Mr Deo warned the Princes that every inch of land belonged to the people and they had no right to decide anything about their States without the consent of the people. The Rajas and Nawabs who were thinking of declaring themselves independent could not do so against the will of their people. They must understand that the power which had thrown off the British yoke would also throw them off. It would be better if there was a peaceful revolution but the use of violence could not be ruled out if circumstances arose.
As regards the grouping of States. Mr. Deo said that no groups should be formed without consulting the people of the States concerned.

**Future of Ajmer-Merwara**

Dealing with the question of the future of Ajmer-Merwara, Mr Deo commended to the audience the resolution that was to be moved in the conference in this behalf. He associated himself with the desire of the people of Ajmer-Merwara to improve their status.

In his address of welcome, Mr Krishna Gopal Garg, chairman, reception committee, dwelt on the various problems of Ajmer-Merwara and hoped that the conference would suggest a suitable solution whereby the people of this province might enjoy full freedom. He warned the Muslims of Ajmer not to prejudice the peaceful relations between the two communities by raising the impossible and untenable demand for the inclusion of Ajmer in Pakistan.

**Appeal To Zamindars**

Dealing with the question of Istimarari areas, Mr Garg exhorted the Istimarardars to voluntarily implement the provisions of the proposed Tenancy Bill pending its enactment. He appealed to the commercial community of the province to take interest in the affairs of the province and give up their apathy which was harmful to their own interests.

**Resolutions**

After condoling the deaths of Pandit Arjun Lal Sethi, Pandit Gauri Shankar Bhargava and others, the conference passed three resolutions. The main resolution moved by Mr Mukat Behari Lal Bhargava, M.L.A., and member of the Constituent Assembly from Ajmer-Merwara, read: ‘The Ajmer-Merwara Political Conference feels that the recommendation made by the Union Constitution Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly to the effect that the present administrative arrangements shall continue in the Chief Commissioner’s provinces during the interim period does not meet the aspirations of the people of Ajmer-Merwara and does not satisfy their demand for responsible Government at a time when India is becoming free and a new order based on the fundamental rights of the people is coming into being.

*Autonomous Province Urged*

‘It is, therefore, the considered view of the conference that Ajmer-Merwara should be constituted into an autonomous province like other provinces of the Indian Union. At the same time the people of Ajmer-Merwara should have the right to join any neighbouring province or establish relations with any group of Rajputana States having similar administration and geographical contiguity, cultural affinity and linguistic unity. This conference urges the Constituent Assembly to accept this demand of the people of Ajmer-Merwara.’

The second resolution welcomed the Objective Resolution of the Constituent Assembly and the third resolution urges the Princes to establish responsible Government in their States without delay. The conference was also of the view that grouping of States should be done with the consent of the people concerned.

The conference also regretted the attitude of those Rulers who had not yet joined the Indian Constituent Assembly but were thinking of declaring their States independent. It warns them that if they flouted the wishes of their people in this respect, they would only bring harm to themselves.
28. Political Situation in Jodhpur

Daily Diary of CID, Political Branch, Jodhpur, 16 July 1947
Jodhpur Confidential Series, File No. 51, 1946–7, RSA

The members of the Marwar Government Employees’ Union are not going to hold their proposed meeting today as, it is said that the Municipal Hall where they contemplated to hold their meeting is already occupied.

The Marwar Kisan Sabha has now passed into the hands of stronger members and it has become very difficult to use it as a puppet by those who have been using it like that in the past with the result that Mirdha Baldeo Ram who had been acting as he liked for the benefit of his community in the name of the said society has also been handicapped. Eventually he is contemplating to organise a Marwar Jat Sabha to continue his nefarious and autocratic activities. However a meeting of the Marwar Kisan Sabha is expected to be held on the 18th instant to discuss the future programme.

The Local Muslim Leagues have received instructions from the Head office of the All India State Muslim League asking the local workers to despatch letters to

1. Mr. M.A. Jinnah,
2. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,
3. Sardar Abdul Rab Nistar
4. The Political Advisor to the Government of India, &
5. Mr. Manzar-e-Alam as under:—

‘Muslims of Indian States are being most unjustly treated in every walk of life. Kindly urge British Parliament to provide, before paramountcy terminates, special safeguards for religious, political, economic, and cultural rights and interests of Muslims of Indian States who are a separate entity. The All India States Muslim League has already submitted a representation in this connection to your Excellency. I pray that Muslims of Indian States be soon favourd with an assuring reply through their Delhi Office.

With respects,

Yours faithfully

The Leaguers have also been exhorted to collect subscriptions to carry on the work of convening the annual session of the All India States Muslim League at Delhi. The Leaguers have further been asked to organize Muslim National Guards in their States wherever they do not exist and to send volunteers of the National Guard to Delhi so as to swell its number to one lac at the time of holding the session. The money collected as above would be utilized for the safe-guards of the religious political, social and cultural rights of the Muslims in Indian States as also their life and property. The money would further be utilized to meet the expenses of convening other various Muslim Conferences.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. SB-C/4147 Dated 16.7.47
Copy with compliments forwarded, for information to:—

1. The Prime Minister, Jodhpur
2. The Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur, Jodhpur.

Signature
Inspector General of Police,
Jodhpur.

29. Jodhpur Representatives Attend Meeting of Working Committee of AIML

Extract from Daily Diary of CID, Political Branch, Jodhpur, 18 July 1947
Jodhpur Confidential Series, File No. 51, 1946–7, RSA

The meetings of the working committee of the All India Muslim League were held at Delhi on the 8th and 9th instant. Messrs Nisar Ahmed and Hakikatulla Khan who had received invitations attended the meetings.

It is learnt that the day of the 8th instant was utilized in interviews with Messrs M.A. Jinnah, Nawab Liaqat Ali Khan, Sardar Abdul Rab Nistar etc.

It is learnt that Mr. Jinnah told the leaders of the States League that they should endeavour to persuade their rulers to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or to remain independent.

Mr. Abdul Rab Nistar told the leaders to persuade their rulers not to join the Indian Constituent Assembly, as it would make them only constitutional heads of their States, and that they would be no more than ordinary citizens getting some remuneration in the shape of personal purse. The leaders were further advised to maintain religious and cultural relations with the people of Pakistan.

On the 9th instant resolutions congratulating the Hyderabad and Travancore rulers for their declaration of independence after the 15 August, supporting the resolution of the Muslim Conference demanding independence for Kashmir and Jammu States, exhorting all the Muslim Native States to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, condemning the Government action against the Muslims in Bharatpur, Alwar and Jaipur, and demanding adequate Muslim representation in the administration and service in Cochin, Cuttack, Jaipur, Patiala and Sirohi, were passed.

By adopting other resolutions the Kapurthala State was requested to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or declare its independence, demanding Muslim representation from States in the Indian Constituent Assembly and requesting all States to abstain from communalism and gain the confidence of the people, to frame constitution with the consultation of the people to establish good relations with Pakistan and to guarantee safe-guards of the property life and honour of the States Muslims, were passed.

The Working Committee also instructed the Presidents of the Zone Committees to tour in their zones and to establish Muslim Leagues in States where the same did not exist. They were also instructed to advise the Muslims inhabiting States bordering Pakistan to demand ‘Buffer-States’ or pocket population between Pakistan and their States in connection with the Post-war schemes.

The Marwar Muslim League had been directed to recruit 500 Muslim National Guard Volunteers.

2. A great split in the Marwar Lok Parishad ranks is reported to have occurred these days and some quarrel over the finances of the society is said to have taken place recently. It was submitted that about 15 members had already resigned from the society and their differences
were widening day by day. The party withdrawing from the Parishad is contemplating to expose the loop-holes of the leaders.

Signature.
Inspector General of Police,
Jodhpur.

30. Tense Communal Situation in Jodhpur

Extract from the Daily Diary of CID, Political Branch in Jodhpur, 23 July 1947
Jodhpur Confidential Series, File No. 51, 1946–7, RSA

... 3. The communal tension in the city is on an increase every day because of the fact that rumours are afloat in the city that the Hindoos are being badly treated in Sindh and humiliated on public roads openly by the Mohammedons. That Mohammedons are given preference in service and much of the property belonging to the Hindoos has been confiscated by the Sindh Government. These rumours have caused anxiety amongst the local Hindoos and widened the gulf of differences and hate.

Both the Hindoos and the Mohammedans are preparing to defend themselves and are reported to be in search of arms for their defence in emergency.

It has been noticed that the Hindoos and the Mohammedans get concerned even on trifling quarrels and large crowds from both sides muster at the spot in no time which threaten the public tranquility but the situations do not worsen due to the timely arrival of the police and intervention of the saner elements.

I may mention two incidents which occurred yesterday which would have created grave situation in the city.

A Mohammedan molested a ‘Mochi’ girl near Adda Chota when she was returning after answering the call of nature. Several Mohammedans gathered when some of the mochies protested against this and beat the mischief-monger. However the Police immediately arrived on the scene and eased the situation.

Similarly one Purkha Ram Jat an employee of the Caltax Co. was purchasing ice in the evening yesterday from the shop of Mohan Singh an ice and aerated waters dealer, outside Sojati shop due to ‘Ramzan’. Accidentally Purkha Ram pushed one Yusaf to get out of the crowd when Purkha Ram had got out of the crowd Yusaf also got out and beat Purkha Ram. Some 400 persons including Hindoos and Mohammedans gathered and some Mohammedons amongst whom were Abdul Rehman—a lieutenant of Hakeem Nisar Ahmed President of the Marwar Muslim League—and one Abdul Majid Silawat cried ‘MARO HINDO KO’ (beat the Hindoos). A serious communal riot would have occurred but some hindoos and the police sentry on traffic duty intervened and calmed the situation. Subsequently the Police patrol party also reached the spot and dispersed the crowd.

The said Abdul Rehman instigated Yusaf to lodge a counter report with the police. It is gathered that this man is one of the chief instigators of the Mohammedans. Due to shortage of ice production in the ice factories the ice vendors do not get sufficient ice to meet the demands of the public. A large crowd gathers at ice shops in the evening especially outside Sojati Gate and some trouble may re-occur some day.
CONFIDENTIAL
No. SB-C/4307

Copy with compliments forwarded, for information to:

1. The Prime Minister, Jodhpur
2. The Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur, Jodhpur.

Signature
Inspector General of Police,
Jodhpur

31. Communal Situation in Bharatpur
Letter from Political Department, New Delhi, to I.D. Scott, enclosing a copy of Express letter, 28 July 1947
Governor General Executive Council Papers, File No. 681/26/GG/43/1947, NAI

Secret
D.O. No. F. 15(13)-P(S)/47.

Alleged participation of Bharatpur State in Gurgaon disturbances

* * *


Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
Pol. Dep.

I.D. Scott, Esq., CIE., ICS,
Deputy Private Secretary to His Excellency Viceroy.

* * *

Confidential

* * *

Disturbances in Bharatpur State.

* * *

2. A copy of demi-official letter No. IN/329 dated the 13th July 1947, from the Dewan, Bharatpur State, to the Political Agent, Eastern Rajputana States is enclosed, for information.

* * *

Confidential

Copy of demi-official letter No. IN/329 dated the 13th July 1947, from the Dewan, Bharatpur State, to the Political Agent, Eastern Rajputana States.

* * *

Political Activities in Indian States.

Since the 29th of June, 1947, there has been absolutely no case of arson, loot or killing or [sic] man in any village. There have been two or three stray cases no doubt on the border of Bharatpur Agra and one on the border of Bharatpur Gurgaon. In the latter case one Bania was killed by Meos while in the former Muslims were killed. Cases have duly been registered and are under investigation.

2. His Highness had a big meeting of Hindus and Muslims on the 5th July at Bharatpur in which he expressly told the audience that both Hindus and Muslims were alike to him and he would try to protect Muslims such as the Hindus and that very severe measures will be adopted if any community tries to injure the other in any way. Two Hindu leaders of Kisan Zamindar Party, namely Thakur Dhruv Singh and Ram Singh were arrested a few days ago and were detained under the Public Safety Ordinance, but they have been released today after a due warning. Some 100 families of Muslims have returned back to their homes in Bharatpur and other places in the State and more are coming in.

3. The Muslim League and its press are still trying very hard to agitate the Muslims against the Bharatpur State and articles lately published in ‘Dawn’ and some other Muslim Papers, which are full of exaggeration and false reports, bear it out clearly. These articles and publications not only excite the Muslims against the State, but incite the Hindu public also against the Muslims. The Government of India should, I think, be moved to put a stop to these false reports and propaganda on behalf of the Muslims.

4. Perhaps I informed you verbally that a Bania, who saved his property worth about 6–7 lakhs through the help of our military and police, presented a sum of Rs. 31,000/- to Raja Sahib. His Highness has ordered that this sum should be utilised in giving relief to the distressed people in the northern area of the State.

5. There are still very strong rumours that the Meos with the help of Muslim League, are still making preparations in Gurgaon district and Alwar territory to attack the Bharatpur state. Information of this has been sent to the District Magistrate, Gurgaon and the Commandant In-Charge Military in Gurgaon district. On the other hand, people have approached His Highness lately on behalf of the Muslim League with an idea to effect compromise. His Highness [sic] to bring about a compromise, but nothing has been materialised so far.

6. As there has been a great loss of grain in burning of lot of villages, there is a very likelihood of scarcity of grain in the State. In view of this as well as of ‘Grow More Food Campaign’, a notification has been issued on behalf of the Bharatpur Government that people who have deserted or vacated their villages should return and cultivate their land by the 20th of July, otherwise the Government will be at liberty to let out their lands to other people.
7. There has been no meeting of Praja Parishad or Muslim Conference during the fortnight under report, but the Praja Parishad workers are still busy in their propaganda by visiting villages and towns privately. The communal tension though decreasing to some extent, is still very high.

N.B. After the above report was completed, it was reported by Major Hukam Singh who is in-charge of Military operations in the Northern area that 4 villages were burnt yesterday. One was exclusively a Hindu village and it is suspected that the Meos of this State who had moved towards Alwar State came and committed this mischief. Some human lives are also reported to have been lost in this village but the exact number is not yet known. Two villages had mixed population of Hindus and Mohammedans though a majority of Meos had already vacated their homes. One village was a Meo village but that too had completely been vacated long ago.

32. Meo Attack on the Mewat Border

Letter from Dewan, Bharatpur State, to the Political Agent, Eastern Rajputana States, 28 July 1947
Governor General Executive Council Papers, File No. 681/26/GG/43/1947, NAI

Herewith I enclose a copy of the Statement issued by the Bharatpur Government on the 21st July, giving true facts of the happenings up-to-date. On the night between the 22nd and 23rd a Meo mob of over one thousand attacked Gopalgarh town from the hills situated on the border. The Police guard consisting of 10 constables and one Head Constable which was posted there, defended the town very boldly. One police constable received a bullet wound, while another one received serious injuries on his head [from] pharsas [sic]. One local man was killed while sleeping on a charpoy, while two others received Pharsa [sic] and spear injuries. The huts situated just on the fringes of the town were set on fire, but, the entire remaining town was saved. The Police guard fired some 147 rounds. Ten dead bodies of Meos were found while some along with the injured persons were taken away by the Mob.

2. On the night between the 25th and 26th July a Meo mob coming from Alwar territory set fire and burnt a Hindu village named Pandika, though it had been vacated long before. On the following night, a similar attack was made on village Pipalkhera, which is populated by Rajputs and Malis. The inhabitants who were alert, left the village on seeing the mob and only a few men were left behind who could offer no resistance. Three Hindu villagers were killed and some were injured. The State Force picket which was posted at about 2 miles away from there rushed to the scene, but by the time they arrived there, the Meo mob had fled away after setting fire to the village.

3. From the happenings that have taken place during this fortnight, it is evident that the Meos have become very active in invading Hindu villages and towns and in setting fire to them. Their object is clearly to terrorise the villagers so that nobody may dare to re-occupy the villages. Rumours are persistent that Meos are organising to attack the few towns of the State on the Mewat border.

4. Lot of Muslim families who had run away from Bharatpur on account of panic, have come back, though some are still busy in selling away their property.
33. ‘Anti-National Flag Day’ in Jodhpur

Daily Diary of CID, Political Branch in Jodhpur, 2 August 1947
Jodhpur Confidential Series, File No. 51, 1946–7, RSA

The Local Hindu Sabha observed 1st August as ‘ANTI NATIONAL FLAG DAY’.

In the morning a Prabhat Pheri was taken out from the Sabha office at about 7 A.M. which marched through the Moti Chowk, Shahpura, Kabutaron Ka-Chowk, Narsingh Dara, Khandafalsa, Ada Chowta, Sharaffa Bazar and terminated near the Sabha office at about 10 A.M. About 50 persons participated in the Pheri. They were having Hindu Sabha flags and were raising the following slogans:

1. The colour of the flag of the country is ‘Bhagwa’,
2. The leaders responsible for the partition of India may be ruined,
3. Cow-slaughter should be stopped,
4. Cow-slaughterers may be ruined.

Roshan Lal son of Kherati Ram criticized the Indian National Congress and appealed for the establishment of a purely Hindu Raj in Hindustan, stopping cow-slaughter in India and to acknowledge ‘Bhagwa’ coloured flag only as country’s national flag.

On termination of the Pheri a Hindu Sabha flag (Bhagwa) was unfurled on the office of the Sabha. Such flags have been hoisted on their house by several Hindus also in the city.

At about 4 P.M. at Mandore some 100 persons gathered in the garden and held a meeting. There was no president. Messrs Kherati Ram, Roshan Lal and Bijai Singh delivered short speeches during the course of which the Muslim appeasement policy of the Congress was criticized. They said that India was partitioned due to appeasement policy adopted by the Congress. They further said that the Congress had been deceived by the Mohammedans every now and then. They also said that even the Mohammedans of the North Western Provinces had repeatedly been deceived by the Mohammedans yet the Congress had kept green colour in the flag to represent the Mohammedans, whereas no colour representing the Hindus had been kept in the Pakistan flag. The speakers said that the Hindu Sabha had made a protest for the said reasons and observed ‘ANTI FLAG DAY’ on the 1st August as directed by Hindu Mahasabha.

One Pukh Raj—a Congressite attempted to create some disturbance but could not succeed as there was no response from any other agency. The Hindus were exhorted to unite and press for the above demands.

The meeting came to a close at about 4.45 p.m. There was no public interest in the celebrations as the local Hindu Sabha has no activity which may be in the interests of the Hindus.

A Hindi leaflet entitled ‘OBSERVE IST AUGUST AS ANTI FLAG DAY’ and published by Mr. Ram Krishna Gupta, Secretary Hindu Sabha Jodhpur, was distributed in the city yesterday. The leaflet criticizes the Congress policy of Muslim appeasement and considers it a deceit to the Hindus. It also criticized the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as the Governor General of Hindustan after the 15th August and considers it a support to the British Raj. It has further been urged in the leaflet that the Congress should adopt Hindu ideology, Hindu Sabha flag and enforce Hindi as the National language. It has also been said that no celebrations should be
observed on the 15th August, as there was no independence for the people but it was a defeat for Hindustan and victory for Pakistan. A copy of the leaflet is attached herewith.¹

Signature
Inspector General of Police,
Jodhpur.

¹ Not reproduced here.

34. Conversions to Hinduism on a Big Scale: Violence in the States

Letter from Political Department, Jaipur, to Political Department, New Delhi, 7 August 1947

Governor General Executive Council Papers, File No. 681/26/GG/43/1947, NAI

Telegram Grade C

M. CONFIDENTIAL
2784-P.

From—Political, Jaipur.
To—Polindia, New Delhi.

Reference Polindia telegram No.3195 dated August 5th. I visited Alwar today and made enquiries. Situation is still serious but H.H. the Maharaja hopes to control it within a few days. H.H. considers State Forces and Police adequate for present but if situation deteriorates he will ask Jaipur for help.

He claims that 50,000 MEOS entered Alwar from Gurgaon and Bharatpur and were given shelter for several months and gave no trouble. These MEOS became restive and started looting which led to present disturbances. Hindus retaliated and these MEOS started to leave Alwar. Almost all Alwar City Muslims have left but will come back. H.H. vouches loyalty and impartiality of army and civil officials but admits number of Muslims in army deserted with arms and had to be rounded up. Meetings with view to establishing peace being held but exodus of MEOS and other Muslims continues. Prime Minister supports H.H.’s views.

On the other hand General Abdurrahman until recently Army Minister and now Minister of Supply maintains all major incidents perpetrated by Hindus and Muslims treated very badly and subjected to many atrocities. All Muslim officials and others thoroughly demoralised and leaving Alwar. Also many forcible conversions to Hinduism.

My personal view is that although H.H. genuine in impartial attitude he is receiving misleading reports and this borne out by hundreds of Muslim refugees seen on all stations and also by desertions of Muslims from State Forces and desertions of posts by Muslim Civil officials. True facts can only come to light by impartial enquiry when disturbances end but this is impossible in present circumstances.

Casualty figures not available but many villages of both communities burnt and incidents reported every day. Conversions to Hinduism continuing on big scale and admitted by both Hindus and Muslims but different motives attributed. General Panic prevails and I consider it will take some time for situation to return to normal.
Police Adviser of Resident who visited Alwar with me agrees generally with me. Addressed Rajputana Abu repeated to Polindia, New Delhi.

***

I order on telegram below.

Spoken to H.E. He wants Political Depatt. [sic] to send a senior officer from here with a message from the C.R. to the Maharaja to say that the C.R. is most perturbed by the reports and must ask His Highness to get the situation under control at once. If there is any difficulty assistance can be provided.

Please speak.

Sd/
Abell
9.8.47

D.P.S.
Mr. Griffin will ring up P.S.V about this.

Sd./
9.8.47

Spoken, Mr. Wakefield is going to Alwar with the C.R.’s message.

Sd/
Abell
9.8.47

35. Widespread Carnage in Alwar

Letter from Nawab of Bhopal to Louis Mountbatten, 10 August 1947
Governor General Executive Council Papers, File. No. 681/26/GG/43-1947, NAI

Personal & Secret

Qasr-i-Sultani,
Bhopal.

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have no right to address you in regard to any occurrences in an Indian State particularly when the Ruler of a State involved is my personal friend. But everytime I come to Delhi I am approached by certain Representatives of the Meo Community. They come to me and say that they have knocked at every door but no one is prepared to do anything effective. Today they asked me to approach you on their behalf as a last desperate hope that you may perhaps do something.

These people gave me a long story of the destruction and havoc they have been facing in Alwar territory. They allege that troops have been freely used to annihilate them to the ground, women and children killed, and they are getting no protection.

They beg and beseech you to do something to save this wholesale carnage, bloodshed, and destruction of property. They told me that at least 50 thousand lives have already been lost. The British Indian troops that are there, it is alleged, are partial and only the Madras Units have behaved impartially. I cannot vouch for the truth of all they say, but one thing is clear that they need urgent and strong protection.
They suggested following preventive action:—

1. The troops there should either be from Madras or elsewhere in the South.
2. Other units should be mixed and not consisting purely of one community or the other.
3. They say that several villages are surrounded and their populations, mostly women and children, are awaiting annihilation. The villages awaiting destruction and seeking immediate help are
   (a) Mandawar
   (b) Sealgaon
   (c) Basni

Immediate action to relieve them and bring the inhabitants to places of safety is called for.

4. It is alleged that there are thousands of refugees on the platforms of the following railway stations,
   (a) Parisal
   (b) Alwar
   (c) Khairtal
   (d) Ajeraka.

They are not properly protected and are in danger of being attacked. Some measures of immediate strong protection are needed, and arrangements of a few special trains to remove these people at once are immediately called for.

This is what these people who appeared to me responsible and reasonable told me. I promised them to let your Excellency know and to beg Your Excellency to do something.

I hope this request from me will not be misunderstood. I have no desire to intrude, but felt that Your Excellency would like to know this from independent sources.

If it is possible for you to act at once and do something it will help a great deal, and the Meos would greatly appreciate your prompt and kind action.

My letter is purely for your information and I would beg Your Excellency to keep its contents and its source entirely to yourself.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-Itfd.

***

Letter below from H.H. of BHOPAL. I believe H.H. is coming to see you today.

2. Mr. WAKEFIELD, a senior officer of the political Department, went to ALWAR yesterday and is submitting a report. He tells me that he saw very little that was abnormal and his enquiries into such rumours that were repeated to him showed that there was a great deal of gross exaggeration. A large number of Meos went into ALWAR STATE when conditions were unsettled elsewhere and now they are moving out again in the fear that they may be badly treated in ALWAR. There is no doubt some fire underneath all this smoke but far less than has been alleged. Mr. WAKEFIELD saw the Maharaja, who was gratified that you had sent an officer to him and who promised to get things under control at once. The State Department have been asked to give him some ammunition for which he had indented.

Sd/-
G.E.B. Abell
36. Jodhpur’s Accession to India
Memorandum by the Viceroy, 11 August 1947

His Highness [Nawab of Bhopal] came to see me at 11 o’clock this morning.

I showed His Highness my draft reply to his letters of 10 August, and he was kind enough to say that he would gladly write to put on record that I had at no time brought any form of pressure to bear on him as to his future course of action; and that he remembered that on 23 March, the day of my swearing-in, he had forecast the possibility of his abdicating in favour of his daughter at some time in the near future. He assured me, therefore, that his abdication had nothing whatever to do [with] any pressure on my part.

We agreed that I should split my letter into two parts, one part dealing with the extension he had asked for, which was awaiting confirmation from Mr. V.P. Menon, which would remain private; and the other an open letter about the abdication to which he would reply also by an open letter which would be suitable for publication should the occasion for publication arise.

He made it very clear to me that the fact that he was perfectly satisfied with my handling of the situation as I had found it, did not mean to say that he was satisfied with the situation that HMG had created for him and the Princes.

I pointed out to the Nawab that I could not send off any letters until I had seen Sardar Patel this afternoon and obtained his agreement to the 10-day extension which HH has asked for; and that with his concurrence Mr. Menon should send the letter requested. I said, however, that although hitherto Sardar Patel had never refused any single demand I had put forward in dealing with any State I had been warned only this morning by Mr. V.P. Menon that Sardar Patel had received information which would make it most unlikely that he would accede to my request for an extension.

I told HH the story that Sardar Patel had received was to the effect that HH had made contact with the young Maharaja of Jodhpur and induced him to come with him to Mr. Jinnah. That at this meeting Mr. Jinnah had offered extremely favourable terms on condition that they did not sign the Instrument of Accession, and that he had even gone so far as to turn round and say to the Maharaja of Jodhpur, ‘Here’s my fountain pen; write your terms and I will sign it.’

The story continued that after I had sent for the Maharaja of Jodhpur and had a discussion with him and had sent him to see Sardar Patel, who had satisfied all his demands, the Maharaja had flown back to Jodhpur promising to come back that night or the following morning and to go straight to Sardar Patel to give him his decision.

The story goes that the Maharaja of Jodhpur returned on Sunday morning, but it was uncertain as to which airfield he would land at. HH of Bhopal was supposed, therefore, to have sent a staff officer in a car to each airfield—Palam and Willingdon—to make quite certain that the Maharaja should be found and taken straight to his house. He had been virtually a ‘prisoner’ in this house and had not yet been released to keep his word and see Sardar Patel.

I pointed out to His Highness that no amount of friendship would enable me to protect either himself or his State or the new ruler of the State if the future Government of India thought that he was acting in a manner hostile to that Government by trying to induce an all-Hindu State to join Pakistan.

His Highness then offered to tell me the true version of events, which he gave me to understand on his word of honour would be the whole truth and nothing but the truth. I gladly accepted this assurance, for having been his friend and known him for years as a man of honour
I had no reason to doubt that he would tell me the truth. The following is His Highness’s account, dictated in his presence:

‘About 6 August the Maharaja of Dholpur and one or two other rulers informed me that the Maharaja of Jodhpur wished to see me. I said I would gladly see him at my house. When the Maharaja came, he told me that he was particularly anxious to meet Mr. Jinnah as quickly as possible to know what terms Mr. Jinnah would offer.

‘As Mr. Jinnah was very busy and on the eve of his departure from Delhi to Karachi and I had fortunately secured an interview with him that afternoon, I invited the Maharaja of Jodhpur to come along with me. The Maharaja therefore came back to my house and we drove together to Mr. Jinnah’s house.

‘At this interview His Highness asked Mr. Jinnah what terms he was offering to those States who wished to establish relationship with Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah said: “I have made my position quite clear; we are ready to come to treaty relations with the States and we shall give them very good terms, and we shall treat them as independent States.” They then discussed certain details about port facilities, railway jurisdiction and the supply of food, arms and ammunition. The question of whether he should or should not sign an instrument of accession never arose.

‘I returned to Bhopal and while I was there I received a telephone message from Delhi, from HH of Dholpur and other rulers, to the effect that His Highness of Jodhpur was returning to Delhi on Saturday and that he wanted to meet me. I replied that I was in any case coming back to Delhi on Saturday.

‘I arrived back in Delhi on Saturday morning and received a message at the airfield from HH of Dholpur asking me to come straight to him. On arrival he told me to wait with him since the Maharaja of Jodhpur was at present in with the Viceroy and was expected to come straight back at the conclusion of the interview. The Viceroy, however, kept him longer than was expected, so that HH of Jodhpur did not have time to come to the house but sent a telephone message to say he was going direct to the airfield to fly back to Jodhpur but was returning that evening.

‘Since the message did not say which airfield he was taking off from, HH of Dholpur sent two ADCs in two cars to Palam and Willingdon respectively to try and catch HH of Jodhpur before he left. It is possible that one of these two cars may have been mine because mine was waiting outside the door, but I am still unable to confirm that it was used.

‘One of the ADCs caught HH of Jodhpur, who sent back a message to the effect that he was coming back that evening. I then went back to my house. His Highness of Dholpur came to see me on Saturday evening to say that HH of Jodhpur had not come back that night. On Sunday morning it appears that HH of Jodhpur got back, but I do not know what time as he never communicated with me.

‘At about 1.30 p.m. I received a message from HH of Dholpur inviting me to lunch. I replied that I did not wish to have lunch but would come at 2 o’clock. On arrival I found HH of Jodhpur there, and he had brought with him his guru, whom he introduced as his philosopher and guide. This was the first time I had seen HH of Jodhpur since our meeting with Mr. Jinnah. HH invited us all to have discussions with his guru, and HH of Dholpur and other rulers entered into a lengthy discussion with him, but I myself only contributed a few words to the conversation.

‘As I was leaving, His Highness of Jodhpur said he was coming to see me on Monday morning at 10 o’clock. This morning (Monday) he kept his promise and came at 10. He told me that his guru had been unable to make up his mind but that he himself had decided that he
would not leave the Union of India. I replied that I considered His Highness was the master of his own State and I would not attempt to influence his choice one way or the other.'

Viceroy's House
New Delhi

B. GUJARAT

1. Baroda to Have a Responsible Government and Join the Constituent Assembly of India

Resolutions passed by the Baroda Prajamandal, 21 January 1947
AICC Papers, File No. 18/1947, NMML

The meeting of the Baroda Prajamandal Managing Committee was held on the 21st January 1947 under the Presidentship of Darbar Gopaldas when the following resolutions were adopted.

Resolution No. 1

This Committee respectfully congratulates His Highness the Maharaja Saheb for having, in his broadcast message of 10th January 1947, declared the ultimate aim of his Government to be the grant of responsible Government under his aegis and honours His Highness for his long sighted national policy as depicted in Dewan's declaration of 31-12-46 that the Baroda State is anxious to join the Constituent Assembly and the future Indian Union.

Resolution No. 2

On a more minute examination of the political ideas expressed in His Highness the Maharaja Saheb's broadcast message of 10-1-1947 and His Excellency the Dewan Saheb's address, and of his press interviews of 31-12-46, this committee is of opinion that the declared reforms, in view of the present political situation, are disappointing, unsatisfactory and do not lead to (the desired aim of) a responsible Government.

This Committee thinks that the process, as outlined in His Excellency the Dewan Saheb's broadcast that a new Baroda Government Act will be enacted, by His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, after consideration of the recommendations made by the recently appointed Reforms Committee, and after going through different ceremonies, a new Election will be held thereafter, will take a long time and therefore this committee suggests that the necessary changes be made in the present Baroda Government Act as is actually done in British India and the following demands be granted in order to satisfy the demands of impatient subjects.

That

(1) All the Members of the Council excluding the Dewan should be appointed on the recommendations of the elected majority party in the Assembly, and they should be responsible to the Legislature, and all the portfolios except these relating to Paramountcy should be in charge of these members.

(2) At the next sitting, the Assembly be asked to elect its own President and be confirmed as such.

(3) No increase in the existing taxes and no new taxes be imposed without the sanction of the Assembly.
(4) All the acts except the Emergency ones, be passed after taking the consent of the Assembly and those acts passed as Emergency ones be brought before the Assembly within six months for its consent. These Acts if not thus brought to the Assembly will lapse automatically.

(5) The whole of the budget excepting the purse be passed by the Assembly.

Resolution No. 3

This Committee believes that if the Government of Baroda think that changes are necessary in the transition period,

(1) Universal Adult franchise should be immediately introduced, for as compared to other parts of India, the proportion of the literate is greater in the State; and Adult Universal franchise does not seem to be far away even in British India.

(2) This meeting does not agree with the idea that different interests mean inimical interests and therefore they require protection and so, this Committee believe that the recognition of separate classes and interests is destructive to good Government and the high ideal of Unity, and therefore resolves that particular care be taken that no such evil vitiates interim reforms.

(3) Nominations by the Government should be completely stopped.

(4) Under the guise of protecting minority interests the steps taken in British India have led to the disruption of Unity and created an idea of distinct nationalities; such a tendency be guarded against thereby preventing the division of people into several classes.

Under the present circumstances, Muslims and Harijans be given reserved seats in proportion to their population through the joint election.

(5) General constituency does include the reserved seats for minorities. If however it seems necessary to create any special constituency seats, these seats under no circumstances exceed 10% of the total number of the seats in the Assembly.

Resolution No. 4

This Committee does not agree with the idea that His Highness the Maharaja Saheb cannot grant the responsible Government so long as there is Paramountcy. On the contrary the Crown’s representative and the Cabinet Mission are anxious that the Indian States can frame their constitution on the Democratic principles. They have already declared this intention and to this the committee begs to draw Government’s attention. His Excellency argues that responsibility cannot be transferred; but there arises no question of the transfer of responsibility in as much as the Baroda Subjects seek responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb and this Committee does hope that His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, will have no cause for hesitation in granting complete responsible Government.

Resolution No. 5

This Committee believes that the co-federation, federation, sub-federation of the bigger and smaller States in Gujarat, Kutch and Kathiawar should be in the interests of the subjects and with their consent.

The State people have no knowledge of the attempts of H.H. the Jam Saheb and other States’ rulers to form a co-federation on the advice of their legal advisers.
This Committee strongly disapproves of their attempts to form a co-federation without the consent and co-operation of the subjects and urges the subjects to disregard the co-federation or the demands made there under, considering that these demands have been formulated with a view to maintain the uncontrolled power of these rulers.

This Committee therefore, calls upon the subjects of the respective States and the Indian States subjects in general to strongly oppose this scheme or any other future scheme in which State people have no voice.

2. Cutch Demands Separate Status in Constituent Assembly
   Telegram from President, Cutchee Prajakiya Parishad, to Vallabhbhai Patel, 15 February 1947
   SPC, Vol. V, pp. 469-70
   Bhuj

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PRAJA PARISHAD OF CUTCHE VIEWS WITH CONSTERNATION THE PROPOSAL OF GROUPING CUTCHE WITH A STATE OR STATES OF KATHIAWAR FOR REPRESENTATION ON THE INDIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. CUTCHE IS A CLEARCUT UNIT AND HAS A STATUS WHICH THE PEOPLE OF CUTCHE VALUE. THE RELATIONS OF CUTCHE WITH THE UNION OF INDIA MAY BE UNLIKE THOSE OF THE NEIGHBOURING STATES AND CAN BE PROPERLY DEFINED ONLY IF CUTCHE IS REPRESENTED BY ITS OWN INDEPENDENT MEMBER. CUTCHE IS VALUE MEMBERSHIP OF THE ALL-INDIA UNION AND ALSO ATTACH EQUAL IMPORTANCE TO ITS INDIVIDUALITY WITHIN THE UNION. PRAJA PARISHAD OF CUTCHE WILL NOT BE A PARTY TO ANY ARRANGEMENT COMPROMISING THE STATUS OF CUTCHE WHICH MAY BE PROPOSED BY THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES. PRAJA PARISHAD EMPHASIZES THAT ONLY PEOPLE'S ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE WILL BE ABLE TO FIGHT FOR THE HIGH STATUS OF CUTCHE AND AT THE SAME TIME RECONCILE IT WITH THE ALL INDIA UNION. PRAJA PARISHAD HAS ALREADY REQUESTED MAHARAO OF CUTCHE TO APPRECIATE THIS STAND AND TO RESIST ANY ARRANGEMENT WHICH MAY COMPROMISE THE STATUS OF THE RULER AS WELL AS OF THE PEOPLE.

GULABSHANKER AMRITLAL DHOLAKIA
PRESIDENT, CUTCHEE PRAJAKIYA PARISHAD

3. Demand for Representation of Junagadh in Constituent Assembly
   Letter from A.K. Dosani to M.A. Jinnah and others, 27 February 1947
   Junagadh

A meeting of the members of the Ahl-i-Sunnat wal-Jama’at was held on 27 February 1947 and passed the following resolution.

RESOLUTION
The Muslim inhabitants of Gujerat, Kathiawar, have read with the feeling of danger and anxiety the scheme of forming a political group of 50 native States of Kathiawar, Gujerat, Rajputana
and Malwa as published in the newspapers, each consisting of about 85 lakhs of souls and with a yearly income of three crores of rupees. This scheme and the joining of certain Muslim States in the said scheme being risky for these States and seriously harmful to the communal, political, cultural, educational, and monetary interests of their Muslim subjects, this meeting of the Members of the Ahl-i-Sunnat wal-Jama’at warns the Muslim States concerned and their Muslim population of this danger.

Keeping before the mind’s eye these dangerous and harmful conditions, this Meeting resolves that

1. The historical State of Junagadh, founded before 450 years [sic] and enjoying special prestige, status and dignity, should not join this group or any other grouping or union which leaves the Muslim interests in the hands of others.

2. This State of Junagadh should incorporate the other States of Gujerat, Kathiawar, in itself under its own guidance and form a special separate group of the Muslim States.

3. This State of Bhopal, with a population of 8 lakh souls, is to get a separate representative, and Baroda, with a total population of 28 lakh and 35 thousand people, has been accorded the right to send three representatives, two for twenty lakh, and a third representative for the remaining 8 lakh and thirty-five thousand people. Accordingly, a prominent State like Junagadh of Kathiawar with its historical significance and having a population of 8,19,000 (eight lakh and nineteen thousand) souls must be accorded the right to send one representative to the Constituent Assembly.

The above Resolution is to be sent to the following:

(1) The Quaid-i-Azam, Malir, Karachi
(2) All India Muslim League, Delhi
(3) The Chairman of All India States Muslim League, Baroda
(4) His Excellency the Crown Representative, New Delhi
(5) Secretary, States Negotiating Committee c/o Chamber of Princes, Assembly Hall, New Delhi
(6) Secretary, the Constituent Assembly Negotiating Committee, New Delhi.
(7) Muslim Members of the Interim Government, New Delhi
(8) His Highness the Nawab Sahib Bahadur, Junagadh, and
(9) The Hon’ble Dewan Sahib, Junagadh

A.K. DOSANI
Honorary Secretary
Ahl-i-Sunnat wal-Jama’at

4. Representation of States’ People on Congress Committees

Letter from the President of Kathiawar Political Conference to General Secretary, AICC, 11 March 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-11(I)/1946–7, NMML

Dear Friend,

My attention is drawn by the President of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee to two paras in the draft proposals for amending the Congress Constitution.
One of the proposals is ‘No Congress Constituencies shall be formed in State areas and no quota of delegates shall be assigned to them for purpose of any Congress election.’ I am not aware of the reasons so that necessitates such a fundamental change in the Congress Constitution. In fact that proposal at first sight appears to me to divide Indian representation into two parts, and will lay us open to the charge that the Congress no longer represents the people of the States.

Secondly, once we stop assigning delegates to the primary members in the States, all incentive to enroll such members will be taken away.

Then again, non-assignment of a quota of delegates to the people of the States will reduce the strength of our Provincial Committees to 66% and in case of Provinces like Gujarat to 33%, for GPCC includes within its boundaries Cutch, Kathiawar, Baroda and Gujarat States, which cover approximately 2/3rd of its area and population.

The question of inspiration and moral support that the people derive by being represented on the Provincial Congress Committee also has got to be considered. Our direct relationship with the Provincial Congress Committees gives us dignity and balance to all activities going on in the States attached thereto.

Then it is a question whether we should, even if we can, involve the great organisation into accepting such a fundamental change except in the open sessions.

Coming to the effect of the proposed amendments on the development of the political life in the province I may say that we shall have to undo all the good work that we have been able to do during the course of the last 10 years.

We are following Haripura Congress Resolution in letter and spirit. Our organisation does not run in the name of the Congress but we have been able to evolve a very healthy relationship whereby without involving the Congress we are deriving the fullest benefit of its great prestige and power to do good to the people. We have in the last year abolished the practice of enrolling separate membership for our organisation and primary members of the Congress are automatically considered as members of the Kathiawar Political Conference. The GPCC has very generously forgone its quota in favour of the KPC. We send members to the Taluka Committees and also delegates to District Congress Committee and the GPCC. This year we have 24 delegates sitting on the GPCC. Thus with a common membership, a common representative body of workers and common representation on both the GPCC and the KPC we have been able to reduce the chances of conflict in policies to nil.

Sardar Saheb, the President of the GPCC and its Chief office bearers make no distinction between the British areas under the GPCC and the State areas. Their able and wise guidance, their great prestige and their immense moral and material support as well as help in all possible forms is always available to us as much as they are available to any part of British Gujarat.

Our relations are also very happy. Under the strong leadership of Sardar Saheb we have been able to eliminate all intrigues and rivalry for positions.

This relationship has resulted in enabling Kathiawar to build up a tolerably respectable organisation to work out its political programme and several other cognate organisations to work out the constructive programme. It has also enabled us to build up an organisation for relief in times of distress. These organisations still require the fostering care of Sardar Saheb and the moral and material support of the GPCC to develop to their fullest extent. To cut us away from the GPCC as the amendment seeks to do will be to cut the very ground under our feet and will mean for us not progress but regress. We shall lose the moral support of the GPCC in course of time and the two organisations will function uninfluenced by each other.
We shall lose the advantage of great prestige of the GPCC which is today available to us as the result of our close identification with all its activity and with its organisation. We shall lose the privilege of working with colleagues who are accustomed to work on a broader plane. We shall be deprived of viewing our problems thereby in the All-India context. But above all our endeavour to eface [sic] all distinctions between parts and parts of Gujarat and to build up a United Gujarat will also suffer. Not only that but organisations doing constructive work such as Khadi, Village Industries, Hindustani Prachar, Majdur Sevak Sangh, Seva Dal, Kasturba Smarak and Mahadev Smarak will also be called upon in course of time to revise the present policy which has with the passage of time become a part of our daily life. The bedrock of that policy is the GPCC and the present amendments will result in course of time in drawing away these States from its unifying and healthy influence.

We have been building up a singular loyalty to the Congress organisation in Gujarat on the lines of Haripura Congress and with a view to give that experiment the fullest trial we have so far abstained from joining the All India States Peoples Conference. GPCC cannot cast away these people without creating not only disappointment and frustration but a conflict of loyalties and a conflict of outlook.

We are of the opinion therefore that the experiment that has been started in Gujarat by Sardar Saheb should not be disturbed and the amendment dropped.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
President

5. ‘Anti-Confederation Movement in Kathiawar States’
Article by Bhogilal Gandhi, People’s Age, 27 April 1947

People Must Beware of Princes’ Intrigues Against Gujerati Freedom
All over Gujerat today in the 202 States of Kathiawar, in Cutch, in the Gujerat States, in Baroda, in ‘British’ Gujerat—the common people are rallying behind the slogan: Down with the Jam Sahib’s Confederation.’

‘Anti-Confederation’ days are being observed. Meetings and processions are daily features. Special leaflets, pamphlets, articles, special supplements of Gujerati dailies and weeklies are being published as part of a mighty ‘anti-Confederation campaign.’ Gujerat’s popular leaders are touring the Province, while volunteers are covering the villages, rallying the entire people for ‘the fight against the Confederation.’

It is as though the glorious days of 1938 are back again on a far wider scale.

What is this ‘Confederation’ and how has it succeeded in rousing such a widespread campaign?

TAKE a look at the map of Gujerat. More than THREE-QUARTERS of the land is under the dark shadow of autocracy: THREE HUNDRED AND SIXTY FOUR STATES account for NINE AND A HALF MILLIONS (out of the total of twelve millions) of Gujerati people.

Inside These States
How these 9½ millions live it is hard to imagine for those who have only read in books of the oppression of the Indian states.
• Civic rights just do not exist. Meetings and processions are banned. The liberty of the Press is absent; Religious persecution is the rule. Even social and cultural activities are non-permitted.
• Education? What goes by the name of education is a ‘farce’.
• ‘Justice’ is another name for the Prince’s will.
• An idea of the extent of extortion can be gauged from the fact that in Rajkot FORTY PERCENT of the total income of the State is spent on the allowances of the ruler and his four top officials!

Thus the main problem of the vast masses of the Gujarati people revolves around the battle against autocracy and the re-unity of the entire Gujarati people under one single people’s administration.

The Kathiawar Political Conference (affiliated to the All India States’ Peoples’ Conference) in its last session in November 1946, categorically stated:

‘The peninsula of Kathiawar is geographically one unit, but it has been for years divided into many small bits. Because of this artificial division the social, cultural, industrial and economic growth of the people has been stifled....
‘...The existence of these small and big States in our Province has made the all-round growth of the people almost impossible.’

This same sentiment has been more emphatically expressed in the recent conference of Gujarat-Cutch-Kathiawar States workers, held on March 24, 1947, which declared:

‘The Gujarati-speaking people are today divided into hundreds of States. Consequently, the resources of Maha-Gujarat have been scattered; they are not properly used for the welfare of the people.... It has become impossible ... to achieve the all-round prosperity of Gujarat; and it has also become difficult to play the glorious part in the nation’s life which can play otherwise.’

With the Attlee Declaration of February 20 that the British will quit in June 1948, this sentiment for an end to autocracy and the building up of a Free Gujarat has assumed a new significance both for the people and the Princes. The next one year is crucial.

Can the people of Gujarat smash through and make their unit a worthy part of Free India?
Or will the princes succeed with British assistance in consolidating their hold to make Kathiawar, Cutch, Baroda—in fact, the whole of Gujarat—vital strategic, military and economic bases for imperialism after June 1948?

Thus the struggle has rapidly intensified in the last two months.
And the new form which the struggle has taken is the Anti-Confederation campaign mentioned above.

Real Purpose

The Jam Sahib of Nawanagar is a good and trusted friend of the British. And at their instance, he has formed what is called a ‘Confederation’ of over 55 States of Western India, Gujarat and Central India and Rajputana.

The Jam Sahib makes no bones about the real purposes of his ‘Confederation’. In the preamble of the Constitution of the ‘Confederation’, it is stated quite categorically that the confederating States ‘resolve to consolidate their alliance and maintain and increase the unity and strength and honour of their States and of their people.’
In the ‘objects’ of the ‘Confederation,’ are clearly mentioned the aim ‘to ensure the dynastic and territorial integrity’ of each State and ‘to fill up by suitable means any lacunae consequent on the eventual lapse of paramountcy.’

To carry out these ‘tasks’, a Presidum of five top-Princes is set up and, more important, a PERMANENT ARMY.

No comment is necessary to show that the Jam’s ‘Confederation’ is aimed at preserving the States intact against the people, and for the British. It is thus the greatest menace which threatens Gujerat today.

The growing Anti-Confederation movement among the people of Gujerat fights the Jam’s conspiracy and, in so doing, lays the basis for a free Gujerat.

It is a pity, however, that the States’ peoples’ leaders of Gujerat, Kathiawar and Cutch while rightly recognising the diabolical nature of the Jan Sahib’s moves, have failed to see that there is another grave threat to the freedom of Gujerat coming from another Prince—the Gaekwar of Baroda.

Not Patriotism

Baroda has posed as a ‘patriot’, as a supporter of the Congress, of the Praja Mandal, against the Jam’s schemes. Baroda’s scheming Diwan, Sir B.L. Mitter, was one of the first to declare that his State would join the Constituent Assembly, and this move was welcomed by the nationalist Press, almost without reserve.

The reality is that the Gaekwar wants to dominate the whole of Gujerat and has already talked of a ‘Greater Baroda’ under his suzerainty. It is this desire of the Gaekwar to swallow up all the smaller States of Gujerat, Kathiawar and Cutch which has placed the Gaekwar and the Jam in opposite camps, NOT any ‘patriotism’.

If any proof were needed, the fact that not a single vital reform has been introduced in Baroda since the Gaekwar donned his mantle of ‘patriotism’ should be enough.

Yet some of Baroda’s Praja Mandal leaders are waxing eloquent at their Ruler’s ‘sincerity’ and pledging themselves to ‘sing hymns to Baroda Ruler.’

And all this despite Sir B.L. Mitter’s repeated declaration that he does not differ a jot from the other Princes regarding the question of reforms, Responsible Government and other key demands of the States’ peoples’ movement.

It is this weakness of the people’s movement in the Gujerati speaking States that is resulting in the strengthening of the Princes, and in giving them a free hand to carry out the worst intrigues. The latest news in the Gujerati Press is significant:

• The Nawab of Junagadh is reported to be gathering arms and importing Baluchis from the State of Kalat (Janmabhoomi, April 5).
• On the basis of this report, the Hindu Press has begun to circulate the story that Junagadh is conspiring with Sind (Pakistan) to attack and swallow the whole of Kathiawar when the British quit.
• The result has been severe communal tension, all over Kathiawar. Small communal clashes are reported to have taken place in Rajkot and Jamnagar. The situation inside Junagadh is serious.
• And taking advantage of all this artificially-created Hindu chauvinism, Baroda is reported to have ‘taken all the necessary precautions’ to protect the Hindu States and people against Junagadh!
**Why ‘Precautions’**

These ‘precautions’ consist of augmenting the military and police forces. From past experience it is clear that these increased forces will be used NOT against Junagadh, as is sought to be made out, but against the entire people of Kathiawar, if they dare to demand their freedom from autocratic rule.

The Anti-Confederation movement which is raging today must not allow itself to be deluded by the soft talk of the Gaekwar. It must broaden out into a resolute fight against ALL the intrigues of the Princes and their British masters.

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6. On the Situation of Kathiawar States

Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Balvantrai Mehta, 8 May 1947
P.N. Chopra (Ed.), *Collected Works of S. Vallabhbhai Patel*, p. 79

NEW DELHI

Bhai Balvantrai,

Received your letter dated 3rd. It is good that there will be good attendance in Parishad, and there is great enthusiasm amongst people. If Diwan Saheb comes here he will surely meet me.

It is no use sending questions or resolutions for the assembly. All the States of Kathiawar will jointly try to walk together and will try to walk at a slow pace, but all of you have to be patient, because in the present era those who walk slowly will be pushed from behind. As the Kings do not like such a situation they are not able to step forward. Just like a man suffering from paralysis cannot lift his leg, similarly Kings who have been slaves for centuries, are not able to stand erect, so there is no question of walking. But the present time won’t allow them to sit quietly. So, have patience.

VALLABHBHAI’S VANDEMATRAM

Balvantrai Mehta
Bhavnagar.

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7. ‘Congress Coercion in States Criticised: Participation in Assembly Unlawful’

*Dawn*, 9 May 1947

RAJKOT, Thursday.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed by the Working Committee of the Cutch-Kathiawar Muslim League in its meeting held at Rajkot on April 27 under the presidentship of Sheth Haji Dada Haji Vali Muhammad.

That this meeting of the Working Committee of the Cutch-Kathiawar Muslim League views with grave apprehensions the sinister machinations practiced by the Congress with a view to bringing pressure upon and coercing the native states to enter into the Constituent Assembly.

This meeting further believes that the Congress has not really accepted the Cabinet Mission’s Scheme and therefore the Muslim League has boycotted the Constituent Assembly and as such the Constituent Assembly as it is existent at present represents only one community and, therefore, it is not constituted according to the stipulations of the Cabinet Mission and hence
the so-called Constituent Assembly has no right to claim the representation of the whole of India nor it is entitled to frame any future constitution of India or its part in pursuance of the Cabinet Mission's Scheme.

**CONGRESS COERCION**

Under the aforesaid circumstances the meeting thinks that the participation of the states in the deliberations of such an unconstitutional, incomplete and incompetent Constituent Assembly would not only tantamount to appeasing the undue greed of one party but to becoming scapegoats of a dangerous and one-sided political conspiracy directed towards the complete political eradication of the hundred million Muslims of India.

The meeting, therefore, once again urges upon the native states of India in general and those of Cutch and Kathiawar in particular, (1) to observe complete neutrality till the complete solution of the communal question of British India is achieved and, (2) to be helpful in bringing about the proper solution of the communal question by abstaining from taking part in the deliberations of the so-called Constituent Assembly formed by the Congress.

**UNJUST POLICY**

1. The meeting, therefore, once again urges upon the native states of Cutch and Kathiawar that since the object of introducing the constitutional reforms is to associate the people's voice in the administration of the States, Muslims also, as one of the sections of the subjects ought to get adequate representation which could only be feasible by conceding to them fully their rightful demands namely: (1) separate representation with proper weightage and separate electorates and, (2) effective safeguards for protecting their social, religious, cultural, educational and linguistic rights and interests.

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Cutch-Kathiawar Muslim League notes with profound regret that notwithstanding the repeated appeals of this League, certain Cutch-Kathiawar states have ignored the very existence of their Muslim subjects, while introducing the constitutional reforms in their states. This unjust policy of the states concerned is only conducive to eradicating the Muslims politically and, therefore, is viewed with grave concern and apprehension by this League. This meeting believes that this policy is not only unjust but is definitely usurping the vocations and powers of Muslims subjugating them permanently to the tender mercies of the other sections of the population of the states concerned, in the new shape of things to come and as such it should be stopped forthwith.

8. **Opposition to Confederation Scheme**

Telegram from Secretary, Kathiawar Praja Mandal, to Vallabhbhai Patel, 10 May 1947

*SPC, Vol. V, p. 471*

Bombay

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel  
Home Member  
New Delhi  

Respected Sir,  

I confirm having sent you the following telegram:
‘NEWSPAPERS REPORT JAMSAHEB COMING TO YOU FOR CONSULTATION. PLEASE CONVEY VEHEMENT OPPOSITION OF PEOPLE AGAINST HIS CONFEDERATION SCHEME WHICH EXCLUDES PEOPLE AND IN WHICH PEOPLE’S REPRESENTATIVES ARE NOT CONSULTED. PEOPLE OF KATHIAWAR DEMAND ONE SINGLE POLITICAL ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT FOR KATHIAWAR ON THE BASIS OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

SECRETARY
KATHIAWAR PRAJA MANDAL'
Yours truly
K.M. Shah
for Kathiawar Praja Mandal
Secretary

9. ‘Nawanagar to Join India Assembly’
The Hindustan Times, 12 May 1947

JAM SAHEB CONFERS WITH SARDAR PATEL

It is now practically certain that Nabha, Dholpur, Nawanagar and certain other States from Western India, Rajputana and Central India would soon announce their decision to join the Constituent Assembly.

The rulers of Nabha, Dholpur and Nawanagar had prolonged discussions with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at his residence on Sunday.

The Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, accompanied by Col. Himmat Singhji, arrived in Delhi by air from Bombay on Sunday morning. They drove to Sardar Patel’s residence from the aerodrome and had lunch with him. The discussions between Sardar Patel and the Jam Saheb lasted over three hours. The Jam Saheb is leaving for Kotah on Monday by air.

The recent discussions at Bombay between the rulers and the representatives of Western India States, it is understood, have convinced the Princes of the Nawanagar group that the best course for them would be to join the Constituent Assembly and participate in the framing of India’s future constitution.

The Jam Saheb’s recent visit to the United Kingdom presumably convinced him that the British ‘Quit India’ declaration was seriously meant. The Jam Saheb, it is understood, has assured Sardar Patel that Nawanagar and other Western India States were now prepared to come into the Constituent Assembly.

The rulers of Nabha and Dholpur met Sardar Patel together later in the evening. The two Princes, it is understood, will announce their decision to join the Constituent Assembly early enough to enable the representatives of these States to sit in the Assembly when it meets in July.

The A.P.I. adds:

The Jam Saheb said he was keen on entering the Constituent Assembly as early as possible but pointed out that he could not do so by himself as the population of his State was only half a million. The confederation scheme of Rajputana, Central India, Kathiawar and Gujarat States would enable the 38 States concerned to send in eight or nine representatives to the Assembly in a group. The principle of 50:50 representation as between the rulers’ representatives and people’s representatives agreed upon by the States Negotiating Committee would hold good in respect of the confederation’s representatives.
Object of London Visit

The Jam Saheb refuted rumours that his recent visit to London was for political purposes and recalled that since 1920 he had been of the opinion that the future of India must be settled in the country by the people among themselves. Emphatically repudiating reports that he had during his visit to Britain contacted Tory leaders in an effort to stem the progress of the country, the Jam Saheb said he had met only such of the Ministers of the British Government as were concerned directly in his efforts to purchase a motor car factory for his State. He had not met Mr. Churchill or any other Tory leader. He had carried no message or letter, as reported, from the Nawab of Bhopal to any person in the U.K. In fact, he added, the Nawab of Bhopal did not even know he was going to London.

10. ‘States Will Have Autonomy in Indian Union’

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Gaekwar of Baroda, 23 May 1947
SWJN, Vol. II, pp. 258–9

Mussoorie

My dear Gaekwar,

I must apologise to you for the great delay in answering your letter. Owing to some unfortunate mischance it reached me very late.

We were all very glad to welcome Baroda’s representatives to the Constituent Assembly and they have already taken a notable part in our work.

We are on the verge of great changes in India and, as is perhaps natural in the circumstances, we have to face considerable dangers. All manner of disruptive influences are at work. I have no doubt that we shall win through and establish a strong and free sovereign State in India. But we are likely to have a tough time during the next few months.

I quite agree with you that during these difficult days we should all try to pull together as far as we can. There is no future for any State in India, however big it may be, if it stays outside the Union. Within the Union it will have a large measure of autonomy and will participate in the progress of India as a whole.

The Asian Relations Conference was a tremendous success and everybody from India or abroad was surprised at what he saw. It was a wonderful exhibition of fellow-feeling among the peoples of Asia.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. ‘Kathiawar People Demand Single Administration Unit’

Bombay Chronicle, 9 June 1947

PLEA TO STATES TO JOIN CONSEMBLY

Resolutions Of Second Day’s Session of Praja Parishad Conference

The Kathiawar Praja Parishad Sammelan at its second day’s Session at the Azad Maidan declared that for the cultural, political, economic and all round development of the people of
the Kathiawar, it had become necessary to establish one political and administrative unit in
the Kathiawar.

Resolutions were also passed causing [sic] upon the rulers of the states to entrust
administration to the people, to abolish the viramaum customs, to consolidate different railway
board administrations into one centralized body, and remove restrictions and orders of many
political workers imposed by the states.

The resolution sponsored by Mr. Samaldas Gandhi, chairman of the Reception Committee
of the Sammelan, and seconded by Mr. Balwant Mehta, Vice President of the All India States
People’s Conference added that time was ripe to prepare a constitution for such a political unit.
The resolution further appealed to the Kathiawar Political Conference to appoint a committee
to chalk out a constitution as a unit under the Constituent Assembly.

SOVEREIGNTY BACK TO PEOPLE

By another resolution, the Sammelan opined in view of the recent declaration of the British
Government the paramountcy of the states will lapse with the end of the British Power in
India. As a result of it sovereignty reverts to the people and the people alone can exercise that
sovereignty.

JOIN CONSEMBLY

Declaring that Kathiawar and its people should be part of the independent, sovereign republic
of India, the Sammelan called upon the Kathiawar states to participate in the Constituent
Assembly. It added that the negotiating committee of the Assembly should allow people of
those states that had failed to join the Assembly to participate in it.

CONFEDERATION CONDEMNED

Condemning Jam Saheb’s scheme of the confederation of the Kathiawar, a resolution adopted
by the Sammelan said that the scheme was contrary to the interest not only of Kathiawar but of
India. The scheme had been engineered to perpetuate the autocracy in the States in disregard
of the rights of the people to Self-Government.

12. Desirability of a Union of Kathiawar States

Note by Nabi Buksh Mohammad Husain and A.P. Pattani, 10 June 1947
Government of Baroda, Hazur Political Office, Confidential Files, File No. 37 (1947),
Gujarat State Archives

Joint Note of Junagadh and Bhavnagar

Junagadh and Bhavanagar are emphatically of opinion that a stage has now been reached when
the States should look upon Kathiawar as a geographical and cultural unit whose common
subjects should be dealt with by a Union of Kathiawar states. In this Union should be represented
the Salute States, the non-Salute States, the Talukas and the people of Kathiawar. We feel
convinced that immediate steps should be taken to meet the problems of the Kathiawar as a
whole for there is every indication of increased internal and external difficulties which it may
not be possible to divert into proper channels at a later stage. If such a Union of Kathiawar
States is not established we also apprehend that proposals for a Union of Kathiawar and Gujarat
States with Baroda as the Principal Partner will be made. This idea has already been advanced in some quarters and it would not be in the interests of Rulers of Kathiawar. The population of Kathiawar is something over 36 lacs, of Baroda 28 lacs, and of Gujarat States is about 14 lacs.

We have considered very carefully the Organisation of executive and legislative bodies necessary for such a Kathiawar Union; and Junagadh is of the opinion that:—the composition of this Executive provides that States with larger populations and responsibilities will have a smaller voice than those with lesser populations and responsibilities. Bhavnagar, therefore, recommends that the interests of the Princes and the States will be better served by the Executive advocated in Mr. Pattani’s note whose aim is to attain unity in executive and despatch of work.

In light of the spirit of the time we consider the establishment of representative institutions in the States as of immediate importance. This has been strongly recommended by the Viceroy and the Chamber of Princes, and generally accepted by all the Princes.

In any Constitutional Structure of a Kathiawar Union the three larger States with the larger populations should have proportionate voice.

Rajkot  
Sd/ N.B. Md. Hussain  
A.P. Pattani

13. Move for a ‘Union of Kathiawar’
Letter from B.L. Mitter to Vallabhbhai Patel, 17 June 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Jatashankar Pathak came today from Rajkot to Abu. He gave me the following information which I am conveying to you for what it is worth.

There was a gathering of Rulers in Kathiawar with the Jamsaheb as leader. The Resident and Political Agent are out to Balkanize India and advised the Rulers accordingly. The argument is that if Travancore can declare independence the Kathiawar States, being maritime States, can do likewise. The advantage is that they can rule without any interference from Delhi and develop their ports and they need not depend upon India for anything.

A secret meeting was held under the presidency of the Resident. It was decided that a ‘Union of Kathiawar’ should be formed covering the whole peninsula land and that it would declare sovereign independence subject to the right of Junagadh to declare separate independence or to join Pakistan. In case Junagadh separated, it would enter into an offensive and defensive treaty with the Union of Kathiawar and they would resist Baroda’s claim to tribute. The Jamsaheb would be the President of the Union and seven States should constitute a council to govern the peninsula. The seven States are Jamnagar, Bhavnagar, Gondal, Porbander, Morvi, Dhrangadhr and Junagadh. Pattani of Bhavnagar was at the meeting. The constitution of the Union is under way. The Resident is helping and the Jamsaheb has promised to put up a crore of rupees in furtherance of the scheme. Baroda was severely criticised for joining the Constituent Assembly and all the States decided to repudiate Baroda’s claim to tribute.

Pathak asked Major Hailey, the Political Agent, why Baroda should not get its tribute. Hailey said that the tribute was more than a hundred years old and when Britain was resigning
sovereignty, Baroda’s sovereignty fell with it. Whatever the logic may be, there it is. Junagadh’s position is that it will either declare separate independence or join Pakistan.

A document was signed but it is secret at the moment. Major Hailey refused to disclose the contents.

Yours sincerely,

B.L. Mitter

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

14. Deputation to Negotiate Accession to Pakistan

Letter from D.S. Sadula Khan to Yousaf A. Haroon, 7 July 1947


DASADA, DUBARGADH, [KATHIWAR]

Pakistan Zindabad

Dear Sir,

On the lapse of paramountcy and the attachment scheme we will be free to join with [sic] any state or union. We Talukdars of Dasada, Vanod and Jainabad, and Chief of Bajuna and H.H. the Nawab of Radhanpur, all are thinking about our future, but our States are close to each other and Radhanpur is very near or close to Sind. It will be very good to join with the Pakistan Union, so please start discussion for final terms and conditions according to 16th May Scheme, for native states joining with any Union but here only [sic] Pakistan. The Pakistan territory will extend up to Viramgum by our union and will be very advantageous to all of us. All the five States of Radhanpur, Dasada, Vanod, Bajuna, Jainabad will be over [sic] surplus in the matter of foodstuff and [are] very reputed for cotton, wool, horse-breeding and cattle-rearing, and has ample scope for cotton industry and will be very useful for future Sind-Bombay Railway as 100 or more miles [of] territory will come between the proposed Project. So please start at once official discussions [with] all the five Muslim States and arrange for future terms and conditions. Please appoint [a] special official for this matter at once so that everything can be settled on the 15th August, on the lapse of paramountcy. Send Sind Muslim League deputation or Pakistan deputation at once. It will be a boon for Kathiawar Muslims as Pakistan will extend up to Viramgum, a very useful territory. Hoping an early reply and action without least delay. Please kindly inform Quaid-i-Azam, Liaquat Ali Khan, Sind Premier and Mr. Gazdar about this matter and reply and arrange soon about deputation before 1st August 1947.

Yours sincerely

SADULA KHAN
Chapter 43. Central Indian States

A. General

1. Report from Gwalior
   Supplementary fortnightly report of the Gwalior Residency for the first half of January 1947, 17 January 1947
   Pol. Dept., File No. 5(3) - P(S)/1947, NAI

GWALIOR

It is understood that the States Peoples Conference have applied to the Darbar for permission and facilities to hold their next meeting in Gwalior.

BENARES.

Congress men have held several meetings in the villages of the Chakia District protesting against the Council’s order for the procurement of rice. Under this order rice is to be purchased by the State at Rs. 13/- per maund. This rate is practically the same as that fixed by the U.P. Government for the purchase of rice of similar quality in Benares.

2. A branch of the Muslim League has been established in Bhadohi. Some non-residents also delivered highly provocative and violent speeches. About the same time a dozen Hindu families in the neighbouring town of Gopiganj in the State were converted to Sikhism. The motive behind this conversion is stated to be the privilege of carrying kirpans. A Sikh from Benares visited Gopiganj and made speeches inciting Sikhs and Hindus to violence against the Muslims. These facts combined with the continued disturbances in Allahabad on the borders of the Bhadohi District of the State have created communal tension in these two towns. The situation is under control and no disturbances are apprehended at present.

Sd/-
RESIDENT AT GWALIOR & FOR THE STATES OF RAMPUR AND BENARES.

GWALIOR RESIDENCY.
17 January 1947.
2. Opposition to Proposed Deccan States Union

Letter from General Secretary, State Peoples’ Conference, Sangli, to J.B. Kripalani (Resolution Enclosed), 19 January 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

Kachehri
Main Road
Sangli

To,

Rashtrapati Acharya Kripalani.
President Indian National Congress
New Delhi.

Dear Sir,

I am herewith sending you a copy, with English translation, of the resolution regarding the Deccan States Union passed at the 20th Session of the Sangli State People’s Conference held at Kadoli, Tal Shahapur, on 17th instant.

As stated in the resolution the Committee mentioned therein I wish to have an interview with you at New Delhi. I, therefore, request you to inform me the date and time available to you.

I have also requested Shri Shankarrao Deo to see you and get the date and time for the interview fixed.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-
General Secretary.

Sangli State Peoples’ Conference,
Office Main-Road, Sangli.
(M.S.M.R.)

Enclosure

As the Sangli State Peoples’ Conference is of the opinion that the areas of the States be merged in the neighbouring provinces, this Conference strongly opposes the Scheme of the Deccan States’ Union that the rulers of eleven States and the Resident are trying their best to bring about. It is the considered opinion of this Conference that this Union will bring about no good to the people as the Deccan States consist of people speaking two different languages and their regions are scattered wide apart. Under such circumstances instead of trying to thrust the undesired union upon the people of these States, their regions should be merged in the neighbouring Provinces of free Indian Republic.

In view of this opposition of the Sangli State People’s Conference to the Deccan States Union, this Conference appoints a Committee of four persons, with power to co-opt one more member to communicate this opinion to the President and Standing Committee Members of All India States’ Peoples’ Conference, the President Indian National Congress and the Members of the Working Committee and seek their advice regarding the consequent developments and place it before the Central Body of the Sangli State Peoples’ Conference.
This Committee consists of following persons:

1. Shri Yashavantrao Chavan, PRESIDENT.
2. Dr. G.A. Deshpande, Working President.
4. B.G. Naik.

3. Report from Central India Agency
Fortnightly report of the Central India Agency for the first half of January 1947, 24 January 1947
Pol. Dept. File No. 5 (10) P(S)/47, NAI

SUPPLEMENTARY
INDORE.
POLITICAL

1. PRAJAMANDAL
The PRAJAMANDAL failed in their efforts to induce the people of Yeshwant Nagar village (Holkar State) to sign a paper which demanded that His Highness should transfer his authority to the PRAJAMANDAL.

The Prajamandalists are touring the State and exhorting the people to demand Responsible Government. It is learnt that the PRAJAMANDAL are negotiating for the 9th Plenary Session of the All India States Peoples Conference to take place at Indore instead of at Gwalior. If they succeed they propose to defy the order of the Holkar Government requiring prior permission before speeches can be made in Holkar State by non-residents.

2. CENTRAL INDIA STATES PEOPLES CONFERENCE
It is understood that the President and the Secretary of this organisation recently went to Delhi and acquainted DR. PATTABHI SITARAMMAIYA with the state of affairs in the Central India States where they allege there are restrictions on civil liberties. DR. PATTABHI is said to have agreed to come to Indore and from this Headquarters to visit some of the States in Central India.

3. CENTRAL INDIA STUDENTS CONGRESS
GOPIKRISHANA VIJAYAVARGIYA, President of the Central India States Peoples Conference, inaugurating the session of the Central India Students Congress while praising the students as pioneers in the struggle for Indian Independence, advised them not to mix Communalism with Politics, but to follow the All-India Congress. On the other hand MR. K.S. Firodia, Speaker of the Bombay Legislative Assembly addressed the Students Congress on the 12th and advised the Students to devote themselves to the improvement of villages.
BHOPAL AGENCY

BHOPAL.

Of the 8000 Mohammadan refugees from Gwalior who were accommodated in the Bairagarh Prisoners of War Camp, all except about 2000 have left the camp and have found accommodation and in many cases work in Bhopal City. It is reported that the Bhopal Government did everything possible to facilitate the return of the immigrants to Gwalior but they all refused to go back.

5. NARSINGARH

On the 1st of January 1947 the majority of the local armed Police and Bandsmen as well as the Irregulars and sweepers went on strike demanding increased pay and dearness allowance. They refused to await the decision of the Enquiry Commission which they were told had already been appointed to investigate their grievances and make recommendations to the Darbar. The Civil Police did not join the strikers as also a small percentage of the armed Police. The Darbar however took the precaution promptly bringing to headquarters a force of 100 volunteers to meet all emergencies. This had the desired effect and the strike fizzled out after less than 12 hours. The situation is now reported to have returned to normal.

MHOW

6. Congress activities seem to be on the increase in Mhow Cantonment. On the 29th December 1946 SETH SOMA BHAI, President of the Congress Committee, Mhow, hoisted the Congress Flag in the Gari Adda and stated that the Flag would be unfurled every month on a date fixed by the Congress Committee. At a meeting of about 300 persons held the same night, DR. B.K. KESKAR, General Secretary, All India Congress Sewa Sangh Dal, exhorted the people to remain united lest they should lose what little freedom they had already attained.

Mr. SRI RAM while commenting on the conditions of the people of Mhow requested DR. KESKAR to help them to acquire the rights and privileges enjoyed by persons living in British India.

MISCELLANEOUS

7. His Highness the Rana of Barwani is said to have appointed as his Personal Secretary a certain Dr. SHRI NET, a Ph.D. of Munich. This is thought to have been the result of the influence of the Rana’s uncle, the Jam Saheb. Dr. NET is said to exert an undesirable influence on His Highness and is alleged to be the de facto Dewan of the State, the present Dewan, Kr. Vishwanath Singh recommended to His Highness by the Jam Saheb, being a mere figure head.

The somewhat notorious SWAMI MADHAVA NAND, a rabid Hindu-Mahasabhaite who cloaks his anti-Mohamedanism under a veil of assumed holiness, is also said at
present to be in Barwani and in close touch with His Highness. This particular Swami is alleged to wield an undesirable influence on a number of Rulers.

Central India Agency, Indore, C.I.  
RESIDENT FOR CENTRAL INDIA

L.C.L. Griffin, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative  
New Delhi.

4. Report from Central India Agency  
Fortnightly report of the Central India Agency for the second half of January 1947,  
8 February 1947  
Pol. Dept., File No. 5(10) P(S)/47, NAI

INDORE

POLITICAL

5. INDEPENDENCE DAY.

At the meeting of the Communists on Independence Day the communist ideology was explained and resolutions passed denouncing the house-searches of communist workers in British India and urging the release of their arrested leaders.

6. KHAKSARS.

The KHAKSARS continue to move about carrying their flag and exhorting the members to be ready to make sacrifices.

7. MUSLIM LEAGUE.

Urdu pamphlets were distributed in the City stressing that the Indore State Muslim League should be made a representative body of all Muslims and that the coming elections of the League should be boycotted unless held on democratic principles.

8. VOLUNTEER ORGANISATIONS.

Muslim National Guards. Enlistment continues and the present membership is 1000. It is understood that Mr. JINNAH and the Hon’ble Mr. ABDUR RAB NISHTAR have been invited to attend the conference which the CENTRAL INDIA AND RAJPUTANA MUSLIM DEFENCE COMMITTEE is intending to convene in March 1947.

LABOUR

9. MAZDOOR SABHA.

The Communists in this body are reported to be reorganising their volunteers. They have put up posters in the mill area demanding bonuses equivalent to three months salary.
BUNDELKHAND AGENCY.

10. AJAIGARH
   Plague has appeared in epidemic form.

11. CHAUBIANAS
   Plague in epidemic form has appeared from the Banda District.

MALWA AGENCY

12. DHAR.

   VOLUNTEER ORGANISATIONS.
   (1) The Rashtriya Sewa Sangh is said to be a pro-Hindu Sabha organisation, numbering about 1000.
   (2) The Rashtra Seva Dal is said to be a pro-Congress organisation numbering about 200–300.
   (3) The National Guard, a Muslim League organisation, which petered out in 1942 has now been revived with a membership of 300–400.
   All these organisations are reported to be likely to be used as private armies in any communal or political upheaval.

   GENERAL

   The food situation throughout the Malwa States is causing anxiety.

MHOW

13. VOLUNTEER ORGANISATIONS.

   The Rana Pratap Seva Sang [sic] Dal, The Maharashtrian Club and the Arya Samaj Bir Dal, having membership of about 30 each, have recently started training young boys in drill and the use of lathis, swords, etc. and are suspected to be branches of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh.

   The Congress Seva Dal which began working about two months ago, has a membership of 100.
   The Azad Hind Dal, the membership of which is about 50, is run on I.N.A. lines.
   The Islamia Akhara, consisting of about 30 Kassab boys have started to learn the uses of the lathi and the sword.

   The above organisations are not, at present, considered to offer any threat to public order.

NEEMUCH

14. VOLUNTEER ORGANISATIONS.

   The Rashtriya Sewak Sangh consisting of about 200 boys, hold daily parades and are taught the use of the lathi.
The Muslim Raza Kar has been organised in opposition to the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh. It has only 10 members at present and its object is to render service to the Muslim community during Muslim festivals.
These organisations are not considered at present to constitute an actual or potential threat to public order.

Central India Agency,
Indore, C.I.

L.C.L. Griffin, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative,
New Delhi

5. Report from Central India Agency
Supplementary fortnightly report of the Central India Agency for the second half January 1947, 8 February 1947
Pol. Dept, File No. 5(10)–P(S)/47, NAI

SUPPLEMENTARY

INDORE

POLITICAL

8. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE ANNIVERSARY.
Flag salutations were held by the Prajamandal, the Azad Hind Sewa Dal and the Swadeshi Mill labourers. Under the auspices of the Prajamandal, speeches on the life and achievements of Subhas Chandra Bose were delivered and this opportunity was taken for demands to be made that only representatives of the public should be sent to the Constituent Assembly. There was a small procession in Mhow also.

9. INDORE STUDENTS FEDERATION
At the third annual conference of this Federation students were urged to unite and to cooperate with labourers and farmers in their agitation against Capitalism and Imperialism. The imposition of bans and the firing on the students in Bengal in connection with the observance of Viet Nam Day were strongly condemned; a demand was made that representatives of the people should be sent from the States to the Constituent Assembly; an appeal was made to all democratic organisations to make a united front for the removal of bans on civil liberties in the State, and students were praised for their fight in the cause of liberty and of the oppressed people particularly during the Indonesian struggle and the I.N.A. trials. A resolution was passed describing the present Government of Holkar State as autocratic and suggesting that a Constituent Assembly should be summoned in Indore based on adult franchise to frame a new constitution for the State. The Federation condemned the ‘absolute negation of Civil Liberties’ in the State.
10. **INDEPENDENCE DAY**

The CONGRESS, the PRAJAMANDAL, the COMMUNISTS, the INDORE STUDENTS CONGRESS, and several other bodies observed INDEPENDENCE DAY by holding Flag Salutation ceremonies at which pledges of Independence were taken and speeches delivered urging the removal of restrictions on civil liberties.

11. **CENTRAL INDIA AND RAJPUTANA MUSLIM DEFENCE COMMITTEE.**

It is reported that this Committee is intending to send a deputation to Gwalior to investigate the difficulties of local Muslims.

**BUNDELKHAND AGENCY**

12. **ORCHHA**

Under pressure from local Congress inspired and dissatisfied elements, the Maharaja has re-formed his Council and has included one member nominated by the people. A constitution making body is also to be set up in the near future. Two-thirds of the members are to be elected by the people and one-third nominated by the Ruler.

13. **DATIA**

Mr. Lakhpat Ram Sharma of Jhansi is reported to be continuing to circulate defamatory pamphlets in Hindi against the State.

14. **CHARKHARI**

A Prajamandal meeting of about 700 persons took place at which the people were asked to unite and impose their will upon the Dewan and the Maharaja.

15. **MAIHAR**

At the instance of the All India States Peoples Conference, Seth Govind Das, a prominent Congressman of Jubbulpore, visited Maihar and made two demands. The first was the immediate establishment of responsible Government, and the second the setting up of a Praja Mandal in the State. In reply to the first demand, the Raja explained that the State had already taken action and moved a long way on the lines of the Declaration made by His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes early last year. This appears to have satisfied Seth Govind Das.

Dealing with the second demand, the Raja explained to the Seth that there was already a Praja Mandal organisation in the State, but added that the State was bound to set its face resolutely against agitation fomented by foreign Political bodies. The State could not recognise the right of any person not a subject of the State to meddle with any political movements within the State or to speak for its subjects, no matter how eminent that outsider may be. The Raja reported that the State would continue to maintain this position until the matter had been discussed by the Chamber of Princes. Seth Govind Das agreed to await the decision of the Chamber on this point.
16. **AJAIGARH**

It is proposed to establish a Prajamandal or People’s Party and the public are being urged to organise themselves and demand responsible government.

17. **SARILA**

The CENTRAL INDIA STATES PEOPLE’S CONFERENCE have announced their intention of visiting this State in order to enquire into atrocities alleged to have been committed there.

18. **GENERAL**

The Rajas of Baraundha, Kothi and Sohawal are said to be trying to formulate a joint administration which will enable Rulers of the Baghelkhand Group to get back their powers.

**BHOPAL AGENCY**

19. On the 13th February Laxmi Kuar, sister of Her Highness the Dowager Rani Songariji of Rajgarh, eloped from Rajgarh Kothi, Indore, with the help of her brother Kan Singh. As no substantial evidence was forthcoming of the lady’s whereabouts, it was decided, in the interest of His Highness and the good name of the State that the Police, to whom the matter had been reported, should discontinue their investigation.

20. When His Highness of Dewas S.B. met the Secretary to the Congress High Command recently in Poona the latter sounded him as to the possibility of creating a separate Hindu Princes party. The proposal received no support from His Highness of Dewas.

Central India Agency, Sd/-
Indore, C.I.

L.C.L. Griffin, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative,
New Delhi.

6. **Conflict between District Congress Committee and the Praja Mandals in Baghelkhand**

Letter from AICC to the President, UPCC, Lucknow, 16 March 1947

AICC Papers, File No. CL-10/1946-7, NMML

6, Jantar Mantar Road
NEW DELHI.

Dear Friend,

We have been receiving complaints from the Praja Mandal workers in Baghelkhand, especially from the Rewa and Nagod States. The main burden of these complaints is that the Baghelkhand Dist. Congress Committee and the Congress Committees in Rewa and Nagod are in the hands of people who have vested interests in the states, and in consequence these Congress Committees
instead of serving people are serving the interests of the rich, and these people are exploiting
the name of the Congress for their own purpose.

I have met the office bearers of these Congress Committees as well as the Praja Mandals. After having heard them on more than one occasion, I have been convinced that there is a serious conflict between these organisations. There is confusion in public work and the peoples’ sufferings are unnecessarily increased. The Congress Committees in these States are directly dealing with political and parliamentary work, though they are explicitly prevented from doing so by the resolution of the Haripura Congress. By this resolution the Congress Committees in the States were asked to confine themselves only to the constructive field, the object being that States Peoples’ Organisations should come into existence, and should fight for the rights of the people against the rulers.

The policy laid down by the Congress in its Haripura resolution has been more than amply justified by the results achieved. Peoples’ organisations under the name of Praja Parishads or Praja Mandals have come into existence in various states. These organisations have been successfully fighting for the rights of the people in various states. All these different organisations have been affiliated to the All India States Peoples’ Conference, and thus the necessity of Congress Organisations working in the States has practically disappeared.

The Congress Working Committee in its resolution at Wardha dated the 8th of August 1946 has taken cognisance of these facts and realities, and has declared that its policy has been and will always be to encourage the formations of Praja Mandals and like organisations in the states, and to discourage the formation of Congress Organisations.

At present very few states in India have Congress Committees, and these too have been asked to avoid any conflicts in political and parliamentary fields with established Praja Mandals.

The Congress Committee in Baghelkhand is no doubt old, and the Praja Mandal there has come into existence only very recently. Still to avoid conflict I think that the Congress Committee should be withdrawn, and the Congress workers should be asked to join Praja Mandals and work through them. I had talks with some of the leading Congress workers and especially with Sardar Narbada Prasad Singh, and they had agreed to have a single peoples’ organisation for the states in Baghelkhand. I do not know what exactly they have done in this behalf. Very recently some of the Praja Mandal workers came to see me and complained that nothing was being done to resolve the conflict between the Congress Committees and Praja Mandals in Baghelkhand.

I would request your Committee to go into this matter and see that the policy of the Congress is strictly adhered to, and that the Congress Committees in these states are gradually withdrawn, and states peoples’ organisations affiliated to the All India States Peoples Conference are allowed to work in these states as the only organisations of the people.

You will treat this matter as urgent, and send your report to this office as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,

The President,
U.P.C.C. (Lukhnow)
7. Report from Central India Agency
   Fortnightly report of the Central India Agency for the first half of March 1947,
   21 March 1947
   Pol. Dept., File No. 5 (10)-P(S)/47, NAI

   INDORE

   POLITICAL.

29. MUSLIM LEAGUE
   At a meeting of between five and six hundred Muslims resolutions were passed
   congratulating the Muslim League on their so-called success in the Punjab and
   exhorting all Muslims to agitate for their rights. Most of the Muslim localities in the
   City were illuminated in token of the success of the Muslim League in the Punjab.

30. ANTI-PAKISTAN DAY
   Most of the Hindu shops in the city closed on 11th March to observe ANTI-PAKISTAN
   DAY. At a large meeting organised by Sikhs, speeches were made denouncing the
   idea of Pakistan. Sikh speakers said the Sikhs would never allow the Muslim League
   to dominate them.

31. HARIJAN DAY
   Harijan Day was celebrated on the 1st of March under the auspices of the ACHUT
   FEDERATION. At a meeting presided over by MASOODQULI KHAN, the Harijans
   were told to insist that their rights should be recognised.

   LABOUR.

32. MAZDUR SABHA
   This organisation has placed 16 demands on behalf of labourers before the Indore
   Government and is seeking the cooperation of the MAZDUR SANGH and the
   MUSLIM LABOUR UNION for their fulfilment.

33. MAZDUR SANGH
   The MAZDUR SANGH has informed labourers that they are trying to solve labour
   problems peacefully and that if they fail they will announce a date for starting a strike.
   SANGH workers are warning labourers against machinations of the MAZDUR
   SABHA.

34. BOLSHEVISM
   The Bolsheviks put up posters in the Mill area criticising the MAZDUR SANGH for
   accepting the Rule which gives labourers only 10 days casual leave in a year when in
   British India 20 days casual leave is allowed.

Central India Agency,
Indore
L.C.L. Griffin, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative,
New Delhi
8. Report from Central India Agency
Supplementary fortnightly report of the Central India Agency for the first half of
March 1947, 21 March 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5 (10)-P(S)/47, NAI

SECRET

SUPPLEMENTARY.

GENERAL.
It is becoming increasingly evident that the leaders of Congress and other political organizations
are able to exercise very little control over the rank and file of their parties operating in states.
A good deal of the agitation is therefore irresponsible and ill-founded.

INDORE
34. CENTRAL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS.
Under the auspices of this organisation a public meeting was held in which the Holkar
Government and the Municipal Councillors were condemned for delaying their
decision on the demands of their employees who are reported to have gone on strike.

MALWA AGENCY.
35. FOOD.
The food situation in Ratlam is serious. It appears that Sailana, Jaora and the villages
comprising Panth-Piploda will require foodgrain from outside.

36. JHABUA.
Agitators from neighbouring territory have been inciting the Bhils to stop cooperating
in the State food procurement Scheme. The State has been forced to pass orders
exterminating five of the ring-leaders and neighbouring States are taking reciprocal action
against these men.

BUNDELKHAND AGENCY.
36. GENERAL.
As anticipated PRAJA MANDAL agitation in the Bundelkhand States is steadily
increasing. In general the calibre of the leaders of the agitation is low and their honesty
is often suspect.

37. SAMTHAR.
The PRAJA MANDAL incited some school students to make flag demonstrations
and shout slogans against State officials.
As a result of discussions between representatives of the State and of the Praja
Mandal, it was decided that one member of the State Council should be elected by
the Praja Mandal and that the Reforms Committee and the Constitution-making
Committee should have a majority of Praja Mandal representatives on each of them.
38. **CHARKHARI.**

SARUPANAND, a Congress worker of Jhansi visited Charkhari with the avowed intention of seeing whether the Congress and Praja Mandal workers in Charkhari cooperated with each other. He urged the police to unite and demand substantial increase in their pay. He appealed to the people to turn out outsiders from the State and never to allow Englishmen to enter the State territory. MANNU LAL DWIVEDI is said to be collecting information to enable the All India States Peoples Conference to start agitation in Charkhari if responsible self-Government is not announced at once.

KAMTA PARSAD, a Praja Mandal agitator, is said to be arranging to elect THAKUR SHANKAR PRATAB SINGH, District Magistrate, Charkhari and father of the late Maharani of Chhatarpur, as President of the CHARKHARI STATE EMPLOYEES UNION.

39. **BIJAWAR**

Attempts by the local PRAJA MANDAL to hoist their flags on State buildings were foiled by a police threat to open fire.

RAM KRISHAN PALIA and RAM KISHORE VARMA have been creating, with the help of School boys and urchins, a great deal of agitation against the administration and are inducing the public to indulge in lawlessness. On the 11th March the Crown Representative’s Police had to be called in, but a compromise was reached with the Praja Mandal and the C.R’s Police returned to Nowgong on the 12th.

40. **CHHATARPUR**

The general meeting of the CHHATARPUR STATE PEOPLE’S CONFERENCE have demanded full responsible Government in the State. They put forth 8 demands to be satisfied within 14 days otherwise they declared they would start Satyagrah. Accordingly on the 11th March about 1000 men offered Satyagraha in Chhatarpur.

Recruitment of volunteers for this Satyagraha has been carried on in the Jai Hind Club, Nowgong, members of which are reported to have threatened to picket the house of the Political Agent and the offices of the Political Agent, Sessions Court and High Court.

41. **RAJGARH.**

DR. PATTABHISITARAMAYYA, President of the ALL INDIA STATES PEOPLES CONFERENCE visited Rajgarh State. At a meeting of about 450 people, he stressed the need for responsible government in Rajgarh and suggested that there should be a Panchayat in every village. He then explained the evils of liquor and of the begar system and appealed to the people to resist them. He then said that Maharajas should cooperate with the public as the British power which used to protect them was now leaving India, and added that as the Congress had been successful in uprooting the British power which had been ruling India for about 150 years they would have no difficulty in so far as Maharajas were concerned. He encouraged the people to weave and wear Khadi so that the money spent would remain in the country.
At other meetings DR. PATTABHI explained the progress of India’s fight for independence since 1875 and described how the people were enslaved and their industries impoverished by the British. He envisaged that not before long the people would be able to rule their own State, Maharajas being granted pensions. He promised to speak to the Food Member in Delhi about the serious food situation in Rajgarh. He then remarked that it was reported to him that the Dewan and most of the other important officials in the State were non-locals though there were many locals who could take their place, and that it was his experience that where the administration consisted of outsiders there was always trouble. He promised all round reforms in free India. He suggested that the name of the O’Dwyer Boarding House at Biaora should be changed as O’Dwyer was the Englishman who had opened fire in the Jalianwala Bagh!

NEEMUCH.

42. The food situation continues to be serious and there is some difficulty about getting kerosene oil.

MHOW.

43. The Food situation in Mhow is still very grave.

Central India Agency, Indore

L.C.L. Griffin, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., L.C.S.,
Secretary to H.E. the Crown Representative, New Delhi.

9. Satyagraha in Nagod

Report of the Lok Samachar Samiti, New Delhi, 26 March 1947
AICC Papers, File No. SP-7 (Pt. II)/1947-8, NMML

Nagod, Bundelkhand, 26 March:—

'Satyagraha is in full swing here as large groups of workers are coming from neighbouring states of Bundelkhand. Subjects of Ajaygarh and Kothi states have been forbidden from entering Nagod state. Bundelkhand Congress leader Shri Premanarayan Khare has been arrested. The police is on the rampage and there are complaints of women being humiliated.'

10. Dhar State Prajamandal on the Unrepresentative Character of Reforms

Report of the Lok Samachar Samiti, New Delhi, 26 March 1947
AICC Papers, File No. SP-7 (Pt. II)/1947-8, NMML

Dhar, 26 March:—

'The Central Executive of the Dhar State Prajamandal has accepted a proposal after deliberating on the 15 October, 27 February and 8 March declarations of the Maharaja. The proposal states
that the reform committee ignored the first declaration of the Maharaja and did not seek to sound out the public opinion. Moreover, the Maharaja conspired to impose a two-year old scheme. Consequently, the declarations of the Maharaja are untimely, regressive and flawed. The Central Executive criticised the proposed Legislative Assembly and said that it is merely a consultative committee whose members will be neither elected nor be peoples' representatives. The Executive has warned that if the State does not implement a proper scheme, Prajamandal will be obliged to launch a State-wide agitation.'

11. Political Developments in Central Indian States

Extract from Annual Report of Central India Regional States’ Peoples Conference, 31 March 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 261, NMML

Introduction

The present day demarcation of our country in various province states or regions is actuated more by political exigencies of the foreign imperialistic government and the accidents of history than by the actual geographical, linguistic, cultural and ethnical grounds. The Central India Region, as it stands today, is very peculiar in this respect. It is a class by itself. There are 62 States in the region comprising of States of varying size, population and revenue. If on the one hand there are states big enough like Gwalior and Rewa, on the other hand there are such petty states like Bankapahri and Bijna which by no stretch of imagination can be termed as ‘State’ and their number far exceeds the bigger states. Besides the practically compact Indian States area (except the tiny spot of Pant Piploda) in Central India Agency States and the Gwalior Agency states, few states including the important states of Benares and Rampur lie so scattered that it embraces some geographical parts of the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and the Bombay Presidency along with a very small speck in Rajputana. While covering the whole of the Malwa plateau it sprawls from the Aravali Hills of Rajputana to the Vindhya and Satpura hills and the Nerbada river, and penetrates into and touches the borders of the Bombay Presidency and the Gujarat States at more than one place. The United Provinces and the Central Provinces adjoin us at many places; at one place we adjoin the Orissa States as well....

Political Struggles:—

Until the goal of full responsible Government is reached the freedoms fight does not, can not and shall not stop. In spite of a declaration on the 18th January 1946 by H.H. the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes of a ‘Bill of Rights’ for states’ people, civil liberties in most of the states including the Chancellor’s state, have been suppressed and curbed. The states, perhaps as a joint common policy, pulled in their weight to crush the rising tide of peoples’ movement. Practically in every state the administration and very often the Ruler himself specially in smaller states, ranged themselves against the Peoples’ movement. At every possible opportunity all available means were employed to suppress the movements, but without success.

In Gwalior the State Congress at its annual Session at Guna under the President-ship of Shri Liladhar Joshi passed a resolution demanding among other things the immediate setting up of an Interim Government in the state with full powers, the peoples’ right to frame their own constitution and to send only peoples’ elected representatives to the Indian Constituent
Assembly. It further decided to serve an ultimatum to the Government. On Government’s failure to meet their demand permission to launch Direct Action is sought from the A.I.S.P.C. The lead given by the biggest state in this connection is remarkable. In Indore also an ultimatum for the establishment of Responsible Government in the state is served. There have been many restrictions on civil liberties and cases for defying prohibitory orders under D.I.R. on civil liberties have been launched. Extensive as well as intensive preparations to strengthen the Praja Mandal are afoot vigorously. In spite of the tall talks of the leader of the Princely order, the Nawab of Bhopal, the Bhopal State Government has never adopted a progressive policy. Under the pretext of maintaining Law and Order the Bhopal Government has been continuously suppressing civil liberties and peoples activities. Even permission for holding a public meeting to be addressed by a leader of the eminence of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya was not allowed. Glory for holding very fast against this citadel of reactionary feudalistic autocracy goes to Khan Shakirali Khan, Pt. Chatur Naryan Malwiya and their colleagues.

In Datia State a great movement was launched by the State People for the removal of the Dewan (Khan Bahadur Ainuddin) who was a hot favourite of the Political Department. The movement developed very fast. State people and Government employees joined hands together. The Dewan surrendered and resigned. But the Political Agent and Resident reimposed him in utter disregard of the peoples’ wishes, and the situation deteriorated. Syed Hamidali, General Secretary, Central India Regional States Peoples Conference, was specially deputed to watch, guide and conduct the movement. He tactfully handed the whole affair and saved the situation. Later he contacted Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in this connection. Events developed very fast and forced the visit of the Political Adviser of the Crown Representative to Datia and removal of the Political officers and conceding of the peoples’ demands. The whole movement lasted about a month and all along Syed Hamid Ali remained there.

Chhatarpur, Narsingarh, Ratlam, Jhabua, Sarila, Nagod, Orccha, Samthar and a number of other states had to undergo the fire of repression. The most satisfactory feature of all these struggles had been that everywhere the people have acquitted themselves worthy of the charge they hold from the A.I.S.P.C. and have maintained the dignity and have further enhanced the prestige of this mighty organisation.

Many a time even the Standing Committee of the A.I.S.P.C. was concerned with the repressions and they attracted the attention of the whole country.

The firing in Gwalior, Rampur, and Ratlam are the greater tragedies of the year. The wail of Gwalior labourers reached Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and he deputed Dr. Atal to conduct enquiry. Sayed Hamidali, General Secretary C.I.R.S.P.C. was deputed to Rampur to conduct enquiry into firing there. Kisans have heavily suffered there.

Immediately after the firing in Ratlam Shri Sita Ram S. Jajoo, General Secretary C.I.R.S.P.C. reached there and conducted the enquiry. Later on Shri Gopikrishan Vijaivargiya, the President C.I.R.S.P.C. accompanied by Shri Kamlashankar Pandya and Shri Khanyalal Khadiwala also reached Ratlam. As a result of their talks the State authorities agreed to hold an independent and impartial judicial enquiry, which the state failed to complete.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

With the ever growing strength of the peoples movement and the fast developing political situation in the country the princely order has lost ground. Recently Constitutional Reforms, of
course, with snags, traps and safety valves, have been announced in most of the states. These half-hearted measures being not up to the aspirations of the people have failed to get public acceptance. In many of the states they only decorate the archives of the state departments. In Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal, Dewas (Jr) and many other states declarations to appoint popular ministers have also been made. In Gwalior the Government has declared in Gazette Responsible Government under the aegis of the Ruler as their ultimate goal. Negotiations and political talks are going on in various states. The bigger states of Gwalior and Rewa have agreed to join the Indian Constituent Assembly as well.

The common feature of the reforms is their halting and half-hearted spirit. It appears that they are meant more for outward show rather than real transfer of power to the People.

Legislatures exist in Gwalior and Indore. The peoples organisations have secured majority in them but the limited powers and the dilatory tactics of the Governments do not permit them to do any public good. The sword of the veto power always hangs over their heads. Sacred promises made to give effect to the majority decisions of the legislatures are respected more in their breach than in fulfillment. As a result of government’s dilatory tactics the Gwalior State Congress boycotted the session of the legislatures last year.

The other big state of Rewa is without a legislature and Bhopal, according to its traditions, talks very high sounding principles and constitutions and at the same time devises ways and means of taking away with the right hand whatever the left hand has given. In other states legislatures and constitutional reforms are practically a farce. They are mere window dressing.

In some of the smaller states popular ministers from the Peoples’ organisations have been appointed. The states come to terms whenever they find themselves in a fix, but the moment they are out of it they throw all their promises to winds and resort to the same old policy of kicking below.

GROUPING OF C.I.

Ever since the Ludhiana session of the All India States Peoples’ Conference the question of grouping smaller states has engaged the attention of the states’ Peoples. This problem received further attention of the A.I.S.P.C. at Udaipur session and later the Standing Committee laid down standards of population and revenue to form an autonomous unit so that it can maintain modern standards of administration and that of social and economic welfare of the people.

In the light of the above resolutions and geographical and other considerations the Executive Committee of the C.I.R.S.P.C. have envisaged that Benares and Rampur states be joined to the United Provinces and Makrai, a small state, to the Central Provinces and the remaining states (including Gwalior) be grouped together in a unit. Even the grouping scheme chalked by the Princes of Central India envisages that Benares and Rampur be excluded from the C.I. Group, but they consider Gwalior big enough to form a separate unit. They further envisage absorbing some border states of Rajputana and Gujrat states in C.I. Group....
12. Kripalani’s Appreciation of the Proposed Reforms in Miraj
Telegram from J.B. Kripalani to Rajasaheb of Miraj, 10 April 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

EXPRESS
RAJASAHEB OF MIRAJ

I CONGRATULATE YOUR HIGHNESS ON PROPOSED REFORMS THEY ARE CONCEIVED IN BRAVE AND LIBERAL SPIRIT WHICH I HOPE WILL BE EMULATED BY OTHER PRINCES (STOP) I HOPE THE POWERS STILL RESERVED FOR YOUR SOLE EXERCISE WILL BY CONVENTION BE EXERCISED IN CONSULTATION WITH ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES (STOP) I WISH YOUR HIGHNESS SUCCESS IN YOUR ENDEAVOR TO IDENTIFY YOURSELF WITH THE INTEREST OF YOUR PEOPLE (STOP) PEOPLE BY THEIR RESTRAINT AND SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY WILL PROVE THEMSELVES WORTHY OF TRUST.

KRIPALANI

13. Report from Gwalior
Fortnightly report of the Gwalior Residency for the first half of June 1947 by Resident at Gwalior and for the states of Rampur and Benares, 18 June 1947
Pol. Dept., File No. 5(3)-P(S)/47, NAI

GWALIOR.

48. Labour meetings to celebrate May Day were held under the auspices of the Communist Party at Morena and Ujjain. Speakers at the meeting appealed to labourers to consolidate their ranks so that their demands may have a strong backing.

49. The local Hindu Mahasabha held a three-day session at Pichhore in Shivpuri District at which speeches were delivered emphasising the need for unity and militancy among Hindus in order that they might save themselves from being crushed and dominated by other communities.

RAMPUR.

50. A special session of the Rampur Legislative Assembly was announced to be held on 4th June to elect an Advisor to the joint Representative of the Rampur and Benares States to the Constituent Assembly. A general meeting of the Muslim Conference was held in the city on the same day to protest against the State joining the Constituent Assembly against the wishes of the Rampur public. A crowd of about two thousand persons that attended the meeting marched to the Assembly Hall and shouted slogans asking the members to walk out. A few members responded while others stayed behind in the Hall. After the members had staged a walk-out the crowd went back to the city.

51. About 10 Kurmees and Murao, resident of Tehsil Milak, have been converted to Sikhism.
52. Reference paragraph 45 of the last Report. The maulvi who had instigated the Muslims against the Hindus has since been arrested.

BENARES. nil.

Gwalior Residency RESIDENT AT GWALIOR & FOR THE STATES OF RAMPUR AND BENARAS.

To
L.C.L. Griffin Esquire, C.S.I. C.I.E. I.C.S.,
Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative
Political Department
New Delhi

14. Ruling Chief of Lugasi State Announces Responsible Government
Letter of declaration, 30 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. S.P-7 (Pt. II)/1947–8, NMML

|| DECLARATION ||

This is to inform to all the populace of Lugasi State that keeping in view the sentiments of the public who wanted to participate in the government, I have decided to bring about change in the present form of government.

Keeping in mind the above goal, I have decided the following:

(1) To form a State Council for the progress of the governance
(2) To solicit every support/ acceptance from the public and to give them every scope to question
(3) To form an organisation comprising of the elected representatives of the people.

....

It is to be especially informed to the public that if there is any constitutional development in Central India, also acceptable to our state, then these present changes in the administrative process would not be a hindrance to that.

Sd/-
Bhupal Singh
Ruling Chief, Lugasi State, C.I
15. Appeal for Attending to the Refugee Problem in Jaisalmer

Letter from Secretary, Jaisalmer Rajya Praja Mandal, to Vallabhbhai Patel, 7 August 1947

Ministry of States, 4/16-PR/47, NAI

To,
Reverend Shri Vallabhbhai Patel,
Deputy Prime Minister,
New Delhi

Respectful Jai Hind,

Yesterday, I sent you an express telegram regarding the protection of refugees; you would have taken appropriate steps for the protection of the unfortunate people. This is important news that refugee community is terrified and in a horrible condition, and they are coming across with heavy hearts and ashen faces....

Jaisalmer princely state is adjacent to the border with Pakistan. It is spread across 16062 sq. miles and the population is somewhere around 50,000. Jaisalmer is the only old city in such a big princely state whose population is somewhere around 3000. Hundreds of villages are ruined because of the Maharaja and Bade Maharaja. The rain water, if it rains, gets wasted by spreading all over the forests. The dams that have been for years are now broken and the government is not even showing determination to repair them due to which lakhs of bighas of land, in each tehsil, on which seeds were sowed in the old days, is lying barren now. It is not adequate for even a handful of people to survive although the people are somehow managing to by bringing grains from Pakistan but the attitude of the Maharaja is such that he does not even let us eat those....

The controlled goods like clothes, sugar, jaggery etc., is now getting exported to Pakistan in an unlawful manner (rastakhunsaki), although people are not even getting clothes even once or not even a measure of (chatag bhar) gud or sugar....

Well, the Hindu and Sikh brothers of the princely state of Bahawalpur, which is attached to our state, are coming to our state in an unlawful manner (rastakunsaki). Hundreds have already come, hundreds are yet to come and it is expected that thousands of them more will come. Seeing these people who have suffered at the hands of the Muslims, even the hard hearted were moved. They are taunted by the Muslim brothers when they come here, but what has the state to do with that....Giving them food for a time and half, they suggest them to leave.... hundreds of refugees have migrated. No one is aware of where they come and go to other than the city in the princely state. Our Prajamandal is in a lot of trouble because of the terror of the Maharaja. It cannot do more than reporting their condition so that those unfortunate could be provided with some kind of help. Thinking that it is our responsibility to send you a letter or a telegram, we are placing this letter at your feet. Now taking action or not is your duty.

Secretary
Jaisalmer Rajya Praja Mandal,
Jaisalmer
B. Bhopal

1. Suppression of Civil Liberties in Bhopal

Rejoinder by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya to Prime Minister, Bhopal, 10 January 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 19 (Pt. II), NMML

The following rejoinder to the Prime Minister of Bhopal has been issued by Dr. B. Pattabhi
Sitaramayya, President, All India State Peoples’ Conference.

The Prime Minister of Bhopal’s reply to my passing observations on Civil liberties in
Bhopal does not challenge any of my facts, but only seeks to explain them. The explanation
is that ‘a tension of highly surcharged atmosphere prevails in the country. In British India,
Government have been compelled to assume special powers and freely promulgate orders
such as those under Section 144 Cr. P.C. in the interest of peace of security. Then he states that
this section has been applied in some provinces before trouble and in others after trouble and
he asks why Bhopal should be complained against for taking the more prudent of these two
courses. It is well known, since the time section 144 was rediscovered for political purposes,
in the years ... [sic] that it has been misused by provincial Governments and now by the states.
The fact is that if its use is right, there must be a careful balancing of conditions as to whether
it may not be applied on the eve of danger. While this is so, may we not ask why the first use
of Section 144 was made in April last, whereas the communal troubles broke out on August
16? This point alone makes the explanation rather wide off the mark.’

It is not the suppression of the three News Papers that matters, but the security demanded of
the Printing press which has paralysed all further publications, one instance of which occurred
in the refusal of the Press to publish Tar-Jaman. It is easy, infinitely so, to establish peace by
Martial Law and Ordinance Rule, but that is not a mark of civilization and such a procedure
[sic] is blameworthy whether that is adopted by the States or the provinces or the Central
Government. Civilization consists in balancing government between maintenance of order
and suppression of liberty. A rule which is personal and absolute, if only benevolent, is the
happiest rule on earth, but benevolence cannot be guaranteed from generation to generation
or even from father or mother to son.

Bhopal is still thinking of elected majorities while the States’ people are clamouring for
Responsible Government. Elected majorities of a manipulated character or even fair and open,
are an anachronism. The State of the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes must be the first to
declare Responsible Government and not yield the palm to Audh or Cochin. It may be known
that Gwalior and Rewa and several other States have made declarations in favour of Responsible
Government. The Deccan States are forming a combination on the basis of Responsible
Government as the immediate objectives. We expect Bhopal to declare and work out a scheme
of Responsible Government as a natural corollary to and culmination of the declaration of
January, 18, by the Chancellor. Weekly interviews of His Highness with representatives of the
people are good and commendable, but they are not even an apology for democratic Rule; they
are proofs of benevolence in the lower rungs of administration under a scheme of personal rule.

For favour of publication
With the compliments of.

H.L. Masurkar
OFFICE SECRETARY
A.I.S.P.C. CONFERENCE.
2. Prohibition of Public and Private Meetings and Processions
   Unwarranted

Statement to press by Pt. Chatur Narain Malviya, 13 January 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 19 (Pt. II), NMML

BHOPAL STATE PEOPLES’ CONFERENCE

FOR FAVOUR OF PUBLICATION.
BHOPAL

Pt. Chatumarain Malviya B.A., LL.B. The General Secretary Bhopal State People’s Conference has issued the following Statement to the press:

The reply of the Acting Prime Minister of Bhopal to the recent statement of Dr. Pattabhi Seetaramayya, President AISP Conference is misleading. Whatever Dr. Pattabhi has alleged against the Government of Bhopal is absolutely true.

At a time when Mazdoor, Kisan, and People’s Pargana, District, and Statewise Conferences were already being held and others were going to be held one after the other under the auspices of the Bhopal State Peoples’ Conference and both Hindus and Muslims were participating in them irrespective of caste, creed and religion, the prohibition of all public and private meetings and processions excepting the religious ones under rule 56 Defence of Bhopal Rules for three months and demands of securities from the press and the newspapers, and in the meanwhile carrying on elections of Tehsil councils, Notified Areas, Mandi Committees, preparing for the coming elections of the Bhopal Legislative Council whose form and shape is still in the dark, go to prove that the Government of Bhopal has exploited the imaginary pretexts and excuses more for the suppression of Political Movements and gagging the civil liberties than for maintaining peace and order.

The fact is further evidenced by the Government’s present actions by which reactionaries and communal leaders and enemies of the Bhopal State Peoples’ Conference, who have been responsible for fomenting communal hatred and betraying the public cause for their own particular objects have been appointed as public representatives in the Government’s nominated bodies.

It is to be remembered that the Bhopal State Peoples’ Conference has already expressed its deep resentment and dissatisfaction against the present reforms in the State as they are so constituted that there is a good deal of margin for the exploitation of the public interest for the few as it has been the practice here up till now.

It is also to be remembered that in 1938 when Pt. Jawaharlalji, the then President of A.I.S.P.C. had stated there was no civil liberties in the State, the then publicity officer of the State had issued a lengthy statement in order to rebut his allegations but the State Authorities could not dare to face the inquiry of the Bombay Civil Liberties Union as it was demanded by Pandit ji in his rejoinder.

The same misleading tactics have again been used by the premier of Bhopal.

It is a fabrication to say that the Government’s action to demand securities from the Press and newspapers was taken in response to a general public demand. On the contrary, All Parties Joint Public Meeting unanimously condemned the said action and demanded the withdrawal of the said orders.
Here it is necessary to mention that the so called public advisory bodies are nominated by the officials of the State and they are consisted of reactionary persons. They are maintained in order to suppress public voice and misguide the people.

It is also not true to say that the Indian rulers and the members of their Government are all sincere Indians. On the contrary, they are the stooges of the British Imperialism and the enemies of the people.

As a matter of fact the present administration in the State is most reactionary and despotic and the claims of internal reforms and enlightened administration is mere high sounding and devoid of every substance of Responsible Govt.

Chatur Narain Malviya B.A. LL.B.,
General Secretary,
BHOPAL STATE PEOPLES’ CONFERENCE
CHOWK, BHOPAL.C.I.

3. Demand for Transfer of Authority to Elected Representatives

Resolution by Working Committee of Bhopal State Peoples’ Conference, 3 March 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 19 (Pt. I), NMML

BHOPAL STATE PEOPLES’ CONFERENCE

For favour of publication

BHOPAL

On the recent political changes announced by the Ruler of Bhopal, the working committee of the Bhopal State Peoples’ Conference have adopted the following resolution on 28th Feb 1947:

This meeting of the Working Committee B.S.P.C. takes the different proclamations of reforms and progress including that of the appointment of three public ministers made on behalf of the Bhopal Government, with surprise and astonishment and expresses its regret upon the ambiguity and vagueness of the declarations so made. The changes taking [sic] from the adult-franchise to the reshuffling of the Executive’s Council announced during the last year [may] properly be called phoney changes. The real power and authority is not increased in the voter or the minister. This committee firmly believes in [sic] the principle, the full responsible Government therefore thinks it in vain to consider over the announcements not until the real power and authority is transferred to the peoples’ elected representatives, who may be able to satisfy the primary and fundamental needs of the mass of people miserably exploited as poverty, unemployment, disease and education. Moreover no complete picture of the reforms can be imagined in the proclamations, one is at a loss to understand how the executive will be responsible to the popularly elected legislature and what will be the criterion for the distribution of the powers between the executive and legislature on the one hand and between the ruler and the minister on the other. So this committee does not find itself in a position to direct its attention towards such a programme whose object is nothing more than some clerical changes without satisfying itself to matters pertaining to public good.
4. Congress Disassociates Itself from Bhopal Interim Ministry

Statement by Shankarrao Deo, General Secretary of the Congress, 21 April 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-28/1947-8, NMML

Sri Shankarrao Deo, General Secretary of the Congress has issued the following statement to the Press:

H.H. The Nawab of Bhopal has recently announced the formation of an Interim Ministry in his state. I do not wish to go into the nature of this Interim Ministry in the set up of the present constitutional structure of the Bhopal State. I only wish to remove the misapprehension which might have been created in the minds of the general public by the announcement that one of the non-official ministers is from the Congress, thus implying that the Congress has been duly represented in and associated with the Interim Ministry. The Congress policy regarding the states, since Haripura, has been that the Congress committees in the states should confine their activities to the constructive programme only and the political and parliamentary activities should be carried on by the States’ Peoples’ organisations such as Prajamandals etc. Even otherwise the Bhopal Congress committee is not such as to undertake this responsibility nor has it been authorised to do so. As for Mr. Saadullah Rasmi who has accepted the post of minister, if he has represented to H.H. the Nawab that he is doing so on behalf of and has been permitted to do so by the Congress, he has, to say the least, given a false impression and has exploited the Congress for his individual ends.

New Delhi

5. Reforms Act Sanctioned in Dewas Junior

Letter from Maharaja of Dewas to Vallabhbhai Patel, 30 April 1947
SPC, Vol. V, pp. 351–2

Durgabag Palace
Dewas J.B., CI

My dear Sardar Patel,

I have great pleasure in sending you herewith the Dewas Junior Reforms Act which I sanctioned and announced on 4 March last.

You will find therein lines of constitutional advance which are the farthest yet attained in Central India. For the urban constituencies I have provided adult suffrage and direct elections, and for the rural constituencies representation is through village panchayats which are themselves formed on adult suffrage. I am taking two or more popular Ministers as are nominated for me in the Legislative Assembly and have pledged myself to full responsible government within three years, which is actually half the period insisted on by the Popular Committee consisting mostly of representatives of the local Praja Mandal, whose recommendations have formed the basis of the reforms and I am happy to say that they have now accepted my reforms and are working [them] with full co-operation, as [evidenced] by the manner in which they are taking part in the general elections ordered for May next. I know it is the fashion amongst Congress leaders in British India to hold Aundh and Cochin as models of constitutional propriety amongst States. Here in Central India, I have gone all out to secure the love of my people,
and I challenge you to find anywhere in Central India to better my scheme, having regard to
general backwardness, to secure the object we have all in view.

While I say all this, you may remember our conversation of which I myself have a vivid
recollection. The conditions of educational progress in Central India are still heart-rendingly
backward and I have many misgivings whether I shall find requisite materials to stand the
test of the highest efficiency. Loyalty I shall have in abundant measure. But what is needed is
sympathy and co-operation from the leaders of British India to whom my people here are apt
to look for guidance.

I have been reading your latest speeches in Gujarat with the greatest interest and I wish
your other friends always followed your example with the same sense of reality.

With very kind regards and hoping this finds you well,

Yours very sincerely,

Yeshwantrao Pawar

The Hon’ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi.

6. Dewas Junior Reforms Act
Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel to Maharaja of Dewas, 16 May 1947

New Delhi

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Please refer to your letter of 30 April 1947 with which you enclosed a copy of the Dewas Junior
Reforms Act.

2. I have carefully gone through the Act and find that it does make a substantial
advance over the previous position, and I am glad to hear that Your Highness contemplates
introducing full responsible government within three years. I have no doubt that popular opinion
in your State will back you to the full in your efforts to introduce a completely democratic
government.

3. I fully endorse your view about the backwardness of Central India and congratulate you
on your boldness in introducing these reforms much ahead, as you say, of any other State in that
Agency, and I shall not be slow in congratulating you once again when you have introduced
full responsible government and thereby placed before your brother Princes a worthy example
to emulate, not only in the interests of their people but in their own interests as well.

4. I am glad that you have taken some interest in the speeches which I made in Gujarat
and I do hope your brother Princes will find in them a friendly approach sufficiently sincere
to prompt them to take the only patriotic course possible for them, viz. to join the Constituent
Assembly with the least possible delay.

I trust your Highness will exert your influence in inducing the remaining Central India
States to join the Constituent Assembly at an early date and also to make an immediate
announcement accordingly. Indore has not yet decided either way.
With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Vallabhbhai Patel.

Captain His Highness
Maharaja Shrimant Yeshwantrao
Bhausaheb Pawar, Maharaja Saheb
Dewas State
Dewas (Jr.)

7. Nagod to Join Constituent Assembly
   Letter from M.M. Gharekhan to H.V.R. Iyenger, 17 June 1947
   SPC, Vol. V, pp. 350–1

Nagod (Cl)

My dear Secretary Sahib,

Probably you are aware of my being fixed up here as Constitutional Adviser and Chief Minister for Nagod State.

2. Your letter dated 7 June 1947, and another letter of the same date on the subject of election of representatives by States to the Conssembly were received by me only on the 16th. As desired in para 3 of it, I have telegraphically communicated to you the decision of the Nagod Durbar to join the Conssembly. Herewith you will find copy of it for confirmation.

3. For the Central India States three seats seem to have been allocated. You will find that Bundelkhand has a population nearing about 2 million and Malwa a population of one million. Proportionately, therefore, Bundelkhand States should have two seats and Malwa should have one only. It would be much better if your office confirms this position at the earliest moment possible.

4. The suggestion made at the end of your letter is being considered with all possible quickness.

Yours sincerely,

M.M. Gharekhan

H.V.R. Iyenger Esq., ICS, GSI
Secretary
Constituent Assembly
New Delhi
8. Future Course of Action for Nawab of Bhopal

Letter from Louis Mountbatten to Hamidullah, 11 August 1947
Ministry of States, File No. 8 (49)-PR/47, NAI

Personal and Private.

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

My dear Hamidullah,

I have had a long interview with Sardar Patel today. I promised to let you know his reactions to the proposals that Bhopal should have an extension of ten days in which to sign the Instrument of Accession and Standstill Agreement and that you might abdicate any time from now on within the next twelve months.

2. As regards the extension, Sardar Patel pointed out that he had refused an extension to every single Ruler and Dewan who had asked him for one and that he therefore could not himself make an exception. There were two courses open to me; either to seek Cabinet approval in person or to take the matter into my own hands.

3. Sir Walter Monckton put in a request on behalf of Hyderabad for an extension which Sardar Patel was unable to agree to; but with his agreement I took the matter up at my last meeting with the India Cabinet. I asked them to authorise me to grant an extension to the Nizam to enable the negotiations to be continued after the 15th August. For your private information I can tell you I was successful in obtaining authority for this extension as a special exception.

4. It would be almost impossible for me to take your case to the Cabinet since there is no further opportunity for a meeting before the 15th August, and in any case I could hardly expect to have such a success a second time, particularly as the magnitude of the problems of the two States is, as you would be the first to admit, of a different order.

5. I have therefore obtained Sardar Patel's consent to the second course, namely that if you will sign and date the Instrument of Accession and Standstill Agreement before midnight on the 14th August and then hand them personally to me I will lock them up in my private case and undertake not to deliver them to the States' Department until 25th August, unless you authorise me to deliver them earlier. I will further undertake to hand them back to you any time up to the 25th August should you change your mind and not wish to accede. I hope you will agree that this will in effect give you your ten days extension, whilst not embarrassing Sardar Patel. I need hardly point out the absolute need for complete secrecy over this special treatment which you are being accorded. I have asked Sardar Patel equally to maintain secrecy.

6. As regards abdication I feel myself that it would be unfair to your daughter and put you in a very bad light in the eyes of the world if you were to abdicate on any date near the 15th August, as it would appear to put an unfair burden on so young a girl ruler at such a very critical time—(a sort of 'escape' at her expense). As regards my own position, this would be adequately covered by your kind undertaking to exchange letters for publication. Therefore it is entirely a matter of what the world would think of you and the chances that you give your daughter of making success of her new position.

7. I think that the best compromise would be if you were to abdicate any time during the month of October.

This I feel would cover all the objections which I have raised above whilst releasing you at the earliest reasonable moment. Sardar Patel has given me his personal assurance that your
continuation as Ruler of Bhopal so far from damaging the prospects of Bhopal, will make the India Government far better disposed towards your state since they will realise that you are trying to avoid embarrassing them by not choosing an awkward date for your abdication.

8. Therefore my private but most earnest advice, Hamidullah, is that you should sign the Instrument of Accession and Standstill Agreement as soon as possible and give it to me to keep until you have made up your mind one way or the other; and that if you decide to abdicate, you should not do this until October.

9. No one can make up your mind but you and whatever your decision I need hardly assure you that it will not affect our friendship.

Yours ever,
(Signed) Dickie.

P.S. I enclose an official letter which I should like to publish in the event of your not taking my advice and after all abdicating on or about the 15th August. I am grateful to you for saying that you will send me a reply, which I can also publish, making it clear that I have not at any time exerted any form of pressure on you in this matter.

I shall be away from Delhi (visiting Karachi) from about noon on Wednesday 13th until after lunch on Thursday 14th. Come and see me whenever convenient and let me have the two documents as proposed. No meeting with Patel is now necessary as he agrees to all my proposals.

Sd./ D.

9. Standstill Agreement and Instrument of Accession Signed by Nawab of Bhopal

Letter from Hamidullah to Louis Mountbatten, 14 August 1947
Ministry of States, File No. 8 (49)-PR/47, NAI

Qasr-i-Sultani,
BHOPAL.
14th August, 1947
8.15 p.m.

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Please refer to your letter of the 11th August 1947 in regard to an extension of ten days for Bhopal for the signing of the Instrument of Accession.

I am accepting your private advice contained in Para 8 of your letter under reference, namely that I should sign the Instrument of Accession and Standstill Agreement as soon as possible (before midnight 14th August 1947) and hand them to you in a sealed envelope to keep in your personal custody until I have made up my mind one way or the other.

In accordance with the contents of your letter of the 11th August, and the arrangement arrived at between us at our meeting at the Viceroy’s House on the 12th August at 4.30 p.m., I have signed and dated my Instrument of Accession and Standstill Agreement before midnight August the 14th 1947, and am sending them, as per agreement between us, in a sealed envelope with instructions in my own handwriting on the envelope that, it shall not be opened or delivered to the States’ Department until the evening of the 25th August 1947, unless I authorise you
to deliver it earlier. I shall be grateful if you will please, as agreed, lock the sealed envelope in your private box and in accordance with the undertaking given by you will not deliver it to the States' Department or to any one else before the evening of the 25th of August 1947, unless I authorize you to do so earlier. Should I decide not to accede, Your Excellency will, in accordance with the further undertaking given by you in your letter of the 11th August 1947, return to me any time up to the evening of 25th August 1947 the sealed envelope, containing the Instrument of Accession and Standstill Agreement signed by me and placed in your safe custody. I note that Sardar Patel has given his consent to these arrangements. I shall be grateful if a proper acknowledgment and receipt of this letter and the sealed envelope is kindly given to me by you and handed to the bearer of this letter.

Complete secrecy shall, as far as humanly possible, be maintained over this special treatment which my State is being accorded. I note that Sardar Patel has also agreed equally to maintain secrecy.

As regards my abdication the situation here is so tense and so highly charged that if I abdicate at this juncture it will, I now find, lead to most horrible consequences. The life of a single Hindu or Moslem subject of mine is far more dear to me than a thousand abdications whatever the reason for the abdication may be. I have therefore decided not to abdicate at present.

I will let you know my final decision in regard to the accession of my State on or before the 25th August, 1947.

I am enclosing in the sealed envelope, which is being sent to you for safe custody until the 25th August, 1947, copies of the following documents:—

1. Instrument of Accession—signed.
2. Standstill Agreement—signed.
3. Memorandum of clarification of Draft Instrument of Instructions as the result of discussions between H.E. the Crown Representative and H.H. the Ruler of Bhopal on 6th August, 1947, with a copy of the covering letter addressed by Sir Zafrulla Khan to Mr. V.P. Menon of the States' Department.
4. The States' Department's reply to Sir Zafrulla Khan's letter confirming the record of discussion between the Viceroy, Mr. Menon and H.H. of Bhopal and Sir Zafrulla Khan.
5. Your letter dated 11th August, 1947, addressed to me.
6. My letter addressed to you dated the 14th August (8.15 p.m.) 1947.

Yours very sincerely,

Sd/-

Hamidullah.

14/8/47

(8.15 p.m.)
C. **INDORE**

1. **Public Resentment against the Maharaja of Indore**
   
   Letter from B.V. Keskar to Vallabhbhai Patel, 6 January 1947
   

   **Indore**

   My dear Sardar Sahib,

   While on the way back from Bombay I had been in Indore for a day. I know the local Praja Mandal workers here intimately as I worked with them in 1942 and 1943.

   In the present crisis created by the Maharaja, the majority of the Praja Mandal workers are against the policy of the Maharaja, Minister Dhanda and the palace group. Unfortunately some of the order [sic] ones are misled by the Maharaja’s stunts and their feeling of Rajnittha. The feeling here amongst the workers is that they need to be strongly pulled up by you and warned.

   With regards to Mr. Mehta’s dismissal, the worker’s attitude and that of the public is that a very strong and firm attitude should be taken up with the Maharaja and the least that should be done is to liquidate for ever the palace groups and Mr. Dhanda, otherwise the intrigues will never stop. Even dethronement of the Maharaja will get popular approval.

   From what I gathered from talks with Dewas. J.B. and S.B., the C.I. princes are closely watching the present challenge thrown out by Indore to the States Department, and any weak step will encourage them to try further steps. The creation or suggestion for the creation of a C.I. unit is being talked of here but the smaller princes are not proving helpful. Dewas J.B. will probably put one or two new plans before you.

   I have given a letter of introduction to you to Mr. M.B. Rage, Dewan of Dewas J.B. who is coming there for a Princes’ meeting. He will probably consult you about possible future steps about Central India. I knew him even before he became Dewan and I think he is a very trustworthy man who will prove useful.

   With regards,

   Yours sincerely,

   B.V. Keskar

2. **Maharaja Asks for Suggestions for Constitutional Developments**
   
   Telegram from Indore Praja Mandal to Vallabhbhai Patel, 17 May 1947
   

   **Indore**

   Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
   New Delhi

   **MAHARAJA APPOINTED YESTERDAY HORTON HIS PRIME MINISTER. HAS ALSO INVITED WITHIN FORTNIGHT SUGGESTIONS FROM IMPORTANT PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS DESIRIOUS OF SUBMITTING VIEWS REGARDING SHORT AND LONG TERM CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT INCLUDING APPOINTMENTS ONE OR MORE FROM PUBLIC. ON RECEIPT SUGGESTION MAHARAJA WILL**
INDORE PRAJA MANDAL

3. General Strike by Government Servants for Interim Relief

Telegram from Maharunkar, Secretary, Holkar State Government Servants Union, to J.B. Kripalani, 20 May 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

Acharya Kripalani Congress President

sixteen thousand holker state government servants are on general strike throughout states since eleventh may for interim relief of rupees nineteen annas four to meet ever rising high prices (para) before strike we sought maharajas intervention three thousand government servants marched to his palace maharaja declined to see us (para) captain dhanda minister for finance and commerce bypassed our demand by giving...vague assurances government servants at maharajas palace itself declared general strike the only way left to them (para) food position in state very precarious govt. raising food prices every month (para) Govt. is adamant and has resorted to repression from today whole working committee of our union and some hundred govt servants men and women have been arrested at three am police vandalism has begun lady picketers including Mrs. Rajani Khandkar b a l t member standing committee of all india women’s conference she was dragged by her hair and arrested pray your intervention and support to our cause of honour of our women and our bread.

Maharunkar
Secretary Holkar State Government Servants Union

4. Popular Protest in Indore

A pamphlet by Indore Raj Prajamandal, 27 May 1947
Indore Raj Praja Mandal Papers, File No. 9, NMML

Meeting would be definitely held!
Date- From 31st March to 1st June
Do Come Everyday
Please come in large numbers but get your own chana chabena (snacks)

[SUPPLEMENT PRAJAMANDAL PATRIKA]

Price- 3 Paise

Protest against Lathi Charge and Arrests
Municipal Council Demands immediate removal of Mr. Horton and his friends

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The Municipal Council of Indore had an extraordinary meeting on 26-5-1947 under the
Presidency of V.V. Sarvate. The meeting passed the following resolution:

'It has been the aspiration of the people of Indore that responsible government be established
and Indore enter the Constituent Assembly and the Indian Union. Municipal Council has
supported these demands as the Chief representative of Indore city. The Municipal Council
condemns the repressive activities of the government with regard to the people voicing their
demands.'

1 On 23rd and 24th May, peaceful demonstrations of Indore citizens fighting for self government were brutally
repressed.

5. ‘Indore People Unitedly Demand’

People’s Age, 1 June 1947

- JOIN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
- ESTABLISH RESPONSIBLE GOVT.
- THROW OUT THE BRITISHERS.

The Indore State Praja Mandal gave a call for observing May 23 as ‘Responsible Government
and Constituent Assembly Day’ in the State.

The call was backed by every peoples’ organisation in the State.

In answer to this call, the State administration, headed by Mr. Horton, a man of the Political
Department, has unleashed unprecedented repression on the people.

During the last three days—from May 23 to May 26—the State police led by another
Englishman, Major Blandon, the Inspector General of Police, has resorted to indiscriminate
violence on the people, lathi-charging them and firing on them.

Hundreds have been arrested. Several hundreds have been wounded. But these things
have only strengthened the iron will of the Indore State’s people to increase their efforts for
achieving their goal.

A very noteworthy feature of this struggle is the unity of the working-class and peasant
organisations with the Praja Mandal—a fact which has given a new momentum to the movement.

Below we are giving the diary of our Special Correspondent, throwing light on the
happenings of these three eventful days—Editors.)

Friday, May 23

Today was the ‘Responsible Government and Constituent Assembly Day.’

The Indore State Praja Mandal had given a call for a general strike. A procession was
announced from Manik Chowk to the Raja’s Palace.

The call of the State Praja Mandal was supported by all the people’s organisations in
the State—the Communist Party, the Mazdur Sabha, the Kisan Sabha and the students.

Last night I had visited many areas, talked to scores of people, workers, middle-class men
and other common folk.

There was none who did not solidly stand for the demands put forward by the Praja Mandal.

I can give evidence that Indore did not sleep last night.

And even before it was day break, throngs of enthusiastic people filled the roads. Jubilantly
talking, shouting, heatedly discussing they were moving towards Manik Chowk.
Slogans Rend the Air
Slogans like ‘Establish Responsible Government,’ ‘Join the Constituent Assembly,’ ‘Throw out the Britishers from the State’ rent the morning air—which carried them far and wide.

Countless Tricolours fluttered in the air—gaily and proudly.

Soon batches of workers too appeared on the streets. Along with the Tricolours, they carried huge Red Flags with them. When the Tricolours and Red Flags came together and mingled, they presented a very festive appearance.

Apart from the above slogans, the workers were shouting slogans about food, for communal unity and for the fulfilment of the demands of the 16,000 State employees.

Of the 30,000 workers, not a single one had gone to work. All mills, factories and other works were deserted. There was complete hartal in the city.

Unprecedented Crowd
Manik Chowk, the venue of many meetings and processions in the past, had never seen such a mammoth crowd.

Fifty thousand people had collected there—much before the scheduled time and much beyond anybody’s expectations. Nobody remembered that only few weeks ago there was a terrible tension in Indore—and even some incidents had taken place.

Nobody worried about the scare-stories of gassing, firing and even of riots, sedulously spread by the police agents throughout the night.

As the defiant crowd flew into Manik Chowk from all directions, it infused a new spirit in everybody’s heart.

At the head of the people at Manik Chowk were the Praja Mandal leaders, Mr. U.S. Sarvate leading all.

And opposite them stood the inevitable police—armed to the teeth. They had barred the way to the Raja’s Palace. The White Inspector General of Police—Major Blandon himself led them.

He ordered the people to disperse. He said the procession would not be allowed to proceed to the Ruler’s Palace.

No Hesitation Today
There was no question of hesitation today....The people gnashed their teeth in contempt, shouted slogans even more loudly and waited for the leaders’ orders to march...to march to the Raja’s Palace—three miles away.

The leaders changed their mind. They asked the people to return and suggested that only a few batches of five should go to the Ruler’s Palace.

Some batches were started by them.

The people, however, did not want their leaders to go alone. They told them so. And the crowd began to move with them—following at a short distance—a huge concourse of people.

Blandon and his gang came in between them, threw a cordon and isolated the leaders. He began to brandish his baton and threaten the people.

Then he ordered a brutal, indiscriminate lathi-charge, without even the formality of a notice. He himself fell on the people. I myself saw him take aim and hit several persons’ heads meanly and viciously.
The people showed exemplary patience. Even I was afraid that if they were provoked into retaliating they would crush Blandon and his black crew just like what one would do to a vermin....

Lathi-charge was followed by firing and arrests. Over a hundred were wounded seriously. The condition of five of them is precarious.

Fifty-one were arrested, including the Secretary of the City-Praja Mandal, Sjt. Misrilal Gangwal.

No Panic among Them

Even then the people did not run helter-skelter. Nor did they attack. They collected their wounded and quietly returned—waiting for further instructions from the leadership.

But the procession could not go to the Ruler’s Palace....This emboldened the bureaucrats.

They have clamped down curfew on the city from 7-30 p.m. to 5-30 in the morning. Section 144 is already there.

Late in the evening when I met groups of people, their hearts were full of rage against the Government.

They also expressed open and loud disapproval of the Praja Mandal leaders’ attitude both in leaving them like that and in objecting to the workers’ carrying the Red Flags, which had forced thousands of workers to have a separate meeting.

The 11-day old struggle of the 16,000 State employees is continuing.

The police have failed to track down their underground leaders. In fact they have come out with illegal bulletins—which have thrilled thousands of people who have had the luck to get a copy.

The General Secretary of the Employees Association Sjt. Mehrunkar has become a legendary hero in the State.

The employees have pledged full support to the peoples struggle.

The Indore Municipal Council has passed a resolution condemning repression and demanding the removal of Horton—the English Prime Minister—and his clique.

Call for Protest Strike

All the organisations—the Praja Mandal, the Communist Party, the Mazdur Sabha, etc.—have given a call for a protest strike tomorrow.

Today’s incidents have once again shown that the State wants to make use of this occasion to weaken the Communists’ influence over the working class and the general public.

Just at this moment, it has extended the period of detention of 12 Communists—who were arrested on May 3—by two months and is trying to work up an anti-communist scare.

But now, as the day closes, nobody doubts that tomorrow again there is going to be a complete strike.

It seems the people cannot be fooled by these low tricks any more.

They will not step back till their demands are met.

Saturday, May 24

AGAIN there is complete hartal in the city.

I went round all the mills, the workers areas and then the bazars. There is not a soul working anywhere.
Instead of one, there are several processions today.

Early in the morning a procession of 6,000 workers was surrounded by the police at the crossing of the Jail Road and the Topkhana Main Road and lathi-charged.

Later, there was firing there as well as on Jail Road, where another procession of the people was stopped by the police.

Similar incidents took place on Topkhana and Station Roads.

The police have run riot today. They are beating up children, old men and women. Several roads like Topkhana Main Road and Station Road have been cordoned off, barricaded and ‘closed’ to the people.

The number of injured in repeated lathi-charges and firings has swelled to about 250. The arrested come to over 125.

The workers and the Communist Party have come in for more attacks.

Several workers leaders like Sjt. Kaluram Gupta, Shiv Narayan Shrivastava have been thrown into Jail.

Communist Office Sealed

After a short while the police raided the office of the Communist Party, arrested two of its workers, Messrs Malu Ram Chandra and Gupta, who were present there, and sealed the office. A posse of police constables is now sitting in front of it.

Later, they made a general round-up and arrested 30 Communist leaders and workers—all they could lay their hands on.

They searched the office of Mazdur Sabha and the Bolshevik Party also.

To whitewash their criminal acts—the vengeful provocation, firing, etc., the authorities have come out with a long communique calling the movement ‘unlawful’ and charging the people with ‘unruly’ behaviour and ‘violence’—beating up of ‘68 police-officers,’ burning of a ‘police-tent’ and ‘damaging a police van’.

Sjt. Manohar Singh Mehta, Secretary of the Indore Rajya Praja Mandal, has called it a ‘false and misleading’ statement.

Truly, the communique is a string of lies.

The peaceful spirit shown by the people is amazing—considering the provocative behaviour of the officials who rule this State.

But of course, the people have not been cowed down by the violence of the Government. And that they will never do—not now, in May 1947!

All the leaders of the people have exhorted the population to be firm. And firm it is.

Indore—this cradle of the peace-loving Malwa people—has never looked so grim or determined.

Sunday May 25

TODAY is a holiday. But nobody seems to remember it.

For the people—it is another day of their struggle—strike and fighting.

The town has the appearance of an occupied city—with armed cordons and guards all over. Except for the processions which continue defying bans—though peacefully—there is no life to be observed anywhere.

The number of arrested is said to have crossed the 300 figure. Hundreds others have been thrown into police vans and taken to jungles and left there to trek back.
Workers at the Head

The workers are naturally at the head of the movement launched by the Praja Mandal.

Their courage, discipline and technique of struggle have endeared them to the people in general.

The bond of unity and fraternity between the workers and the people was never so close.

Many people—ordinary men and women—today recalled 1940. When during a general strike the workers of Indore had fought the State Police.

Then they were provoked into attacking and destroying three police chowkies to obtain the release of Mousi Bai—one of the Praja Mandal women workers, who had become a champion of their cause also.

They talked of the incident reminiscently and fondly showing the mood they are getting into by the repressive attitude of the State.

The Ruler is, of course, sitting quiet in his palace.

What is happening in the State is obviously under the inspiration of the Political Department. In fact, Horton, Richardson, Blandon, etc, are all its chosen men.

Rumours even state that the Ruler has been isolated by these fellows, who have grabbed all authority.

The situation is very critical and tense.

Launch Satyagraha

The Praja Mandal Executive is meeting today to discuss this situation.

The people are expecting it to give a call for full-fledged satyagraha.

Messages have come from the districts promising full support and help in ridding the State of the White autocrats and in enforcing the Praja Mandal demand for setting up a Responsible Government, in the State joining the Constituent Assembly.

6. Indore on Regressive Path

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Maharaja of Indore, 21 June 1947


New Delhi

Dear Maharaja,

I have hesitated to write to you because it is not my custom to interfere in this way in States’ activities. But some things that have happened to Indore recently have surprised me so much that I felt I should let you know how Indore or rather the Indore Government is suffering in people’s eyes.

2. Five years ago you issued a statement to the press and you also wrote to me urging me to go immediately to the United States of America. It appeared then that you were anxious to democratise your State and to give a lead to the other Rulers. Now Indore is considered one of the back-numbers among States; and it possesses not only a British Prime Minister but actually, I believe, three British Ministers. The fact that these men are very second-rate is bad enough. But the real question is that when India is on the verge of independence and British officials are leaving India in large numbers, Indore should reverse this current. This is most extraordinary and can only bring discredit to the State. Indeed I have heard very strong criticisms of this from many responsible people.
3. I understand that the Nawab of Bhopal told you recently that if you join the Constituent Assembly, some awful consequences would follow in regard to the curtailment of the State revenues. What he is reported to have said to you and others is so wide of the mark that I am surprised that anyone who knew the facts could have said it. If you are interested in knowing what the Constituent Assembly has so far done in regard to the States, I would suggest to you to take the trouble to read the reports of the Constituent Assembly on the subject instead of getting your facts from an interested and prejudiced party.

4. I think that all States in India should, for their own good, join the Constituent Assembly. But I really do not care very much whether every State joins or not because in any event the States will be affected by the establishment of a strong Indian Union. This fact cannot be ignored, and thus the choice for a State is limited.

5. That choice, of course, must be in consonance with the people’s wishes. I understand that at your request the Indore Prajamandal has postponed its annual session for a month. Presumably you are going to make some announcement during this month. I trust that your decision regarding the Constituent Assembly will be made soon so that we may know definitely whether you are joining it or not and take action accordingly. As regards the internal structure of the State, it is clear, even according to the British Cabinet Mission’s memorandum, that representative institutions, meaning thereby responsible government, should be established soon.

   I hope you are keeping well now.

Yours sincerely

Jawaharlal Nehru

7. ‘INDORE RULER LEAVES FOR LONDON’
   The Hindustan Times, 2 July 1947

DISSENTIENT STATE’S ATTEMPT TO SECURE H.M.G.’S SUPPORT

Indore, July 1.—It is reliably learnt that following an urgent telegraphic communication from Sir M. Zafrullah Khan, Political Adviser to the Nawab of Bhopal, who is now in London, the Indore Ruler, accompanied by his British Premier, Mr R.R. Horton, left yesterday by air for London on an urgent political mission.

It is further understood that some prominent constitutional experts of the Muslim League who are assisted by another British adviser are likely to join the Indore party either at Bhopal or at Karachi. It is understood that the party will make a last and final attempt in London to see that independent Indian States are recognised as separate Powers by the British Government. In case this materializes, the Princes will contact representatives of British and American commercial firms for securing and selling such articles as may be necessary in the event of economic boycott of these States by the Indian Union Government.

The party will also meet representatives of world Powers at London with a view to opening diplomatic relations with their countries. It is also gathered that these Princes would arrange transfer of their States’ valuables to England.

The Indore Ruler will, it is understood, press the British Government to give recognition for his five-year-old son born of his present American wife so that he may become his rightful heir.

The Indore party is expected to return to India within three weeks. In the absence of the Ruler and the Prime Minister from Indore, Government will be placed in the hands of Major Williams, Army Minister.
8. Kathiwara Joins Indian Union

Letter from Thakur Saheb, Kathiwara, to Vallabhbhai Patel, 3 July 1947

SPC, Vol. V, pp. 368–9

Kali Kothi No. 1
Camp: Indore

The Home Minister
New Delhi

Dear Sardar Patel,

I hope by now you have received my telegram informing you of my State’s decision to join the Constituent Assembly.

Herewith I am sending you a copy of my letter to the Political Agent of the Malwa States. As you will see from it, I have informed the Political Agent that I shall be meeting the Home Minister in New Delhi.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know when it will be convenient for you to grant me an interview in New Delhi to discuss my State’s amalgamation with the province of Bombay.

Yours sincerely,

Thakur Saheb,
Kathiwara (CI)

Enclosure

Kali Kothi No. 1
Camp: Indore
2 July 1947

The Political [Agent] in Malwa
Indore

My representative who attended the Rulers and Ministers’ Conference at Indore on 28 and 29 June has given me a full report of the proceedings of the meeting and the decisions taken.

I hereby write to inform you that I have decided to join my State with the province of Bombay. And in this matter I am contacting the Home Minister of the Central Government at New Delhi to ask for his opinions and advice, and after ascertaining his views I shall get into touch with the Premier of Bombay. My representative at the meeting at Indore was asked by you on 28 June as to what arrangement I am making to carry on the correspondence between my State and the Central Government at New Delhi.

As regards the future of my State, I am taking a different course to what the other neighbouring States intend to take. Therefore it shall not be possible for me to correspond with the Central Government through any Secretariat that may be set up by any group of States.

As the present Secretariat of the Political Department at Indore will continue to function till 15 August I shall keep in touch with the Central Government through this Secretariat, and by 15 August I shall be able to make final settlement with the Government of Bombay.

Thakur Saheb,
Kathiwara [Central India]
D. BASTAR

1. Nehru Protests against the Influence of Political Department in Internal Affairs of Bastar
   Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, 9 April 1947

   New Delhi

   Dear Lord Mountbatten,

   As you know, I am deeply interested in the future of the Indian States, more specially from the point of view of the people of the States. Unfortunately the Political Department works in secret and no one knows what it does. Even the Members of the Interim Government remain in ignorance of the activities of the Political Department, although these activities are often of vital significance to the future of India. My own experience has been that representatives of the Political Department encourage reaction in the States and frown upon progressive tendencies. Because of these activities, the gap between what is called British India and the Indian States widens.

   2. During the past few months I have often addressed Lord Wavell about the Political Department and have requested him for information. Sometimes some little information has been supplied, but this has seldom been adequate. I have addressed him particularly in regards to Bastar State. This State is large in area but sparse in population. It is full of very valuable mineral deposits. At present the Ruler is a minor and the Government is completely controlled by the Political Department. For some time past there have been rumours of all manner of concessions to Hyderabad State in Bastar. These include mining rights and control over railway lines. In effect Bastar becomes an economic vassal of Hyderabad. Hyderabad itself is one of the most backward and feudal States in India and it is odd that it should be entrusted with the development of Bastar. The Central Provinces Government, which adjoins Bastar, will be affected by any such concessions to Hyderabad. It seems particularly unfortunate that vital agreements should be entered into by the Political Department when the Ruler of the State is a minor. I beg of you to prevent any such developments which might have serious consequences. At a time when the whole future of India, including the States, is being fashioned any binding agreements of this type may well come in the way of other arrangements. I understand that some steps are contemplated also in regards to Berar and that this province will be handed over to Hyderabad State. How far this is true I do not know. But if there is any truth in this statement, it will be bitterly resented by the people of Berar.

   3. My difficulty is that we function completely in the dark in regard to these very important developments affecting the States. I doubt if there is anyone in India, whether among the Rulers of the States or the people of the States, who has any faith in the present set up of the Political Department. Innumerable complaints reach me and there is no way to find out the truth. I suggest that some arrangement should be made so that far greater publicity could be given to all activities connected with the States, and for this purpose the present set up should be changed.

   Yours sincerely,

   Jawaharlal Nehru
2. Bastar’s Intrigue with Hyderabad Must Be Stopped

Letter from K.M. Panikkar to Vallabhbhai Patel, 19 May 1947

SPC, Vol. VII, pp. 29–30

Bikaner

My dear Sardar Patel,

I want to bring to your notice a very serious and extremely dangerous intrigue which is taking place. You know that in CP there is a large Hindu State named Bastar which is enormous in area and extremely rich in resources, especially iron ore. This State is almost next door to the Nizam’s State and is now under an Administrator. Recently the Nizam’s Government has been given a mining lease in this State by this Administrator with the approval of the Political Department. Also, what is more strange, the Central Government has given them—in spite of the opposition of the Railway Board—a right of extending the Nizam’s railways to Bastar. In fact, this ancient Hindu State of 15,000 sq. miles, rich in mineral deposits, has been handed over—during a minority—to the Nizam. It is a part of the dangerous intrigue to strengthen the Nizam in every possible way, e.g., by the sale of the Bren gun factory.

The Bastar case deserves your attention. The present Revenue Minister of Hyderabad, Grigson (ICS), was once an Administrator of Bastar and he is the main agent of the new Asaf Jahi imperialism. You can take it up by asking Matthai to show you the file regarding the railway connection, unless you want to attack the question straight by asking the Political Department about it. This intrigue with the Nizam has to be scotched, otherwise the whole of Hindustan will be undermined.

Yours sincerely,

K.M. Panikkar

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

3. Note of Protest against Nizam’s Interference in Bastar

Letter from Jiwan Lal Shrivastava, Students Congress President, Bastar State, to the Acting President of All States Peoples’ Conference, 5 June 1947

AICC Papers, File No. SP-7 (Pt. II)/1947–8, NMML

To

The Acting President of
All India States Peoples’ Conference
New Delhi.

May it please the Honorable President,

We, the members of Bastar State Students Congress beg to present this resolution passed by us on the 2nd June 1947 and pray that your Excellency may be pleased to bestow kind attention and take necessary action.

We have learnt from reliable press reports that Political Department has decided to lease the mining resources of Bastar State to the Nizam of Hyderabad. The people of Bastar State were kept in dark about it and the authorities considered it degrading even to consult the
Central Indian States

public in this regard. The Ruler of the State is still minor and under these circumstances this transaction is wholly unfair and unjust. The Nizam of Hyderabad now intends to usurp and annex this State and to-day under this critical and delicate situation the Students Congress of Bastar State is compelled to oppose this move. The Students Congress passes a resolution of censure for unfair cliques played by that Nizam and the Political Department and requests the Government of India to declare this transaction illegal and at the same time warns Nizam from venturing to take such selfish steps towards achieving such unjust ends.

Hence the students earnestly pray that necessary action may kindly be taken to protect the interests of the State people and that the contemplated lease of mines be kept in abeyance till the Ruler is invested with powers.

Your humble Students
Congress President,
Sd/-

Jiwan Lal Shrivastav
Jagdalpur (Bastar State)

4. Protest against Agreements to Be Signed between Bastar and Hyderabad
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Vallabhbhai Patel, 30 June 1947

New Delhi

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am writing to you about Bastar State. Several months ago I wrote to Lord Wavell drawing his attention to various rumours about Hyderabad gaining valuable mining concessions in Bastar State. I pointed out that the Ruler of Bastar was a minor and everything was done on his behalf by the Resident. It seemed to me very improper for any agreement to be arrived at in these conditions binding upon Bastar State and allowing Hyderabad to exploit its resources and make it some kind of an economic colony. There were proposals also for Hyderabad to build a railway. I did not know the exact nature of these proposals; but the Central Provinces Government were intensely interested as their interests were being affected. They themselves were thinking of cooperating with Bastar State in regard to the exploitation of its mineral resources.

2. Lord Wavell wrote to me a rather vague letter in which he said that the interests of Bastar State were being sufficiently safeguarded and that he is referring the matter to the Political Department. I wrote to him again on two or three occasions about this matter.

3. I now understand that final agreements between Hyderabad and Bastar are going to be signed very soon, within two weeks. I hope your States Department will take immediate action in the matter and try, if possible, to stop the signing of these agreements. Whether the agreements are good or bad, I cannot say, not having seen them. But it is very improper for the Resident to sell away valuable rights and bind down a State in this way without the fullest scrutiny by impartial experts. I understand that the Ruler is not only a minor but a halfwit. I hope urgent steps will be taken in this matter.
4. I am informed by Lord Ismay that our draft revised ‘Standstill’ agreement has been sent to your States Department for action. I trust this will be forwarded to all the States to whom the previous draft was sent.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

E. RAMPUR AND OUDH

1. ‘Restoration of Kingdom of Oudh: New Movement Started by Some U.P. Nawabs’

_The Tribune, 12 July 1947_

Lucknow, July 10.—A movement for the restoration of the eighteenth century kingdom of Oudh, which comprises twelve districts of the present United Provinces to its rightful owners, was launched here on Tuesday last when a section of United Province Nawabs, who claim to be the direct descendants of the late Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, the last King of Oudh, made their claims public before a public meeting held in the Ganga Prasad Memorial Hall.

The speakers, some of whom had copies of treaties between the British Government and the rulers of Oudh, included Nawab Ghure Yusuf, who claims to be the grandson of the late Nawab Wajid Ali Shah. They based their claims on these treaties and pointed out that the kingdom of Oudh was taken over by the British Government for administration and protection under the treaty of 1803. Other treaties also came into existence, they said, but there was no mention in any of them that Oudh was annexed to the British Empire. Since the British were quitting India, they argued there was no reason why Oudh should not be handed over to its rightful owners.

The meeting adopted a resolution warning the British Government that in terms of international law it had no right to transfer territories of Oudh to any other Government. The meeting also resolved to take proper and necessary action, if British Government failed to restore Oudh to its rightful owners before the date for the transfer of power to Indian hands.—A.P.I.

2. Integration with India Opposed

_Letter from Mahmud Hasan Khan to Nawab of Rampur, 16 July 1947_

_Jinnah Papers, Vol. III, pp. 430-3_

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE RAMPUR MUSLIM CONFERENCE TO HIS HIGHNESS THE NAWAB OF RAMPUR ON BEHALF OF THE RAMPUR MUSLIMS

Rampur

May it please your Highness,

With profound respect I beg to lay before you the following on behalf of your Muslim subjects, 12,915 of whom have signed this document with a view to prove that it is the genuine desire of the entire Muslim population of Rampur State:
1. That Your Highness is aware that in between the fall of the Mughal Empire and the year 1774, the date of the foundation of this State, people played the most important role in shaping the destiny of this country. They ruled the entire territory lying between the Ganges and the Himalayas and had their strongholds spread all over the country, now roughly called the Rohilkhand Division of the United Provinces. Theirs was the only Muslim power in this country during the time the fabric of the Mughal Empire was torn to shreds. They established a Government of their own and kept the torch of Muslim culture burning in this country in times of chaos and darkness that followed the fall of the Mughal Empire. It was they that organised the famous blow to the Maratha ascendancy in 1761, otherwise called the 3rd historic Battle of Panipat, which hurled back the sweeping Maratha hordes, smashed their power and changed the course of history in this country. History's verdict is clear and indisputable on this point. Had there been no Panipat in 1761, the India of today with all its complicated problems would have been quite different from what it is. Your Highness, these people with whose glorious achievements the India of the 18th century resounds were the Rohillas, and they were Muslims. In the year 1774 when the Muslim State of Rohilkhand received an unjustifiable blow from the combined forces of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh and the British, Warren Hastings, the then British Governor-General of India, had to undergo a severe impeachment in the Parliament for this unwarranted use of the British army.

2. While the year 1774 brought considerable curtailment in the territory governed by the Rohilla Muslims in this country, it saw the beginning of the present Muslim State of Rampur recognised by the Nawab of Oudh and the British by means of treaties. Being the only Muslim State in this huge province of the country the Muslim savants flocked to Rampur court during this one century and three quarters and the State became a cradle of Muslim language, literature, art, theology and social studies. While maintaining a strictly Muslim character of the State, the Rulers and the Muslim inhabitants of Rampur have always followed a policy of tolerance towards other sister communities who flocked in to enjoy all amenities of a peaceful life in this State.

3. For a pretty long time the Muslims of the State enjoyed privileges worth their traditions and achievements. But I believe Your Highness is not unaware that all has not gone well with these proud people for some time past. It is because the present Chief Minister, Mr. B.H. Zaidi, during his tenure of office extending over an unduly long period of a dozen years has followed a disastrous policy of alienating your subjects from you. In utter disregard of all traditions and treaty rights he dissociated the Muslim residents of the State from any real share in the Government. He has been playing the role of a dictator and carrying out his policy with a few self-seekers and nincompoops around him dressed up for show. His administration has been marred with corruption, nepotism, selfishness and expediency instead of honesty, justice, public-spiritedness and adherence to any sound principles. He has been an usherer of darkness instead of light in this 20th century and administers his reactionaryism with the help of sheer force and awe. Rampur made no constitutional progress worth the name during his tenure of office and whatever show of reforms were introduced were rendered defunct and null by underhand tactics. Pre-war mock assembly still exists despite promises, after very few months, that a new reformed constitution is on the anvil. The intensity of public feeling against him may well be judged by the huge
demonstrations and all-out strikes of more than a week’s duration in the years 1937 and 1939.

4. The Muslims of Rampur feel that the climax of their misfortune is now reached [sic] at the hands of the Chief Minister since he has decided [on] the place of Rampur in the forthcoming constitutional set-up of the country. After a prolonged coquetting with the Muslim League and the Congress, the two major political parties of British India, the Chief Minister has after all succeeded in bargaining with the latter and has thrust this Muslim State into the Indian Constituent Assembly. He is neither an elected representative of the people of Rampur nor does he enjoy their confidence. He is not even an inhabitant of this place. He does not, therefore, hold a mandate from the people in whose interests he has taken such a bold step full of consequences in times to come. Historically, politically, culturally and religiously we have nothing in common with Hindu India, and since the Indian Muslims have been recognised as a separate nation by the creation of Pakistan, the natural place for our State is the Pakistan Assembly.

5. In view of the fact that most of the States have not yet decided as to which of the two Dominions they should join or remain free, this hurried decision of the Chief Minister appears to be dictated by self-interest alone and is highly deplorable. I hope Your Highness is aware that even at this late stage Rampur remains the only Muslim State that has joined the Indian Constituent Assembly. Even such small Muslim States as Jaora, Baoni, Janjira and Tonk have stayed out despite all threats of the Congress to issue economic sanctions against them and make their separate existence impossible. There are others that have declared to be free and [sic for to] establish relations with either of the two Dominions while some of the Muslim States are intending to join Pakistan regardless of the fact that they are surrounded by Indian Provinces.

6. H.M.G.’s announcement of June 3, 1947 is quite clear and the subsequent statements of Mr. Jinnah and the British Premier have further clarified the position. It is left entirely at the option of the Indian States whether to join either of the two Dominions or remain free.

7. In view of the above-mentioned facts your Muslim subjects entreat Your Highness to kindly remove Mr. B.H. Zaidi, the Chief Minister, from State service and issue a proclamation to the effect that the State will forthwith withdraw from the Indian Constituent Assembly and join the Pakistan Assembly represented by a man who enjoys full confidence of the Muslim public of Rampur.

I hope that this important step which would be in consonance with the historical traditions of the State will go a long way to restore the confidence of Your Highness’s Muslim subjects in your Government and will patch up much of the schism recently widened by the ill-meditated step of the present Chief Minister of Rampur State.

Your Highness’s loyal subject
MAHMUD HASAN KHAN
President,
Muslim Conference, Rampur State, U.P.

His Highness the Nawab of Rampur,
Rampur State, U.P.
3. Rioting in Rampur
Telegraph from Nawab of Rampur to Vallabhbhai Patel, 4 August 1947

**TELEGRAM**

Moradabad
4 August 1947

Hon’ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

SERIOUS RIOTING IN RAMPUR CITY. MUSLIM POPULATION COMPLETELY OUT OF HAND. CROWD ATTACKED POLICE AND OFFICIALS. POLICE COMPELLED FIRE. SO FAR KNOWN THREE MEN KILLED FIVE INJURED. SINCE THEN CROWDS INCREASING AND SETTING FIRE TO GOVERNMENT PROPERTY AND OFFICERS’ HOUSES. APPREHENSIONS ARE THAT SITUATION MAY GET COMPLETELY OUT OF THE CONTROL OF OUR LIMITED FORCES. REQUEST IMMEDIATE HELP OF ARMED POLICE OR ARMY IF POSSIBLE ONE BATTALION OR ATLEAST HALF BATTALION.

NAWAB RAMPUR

4. ‘Rampur Disturbances: Curfew Imposed’
*Dawn*, 7 August 1947

LUCKNOW, Tuesday.—Six persons were killed and several others injured when the State authorities ordered firing to disperse a violent mob. A large number of arrests were made.

Troops have been despatched to Rampur from Bareilly and are patrolling the disturbed areas in the State.

The Chief Minister Mr. B.H. Zaidi, said in an interview that the situation was ‘quite normal’ adding ‘fortunately it has not taken a communal turn.’

According to latest information received by the Director of Information, U.P. Government, the rioting in Rampur has been brought under control and the situation was now quiet. There have so far been no repercussions in neighbouring areas.

The communique adds:

‘Since the first week of June last members of the Muslim Conference of Rampur have been agitating against the State having joined the Indian Constituent Assembly and have been demanding that the State should join Pakistan and that the services of Mr. B.H. Zaidi, the Chief Minister, should be terminated as in their opinion he was responsible for having advised the Ruler to join the Indian Constituent Assembly. On August 1, they distributed handbills in the city couched in highly objectionable and inflammatory language against the Government and started organising meetings and processions. Processions were banned on August 2 by the promulgation of an order under the Public Safety Ordinance and after the enforcement of the order a meeting was held in the Jumma Masjid and a procession was taken out on the second which led to the arrest of some of the office bearers of the Muslim Conference. Efforts were made by officials to come to a settlement with the arrested leaders but the talks broke down.'
STUDENTS PROCESSIONS

On August 3 Muslim students of the local college and school took out a number of processions in sympathy with the Muslim Conference but no serious notice was taken of these by the authorities. Early on the 4th morning several processions were taken out by students but they were ignored as on the previous day. Later on a crowd of over a thousand people tried to force their way into the Sadar Tehsil which had been made the headquarter of the police and the magistracy. Persuasion having failed to disperse them a mild lathi charge had to be resorted to on which the police was brick-batted resulting in injuries to 13 officers and men and the crowd made renewed attempts to force their way into the Tehsil. The magistrate on duty was then obliged to order fire which resulted in nine casualties including two killed.

The crowd dispersed for a while but returned several thousand strong, forced its way into the Tehsil and attacked the police and the military and set fire to seven vehicles belonging to the army and the officers which were completely destroyed. Three officers fired their revolvers and the mob dispersed with no casualty. Brick-bats continued to be hurled from the neighbouring mosque and in the afternoon a crowd collected again and fired at Tehsil gate. The police and the military inside the Tehsil were now trapped. When the fire spread, they had to force their way out to safety. When they were marching back they were fired on twice and they had to return fire causing two casualties.

RECORDS BURNT DOWN

After this the mob started arson and set various State buildings and several police officers’ houses on fire. The Tehsil building was the first to be burnt down although the police managed to remove the treasury in time. The next target was the High Court building and record room. All the records have been completely burnt down and one person was burnt to death. The mob tried to set the local cinema house on fire but the timely arrival of the military saved it from any great damage. The telephone and electricity wires were cut in a number of places and the telephone exchanges damaged. During the night attempts were made to burn down the Ferrashkhana but the military dispersed the crowd and put down the fire before any damage could be done. One vakil was stabbed by the mob and the latter succumbed to his injuries. The situation continues to be very serious and the mob is roaming in the streets with deadly weapons and firearms and renewed attempts are being made to set more buildings on fire and to attack the police and army on duty. The authorities are making every effort to cope with the situation.—API

5. Situation in Rampur

Letter from Nawab of Rampur to Vallabhbhai Patel, 12 August 1947

The Palace
Rampur State, UP
12 August 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

It was my earnest wish to apprise you personally with the situation in Rampur to date, but unfortunately the prevailing conditions in Rampur would not warrant my absence even for a day. Hence this letter.
I am glad to inform you that the situation in Rampur city is gradually improving, and law and order is being re-established. We have tried to make the best possible use of the forces so kindly lent by you, and although it is an unpleasant and distasteful duty, I have been determined throughout to deal firmly with the disturbers of the peace and to teach them a wholesome lesson which would act as a deterrent hereafter. There have been no untoward incidents in the last two days, except the exchange of shots during the night of 10-11 August between the Rampur Armed Police and Chunni Khan, one of the most desperate of our goondas, who has got several rifles and probably a tommy gun in his possession, [who] killed the Subedar of our Armed Police and got away with the loss of one of his gang. The city is quiet, but I am afraid that the calm is mostly on the surface. The presence of a big force comprising Jats and the Crown Police in addition to our own Forces, the 20-hour curfew, the constant patrolling of the city and the arrest of about 200 goondas and budmashes [bad characters] as well as some of the ring-leaders of the present disturbances, have put the fear of God into the rioters. They have decided to lie low, and the rumour is that they are only biding their time till the Jats and the men of the Crown Police have left Rampur. This view is shared by your officers on duty here.

Soon after the end of the war, we decided to cut down our army and police to the barest minimum in order to be able to finance various beneficent schemes of reconstruction and development. I could never imagine that my people could ever go to such extreme lengths as to necessitate my maintaining a large force on a footing considered necessary during the abnormal times of the war. I have now decided to increase the strength of my armed police and the army for the time being and to equip the police and the jail force with 303 rifles instead of the obsolete arms they have got at present. In connection with these matters, I need your help urgently in the following manner:

(i) I should like to recruit 300 men in my army from outside the State. My first preference is Garhwalis and Kumaonis and the second preference is the UP Jats. To equip the above force, we shall require all modern weapons and equipment normally required for half a battalion.

(ii) We shall also require some men for filling up vacancies in the army, the armed police and the jail company, preferably demobilised soldiers, as well as 303 rifles for them.

(iii) We also require motor transport for our present force as well as for the additions mentioned above.

(iv) We shall also have to make up deficiencies in the equipment and arms of our existing forces.

A detailed scheme regarding the matters mentioned above will be personally placed before you within a few days by my Chief Minister and I hope that your kind help in the matter will enable us to put it through with the least delay. I have no doubt that according to the kind assurance already given by you, and the Army Department, the Jats and the Crown Police will be permitted to stay on in Rampur till the restoration of peace and establishment of stable conditions. Furthermore, it would be both expedient and necessary for men of the Crown Police to remain stationed in Rampur till such time as my forces have been re-organised and strengthened as outlined above to cope with all emergencies. The Crown Police will, it is understood, be used by us only in case there is a recrudescence of grave trouble in the future. Any premature withdrawal of these forces would admittedly prove disastrous.

I am sorry to say that we have no intelligence organisation worth the name, and am very grateful that you have already deputed two officers to investigate the underlying causes of the
disturbances, and to help us in the restoration of normal conditions. I am in need of a smart, experienced and reliable officer whose services may be lent to me in order to establish a proper Intelligence Department in my State and to stay here till it gets going satisfactorily. In the event of a satisfactory report on him, I should like to have his services lent to me at the very earliest, otherwise some other of your choice may be lent to me with the minimum of delay.

In the end, allow me to thank you once again for all the friendly interest and sympathy you have evinced in my difficulties and for all the prompt and willing help extended to me.

With kindest regards,
Believe me,

Yours sincerely,
Raza Ali Khan

The Hon’ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PS.
Since writing the above the Collector and Superintendent of Police, Bareilly, came to see me, and told me that Saulat Ali Khan, an old Rampuri agitator, who has now settled down in Bareilly, is organising a campaign against the State. He has issued a very inflammatory pamphlet with the heading ‘Rampur men khoon ki holi.’ He is also trying to raise jathas from various places to march to Rampur and has sent a telegram to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan soliciting the intervention of the Pakistan Government.

I am informed that a large number of goondas and mischief-makers have absconded to the neighbouring districts of the UP, and are actively engaged in fomenting trouble; a good many of them, it is believed, are armed with weapons. I am drawing the attention of my friend, Pantji, [G.B. Pant, Prime Minister, UP] to this, in order that the mischief may be nipped in the bud.
Chapter 44. Eastern Indian States

A. General

1. Report from Eastern States

Fortnightly report of the Eastern States Agency for the first half of February 1947, 19 February 1947
Political Department, File No. 5(12)-P(S)/47, NAI

Eastern States Agency

No. R.9-6/47-P

Dated, Hastings House, Alipore, Calcutta, the 19th February 1947

Fortnightly Report of the Eastern States Agency for the first half of February 1947

Orissa States Agency

11. Dhenkanal The State Prajamandal held three meetings at which the Ruler’s declaration that he would return the collective fines collectively was condemned and their return to the individual sufferers was urged. It was also stated that the Ruler would be rooted out within a year or two and that the people would then govern the State themselves.

Independence Day was observed in the State on the 26th January 1947.

12. Nayagarh Subash Bose’s birthday and Independence Day were observed in various places in the State on 23rd and 26th January 1947 respectively.

The opening ceremony of a Basic School in a Kondh village was celebrated on 28th January under the Presidentship of one Pranakrishna Padhiary, President of the Cuttack District Congress Committee. The President in his speech laid special stress on the unity of the people, creation of party factions among the Indians by the British, ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa, boycott of foreign goods, surrender of titles, withdrawal of British forces from India, introduction of Hindi as common language in India, formation of volunteer corps in every village, overthrow of British rule and abolition of Rajas and zamindars.

At a Prajamandal meeting held on 30th January the leaders spoke regarding corruption among the State officials, monopoly of paddy business by outsiders, employment of outsiders on high salaries and unnecessary expenditure of State money.
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

13. Sonepur Following upon agitation against the long standing octroi which has been levied for many years for sanitation, roads etc. in the small town of Binka the police arrested 7 of the ring leaders. A mob gathered and forcibly released the prisoners and then proceeded to burn two octroi posts and government car. At the same time the opportunity was taken to relieve some Marwari traders of money and jewellery. A force of armed police was brought in when the disturbance subsided. The darbar are investigating the cause of the trouble and taking action against the main culprits. The Darbar state that the trouble was certainly aggravated by agitators from Sambalpur who were making subversive speeches in the town before the outbreak.

Chhattisgarh States Agency

14. Raigarh A procession of about one hundred local Labour Union members and State Congress supporters was taken out on the 21st January in Raigarh town. The demonstration was said to be against rich Marwaris for blackmarketing and there were rumours of an intention to loot their shops, but no untoward incident occurred.

Thakur Pyarelal Singh of Raipur visited Raigarh from the 24th to 26th January and attended a meeting presided over by the President of the local Congress party and made speeches on the 26th to celebrate ‘Independence Day’ which was also celebrated in Kharsia by local Congress supporters. Thakur Pyarelal Singh also visited Sarangarh on the 28th January.

The proposed deputation to attend the States’ Peoples Conference in Delhi (vide paragraph 13 of my last report) has been dropped, on advice said to have been received from the Central organisation.

15. Nandgaon Following the visit of R.S. Ruiker (vide paragraph 15 of my last report) Bengal Nagpur Cotton Mill workers have started to reorganize themselves and are contesting the right of the registered Trade Union to represent them.

On the 15th January the Municipal sweepers of Rajnandgaon took out a procession and observed a token strike of one day. The Municipality is under the completely independent management of the popularly elected committee, the seats of which are filled by local Congress workers. The strike of the sweepers is the result of trouble with the Bengal Nagpur Cotton Mill sweepers after Ruiker had urged them to demand higher wages. The latter’s strike was broken with difficulty as a result of mediation of the State Superintendent. Disturbances following Ruiker’s visits are being more and more resented by all parties in the State, but with no steps being taken to prevent his visits or check his speeches, unruly elements are beginning to show little respect for authority, congress or otherwise. Ruiker is expected to visit the State again soon, and his activities will be carefully watched with a view to deciding whether some preventive measure is necessary.

Bengal States Agency

16. Tripura The general situation in the State is returning to normal.

Subash Chandra Bose’s birthday was celebrated by the State Congress, Students congress and the Forward Bloc. Independence Day was also observed.
Under the auspices of the Anjuman Islamia training in lathi play is being given at several places and at meetings in villages resolutions were passed to raise subscriptions for the uplift of Muslim education.

Sd/-
Resident for the Eastern States.

To
L.C.L. Griffin, Esquire, CSI, CIE, ICS,
Secretary to His Excellency
the Crown Representative.

2. Future Strategy of the Socialists
Letter from T.B. Creagh Coen, Secretary to Crown Representative, to H.J. Todd,
Resident for the Eastern States, 26 March 1947
File No. 109, Political Department, NAI
D.O. No. D. 1754-P/47

Political Department, Political Branch
New Delhi

My dear Todd,

According to a very secret report, the accuracy of which is not guaranteed, the Socialist party at the recent Cawnpore meeting of the ‘National Executive’ dropped the name ‘Congress’ because the Indian National Congress had decided to refrain from organising workers in the Indian States—the very point on which the Socialists now wish to concentrate. The report goes on to say that Socialist party workers have been deputed to start propaganda on the subject of civil liberties, as a preliminary step, in the Orissa States, Manipur, Tripura, Cooch Behar and Sikkim.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- T.B. Creagh Coen

Hon’ble Mr. H.J. Todd, C.I.E.
Resident for the Eastern States.
Copy forwarded for information to

1) the Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Assam,
2) the Political Officer in Sikkim.

By order, etc.,
Sd/- T.B. Creagh Coen
For Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative.
3. Report from Eastern States

Fortnightly report for the first half of April 1947 for the Eastern States Agency, 18 April 1947

Political Department, File No. 5(12)-P(S)/47 NAI

Eastern States Agency

Dated, Hastings House, Alipore, Calcutta.

No. R.9-7/47/P

Orissa States Agency

43. Baudh On the occasion of the 22nd anniversary of his accession to the Gaddi, the Ruler declared that the existing Advisory Council might discuss the budget proposals pending formation of a Legislative Assembly, and announced the formation of committees to advise the Darbar on irrigation, development, education, medical and public health.

44. Dhenkanal Five congress meetings were held in the State at all of which there were criticisms of improper distribution of controlled commodities, blackmarketing and illegal export and general propaganda against the Ruler and a demand for the return of collective fines.

At one of the meetings Mr. Sarangadhar Das presided and it is reported that at the close of the meeting he distributed Rs. 2000/- among 19 released political prisoners who received nothing from Mrs. Malati Chowdhury when she distributed Rs. 3500/- amongst released political prisoners.

At a meeting of Prajamandal workers it was decided to form a band of 80 volunteers and to raise necessary funds for the maintenance of these volunteers and their training.

45. Gangpur The Mundas held two meetings on the 27th February and 1st March, the latter being presided over by Nirmal Munda. At both the meetings they asked for a reply to Mr. Jaipal Singh’s letter to the darbar.

46. Nayagarh It is reported that the Prajamandal workers of the State do not appreciate the present constitution of the Legislative Assembly in which some officials will figure as Ministers.

47. Sonepur The annual meeting of the Prajamandal was held in Sonepur on 2nd April and a number of people from Orissa made speeches condemning the State administration and passed anti-State and anti-ruler resolutions. The Political Agent met Mr. Mahtab, Premier of Orissa on the 5th and mentioned the subversive activities of British Indian agitators. Mr. Mahtab asked for copies of the speeches made and said that he would try to dissuade such agitators from fomenting trouble in States.

In a talk the Political Agent had with Mrs. Malati Chowdhury she is reported to have said that her aim was to abolish Rulers altogether and to amalgamate the States with British Orissa. In the course of conversation it appeared that she herself was not greatly in favour of the Hirakud scheme as she said that Mr. Koshla might be an Engineer but he did not understand politics and it was difficult to remove people from their homes and resettle them elsewhere.

Chhattisgarh States Agency

48. There has been little political activity in these States during the period under report, though Mr. Sarangadhar Das, said to be the Orissa States Representative at the States’ Peoples’
Conference, seems to be extending his activities to the Chhattisgarh States. There is a bad tendency on the part of this and other agitators to attempt to distort the difficult economic situation to serve their own ends and if this tendency increases unchecked it may have very serious consequences in promoting violent disturbances from which so far States have been happily free.

Four cases of plague were reported in Dongargarh (Khairagarh State) but they appear to have been imported and no other cases have been reported.

In Nandgaon the plague epidemic appears to be subsiding in the capital. Some cases have been reported from villages but the situation seems to be under control. The latest revised figures are 196 cases and 13 deaths. Extensive inoculation continues and the Darbar have adequate supplies of serum.

Bengal States Agency.

49. Cooch Behar There has been no outward adverse reaction to the removal of Abu Ashrafiuddin Khandakar, President of the Muslim Social Service League from the State.

Sd./
Resident for the Eastern States.

To
L.C.L. Griffin, Esquire, CSI, CIE, ICS,
Secretary to His Excellency the
Crown Representative,
New Delhi.
AG/18.4.1947

4. Socialists Counteract the Separatist Movement of the Gurkha League

I.B. Report on the Political Situation in Bengal, 29 May 1947
External Affairs Dept., File No. F8(4)-NEF/47, NAI

INTELLIGENCE BUREAU (H.D.).

Extract from daily report on the political situation in Bengal dated the 29th May 1947 (No. 79).

According to a secret report, the Socialist Party of India has deputed one of its members to visit the Darjeeling District, Jalpaiguri Duars and Sikkim to counteract the alleged separationist movement that has been launched in these areas by the Gurkha League in collaboration with the Communists. For the purpose, the S.P.I. representative would propagate amongst the masses of these localities that they should remain within the Indian Union and that the State of Sikkim should join the Constituent Assembly and send its representatives there through a Sikkim State Congress organisation which is proposed to be formed.

At a meeting held on 27.05.1947 in Calcutta in support of the Bengal partition, Dr. R.M. LOHIA made an allegation that some Muslim military officers were propagating amongst Muslim soldiers that with the departure of the British it would be an easy job for the Muslims to reconquer India as the Hindus were ‘cowards’. He urged on all Nationalist Indians to create confidence amongst the masses by telling them that if they had successfully fought the
British power in the past, they could equally fight the Communalist Muslim Army. He exhorted all to try from now to form village panchayats under a Central organization so that these may subsequently be developed into parallel Governments, if any new situation demanded so.

For information.

Sd./
(M.K. SINHA)
Deputy Director(A)

Separately—
H.D. (Mr. Banerjee)
E.A.D. (Mr. Trevelyan)
D. of I. (Brig.O'Brien).

5. Fortnightly Report on States in Political Relationship with H.E. the Governor of Assam for the First Half of June 1947

19 June 1947
Political Department, File No. 5(8)/P(S)/47, NAI
GOVERNOR’S SECRETARIAT,
Shillong.

No: 3/47/C-870

To:
The Secretary to H.E. the Crown Representative,
Political Department,
NEW DELHI.

MANIPUR STATE: There was a large meeting of leading hill men from among the Kukis, Mao Nagas, Maram Nagas, Kacha Nagas, and Koiraos, together with a few Tangkhuls which passed resolutions demanding that 25% of the State revenue be expended in the hills, or else all the revenue derived from the hill areas be spent in the hills, that ‘begar’ should be abolished, and that there should be separate electorates for the hills and the valley but joint electorates for the hillmen in the hills. The Mao and Maram Nagas separately resolved that they should be given the option of seceding from the State at the end of a five-year period.

KHASI STATES: A negotiating committee has been appointed by the Standing Committee of the Khasi States Federation to contact British India authorities. The partition issue in regard to Sylhet is exciting keen interest as the bulk of the Khasi trade is with Sylhet. Inadequate transport facilities are still hampering trade.

The States have been advised to make their administration more fully representative and six States have already taken action to this end.

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM
6. ‘Union of Eastern States to Be Set Up’
*The Hindustan Times*, 15 July 1947

**Rulers Welcome Patel’s Statement**

CALCUTTA, July 14.—A conference of Rulers and authorized representatives of all States in the Orissa and Chhatisgarh Agencies which met here recently unanimously decided to establish a Union of Eastern States from August 1. The constitution for the Union, recommended by Special Committee of Rulers, was adopted as an emergency measure on July 11.

This announcement is made in a Press note, authorized by the Eastern States Union, issued yesterday.

The 39 Eastern States forming the Union cover an area of nearly 56,000 sq. miles, and contain a population of over 7,000,000.

The Union has joined the Constituent Assembly of India, and its seven representatives, four elected and three nominated are now in Delhi.

**Union Authorities**

The principal Union authorities under the constitution was: (1) A Board of rulers consisting of president, vice-president and seven other rulers in whom the executive authority of the Union will be vested. The normal work of administration will be carried on by the president assisted by a council of Ministers of whom at least one will be chosen from among the elected non-official members of the Union legislature, and (2) a Union legislature consisting of two Houses, the Senate and the Union Assembly, the former being composed of representatives of the Governments of the member States and the latter being composed entirely of representatives of the people of the member States.

The new constitution includes the common High Court of the States, which has been functioning since 1945. The Union High Court will exercise the functions of the present common High Court and will, at the same time, be invested with an exclusive jurisdiction to deal with disputes of a justiciable character between member States or between member States and the Union and to interpret the Union constitution.

**New Constitutions**

The rulers of the member States have each set their approval to the constitution in a special instrument of accession and the ruler of each member State (where this had not been done already) has also agreed to promulgate a constitution for his own State providing, among other things, for the association of the people with administration in a suitable manner. The rulers of member States have also availed themselves of the opportunity to make, or reiterate, a declaration guaranteeing the fundamental rights of the people of the States.

The Press note says: ‘All the rulers of the member States in the Union welcome the declaration recently made by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and feel sure that with the active assistance of the constitutional bodies, now to be set up, the Union will, in its relations with the Government of India and provincial Governments, be able to give, and to receive, the largest possible measure of co-operation in matters of mutual interest’—A.P.I.
7. Kawardha Desires Association with CP
   Letter from R.S. Shukla to Vallabhbhai Patel, 20 July 1947
   SPC, Vol. V, pp. 370–1

1 Canning Lane
New Delhi

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from the Ruling Chief of Kawardha. His representative, who brought this letter to me last evening, has been informed by me of the position to which the States are relegated by clause 8 of the Provincial Constitution. But I have told him that we would give him proper replies after consulting you.

Yours sincerely
R.S. Shukla

The Hon’ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Kawardha
E.S.A.
17 July 1947

My dear Panditji,

I thank you very much for your telegram of the 14th inst. I am longing to see you and discuss with you the matters of present-day politics.

You must have read in the papers that the Eastern States Agency has formed a union and has joined the Consenbly, but has not yet given a decision whether they would federate with the Indian Centre. I alone have not signed the Instrument of Accession to this Union, as I thought that it was a very vital issue to give one’s consent without consulting the people of the State, but all the same I am required to give my final decision by the end of this month. Now the people of Kawardha and I think that our geographical situation is such that our economic interests will not be well served by joining this States Union. Our desire is to come to some terms with CP in the way of mutual civil supplies, administrative and educational facilities. This is merely illustrative, but will be exhaustively dealt with in the course of discussion and final agreement.

I want to take the earliest opportunity to discuss with you and take your valuable advice in the matter. Unfortunately I am so much burdened with work here that I cannot get off just at present. Therefore I am sending to you our representative to start negotiations with you. I shall be joining them as soon as possible. I request and hope that you will please give them time for your advice and preliminary discussions.

Please treat this letter as confidential till we have reached the final agreement.

With best of regards,

Yours sincerely,
D.R. Singh
Ruler of Kawardha

Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
B. **Oriissa**

1. **‘Objectionable Speeches by Congressmen’**

   Letter from Governor of Oriissa, C.M. Trivedi, to H.K. Mahtab, 7 January 1947
   H.K. Mahtab Papers, Instalment I, Subject File No. 4, NMML

   **SECRET**

   **D.O. No. 23-G.**

   **GOVERNMENT HOUSE**
   **CUTTACK**

   My dear Prime Minister,

   Please refer to my D.O. No. 1116-G.O. of the 5th December, with which I enclosed a copy of Todd’s D.O. No. 753T/46 of the 4th December, regarding anti-State propaganda, in Ranpur, Nayagarh and elsewhere. You will remember that when I discussed the case with you, you said that you would like to know more details about the objectionable speeches made in Ranpur and Nayagarh States which are referred to in paragraphs 3 and 4 of Todd’s D. O. I have now obtained some details and enclose a copy of the relevant extracts sent to me by Bedi. So far as I can see, none of the speakers in Nayagarh State belong to Oriissa and that of the several speakers in Ranpur meeting only two, namely Radhanath Rath and Ramprasad Singh hail from Oriissa. I hope you will be able to do something to moderate the tone of utterances by Radhanath Rath and Ramprasad Singh in future. I also hope that in accordance with our discussions some time ago, you have passed a word to Congressmen of Oriissa not to complicate a difficult situation by utterances which are either incitements to violence, veiled or open, or threatening to the Rulers.

   2. I am in correspondence with Todd about the activities of the Maharaja of Patna in connection with internal affairs of Oriissa, and I hope to be able to hear from him shortly.

   Yours sincerely,
   C.M. Trivedi

   The Hon’ble Sri H.K. Mahtab, MLA,
   Prime Minister, Oriissa,
   CUTTACK.

   (COPY)

   **RANPUR.**

   In the Prajamandal meeting held in Chandpur (Ranpur State) on the 4th November, 1946:—

   The Secretary of the States People Conference, Mr. Madan Mohan Pradhan, said: ‘Ranpur is going to be the first battle-field in the States. In this field we will fight against the Imperialists and the Rulers. Nobody gives freedom if anybody asks for it. Today we have a right to get freedom as a result of our fight. The British Cabinet Mission have given paramount power to the Rulers which is dangerous’.

   The President of the meeting, Mr. Radhanath Rath (Editor of ‘Samaj’) said: ‘I am not an agitator but I will not leave our claim a bit. If it is required I am prepared to give my life.
Nowadays one cannot suppress one’s thirst for freedom by threatening with guns and catridges. There is still time and let the Rulers hear the call of their subjects. Even if the people have no weapons the mal-administration cannot exist before the united strength of the people. If the Ruler misuses his powers, the subjects rebel against him, and its example is not rare in the history of Ranpur. It is the age of the People’s Government. The present Bengal Governor was a railway employee and Stalin was the son of a poor labourer. Powerful men like Hitler have gone. If anybody stands against the freedom of the general public he is finished. The Rulers should understand this, otherwise, they would be placing the axe on their own legs. If they become counter weapon against one united free India and form a separate union, then their signs will be removed.

‘If the administration comes to the hands of the people and the State people want to mix with the province, then nobody can prevent them. The States and the Orissa should come under one administrative union. I say, we will not take away all the powers of the Rulers if they cooperate with us.

‘By taking the jagir lands of the poor servants the Raja or Rajmata will not become rich. As a well-wisher I ask them to return the lands of the poor as soon as possible. We are possessing it from our forefathers; if this is taken away from us much dissatisfaction will be created. I warn the Ranpur State or its representative present here that they should not excite the people for nothing. Let them keep servants on payment, but they should be warned that much discontent will be created if they take back the lands granted long before. If necessary we will rebel but if the work is done easily we should avoid bloody rebellion.’

One Srivasta Naik, Secretary, States Students Conference:

‘Nowadays agitation is necessary and there is no reason why Rulers should rule over us.’

Sri Ram Prasad Singh, Editor of ‘New Orissa’ said: ‘The minor Raja of this State is not in power. He cannot come to power before 1952, as there is the question of loan, drawn from the Central Government.

‘The Political Department is administering the State. We have no concern with the Raja or Rajamata. We will have to fight against the British Imperialism—the Political Agent—and the Political Department. This Department took away powers from the old Ruler and kept the administration in its own hands. Now traitors have been raised with official favours through Rajamata Sahiba who is organising parties and leading traitors and also giving false hopes to the people. It is beyond the powers of the Political Agent to check the people’s agitation at this stage. The Political Department is to be very shortly abolished. In Ranpur the fight between the British Government, the Political Agent and the people is quite direct. Major Bazelgatte was murdered here and the Political Department will end here, too. So, I want to concentrate agitation of the States in Ranpur State and make it our battle-field’.

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NAYAGARH.

1) CHARAN BEHRA of Haripur (Nayagarh State) in a Prajamandal meeting held at village Sunanuhim, P. S., Orgaon, on 21st November, 1946, said:—

‘The Raja is sucking the blood of the tenants and it is better they should follow the motto “either to kill or to die”’.

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2) DAMA BEHERA of Kendupali, in the above meeting, said:—
‘Those who suck our blood we must suck their blood in return. Our demand is to “Quit Gadi”’.

3) UDAYANATH PRUSTY of Godipada, in the Prajamandal meetings held at Itamati and Kakalama of Sarankul P.S., on the 18th and 23rd November, 1946, said:—
‘When Major Bazelgette died at Ranpur innocent persons were hanged. The then Viceroy Lord Linlithgow did nothing when famine broke out in Orissa and lakhs of people died of starvation for which the “Chor” British Government was responsible’.

4) LAKSHMAN BHUIYAN of Bahadajhola, in the Prajamandal meeting held on 13th November 1946 at Itamati, said that it was he with some Kondhs who burnt the State buildings in the year 1942. He then exclaimed:—
‘This Raja has started the Prajamandal Samittee, Beware Raja, I am prepared to suck fresh blood, Don’t you know, I am the same Bhuiyan who was imprisoned, break off the Prajamandal at once, I am not afraid of Jail or beatings’.

In village Bodapara under Sadar P.S., a Prajamandal Panchayat has been formed with 7 members. At village Lathipara under Itamati O.P., Prajamandal Panchayats were formed and they are disposing of petty villages disputes and realising fines. It was reported that they created posts of officers to investigate and dispose of cases.

2. Future Course of Action
Letter to the President, AICC, from Baikuntha Nath Sadual, President of Mayurbhanj State Paik Jagirdar Conference, enclosing the resolution, 31 January 1947
AISPC Papers, File. No. 243, NMML

To
The President,
Indian National Congress

Sir,
The paiks of the Mayurbhanj State in Eastern States Agency are faced with danger. As decided in a conference of the paiks held on 27.01.1947, I beg to send herewith copies of the resolutions passed in that conference for favour of information and necessary action.

I beg to remain.
Sir

31.1.1947
... village
Bar Sahi (P.O.)
Mayurbhanj State, Eastern States Agency

Yours most obediently

Sd/-

Baikuntha Nath Sadual
President of the Conference
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

English rendering of copies of resolutions carried in Oriya in a conference of the Paik Jagirdars of Mayurbhanj State more than three hundred in numbers, held at Managovindpur on 27.01.1947 under the presidency of Sree Baikunthanath Sadual.

(1) The paik families of Mayurbhanj have been treasuring up in the heart of their hearts with purity and pride the tradition and history that have been built on the shedding on blood of their fore-fathers for the establishment and consolidation of the Mayurbhanj Raja and Raj family in the State and for the preservation of peace and protection of the State in the past. The living and bright monument of this tradition and history is the jagir (rent-free) lands of the paik families and these lands were granted to the surviving members of the paik families by the rajas actuated and moved as they were by the glorious deeds in the past of our fore-fathers. With the change of time the means of protection having undergone changes in different methods and measures, it was considered unnecessary and useless for good many paiks to continue in service and the State government dispensed with these services and turned their jagir lands into hasilats, settling these with the heirs or successors of these families with full rent. All the remaining paiks were kept up in the honourable divisions, such as Gahandal, gandal etc as a symbol of the heroic deeds of their family swords that were wetted with the blood of the enemies of the State. In after years due to changes in mentality of the ruler and his government, no proper attention has been paid to the family honour of these paiks, and it is now found that they are being employed to many a dishonourable act. Not only this but that a strong attempt is now made to give a death-blow to their traditional and hereditary possession and enjoyment of the jagir lands. In lieu of the jagir grants to the kshandayat paiks they were to render certain services in the palace. Of course it was never meant that they would be treated like menials devoid of self-respect, and that if they would not bow down before such treatment, their jagir lands would be resumed and transferred to other hands. Nor could it be construed that if a person in whose name jagirlands stand dies or becomes unable to render service personally due to attack of a disease, he is to render the service ever and anon, and that services offered by other male members or arrangements made for discharge of duties by surviving male or female heirs or successors would never be accepted. If anybody interprets it in the negative terms, he would be degrading and misrepresenting the tradition and the back-ground of or the basic factor underlying the grant. From what is passing on it appears that employment in dishonourable acts and dispossession of paik families from the perpetual enjoyment of the jagir lands have been gaining ground in volume. By strenuous bone-breaking labour and jungle cutting the paik families brought the jagirlands to their present state, and by continuous application of labour and money have improved the same. They have mingled with these lands their age-long anxieties and feelings and have depended upon them as their main or only support for their maintenance in life. The memories of weal or woe of long ages are associated with these lands, and on this land stand the hearth and home of many a paik from generation to generation and there are others who have got not an inch of other kinds of lands. As a consequence of the policy pursued by the state in this respect, many male or female members of the paik families have been stranded on the verge of ruin and starvation, and as its natural reaction deep discontent and unrest have arisen in the minds of the entire paik community. This policy has gone a great way causing dismissal in its utter
virulence of four paiks in the party that was on duty in the month of pous, i.e. between last December and current January. They have applied for reconsideration of their case, but instead of any just and sympathetic consideration, notices have reached the village pradhans inviting applications from candidates irrespective of race, creed or colour. The rules of conduct for the paiks that have been recently prepared or are in a preparatory stage have not gone on the anvil of the legislative assembly of the state, nor are these framed by a council having representation of the paik community. These rules which are being forged now by the sweet will of autocracy and are going to be imposed on the paiks smack of a contemplation of design which gives rise to suspicion or apprehension that the paiks be transformed into a class of mute animals or traitors to the cause of the country and the state.

Giving full consideration to all these matters, this conference of the paiks expresses their considered opinion that henceforth it is not safe for the paiks of the Gahan dal, Gardal, Katual dal and others to continue in service in their turns of duty, and that it is not possible henceforth that the sweet relations that subsisted between raja, raj family or raj sarkar and the paiks could be kept up intact; and place their humble but firm demand before the Maharaja Saheb that in the interests of justice to the paik families and in the end of all-round happiness and contentment these jagir-lands be recorded as hasilat lands assessed with full rent in the names of the paiks or their heirs or successors male or female irrespective of their minority or majority in years including that of the dalaies or dal or party leaders together with the names of the paiks dismissed from service as mentioned above.

Proposer—Dayanidhi Mohapatra
Seconder—Ananta Prasad Pradhan
Supporters—Banamali Mohapatra

Harihar Jena.

2. The president be requested to send copies of the above resolution to whomsoever he deems proper and necessary.

Proposer—Ananta Prasad Pradhan
Seconder—Banchhanidhi Jena.

3. Public Grievances in Keonjhar State
Letter from Praja Pratinidhi, Keonjhar Praja Mandal, to AICC, 9 February 1947
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

Prajamandal Office,
Keonjhar State,
P.O. Keonjhar garh

The All India Congress Committee,
Delhi.

Respected Brethren,

I on behalf of the Keonjhar Prajamandal, beg leave to put forth the following few lines before the committee for favour of information and necessary action in response to the Committee's declaration published in Associated Press, Allahabad dated 9.2.1947.
That we have formed a Prajamandal consisting of 30 members to fight out the mal-administration of the Keonjhar State, where 5,29,000 souls live.

(1) The Prajamandal Workers regularly call meetings in Moffusils and Town as well and concisely explain the theories and precepts of the Prajamandal. They tour from place to place hold meetings and report the proceeding of the meetings to the ‘Daily Samaj’, Cuttack for publication. The Prajamandal is weak but the workers are trying their best to increase the number of members.

(2) The people have no freedom. The State Raj-Sarkar has very recently declared that they have granted urban rights to the people but the Raj Sarkar is taking such oppressive measures against the workers that they get very little time to work out their plans in the State.

(3) The Prajamandal workers are trying their level best for the uplift of the Harijan and Depressed Class people in the State but the action of ‘BRAHMA’, a Brahmin engaged in Raj family household affairs, intervening the progress.

(4) The administration of the State lies at the hands of the Ruler, with a Cabinet consisting of 3 Ministers and one District Magistrate. There is one Advisory Board to help the administration. The members have been selected by the State Authorities to which people strongly object.

(5) The State has done nothing for the betterment of the people in Food Grain Campaign and Grow More Food scheme etc.

(6) The cultivator class of the State depend upon themselves and local paddy granary dealers. The Agricultural loan department is nothing but a kind of Trap to harass the poor royats by granting short instalments for repayment of the loans. The royat has no record of right on the lands leased out in his favour.

(7) The Mohammedans form the smallest figure in the population, but they being businessmen in the State, have hands upon the administrative authorities. They are harassing the people at the Co-operation of the State incumbents. All complaints against the State incumbents and businessmen prove false in State Courts. During these hard days these businessmen have joined with the State Officers and Ministers and encouraged the Black marketing in such a worst type, that the people have gone naked.

(8) The State is imposing new taxes upon the royats in these hard days. The Forest rules and taxes are as rigid as anything, in the present situation.

(9) The people are undergoing lots of trouble by the present administration. Complaints are being filed without enquiry, rather the State is instituting got up cases against the Leaders and Objectors.

On 9.5.1947, a meeting comprising of 5000 people of the State was held in front of the Sadar Kutchery to discuss to redress the public grievances. The proceedings etc—13 in number were elaborately explained to the public attended. As the Ruler is absent at Puri for a change, the public went to meet the Dewan Saheb at his Quarters at 4 P.M. At the first sight of the public the Dewan’s wife came out of the Bungalow and rebuked the public like anything. Then she phoned the message to the Superintendent of Police, who came down with his force and assaulted the public in slaps, fists and kicks and drove them away. An umbrella was snatched off from a gentleman during the Police Oppression.
The action of the Dewan’s wife and the Police SP is highly objectionable and deeply regretted.

The public maintained peace all the while.

Sd
Prajapratinidhi.
Keonjhar Prajamandal.

4. ‘Some States of Orissa Negotiating with Hyderabad’
Letter from Harekrushna Mehtab to Vallabhbhai Patel, 22 May 1947
SPC, Vol. VII, pp. 31–2
Cuttack

Revered Sardarji,

I herewith send a copy of the report from our Special Branch dated 1 May. Apart from this report, we have been receiving reports from the Special Branch for the last six months that two mosques are being built in the district of Koraput at a cost of several thousands of rupees although the number of Muslims in the district is very small, and it is less than 1%. These costly mosques aroused our suspicion long ago. Now this report gives some clue to the mystery of the construction of these mosques. We are taking precautionary steps as far as we can. Our Governor also has sent a copy of this report to the Viceroy. I may suggest that this matter should be discussed between the Viceroy and yourself.

Some of the small rulers of our States, I am told, are negotiating with Hyderabad. In the meantime, steps are being taken to wind up the Political Department; but so far as the Orissa States are concerned, unless there is some suitable agreement between the States and the province with regard to administration of some common subjects, winding up of the Political Department will certainly mean confusion both in the province and in the States. The step that should be taken before winding up the Political Department must be to ask the States to come to some agreement with the province. You may please take up this matter with the Viceroy.

Yours sincerely,
H. Mahtab

The Hon’ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE
COPY OF AN ORISSA SPECIAL BRANCH OFFICER’S REPORT

DATED I MAY 1947  Subject: Provincial League president’s visit to Hyderabad-left Cuttack on 20-4-47 and returned on 26-4-47

It is learnt that Mr. Fazle Haq, president, Provincial Muslim League, Orissa, was invited by Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan, Hyderabad State, in the capacity of the Provincial League president of Orissa for a discussion with regard to the boundary line of Orissa bordering the Nizam’s State.

It is understood that HEH the Nizam of Hyderabad has taken a move demanding from the Government of India the annexation of Bastar State and some portion of Koraput district
Towards Freedom: 1947 (Part 2)

of Orissa bordering Bastar State and Jeypore Estate of the same district. If the demand is not conceded the Nizam’s Government is trying to take these portions by hook or crook after the British quit India in June 1948. Just to have a thorough idea about Koraput district and its inhabitants this interview was said to have been arranged. In the meantime, the Nizam’s Government wants to create public opinion in favour of the State through the Muslims of Orissa, and if possible through some interested persons. The Nizam’s Government is prepared to spend a lump-sum amount for this purpose. Sir Mirza Ismail, on behalf of HEH the Nizam of Hyderabad, has assured the president of the Provincial Muslim League to look to the interests of the Muslims of Orissa and to help them in all possible ways in the near future if they are in any way harassed by the Provincial Government after the British leave India.

Mr. Haq apprised him of the present administration of the province and the position of the Muslims in the administration and the Muslim League movement in order to enlist his sympathy.

It is also learnt that the Nizam’ Government wants the cooperation of the Orissa States and wants that propaganda should be made through the people and the Press of Orissa in his favour. Mr. Haq, it is learnt, will call the Working Committee of the Muslim League during this month and keep the members informed about his talks with Sir Mirza Ismail.

The reason attributed to the visit of Ranjit Mahanti, son of Shri Madhusudan Mahanti of the Radical Democratic Party, is obviously for the purpose of acquainting the Dewan of Hyderabad State with the Orissa State affairs. He was taken by Mr. Haq in order to help him.

The information is based on the facts obtained in course of talks with some prominent Leaguers of Cuttack.

5. Report from Orissa

Extract from the fortnightly report for Orissa for the first half of May 1947, 29 May 1947
Home Poll(I), File No. 18/5/47, NAI

GOVERNMENT OF ORISSA
HOME DEPARTMENT, SPECIAL SECTION
No. 1082-C
Cuttack

I. POLITICAL

The interest of the politically minded is focused on the political parleys in progress at Delhi and London. The postponement of the Viceroy’s conference with the Indian leaders gave rise to somewhat wild speculations, but the division of India into two or more independent sovereign states is now regarded as a practical certainty; and it is expected that the Viceroy’s impending declaration will indicate the final form which the partition will take. The sudden decision to recall the Viceroy to London for a conference with H.M.G. is generally ascribed to difficulties that have arisen over the question of the division of the Indian army between Pakistan and the rest of India.

2. The Rulers of Orissa and Chhattisgarh States met in conference at Puri from the 9th to the 14th May. The conference was presided over by the Ruling Chief of Boudh. The Resident for the Eastern States and the Political Agent, Sambalpur, were present at Puri at the time, but
did not attend the Ruler’s meetings. A completely reliable report of the proceedings, which were confidential in nature, is not available; but it is believed that the following matters were discussed:—

(i) The setting up of a Federation of Orissa and Chhattisgarh States. This appears to have been finally accepted. It is understood that a draft constitution has been prepared and submitted to a sub-committee of five Ministers for examination.

(ii) The question of joining the Constituent Assembly. The decision to join the Constituent Assembly which was taken at the Jamshedpur conference was ratified, but the ratification is still provisional, and the idea seems to be to wait and see H.M.G.’s plans for transfer of power. It is understood that the matter will be further examined at another meeting to be held towards the end of June. Although it was decided that the election of those representatives who would be returned by the States Assemblies, should proceed, the present inclination of the Rulers appears to be to fall in line with policy of the Chamber of Princes vis-à-vis the Constituent Assembly.

(iii) Administrative co-ordination with a British Indian province or provinces or alternatively with a bigger state like Hyderabad. Opinion at the conference appears to have been overwhelmingly in favour of co-ordination with one or more of the neighboring provinces. Some understanding with the Orissa Government was considered desirable, and the majority opinion of the Rulers of Orissa States was in favour of co-ordination with Orissa in regard to—

(a) army;
(b) public health;
(c) education, particularly university education; and
(d) communications except telegraph and telephone.

(The question of introducing a trunk telephone system between the states was considered, but it was ultimately deferred for the decision of the future Federation.)

(iv) A good deal of consideration was given to the strengthening of the existing police force and the creation of a military police force and possibly armed units for use as a striking force. It appears to have been tentatively decided that each State would roughly double its police force and that all States should join in raising an armed force which will be under a single Commander.

(v) To combat the growing discontent and agitation among States people, it was decided to introduce adult franchise and set up States Assemblies, only ten percent of the membership of which would be nominated. It was further decided that with the same object in view similar concessions with respect to tenancy laws, etc., should be granted as have recently been done in the neighboring British Indian provinces.

(vi) The question of taking over charge from the Resident for the Eastern States and the Political Agents under him was discussed, and the tentative decision was that the Secretary to the Federation would take over the necessary papers, etc., assisted by two deputies. The location of the head office and the secretariat of the Federation does not appear to have been finally decided. The pay of the staff of the Federation secretariat was discussed, and a board was formed to make appointments in the secretariat.

(vii) It was considered that the States would be well advised to enact a law of succession, where it does not exist at present. This would, it was thought, assist stability, particularly if the law is made on the authority of a popular assembly....
6. ‘Narasingpur’s Ban on National Flag’

The Hindustan Times, 12 August 1947

CUTTACK, Aug. 10.—Mr. Sarangadhar Das, President, Regional Council of Orissa and C.P. States, in the course of an interview says that the Narasingpur State authorities have banned the hoisting of the National Flag on August 15, and the order prohibiting processions or meetings has been enforced in the State. The Narasingpur States Goondas Act has also been brought into force in 19 villages of the State.

Mr. Sarangadhar Das appealed to the Ruler of Orissa and C.P. States to grant amnesty to political prisoners.—A.P.I.

C. Tripura

1. Relief to Tripura Peasants due to Disruption of Joom Cultivation

Letter from Tripura State Congress Committee to the General Secretary of AICC, 16 February 1947
AICC Papers, File No. P-24(Pt-I)/1947, NMML

To
The General Secretary,
All India Congress Committee,
Swaraj Bhavan, Allahabad.

Dear friend,

Re:—Famine Relief

In the year 1946 the Government of Tripura issued an order prohibiting the ‘Joom’ cultivation (horticulture) in the State of Tripura. So the people could not cultivate their ‘Joom’ which is the main source of their livelihood. When India was in dire necessity of Food Grains this sort of order lead us [sic] in great confusion. For which we approached the then Chief Minister to the Government of Tripura. And when the matter was revealed to him by our consultations the season for jooming of the same year was already passed. Consequently nearly one lakh people of the Joom cultivators had to remain without any fresh production of Joom Crops during the whole year. So far they had to maintain themselves on their surplus food crops.

It is generally known that the State of Tripura is a surplus area regarding food grains. Last year at the request of the Government of India, the Government of Tripura had to supply lakhs of maunds of foodgrains in Madras upto the month of September, 1946. The surrounding districts such as Tipperah, Noakhali of the province of Bengal were deficit in Food Grains and the price of them there was nearly double than the State. Though the export of rice and paddy was stopped by the order of the Government of Tripura (perhaps for easier procurement of supply into Madras from Tripura) those were always drained out illegally by the profiteers to the deficient areas of Bengal.

Moreover owing to the communal disturbances in Bengal several thousands of panicky and affected people from the Districts of the [sic] Dacca, Mymensingh, Tipperah and Noakhali began to rush in this land. The number of them is more than 27,000 (Twenty-seven thousands). Almost all of them were provided and is still being provided by the production of this land.
The Tripura State Congress Committee rendered Relief Works to the Refugees who came from Noakhali and Tipperah Districts of Bengal with all its possible means. Now to fight with this famine it has already formed Relief Committees in different places of the State and the Congress workers are trying their best to relieve the famine stricken people. But you can easily imagine that their resources are too scanty. So there is no other alternative but to approach you in this critical juncture. The Government of Tripura has kindly sanctioned Rs. 80,000/- (Rupees eighty thousand) only. But the question is this—how the money will be useful without food grains?

On the other hand interested sections such as business, middlemen and other agents of exploitation are always trying for their opportunity as they know very well that the peasantry of this land will not be able to collect their harvest before the middle of July, 1947.

2. Efforts to Deal with Distress in Tripura

Note by Tripura State Congress Committee, 27 March 1947
AICC Papers, File No. G-45/1947-8, NMML

Tripura State Congress Committee

AGARTALA,

Tripura State,

Relief Works rendered to Famine Stricken Hill Section’s People.

For the reservation of forest, Tripura State authority promulgated, last year prohibitory orders on ‘Jum Cultivation’ (Horti-culture). Due to this prohibitory orders Hill Tribes People of the Northern parts of the State could not cultivate ‘Jum’ last year, consequently they are without crops this year and acute famine is seen all over the Northern parts of the State, specially in Khowai, Kailashar and Dharmanagar Divisions of the State. In some parts of that acute famine areas hill tribes people have been living on potatoes and vegetables. Due to starvation many famine striken [sic] people have left their hearth and home in search of food and have made permanent home in Lushai Hills, Hill Chittagong and also in some parts of Assam Province. This [sic] calamities condition of Famine has turned the hill tribes agriculturists into day labourers. Congress, student Congress workers and Representatives of all divisions of the State specially hill section Congress men met in a conference at Agartala to consider the famine condition in hill section and Tripura State Famine Relief Committee has been formed. Other three divisional Famine Relief Committees have also been formed. Under these Committees Congress workers have been rendering all possible help to the famine striken [sic] people. Congress workers of Kamalpur, Khowai and Dharmanagar divisions have been collecting rice, milk, medicines and money begging from door to door for the famine striken [sic] people. President and other influential Congress Workers visited all the famine affected hill sections.
3. Position of Tripura after the Sylhet Referendum
Letter from N.L. Deb Varman to S.P. Mookerjee, 22 June 1947
S.P. Mookerjee Papers, Subject File No. 32, Instalment I, NMML

AGARTALA,
Tripura State

Dear Sir,

As a loyal subject of Tripura State, I am worried about the position of Tripura State as a result of H.M.G.’s statement of June 3 and very anxious to know the opinions of great national leaders like yourself who thinks kindly of poor Tripura an abode of nearly 75% Hindus. So I venture to approach your goodness with eagerness for your valuable advice as to which course should Tripura take in the present juncture of Hindusthan—Pakisthan question. You know Tripura State pretty well and can find out the best solution for the permanent benefit of Tripura. In spite of it I would like to mention some of the main difficulties confronting us at the moment, here below.

Tripura State is bounded by Noakhali & a very small portion of Chittagong on the south, Tipperah & Sylhet on the west, Sylhet on the north and Lushai hills & Chittagong hill tract on the east. Tripura State being the only source of supply of forest produce to the people of Noakhali and Tipperah districts which are in turn the bigger market for Tripura State and are therefore more in importance to it than Sylhet in point of economy, is very closely related with the area under eastern Pakistan. As main transport routes, almost all, both land and river, are directed towards the Pakistan area, Tripura State can not help depending on Pakistan to a great extent at least till the present condition prevails and before a fresh arrangement under agreements is made. Tripura could have managed some how to be free of the obligations towards Pakistan, mentioned above, had Sylhet decided to remain with Assam. But there is every likelihood that Sylhet goes with eastern Pakistan. In that case Tripura will be left with only Lushai on the east as a link between Tripura and Assam. Though Lushai borders Tripura on the east, it does no material good to us as the country is too difficult to be developed in near future and there is not much prospect. It may be mentioned that all the hills intersected with deep ravines & rivers all south to north while we have to go right across due east towards Lushai which is also a hill district of identical nature. Under the circumstances it is a great problem before us, if by chance Sylhet goes out of Assam.

Is there any better prospect for Tripura if it succeeds in entering into a confederation with Assam, Manipur State, Coochbehar State with Jalpaiguri? Of course Tripura should & must accommodate Chittagong hill tract provided the latter desires to come with Tripura under a suitable term. But, quite naturally, Chittagong hill tract will try to remain out of obligation if the centre (Govt) provides it as well as other tribal and excluded areas with due safeguards.

As a Hindu majority State, Tripura has inevitably to join Hindusthan with Assam as neighbour. Can we expect that the provinces situated on the north eastern frontier will be preferred to other member provinces of Hindusthan in respect of better facilities in economy, defence, communication, trade and commerce etc as strategic measure? Unless centre gives a good and solid protection and assistance in every respect, Tripura is too weak and poor to manage its own affairs without rather a heavy obligation towards the Pakistan Govt which also
may very well show a gesture of liberalities towards the State as a bait to get it into Pakistan
clutch.

With the greatest regards,

Yours faithfully,
(N.L. Deb Varman.
Agartala, Tripura State.)

4. Resolution on Arrangements following the Death of the Maharaja of
Tripura
Letter from Umeshlal Singh, Secretary, Tripura State Congress Committee, to the
Secretary of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, 24 June 1947
AICC Papers, File No. P 24(Pt.-I)/1947, NMML

TRIPURA STATE CONGRESS COMMITTEE
AGARTALA
TRIPURA

Refer No:—238

To
The Secretary,
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee
115 E Dharmatala Street,
CALCUTTA - 13

Dear Friend,

In a mass meeting held on the 26th May, 1947 (11th Juaistha, 1357 T.E.) the following resolutions
were passed unanimously. Shri Sachindra Lal Singh, President Tripura State Congress
Committee presided over the meeting.

(Translated from Bengali Resolutions)

Resolved that:

1. This meeting records its deep sense of sorrow at the sudden and untimely demise of the
respected and beloved Maharaja Sir Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya Bahadur G.B.E., K.C.S.I.
of Tripura. The countrywide treachery and butchery has created an uncertain situation. The
sudden demise of this progressive Ruler at this critical juncture will definitely aggravate the
bewilderment of the people. We pray to God for the peace of the departed soul and extend
our heartfelt sympathy to our Mata Maharani, Maharaja Srila Srijukta Kirit Bikram Kishore
Manikya Bahadur and to the royal family at their bereavement.

2. This meeting accords its full allegiance to our present Maharaja Sree Sreejut Kirit Bikram
Kishore Manikya Bahadur.

3. The historic declaration of the British Imperialists to quit India by June, 1948 has entrusted
upon the people of India the long cherished hope of planning an independent democratic
constitution for free India. The constituent assembly, formed by elected members, is now busy
planning the future constitution for India. From time immemorial Tripura State, as the noble
legacy of Indian culture and civilization, has maintained its conspicuous originality even up to the middle of twentieth century. As a token of this originality our beloved late Maharaja Sir Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya Bahadur, by virtue of his inherent leadership and insight, fully realised the change of the time signified and also the unexpressed burning desire of the people of this State. So despite all oppositions of the reactionary forces he joined the constituent assembly unhesitatingly and made an honest attempt to give a proper shape to greater Tripura by uniting together the different component parts of alike and allied nationalities. Moreover he paved the foundation stone for introducing the fully responsible Government in the State under the aegis of the Maharaja. He could not unfortunately complete the responsible task mentioned above, he began. So this meeting of the subjects of the State resolves that as an interim arrangement our respected Mata Maharani Sree Jukta Kanchan Prava Mahadevi be empowered to act as Regent, free from outside intervention, for administering all the affairs of the State through a council composed of persons commanding respect and hold upon the people of the State until our present Maharaja’s installation ceremony comes off, so that she may get full scope to complete the already-begun tasks of our late Maharaja.

Sd/- Schindra Lal Singh,
President of the meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Umeshlal Singh.
Secretary,
Tripura State Congress Committee

Copy to:—Ref. No. 239
1) President, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee
2) President, All India Congress Committee

5. Need for Action to Save Tripura from Isolation

Telegram from Chief Minister of Tripura to Vallabhbhai Patel, 14 July 1947

SPC, Vol. V, p. 422

Agartala

Hon’ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

A COMPACT AREA COMPRISING TRIPURA STATE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS LUSHAI AND KHASI HILLS TOGETHER WITH HINDU MAJORITY AREAS IN NOAKHALI TIPPERA AND SYLHET DISTRICTS CONTIGUOUS TO TRIPURA STATE UNDER THE INDIAN UNION ABSOLUTELY NEEDED TO BE FORMED ON POLITICAL STRATEGICAL AND ECONOMIC GROUNDS TO SAVE FROM ISOLATION TRIPURA STATE WHICH HAS ALREADY JOINED INDIAN UNION. WE ARE REPRESENTING TO BENGAL BOUNDARY COMMISSION. EARNESTLY SOLICITING YOUR HELP.

MAHARAJKUMAR BRAJENDRAKISOR
CHIEF MINISTER, TRIPURA.
6. Demand for Responsible Government

Telegram from Secretary, Tripura Congress, to J.B. Kripalani, undated
AISPC Papers, File No. 243, NMML

J.B. KRIHALANI
NEW DELHI

PEOPLE DEMAND MAHARANI REGENT WITH FULL POWER AS TO INTRODUCE
FULL RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT GREATER TRIPURA WITH COMMON
BORDER OR CORRIDOR TO BE CONNECTED WITH INDIAN UNION AS AN
UNITY UNIT NO BRITISH INTERFERENCE BE TOLERATED

UMESH SINGH SECTY CONGRESS AGARTALA.

D. Manipur

1. Representation for Manipur on the Advisory Committee of
   Constituent Assembly

Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Rajendra Prasad, 20 February 1947
SJN, Vol. II, p. 189

New Delhi

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I enclose a letter from Bapu. I am afraid the Manipuris are too small a group to be given
representation in the Advisory Committee; but one of their number might well be coopted
when the sub-committee of the Advisory Committee goes to Assam.

I enclose also a telegram about Gurkhas.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

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1 Mahatma Gandhi wrote on 13 February: 'Some Manipuris came to me yesterday. They claimed minority rights etc.
I have dissuaded them. They, as far as I could understand, would be satisfied, if one of them could be on the Advisory
Committee for the consideration of minority rights. If it is feasible, I think it would be right and proper to put one of
them on the Committee.'
2. Internment Order Imposed on Rani Guidello Condemned
Letter from Secretary, Jorhat District Students Congress, to Vallabhbhai Patel, 2 March 1947
SPC, Vol. V, p. 5

Copy forwarded to the Home Member,
Interim Government of India

Sir,

I have the honour to forward the following resolution passed in the council meeting of J.D.S.C.
on 2 March 1947 for necessary action.

I am,
Most obediently yours,
Upen Sarma
Secretary, J.D.S.C.

ENCLOSURE

This council meeting of the Jorhat District Students Congress regrets the internment order
imposed upon Rani Guidello after courting a long term of imprisonment and records its strong
condemnation for this injustice of the Government unto her and further demands immediate
withdrawal of this unfair, unjust and repressive measure adopted against her.

3. Question of Manipur’s Representation in Constituent Assembly
Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to the Maharaja of Manipur, Bodhchandra Singh, 22
May 1947
SWJN, Vol. II, pp. 256-8

Dear Maharaja Saheb,

I have just received your letter of 14th May.¹

2. I appreciate fully the importance of Manipur State in the Union of India from the
geographical and strategic points of view. Also Manipur is a distinct cultural entity which I
should like to preserve as such entity. I think your suggestion that Manipur should have a
separate representative in the Constituent Assembly has some force. But unfortunately we have
to function within the limits of certain rules laid down for us. These rules are based chiefly on
population. To some extent some slight variation has been made in them by the Negotiating
Committees. If these Negotiating Committees had been able to fit in Manipur for special
representation, I would have had no objection whatever. But they have not done so and it is
not easy for us to criticise them because of the limitations referred to above.

3. I fear, therefore, that much as I would have liked to accede to your wishes, I am powerless
in the matter at present. May I point out, however, that this is a rather technical matter and we
need not attach too much importance to it? In effect we can easily arrange for consultations
with your special representative so that your State’s point of view may be kept in the forefront.
4. You know how rapidly the situation is developing in India. It is quite possible that big changes might take place long before June 1948. There is no time left for any one in India just to wait and see what happens. The future of Manipur State obviously lies with the Union of India. As you have pointed out yourself, Manipur can hardly be expected to defend itself unaided in case of troubles on the frontier. The business of defense must be shouldered by the Union. In other ways too the Union would, no doubt, help Manipur State to develop itself in many ways while retaining its cultural entity.

5. The Constituent Assembly is now reaching the final stages of its work. There can be no further delay or postponement; indeed we have to expedite that work. Our programme thus far has been to finish the constitution-making by October 31st of this year. But it may well be that circumstances will compel us to finish it a month or two earlier. It is obviously desirable for States to take part in this important stage of constitution-making. Those States that do not take part may, of course, come in later; but they will have lost an opportunity of taking part in the actual work of making the Union constitution. The Constituent Assembly will necessarily have to proceed with such representatives as it has.

6. I suggest to you, therefore, that you might agree to the proposals made by the Negotiating Committees for a joint representation of Manipur, Tripura and Khasi States. Mr. Guha, the Tripura Minister, could formally represent you also. But, as I have stated above, we shall be happy to have some special representative of yours to advise us in regard to Manipur. He will not be, in the circumstances, a member of the Constituent Assembly. But he will be consulted in all matters concerning your State and he will prove very helpful. If this course is followed, your wishes will be generally fulfilled and at the same time the formal procedure adopted will also be adhered to. The matter is urgent and I trust you will communicate your decision at an early date.

7. I have read the papers you have sent me with interest.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

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1 In his letter of 14 May 1947, the Maharaja of Manipur had said that instead of having a representative for Manipur, Tripura, and the Khasi States as decided by the Chamber of Princes, there should be a separate representative for Manipur not on the basis of population but because of 'peculiar geographical and topographical' considerations. There were diversified elements in the State and it had an area of more than 8,650 square miles.

E. Sikkim

1. Constituent Assembly on Bhutan and Sikkim

Extract from a resolution moved in the Constituent Assembly by Jawaharlal Nehru, 22 January 1947


RESOLUTION TO INCLUDE BHUTAN AND SIKKIM WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE

Mr. President: We have got the next resolution relating to Sikkim and Bhutan. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will move this.
The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

'This Assembly resolve that the Committee constituted by its Resolution of December 21, 1946 (to confer with the Negotiating Committee set up by the Chamber of Princes and with other representatives of Indian States for certain specified purposes) shall in addition have power to confer with such persons as the Committee thinks fit for the purpose of examining the special problems of Bhutan and Sikkim and to report to the Assembly the result of such examination.'

May I point out, Sir, that the copy of this Resolution that has been circulated should be varied slightly in the penultimate line, to read, 'for the purpose of examining the special problems of Bhutan and Sikkim and to report to the Assembly'....

The House will remember that we passed a resolution in December last appointing a Committee consisting of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Mr. Shankarrao Deo, Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and myself to confer with the Negotiating Committee set up by the Chamber of Princes and with other representatives of Indian States for the purposes of -

(a) fixing the distribution of the seats in the Assembly not exceeding 93 in number which, in the Cabinet Mission's Statement of 16th May, 1946, are reserved for Indian States, and

(b) fixing the method by which the representatives of the States should be returned to this Assembly, and thereafter to report to the Constituent Assembly the result of such negotiations. Further it was resolved that not more than three other Members may be added to this Committee later. This Committee was to consider two matters, fixing and distribution of seats for States and fixing the method by which the representatives if the States should be returned to the Assembly. The question has arisen as to how we have to deal with certain areas which are not Indian States. In this Resolution before us, Bhutan and Sikkim are mentioned.

Bhutan is in a sense an Independent State under the protection of India. Sikkim is in a sense an Indian State but different from the other. It is not proper to think of Bhutan therefore in the same category as an Indian State. I do not know what the future position of Bhutan might be in relation to India. That is a matter to be determined in consultation and in co-operation with the representatives of Bhutan. There is no question of compulsion in the matter. Now the terms of reference of the Committee you have appointed on the last occasion will not entitle it to tackle any such problem. Those terms are limited to the method of representation in this Assembly and the distribution of seats. I would like to say that there is some objection raised on the part of the Indian Princes to Negotiating Committee as to why the terms of reference have been so limited by us. They have been limited for obvious reasons—that all the later problems of the Indian States are going to be dealt with by those representatives of Indian States when they come and it would be absurd for us to come to final decisions with regard to the main problems before the representatives are here. Therefore deliberately we limited the functions of our Negotiating Committee. But in limiting them we prevented them from dealing with other problems which may arise in regard to territories which are not Indian States, specially Bhutan and Sikkim, and this Resolution gives them authority to meet representatives of Bhutan and Sikkim and discuss any special problems that may arise. I want to make it clear, on the one hand, that this Constituent Assembly has every right to discuss problems with even
Independent States, if necessary. There is nothing to limit our right to discuss our future relations with the Independent States but for the moment I am not dealing with that problem. Whatever the position of Bhutan might be, there is no question that we have the power and authority to deal with their representatives. This is in no way trying to lessen the status of Bhutan's present position. Whatever this may be, it will be recognized to be something entirely different to that of Indian States. We are simply empowering our Committee to deal with the representatives and then to report to this Constituent Assembly the result of those negotiations.

I beg to move this Resolution, Sir.

*The Hon’ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant* (United Provinces: General): I second the Resolution.

*Mr. President:* The Resolution has been moved and seconded. If anyone wants to speak, he can do so.... (After a pause).... May I take it that no one wishes to speak about this Resolution? I will put the Resolution to vote....

The Resolution was adopted

2. **Full Safeguards to Lepcha Community of Darjeeling**

   Extract from Tibetan Intelligence Report, 16 July 1947
   External Affairs Dept., File No. F8(4)-NEF/47, NAI

**SECRET**

Tibetan Intelligence Report No. 16/47

136. **LEPCHA ASSOCIATION**

Ref. TIR 33/3/1947

A deputation of the Lepcha Association of the Darjeeling District consisting of the following members had been to New Delhi recently to see Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru:—

2. Mrs. David Mohan, Vice-President, -do-
3. Leonard Rongong, Secretary, -do-
5. Norbhu Tsering.

It is reported that the object of the deputation was to represent the following grievances:—

1. That the original inhabitants of the Darjeeling District are Lepchas so they wanted full safeguards for their Community after the British leave India and should be kept as an excluded area under Hindustan.
   
   or
   
   that the Darjeeling District should amalgamate with Sikkim State.

2. That they strongly opposed the proposal put up by All India Gurkha League to amalgamate Darjeeling District with Assam. Before the deputation went to Delhi they had an interview with the Maharaja of Sikkim at Gangtok.
137. BHUTIA NATIONAL CONGRESS. C.H. Wangdi, till recently Preventive Inspector of Bengal Civil Supply Dept., has started the Bhutia National Congress at Kalimpong at his own initiative. He is touring the district, organizing meetings amongst Tibetans, Bhutanese, Sikkimese etc. According to a reliable source, very few people are attending his meetings and so far his enterprise appears to be unsuccessful, mainly due to his past history. He himself has become the President of the Congress and has appointed his sister’s son-in-law as Secretary....
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