

**INDIAN PRESS AND THE PARTITION OF THE PUNJAB;
A CASE STUDY OF THE *CIVIL & MILITARY GAZETTE* (1946-1947)**



Thesis submitted in the partial fulfilment for the award of the degree of

MASTERS OF PHILOSOPHY in HISTORY

by

EHSAN AHMAD KHAN

Reg. No: 02122111010

SUPERVISED BY

DR. RABIA UMAR ALI

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD

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QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY

Department of History

27.3.2024

Final Approval

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Mr. Ehsan Ahmad Khan and it is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of Master of Philosophy Degree in History.

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CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

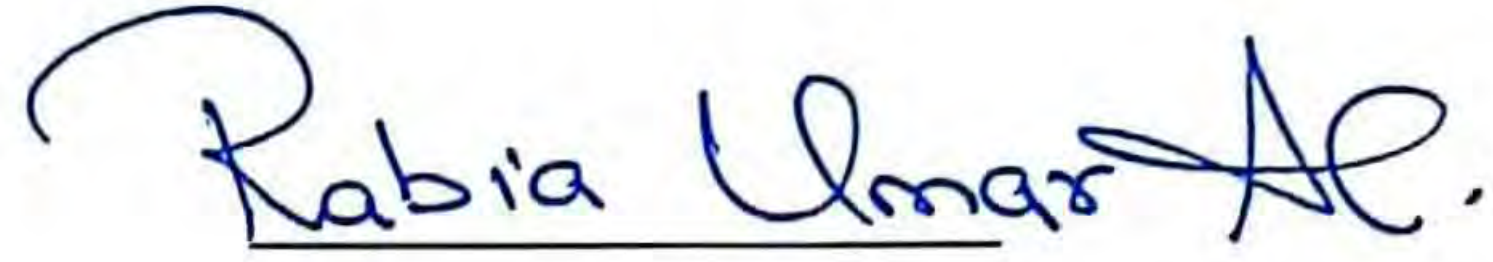
I hereby declare that the thesis presently submitted bearing the title "**Indian Press and the Partition of the Punjab; a Case Study of the *Civil & Military Gazette* (1946-1947)**" is the result of my own research and has not been submitted to any other institution for any other degree.



EHSAN AHMAD KHAN

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the M.Phil. student **Ehsan Ahmad Khan** (Reg. No. 02122111010) has completed his M.Phil. dissertation titled "**Indian Press and the Partition of the Punjab; a Case Study of the *Civil & Military Gazette* (1946-1947)**" under my supervision. I recommend this research thesis for submission in candidacy for the degree of Masters of Philosophy in History.



DR. RABIA UMAR ALI

DEDICATION

Dedicated to my Mother and Late Father

All that I am today or aspire to be is owed to these individuals.

I cannot express my gratitude enough!

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This dissertation owes its completion to the invaluable contributions and support of numerous individuals, and I express my gratitude to each one. Firstly, I am thankful to Allah for granting me the opportunity and ability to undertake this research despite various challenges. My family, including my parents, my wife Umama Khan, and three daughters, deserve special acknowledgment for their unwavering cooperation throughout this journey.

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I alone accept the responsibility of errors and flaws in my dissertation.

EHSAN AHMAD KHAN

GLOSSARY

<i>Acta Diurna</i>	Daily Roman official notices
<i>Darbar</i>	Court held by an Indian prince
<i>Hartal</i>	A closure of shops and offices as a protest.
<i>Jathas</i>	A group of people gathered for certain purposes.
<i>Kaurava</i>	A term which refers to descendants of Kuru, a legendary king of India.
<i>Kirpan</i>	A mandatory Sikh article of faith, (Knife)
<i>Moong Dal</i>	Short-duration mung bean pulse crop grown in Sub Continent
<i>Pandavas</i>	The five powerful and skilled sons of Pandu, the King.
<i>Panth</i>	The term used for several religious traditions in India commonly referred to the Sikhs
<i>Pir</i>	Sufi Spiritual Guide
<i>Sarees</i>	Lengthy garment traditionally worn by women from Asia
<i>Tipao</i>	Ancient Chinese Gazette
<i>Ulemas</i>	Learned or clergy men
<i>Dai Angah</i>	Name of a mosque in Lahore near Railway Station

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INTRODUCTION

The term Newspaper usually refers to anything new or happening or expecting to be a hint upon any change in the surroundings. But this alone was not the purpose merely. The newspaper ought to be having news, features, views and some interesting information to grasp the public often in the form of advertisements or news sheets. The Romans used to publish *Acta Diurna* (Daily Events) which was meant to project some announcements of social or political interests. They also published news sheets to keep the public aware of certain information. This practice lasted from 59 BC till 222 AD. Similarly, the Chinese version of such news sheets was also in practice during "Han Dynasty" called *Tipao*.¹ According to Prof. Dr. Mehdi Hasan, the need for newspapers in the subcontinent rose from the thrones and the first attempt was made to introduce a concept of *Waqia Nawis*; a story writer, who basically gathered information from *Darbars* and several other sources to keep the emperor up to date.

The use of newspapers as sources for understanding the events in Punjab in 1947 presents both advantages and limitations. This study is motivated by the increasing acknowledgment in recent research that media or press hold substantial influence on various aspects such as politics, economics, and psychology. The media's ability to shape public behavior, particularly among impressionable individuals, is a significant concern. Social science research approaches highlight the importance of careful readings and analysis of texts to uncover hidden meanings and provide insights into individuals' thoughts and motivations. Studies conducted between the First and Second World Wars have emphasized the pivotal role newspapers play in shaping public opinion and behavior.

¹ <https://en-academic.com/dic.nsf/enwiki/9501175>

Max Weber, nearly a century ago, acknowledged the value of newspapers as essential tools for analyzing situations akin to those in Punjab in 1947. Lord Curzon, Chancellor of Oxford University and a former Viceroy of India, emphasized the pivotal role of journalists during a welcome speech at the inaugural Imperial Press Conference. He stated that:

We also train no inconsiderable number of Pressmen... who, much more than any other officials, will be in the future the speaking links, the live rails... for connecting the outskirts of the Empire with its heart.²

The journey of the Partition in 1947 itself was no less than a multi-faceted episode. An angle portraying extreme joy and merry making and millions getting their freedom; on the contrary numerous lives being put to the disposal of death. The whole story unfolded in violence unexpectedly. The press reporting found therein, is more likely to be partisan reporting, and depicting certain party-based narratives. All of the renowned titles we find active during this time are basically influenced or were operated by some or many influencers. The majority of Urdu newspapers originating from Punjab engaged in competitive journalism, projecting a rivalry among themselves. One notable example is the daily *Zamindar* (Lahore), led by Zafar Ali Khan, which was often regarded as the voice of Muslims. However, various factors contributed to its diminishing influence. Over time, the landscape of Muslim journalism saw a shift, with the emergence of a shared stage between the *Zamindar* and another daily *Inquilaab* (Lahore)³, coedited by *Mehar-o-Salik*⁴. The *Zamindar* projected the Muslim narrative to its best. Not only this but these newspapers turned out to be the sad portrayal of live press. In other words, it would not be incorrect to say that the *Zamindar* wowed for the Muslims, the *Partaap* and *Milaap* projected Hindus majorly while the *Khalsa Gazette* & the *Ranjeet* for the Sikhs.

² Chandrika Kaul, *Reporting the Raj, The British Press and India (1880-1922)* (Manchester University Press, 2018), 1.

³ Muhammad Din Fauq, *Akhbar Naweessun kay Halaat* (Karachi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Pakistan, 2019), 54.

⁴ Ghulam Rasool Mehar and Abdul Majeed Salik

The news and information sources of the majority of the vernacular press were only a few in number. Either it was *Hindustan Times*, mostly quoted by the Hindu press or the *Civil & Military Gazette* which was widely quoted by almost all major newspapers of the time. Although the *API* (Associated press of India) was also seen being quoted in some titles, yet we find a handsome amount of news taken from the *Civil & Military Gazette* Lahore. Interestingly the *Civil & Military Gazette* mostly relied on the *Reuters* source, which was an independent agency in the beginning but later proved to be biased or at some point influenced. In a broader way, the *Civil & Military Gazette* did justice amongst all above by providing equal possible opportunities to all segments of the society.⁵

Despite admitting this fact, it is obvious that the public statement reported by the newspaper can never be a complete information until it is tallied by other contemporary sources which is why it is commonly said that public statements mostly conceal than reveal. One thing must be kept in mind that such reports are usually influenced by the ongoing trends of society and the rumors getting spread in the surroundings, which is why one cannot totally rely on these newspapers alone. This is so because press reporting is by no means the only source of providing information. Rumors are disseminated more rapidly than any other news itself. And they can have much more influence in semi-literate societies because there is no check and filter process of the heard items. The culture of mass reading of newspapers in rural areas of India had its own implications as well, which is why such false reports and misleading facts were passed on by word of mouth, or through traditional channels of communication around different segments of communities especially in the religious networks. Based upon all these pros and cons, the academicians describe the press reporting as a primary and superior

⁵ Chandrika Kaul, *Reporting the Raj, The British Press and India (1880-1922)* (Manchester University Press, 2018), 8.

(alternative) source to validate the credibility of official records by providing a complete account of incidents.⁶

Newspapers play an important role in shaping public opinion. Either they make or break a concept or they alter an already existing concept totally or partially, depending upon the nature of stimulus. The role of media as an agenda setting tool is a manifest reality whereby the audience is controlled by the media and its derivatives, sometimes projecting an already decided agenda or sometimes creating pre decided reactions and sentiments among its audience. The same effects of the press are seen in the struggle for freedom of India. In order to perceive and analyze the nature of the events and to cross-check contemporary narratives, these newspaper reports also play a vital role in defining the pattern and role of press in the formation of public opinion.

Pat Lovett, an Irish renowned journalist for the *Times of India*, the *Capital* and some other newspapers, once wrote that the journalism in British controlled India grew from the English journalism basically. The duty of a good journalist was to publish his opinion at the risk of penalty and imprisonment. He was supposed to shape the lead into a major factor in gauging public opinion.⁷

Although the British crown took over the control and administration from the East India Company in 1858 after the mutiny, they couldn't succeed in creating a manifest peace and smooth administration. This gave rise to socio-economic, socio-religious and political exploitations amongst the Indians. Eventually this led to the introduction of some non-violent movements chanting freedom all around India. This was the voice of every single Indian

⁶ Ilyas Chattha, "Partisan Reporting: Press Coverage of the 1947 Partition Violence in the Punjab," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 36, no. 4 (December 1, 2013): 608–625.

⁷ Emmett A. Davis, *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab, 1836-1947* (Delhi: Academic Publications, 1983),25

community; be it Muslims, Sikhs or Hindus. This struggle for freedom or nationalism lasted throughout the British stay in India i.e., 1858-1947, though having some tide and fall.

In 1878, the British implemented a forceful act to shut the editors down. The Vernacular Press Act was passed in order to crucify the freedom of the Indian press and all those symbols and writings of disapproval of the British regime in native languages. According to the British, their Raj had been marvelous and outstanding in India. They were the stakeholders for sure, and the most vital concept of freedom and liberalism was basically derived by themselves. This act faced a great criticism and reaction from the natives, as the struggle for freedom took another boost. During this struggle, the vernacular press of India acted like a catalyst, despite the fact that the implementation of the Vernacular Press Act targeted the oriental language press immensely. Yet a great number of fearless journalists and sane voices came forth from amongst Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus comprising majorly of learned persons and *Ulemas* to initiate newspapers or periodicals in order to curb and address this peculiar viscous act meant to sabotage the freedom of press. All of this was to cater and control the public opinion at large in order to awake the masses. Renowned scholars like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (editor *Tehzeeb ul Akhlaq*), Munshi Mehboob Alam (editor the *Paisa Akhbar*), Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Zafar Ali Khan (editor daily *Zamindar*), G. Subramania Iyer (editor *the Hindu*), Sisir Kumar (editor *Amrita Bazar Patrika*) were the leading names in this struggle.

However, with the establishment of the Indian National Congress, the government implemented several sections in 1898, including section 565, 124A, and 153A of the Indian Penal Code. Subsequently, the government enacted four additional laws, forming a comprehensive set of regulations for media organizations. These included the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act 1908, the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act 1911, the Indian Press Act 1910, the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908, and the Secrets Act 1903.

In the North and North West, the *Pioneer* and the *Civil & Military Gazette* conducted respectively by Hensman and Wheeler led the non-official chorus in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, the *Pioneer* having the dominant role. (The *Pioneer*'s voice was necessarily less resonant of course than that of the *Civil & Military Gazette* since it had a smaller body of reporters and many fewer European non-officials in its catchment area, and was concerned moreover in protecting a tradition of close connection with Government which it had built over the years).⁸

The newspaper act of 1908 was no less than its predecessor act that continued the restrictions upon vernacular press and not surprisingly the response was even worse. Motilal Nehru started an English daily soon after this act, namely *Leader*, along with his fellow Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1909.⁹

The Press Act of 1910 significantly impacted nearly all newspapers. It is estimated that approximately 1,000 publications faced prosecution under the Act, resulting in the government collecting ₹500,000 in securities and forfeitures from these papers within the first five years of the Act's implementation. Numerous journalists and publications, such as the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, faced charges under sedition laws for publishing anti-government articles. In subsequent years, the Press Emergency Act 1931 saw active implementation during *Satyagraha*, a nonviolent resistance or press advocacy to rally the masses against British rule.¹⁰

In short, the Indian Vernacular Press was an important medium for the dissemination of news and views during the British colonial period, and it played a significant role in the Indian nationalist movement. Apart from writing against the *Raj*, there were certain titles as well which devotedly used their pen to glorify the British Raj as a blessing. A large number of

⁸ Renford, Raymond Kevin. *The Non-Official British in India, 1883-1920*. University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (United Kingdom), 1979, pg.42.

⁹ Anakha Arikara, "5 Fearless Journalists Who Rose Against the British Raj During the Freedom Struggle," *The Better India*, last modified January 24, 2018, accessed September 14, 2022, <https://www.thebetterindia.com/128932/journalists-freedom-fighters-british-raj/>.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

newspapers and editors were solely writing for the pro-British agenda. These were but not limited to *Dabdaba e Qaisri*, *Musheer Qaiseri*, *Jam e Jamshaid* etc. in native languages while some English titles were the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Simla, Karachi, Lahore), *Pioneer* (Allahabad), *Lahore Chronicles*, *Indian Public Opinion*, *Curzon Gazette* and *Victoria Papers*.¹¹

Even some of the major newspapers, including the *Civil & Military Gazette*, used to prominently feature a motto of the monarch of the United Kingdom as part of its masthead, which was expressed in the French phrase *Dieu Et Mon Droit*, translating to 'God and my right'.¹² Some other foreign contemporaries also adopted the same practice, with examples such as the *Times* (London), the *London Gazette*, *Pallmall Gazette*, the *China Mail* in Hong Kong, and the *Canada Gazette* in Ottawa, among several others.¹³

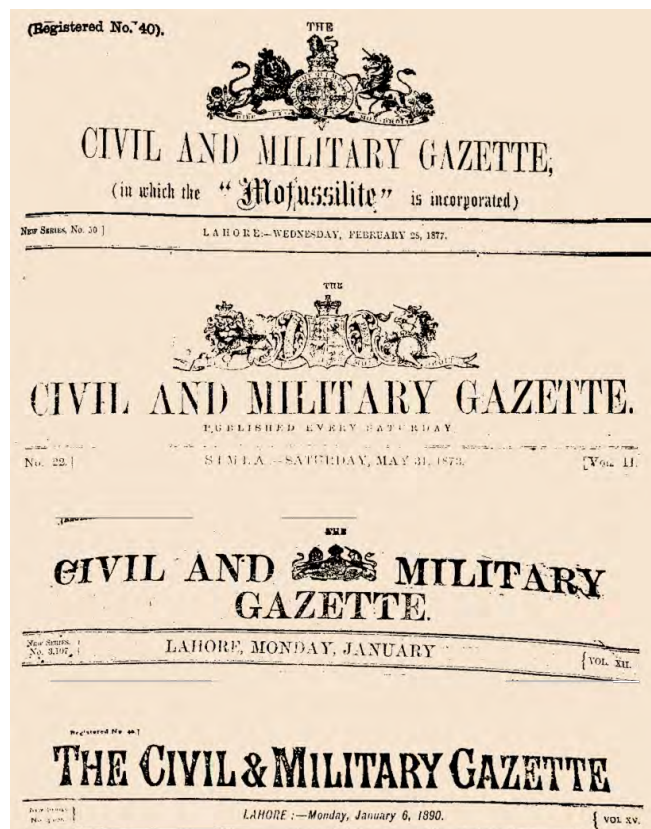


Figure 1: Different Mask Heads of the *Civil & Military Gazette* over the time

¹¹ Muḥammad Anvar Amīn, *Hayāt-i Maḥbūb (Paisah Akḥbār* markaz, Lahore 2005) p.79.

¹² <https://www.royal.uk/MonarchUK/Symbols/Coatsofarms.aspx>

¹³ <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/letters/feedback/article1185820.ece>.

The *Civil & Military Gazette*

The *Civil & Military Gazette*, which eventually became the singular high-profile newspaper, had a notable existence until 1963. Its origin dates back to 1872 when it commenced its publication in Simla. Initially conceived as a weekly periodical, its popularity and public interest propelled its transformation into a daily publication in 1876. A notable development transpired with its merger with another contemporary, albeit older, publication, the *Mofussilite* of Calcutta, which subsequently relocated to Agra and then Ambala, with its origins dating back to 1845. The branch of this press was opened in Meerut in 1832 and in the following year it began publishing the *Meerut Observer*, whose editor or chief contributor Captain H. Tuckett, fell under Government's displeasure.¹⁴ The *Civil & Military Gazette* mentioned these developments in the following manner:

To our readers, however the *Mofussilite* has the strongest claim of interest, for it was upon the ashes of that journal that the *Civil and Military Gazette* rose. By some it is claimed that it came into being in Calcutta as a weekly, and gained considerable favor with the public as a journal of great merit and capacity before it was transferred to the north.¹⁵

The inaugural issue of the *Mofussilite* was published on August 2, 1845, priced at one rupee and spanning 20 pages. Founded by John Lan[d] (1816-1864), an esteemed Australian author and journalist noted as Australia's pioneer native-born novelist, the *Mofussilite* primarily targeted English-speaking military and civil personnel engaged in various British endeavors across India, particularly those residing in up-country regions.¹⁶

Before the establishment of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, the *Lahore Chronicles*, a renowned newspaper operated by senior retired British officials, played a crucial role in bolstering patriarchal rule. The *Lahore Chronicles* commenced in 1846 but later merged with the *Indian Public Opinion* (est. 1866) due to financial and some other burdens in 1867. The

¹⁴ "The C. and M. G.s' Advance- 1872 TO 1928", *Civil & Military Gazette*, (Lahore), January 01, 1928.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* (See Annex:1)

¹⁶ <https://blog.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/2022/03/28/new-titles-28-march-2022>.

famous journalist Henry Cope used to work in the *Lahore Chronicles*, who resided in the famous *Dai Angah* Mosque adjacent to the Lahore Railway Station. It was later sold to the Government and was afterwards occupied for many years by the Traffic Managers' Office; and there is some reason to believe that the press was also in the same building.¹⁷ Later on, Henry Cope also worked for the *Civil & Military Gazette* for some time.¹⁸

Following its inception in 1872, the *Civil & Military Gazette* experienced a significant development when the *Indian Public Opinion* merged with it. Consequently, this newspaper stood as a consolidation of several well-known colonial newspapers.¹⁹ The stated purpose of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, as articulated by the newspaper itself, was: "The object of the *Civil & Military Gazette* is to make it a faithful and conscientious advocate of the true interests of the services, civil and military, in India, watching all that affects those interests for good or evil."²⁰ The *Civil & Military Gazette* held the status of being a mouthpiece for the British or *Rajdhani* and was regarded as the spokesperson for the Indian elite class. It stood out as the most renowned newspaper of its era, serving as a primary news source for a majority of contemporary titles. Its significance surpassed that of all others during its time.²¹

The Founding Figure and Staff of the *Civil & Military Gazette*

Novelist Cyril Lucas writes about his great grandfather, William Henry Rattigan that:

My maternal great grandfather [...] William Henry Rattigan founded the *Civil & Military Gazette*, in 1872 with Sir James Walker, a businessman whose wealth came from the organization of a transportation system between Simla and the Plains. They later bought a controlling interest in the *Pioneer*, an established newspaper which was widely read throughout India and played an influential role in Indian politics.²²

¹⁷ "The C. and M. G.s' Advance- 1872 TO 1928", *Civil & Military Gazette*, (Lahore), January 01, 1928.

¹⁸ Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities: With an Account of Its Modern Institutions, Inhabitants, Their Trade, Customs, &c.* (Printed at the New Imperial Press, 1892), 163.

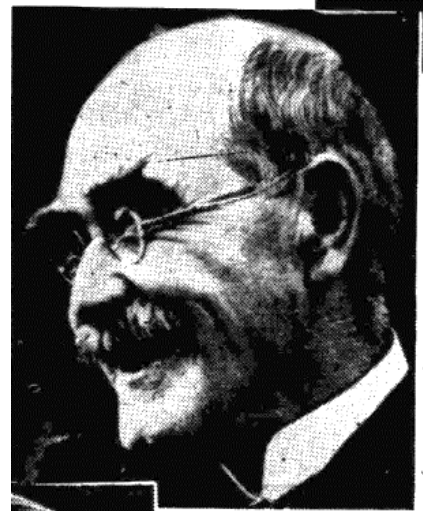
¹⁹ S. M. A. Feroze, "The English Press in Colonial India," *DAWN.COM*, last modified September 18, 2017, accessed September 15, 2022, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1358484>.

²⁰ "Editorial Note", *Civil & Military Gazette*, (Lahore), February 01, 1873.

²¹ Mehdi Hasan. "The Role of the Press in the Formation of Muslim Public Opinion (1857-1947)." Doctoral dissertation, University of the Punjab, Lahore, 1986, p.78

²² <https://cyrillucasauthor.com/>

The young and impressionable famous British poet, story writer and later the Nobel Laureate Rudyard Kipling joined the team at the Lahore *Civil & Military Gazette* in 1882 as an assistant editor, the then editor-in-chief was Stephen Wheeler who was replaced by Kay Robinson in 1886. The new editor allowed more creative freedom and Kipling was asked to contribute short stories to the newspaper.²³ He was to become the sole assistant editor of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, a



provincial daily paper circulating in the Punjab, published by a firm with a large staff of Indian printing workers which also held the printing-contract for the Provincial Government.²⁴

Robinson always encouraged Kipling's talent, once he addressed his appointment saying:

We did make the *Civil & Military Gazette* sparkle, chiefly by writing the greater part of the paper ourselves. Given my admiration for his [Rudyard Kipling] talent, I gave Ruddy more space in the paper, a decision I never regretted for a minute²⁵

Later on, in 1887, Rudyard Kipling left the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) and switched to another contemporary daily, the *Pioneer* (Allahabad).²⁶ While highlighting the journey of Rudyard Kipling in the *Civil & Military Gazette*, Cyril Lucas writes:

In 1882 William and Sir James Walker were persuaded by a mutual friend, John Lockwood Kipling, to give his seventeen-year-old son a job, despite his having no journalistic experience. A young Rudyard Kipling duly reported for work and embarked upon his famous literary career. Kipling spent seven years in India as assistant editor for the '*Civil and Military Gazette*' from 1882-87, which he described as his "mistress and most true love", and then for '*The Pioneer*' in 1887-89.²⁷

²³ Poetry Foundation, "Rudyard Kipling," text/html, *Poetry Foundation* (Poetry Foundation, November 14, 2022), <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/>, last modified January 14, 2022, accessed August 10, 2022, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/rudyard-kipling>.

²⁴ Raymond Kevin Renford, *The Non-Official British in India, 1883-1920*. University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (United Kingdom), 1979.

²⁵ "Encouragement That Made Rudyard Kipling the Writer He Was," *Penguin Random House India*, October 15, 2018, accessed September 21, 2022, <https://penguin.co.in/encouragement-that-made-rudyard-kipling-the-writer-he-was/>.

²⁶ <https://starsunfolded.com/rudyard-kipling/>

²⁷ <https://cyrillucasauthor.com/>

The last editor of the *Civil & Military Gazette* was Abdul Hamid Sheikh. In 1963, Mr. Ghias Ahmad Siddique was the Editor²⁸, at the same time Mr. Mahbub Jamal Zahedi joined the *Civil & Military Gazette* at the time when its last branch, situated in Lahore, was about to cease publication. He served there for only a few months.²⁹

The Lahore head office was then converted into a garments outlet and used to sell famous Indian *Sarees* till early 1980s.³⁰ Presently, the location is situated adjacent to the Panorama Centre on the Mall Road in Lahore.

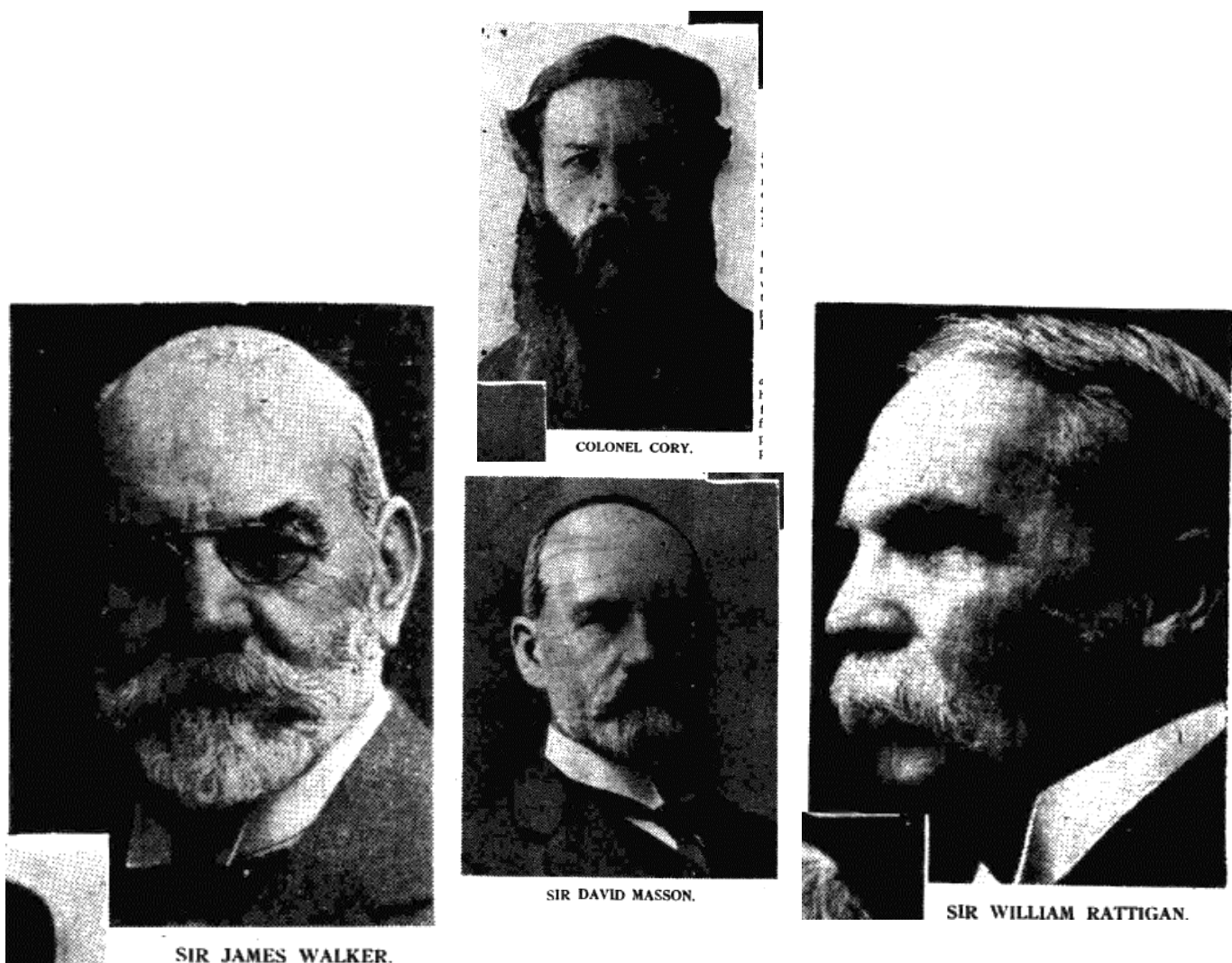


Figure 2: The C.&M.G. Family, *Civil & Military Gazette*, (Lahore), January 01, 1928.

²⁸ lahore.city-history.com

²⁹ "Rare Pictures (Post Independence) - Miscellaneous | Page 12 | SkyscraperCity Forum," accessed August 14, 2022, <https://www.skyscrapercity.com/threads/rare-pictures-post-independence-miscellaneous.1513064/page-12#post-99655281>.

³⁰ Mehdi Hasan, "The Role of the Press in the Formation of Muslim Public Opinion (1857-1947)." Doctoral dissertation, University of the Punjab, Lahore, 1986, p.78

Theoretical Framework

The Agenda Setting theory of communication adversely addresses how the mass media or press have the ability to transfer their agenda unto the public, which is mostly not what to think, but what to think about. Walter Lippmann was of the view that the media always act as a mediator to help bridge "the world outside and the pictures in our heads"³¹. McCombs & Shaw believe the mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of items on their news agenda to the public agenda'.³²

Literature Review

Previous Scholarship on Press Coverage of the Punjab Partition

The partition of Punjab stands as a poignant chapter filled with sorrow and anguish, yet it also signifies a pivotal moment of independence that granted freedom to millions from colonial rule. Numerous scholarly endeavors have explored this historical event, delving into prose, poetry, drama, myths, oral archives, and various primary sources. Among the notable contributors are Ian Talbot, Ayesha Jalal, V.P Menon, Yasir Latif Hamdani, Prof Ahmad Saeed, Anwer Ameen, Dr. Mehdi Hasan, Raghuvendra Tanwar, Ishtiaq Ahmad, Farah Gul, Prof. Farooq Dar, and Chandrika Kaur.

Ishtiaq Ahmad has made remarkable contributions by examining violence reporting and assessing Jinnah's failures and successes during this tumultuous period. Similarly, Farah Gul has shed light on the role of Jenkins, while Prof Dar has focused on the theme of violence. Chandrika Kaur's work explores Mountbatten's role and the portrayal of the partition in the British media. While acknowledging the valuable research conducted by Raghuvendra Tanwar

³¹ Norberto González Gaitano, Esteban López-Escobar, and Manuel Martín Algarra, "Walter Lippmann's Public Opinion Revisited," *Church, Communication and Culture* 7, no. 1 (January 2, 2022): 264–273.

³² Maxwell McCombs, "Agenda Setting Function of Mass Media." *Public Relations Review* 3, no. 4 (1977): 89-95.

in her book 'Reporting the Partition of Punjab, 1947: Press, Public and other Opinions,' which extensively cites around 15 major Indian newspapers, it primarily centers on the events of 1947 alone, unlike the comprehensive approach taken in the current study. Similarly, Prof Ahmad Saeed has predominantly focused on press-related analyses, yet there appears to be a dearth of thorough investigations into the publications and reportage found within the *Civil & Military Gazette*. This study aims to bridge this gap by providing a comprehensive examination of the newspaper's contributions to understanding the partition era.

Agenda Setting Theory

In 1920, Lippmann introduced the concept through his work, *The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads*, outlining the fundamental idea of the media's Agenda Setting role. This concept underscores how the media perceives specific aspects, subsequently engaging in the processes of shuffling, reshuffling, altering, and constructing its narrative based on these perceptions. Essentially, media and journalists keenly observe the general public, analyze their behaviors and patterns, and then craft a structured presentation of the news, with the potential to significantly influence public opinion.³³

This phenomenon, involving the multitude of daily decisions made by various journalists and their supervisors regarding current news, is referred to as the Media Agenda. It involves the remodeling or framing of news to impact specific facets of society, a responsibility in which editors and book authors play pivotal roles.

First-level agenda-setting involves the shift of emphasis on certain objects, such as groups of people, companies, issues, or individuals, from one agenda, like that of the [press], to another, specifically the public agenda. The [press] play a crucial role in this process,

³³ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (1921), Project Gutenberg, 264.

exemplified by the assertion that, while the press may not consistently dictate what people should think, it remarkably excels in influencing its readers regarding what topics to think about.³⁴

To thoroughly analyze public opinion, it is imperative to closely examine the content of news messages, including their tone. This meticulous scrutiny provides a more detailed understanding of the mental images formed in our minds.³⁵ In essence, the media guides us on what to think about.

Various factors influence agenda setting, including editors, managers, stakeholders, influencers, and advertising agents. Each of these entities exerts an individual impact in their respective domains. The more influential their presence, the more potent their effect on agenda setting. If the [press] lean towards the elite class and maintains a strong connection with them, it automatically manipulates both the press agenda and, subsequently, the public agenda. The dynamics of agenda setting can be elucidated as follows:

AST, or Agenda-Setting Theory, essentially refers to the creation of public opinion. a) The press doesn't merely reflect reality; it actively shapes and filters it. This is a discernible phenomenon where the role of the press is evident. Regardless of the gravity or triviality of an issue, the press plays a decisive role in elevating or downplaying it. Instances arise where certain events go unnoticed due to lack of press coverage, keeping them obscure. Conversely, a particular incident may receive extensive press focus, going viral and extending beyond its initial circles. This underscores the press's power to shape our beliefs as they see fit, influencing public opinion and expression. b) The consistent reporting and coverage of specific news

³⁴ W. Russell Neuman, Lauren Guggenheim, Mo Jang, and Soo Young Bae. "The Dynamics of Public Attention: Agenda-Setting Theory Meets Big Data." *Journal of Communication* 64, no. 2 (2014): 193-214.

³⁵ Maxwell McCombs, "Agenda Setting Function of Mass Media." *Public Relations Review* 3, no. 4 (1977): 90.

subjects keep the audience focused on them. The more the press emphasizes an issue, the more significant its impact becomes. This is a common occurrence in daily life, where an issue is sustained in the press for an extended period, ultimately becoming a trend or a focal point of public discussion. Consequently, public opinion begins to take shape. c) Timely and updated news also play a crucial role. To gauge one's opinion, it is essential that the news provided is current and relevant. This dynamic ensures that public opinions are formed based on the most recent information available.³⁶

The media [press] may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.³⁷ There is an underlying assumption that "the press and the media do not reflect reality: they filter and shape it."³⁸ Media directs public attention and focus by steering them toward specific issues according to its own discretion. It grants the media the power to control what to showcase and what to omit. It empowers individuals to use the media as a platform for their voices. It enables policymakers to concentrate on public sentiments for their prosperity.

Theory of "Framing"

Andrew Davis states that frame analysis theory [...] is a micro-level theory focusing on how individuals learn to routinely make sense of their social world. After [...] 1960s and 1970s, framing theory continued to gain interest and acceptance. Other scholars took [such] ideas and extended them to create conceptual framework that considers (1) the social and political context

³⁶ David Weaver, Maxwell McCombs, and Donald L. Shaw. "Agenda-setting Research: Issues, Attributes, and Influences." *Handbook of Political Communication Research* (2004): 257-280.

³⁷ Cohen, Jeffrey E. "Presidential Rhetoric and the Public Agenda." *American Journal of Political Science* (1995): 87-107.

³⁸ McCombs. "A Look at Agenda-setting: Past, Present and Future." *Journalism Studies* 6, no. 4 (2005): 543-557.

in which framing takes place, and (2) the long-term social and political consequences of media-learned frames.³⁹

Andrew Davis further adds that “Goffman used the term frame to refer to a specific set of expectations used to make sense of a social situation at a given point in time. Frames are like Berger and Luckman’s typification schemes, but they differ in certain important respects.⁴⁰

Entman states about framing that is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition. Casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.⁴¹

The concept of framing is related to the agenda-setting tradition but expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a particular topic. The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning. Framing is an important topic since it can have a big influence and therefore the concept of framing expanded to organizations as well.⁴²

Dietram Scheufele is of the view that the entire study on media is based on a principal that media has a significant effect. That effect changed by the passage of time from last 4 or 5 decades and that effect is because of the framing.⁴³

Noshina Saleem summaries that “Media frames can play a vital role in stimulating opposition to or support for an event or issue. Media frames provide moral judgment, causal

³⁹ C. Davis Andrew, "Talking About Poverty: News Framing of Who Is Responsible for Causing and Fixing the Problem." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 87, no. 3-4 (2010): 563-581.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Robert Entman. "Nature, Sources, and Effects of News Framing." In *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, 175-190, 2009.

⁴² Jenny Joëlle. "The Framing of Climate Change: How Objective Are Dutch Newspapers?" *Bachelor's thesis*, University of Twente, 2019.

⁴³ Dietram Scheufele. "Framing as a Theory of Media Effects." *Journal of Communication* 49, no. 1 (1999): 103-122.

interpretation and remedy/solution for media-focused problems. Media frames generally represent specific ideology. Media frames including attractive words, metaphors, phrases etc. also help to determine the “tone” of media coverage of an event or issue”.⁴⁴

Content Analysis

In many fields of social sciences content analysis is one of the frequently used methods by researcher. Harold H. Kassarian states that “content analysis is a scientific objective, systematic, quantitative, and generalizable description of communication content”.⁴⁵

Richard H. Kolbe and Melissa S. Burnett are of the opinion that “Content analysis is an observational research method that is used to systematically evaluate the symbolic content of all forms of recorded communications. These communications can also be analyzed at many levels (image, word, roles, etc.), thereby creating a realm of research opportunities”.⁴⁶

Mihailescu argued that content analysis is a flexible methodology which is being used by many fields of research like social science, political science history etc. but the most frequent use of content analysis is by social sciences and mass communication.⁴⁷

Chandrika Kaul suggests that newspapers play a crucial role in showing us how people in the past viewed events. However, it's important to know that newspapers don't always show the whole truth. They sometimes add a style to make news more interesting, shaping how we

⁴⁴ Noshina Saleem, "Framing Islamophobia in International Media: An Analysis of Terror Attacks against Muslims and Non-Muslims," *Statistics, Computing and Interdisciplinary Research* 3, no. 2 (2021): 225-244.

⁴⁵ Harold H. Kassarian, "Content Analysis in Consumer Research." *Journal of Consumer Research* 4, no. 1 (1977): 8-18.

⁴⁶ Melissa S. Burnett, "Content-analysis Research: An Examination of Applications with Directives for Improving Research Reliability and Objectivity," *Journal of Consumer Research* 18, no. 2 (1991): 243-250.

⁴⁷ Mimi Mihailescu, "Content Analysis: A Digital Method," The University of Warwick (2019).

see the world. Newspapers not only reflect what people think but also influence those thoughts. In times of crisis, people often turn to newspapers for guidance.⁴⁸

But here's the challenge: newspapers often follow a formula during crises, turning important moments into symbols with repeated references. The issue with newspapers is that their agendas are already set. So, while they provide valuable information, they may not always give the full picture.⁴⁹

Methodology

Content Analysis and Qualitative Study

In qualitative content analysis, data is presented in words and themes, which makes it possible to draw some interpretation of the results. The choice of analytical method depends on how deep within the analysis the researcher attempts to reflect the statements about a subject.⁵⁰ Qualitative data derived from, for example, interviews, written open questions and pictures are expressed in words. Consequently, the researcher cannot use statistical analysis to give meaning to the data and, therefore, needs other methods of analysis. Content analysis is one such method. Content analysis is more than a counting process, as the goal is to link the results to their context or to the environment in which they were produced: 'Content analysis is a research method that provides a systematic and objective means to make valid inferences from verbal, visual, or written data in order to describe and quantify specific phenomena'⁵¹ The researcher must be familiarized with the data, and has to read through the transcribed text to

⁴⁸ Chandrika Kaul, "At the Stroke of the Midnight Hour: Lord Mountbatten and the British media at Indian independence," *The Round Table* 97, no. 398 (2008): 17.

⁴⁹ Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Reporting the Partition of Punjab 1947: Press, Public and Other Opinions* (2006), 14.

⁵⁰ Satu Elo and Helvi Kyngäs, "The Qualitative Content Analysis Process," *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 62, no. 1 (April 2008): 107–115.

⁵¹ Mariette Bengtsson, "How to Plan and Perform a Qualitative Study Using Content Analysis," *Nursing Plus Open* 2 (February 1, 2016).10-13.

obtain the sense of the whole, that is, to learn "what is going on?", before it can be broken down into smaller meaning units. A meaning unit is the smallest unit that contains some of the insights the researcher needs, and it is the constellation of sentences or paragraphs containing aspects related to each other, answering the question.⁵²

Research Questions

1. What was the Civil and Military Gazette's coverage like during the partition era, including its portrayal of Sir Cyril Radcliffe and his Boundary Commission, its approach to administrative challenges during partition and its aftermath, and its editorial inclinations towards various Indian societies?
2. How did the Civil and Military Gazette and other press outlets portray the situation through cartoons or caricatures during the partition era?
3. Overall, how did the Civil and Military Gazette contribute to public discourse and understanding of the partition of the Punjab?

Structure of the Study

Starting from the introduction of the study, the research has been introduced and the topic at hand is discussed i.e., Content analysis of a renowned Indian newspaper the *Civil & Military Gazette* and its publications during and about the partition or independence of India and Pakistan. The background, objective, research questions and scope of the study are discussed as well.

First Chapter is the "Elections of 1945-1946 and the Working of the Cabinet Mission Plan", which primarily includes the version of the *Civil & Military Gazette* comprising of two parts. First, it explains the portrayal of pre-election scenario, campaigns, difficulties, party

⁵² H. Graneheim, "Qualitative content analysis in nursing research: concepts, procedures and measures to achieve trustworthiness." *Nurse education today* 24, no. 2 (2004): 105.

principles, addresses and speeches of leaders and then post-election scenarios etc. Secondly it highlights the arrival of the Cabinet Mission, the native press response to it, the leader's engagement during and after this, the working of the Cabinet Mission itself and the outcome.

Second Chapter "Mountbatten's Appointment to India and the (partition) Plan of June 3rd, 1947, deals with the impressions and opinions led by the press specifically the *Civil & Military Gazette* upon arrival of Mountbatten in India. This encompasses his stay, his famous 3rd June Plan and the response of different parties to this announcement.

Third Chapter focuses on "The Boundary Commission (Radcliffe Award) and its Working" according to the vernacular Indian press with a focus on the *Civil & Military Gazette*. It discusses the animosity and certain behaviours among the Muslim League and the Congress having a narrative of Territorial Nationalism but was eventually converted into Muslim Nationalism and Hindu nationalism. The chapter also discusses the miseries and sufferings during migration and the role of Punjab Boundary force with certain background, also how these were all projected by the press.

Fourth Chapter "Punjab's Story of Partition, Violence and Migration" highlights a mixed feeling of pain and joy. The chapter starts with the announcement of Boundary Awards and ends with the division of repositories and offices for both dominions. How did the vernacular press bring this out towards the masses, what were the tilts and policy of different contemporary newspapers and how did the *Civil & Military Gazette* account this journey are the main aspects discussed in this chapter. This includes different opinions, critics and allegation put on the Boundary Commission for being biased, taking help from several contemporary sources.

The study includes caricatures portrayed and published by the native Indian press during this all journey starting from the Cabinet Mission Plan till partition itself.

CHAPTER 01

Road Map to the 1945-1946 Elections and the Role of the Cabinet Mission Plan

South Asian history is an amalgamation of different cultures and religions. Despite coexisting for hundreds of years, the differences between religions of this region did not dissolve. Islam and Hinduism were highly followed religions but their arch rivalry existed till partition. In essence, this rivalry gave rise to the challenges surrounding the partition. Historically, the story unfolds with the arrival of Muhammad Bin Qasim in India, the introduction of Babar's diverse religious inclinations, and the subsequent Congress-Muslim League conflict. Together, these events form the crux of the religious disparities that fueled a yearning for freedom in both segments of society. Apart from religious differences, there were cultural and ethical distances too. The cultural and societal norms were quite different too. Eating habits, working capacities, languages, scriptures and literacy levels, all were quite different. These all were those enduring reasons which resulted into an active opposition between these two communities.

The communal tensions between Muslims and Hindus never stopped at any point. There had been several riots and dialogues between the two parties throughout. In other words, the Hindu-Muslims tension was stuck in Britain's throat. More over the contemporary dynamics of the time turned out to play as a catalyst.

Recruitments for World War 2

The second world war turned out to be the turning point for Indian freedom. Indians were yearning for their freedom and expressed this many times towards the British but things

didn't go in their favor. With the war being waged, the British had to engage a lot of Indian soldiers in their defense. For this they tried to address the Indian leaders and offered them some perks and benefits of participating in the war. The Indian leaders were reluctant to accept the British offer, given their prior experience of broken promises during World War I and their pursuit of Home-Rule. Even before that in 1908, the same debate had been on tables about giving the right and power of self-government to the Indians. During that time, numerous official liberal perspectives on the Indian question were presented, often articulated through the British's influential press. According to which, the English rule in India was defined by a focus on upholding authority through respect, rather than by suppressing the people. The choice not to grant Indians self-government was not motivated by a desire to cling to power but was rooted in the belief that Indians might encounter difficulties in comprehending self-governance due to their way of life. In reaction to this, initiatives were in progress, particularly through education, aimed at readying India for local self-government, mirroring the governance frameworks of Australia and Canada. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) further expressed:

Any difficulty in governing India at the present moment arises from the fact that those principles of autonomy which the intelligent natives wish to see applied, are incompatible with the immemorial habits of the 250 million of India, and because notwithstanding the desire of the enlightened English men to hasten the time when Indian Home Rule will be possible, practical politicians in Great Britain cannot inform the manner in which the interest of the different Indian tribes and classes are inextricably intermingled, the absence of unity and of general education, as well as the excessive nervousness of the Indian political temperament; and cannot but foresee, therefore that only unfortunate results would probably attend the immediate grant of self-government.⁵³

Even the script was not new for the natives, yet there was no other option left for the Indians, but to catch this straw of cooperation since the water of uncertainty was rising rapidly. Moreover, without consulting Indians, Britain dragged India into the war irking Indian political groups. Soon the participation of Indian soldiers in WW2 became a hot topic which sought

⁵³ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 28, 1908.

attention of all political parties. Certain groups made this a primary topic of their political gatherings as well, condemning and criticizing the Germans for their advancement.⁵⁴

The commemoration of a National Week took place in Peshawar on April 15th, with speakers expressing strong condemnation of the Nazi coup in Scandinavia. Syed Jalil Nadvi, a well-known Congressman, voiced his anger, describing the Germans as true barbarians who were adhering to the law of the jungle.⁵⁵ He not only endorsed the cause for which the Allied forces were fighting but also went a step further, advocating that the British war aims should be extended to include India as well. Similarly, some of the Congressmen seemed busy in blaming the proposed Pakistan Movement as well and linked it with the war efforts. Their stance was that the narrative of the Muslim League had sabotaged the spirit of participation in the war by the Indians. A renowned Congressman Mir Hilali once criticized the Muslim League's Two Nation Theory that it had been put forward merely to obstruct the advance of India in war.⁵⁶

During this period, various voices arose, emphasizing the necessity of recruitment and the crucial support of the native population for the British cause. The key point underscored was that, temporarily, both British Cabinet Ministers and Indian politicians should set aside their significant concerns and concentrate squarely on the effective prosecution of the war. The perspective was articulated in the *Civil & Military Gazette*, (Lahore) stating:

The war is now assuming a very serious and complicated aspect [...] and India can no longer enjoy the same peace and tranquility with which she has been blessed up to this time. Indian politicians must realize that the time has come when they have got to discharge more serious and important duties than mere talks and consultations about the future constitution of India [...] India's future entirely depends upon the fate of the British in the present war and even the worst critic of British rule in India will have to admit that at present under the British rule we are much better off than can be expected from any other foreign ruler.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), October 25, 1939. (See Annex:4)

⁵⁵ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 18, 1940.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 08, 1940.

Interestingly, Jawaharlal Nehru's perspective during this time diverged from others. Despite characterizing the war in Europe as a Napoleonic phase, his stance leaned against British Imperialism. The nuance in his views stemmed from an apparent inability to distinguish between British Imperialism and the imperialism opposed by Moscow. This lack of differentiation prompted Nehru to express strong opposition, manifesting in his bold defiance against the British Government.⁵⁸

August Offer

The British were not only facing an urgent need for recruits to meet their military requirements but were also in dire need of funds to acquire war planes. To address the financial aspect, a well-Planned propaganda strategy was adopted, involving the widespread distribution



Figure 3: Lahore War Planes Fund Appeal (*Civil & Military Gazette*, August 1, 1940.)

⁵⁸ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 12, 1940.

of leaflets that appealed for funds. The appeal on these leaflets emphasized the urgency of the situation, suggesting that the leaflet itself could have been a Nazi bomb, and urged people to contribute to the purchase of war planes with the message, "Defend the Punjab by helping to buy War planes. Give what you can afford today."⁵⁹

Simultaneously, in an effort to garner support from Indians, the British issued a white paper on August 8th, 1940, commonly known as the August Offer. This document made a commitment to establish an independent Constituent Assembly, ensuring comprehensive indigenous representation with the authority to frame India's future constitution. Additionally, the offer proposed the extension of the Viceroy's Executive Council, with specific portfolios such as Home, Finance, and Defense to remain under British control.⁶⁰

Subsequently, an Advisory War Council was introduced. The document further addressed the rights of minorities, explicitly stating that the majority would not possess veto power, and the process of constitution-making would involve collaboration with minorities. However, it emphasized that these commitments were contingent upon Indian participation in wartime endeavors. The decision on these matters was specified to be deferred until after the war, rather than being determined during or before the conflict.⁶¹

The aforementioned offer presented several favorable aspects, and, akin to other leaders, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan urged both parties to concentrate on these proposals and contribute to the war efforts to yield optimal outcomes. Notably, the offer introduced Dominion Status for the first time, a proposition that had been previously declined. While the Congress advocated for an immediate and substantial transfer of power without waiting for the conclusion of the ongoing war, the offer presented an opportunity for reconsideration.⁶²

⁵⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 1, 1940. (See Annex 1)

⁶⁰ "Invitation to Representative Indians"; *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 8, 1940.

⁶¹ "Viceroys Statement Reactions"; *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 10, 1940.

⁶² *Zamindar* (Lahore), August 10, 1940.

The All-India Muslim League (AIML) and the Indian National Congress (INC) convened sessions of their respective working committees to deliberate on the offer. Additionally, Jinnah and Azad engaged in personal discussions with the Viceroy. While the Muslim League expressed appreciation for the offer, particularly regarding the empowerment of minorities, with a primary focus on Muslims, it unequivocally stated that any proposal conflicting with the Lahore Resolution would be deemed unacceptable. Furthermore, the Muslim League emphasized that the exclusive representation and decisions concerning Muslims rested solely with the Muslim community.⁶³

The Congress Working Committee's stance on participating in the war appeared contradictory. Initially, they declined involvement in the war, as stated in their Bombay Session. However, they later embraced it in the Bardoli Resolution.⁶⁴ The CWC expressed its readiness to collaborate in the war effort, contingent on the British Government offering concessions in return. In January 1942, the All-India Congress Committee endorsed the Bardoli Resolution.⁶⁵ According to U.S. diplomatic papers, this shift played a role in the transfer of Congress Presidentship from Gandhi to Azad.⁶⁶

Indian leaders expressed contrasting views on the Bardoli Resolution. Diwan Chaman Lal, founder of the All-Indian Trade Union Congress, characterized the Congress Working Committee's Resolution as a challenge to the British statement. He deemed it an unpardonable crime not to seize the hand of friendship extended during this critical moment. In contrast, Mr. Malik Barkat Ali, a Muslim League leader, objected to the CWC's decision, stating that the

⁶³ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 23, 1940.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ "Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1942, General; the British Commonwealth; the Far East, Vol. 1 - Office of the Historian," accessed January 3, 2023, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1942v01/d498>.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Congress remained entangled in the quagmire of unreality, lacking the intention to confront the concrete factors of the Indian problem.⁶⁷

In further commentary on the Resolution, he went on to emphasize that Gandhi's plea for resisting war efforts on the spiritual ground of non-violence had been strongly rejected. He pointed out the absence of any clear indication on how the war efforts were to be intensified and the lack of mention of the proposals made by the Viceroy in the context.⁶⁸ The response of the Congress to participation in the war drew criticism from the foreign press as well. The *Civil & Military Gazette* cited an editorial from the *New York Times*, stating:

India's contribution to the British war effort had been tremendous and might have been greater but for the tactics pursued by Mr. Gandhi and his followers, which have embarrassed and hampered the Britain considerably. But now that the war has moved closer to India's frontiers...Mr. Gandhis followers are beginning to question the wisdom of his policies. Unable to hold his following in line and incapable of changing his own views, Mr. Gandhi took the only course he could in asking to be relieved of his leadership.⁶⁹

The *News Chronicle*, (London) in a leading article published:

With every fresh advance of the Japanese in the Far East, the danger to India becomes more evident and more acute...the fault of the British approach so far has been its lack of definiteness Vague promises of India self-government in an indeterminate future, however sincere do not meet the minimum Indian demand.⁷⁰

For the British, Gandhi's resignation from the Congress marked the departure of the philosophy of non-violence, which had been a fundamental obstacle to Indian participation in the war efforts supported by the Congress. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), referencing the *New Statesman* (Manchester), published:

The impact of war on the Congress and the retirement of Mr. Gandhi are events of the greatest interest and significance...confronted with the actual danger of invasion, the philosophy of non-violence now only appeals to comparatively a few. The majority of principal parties are now clearly anxious to cooperate in defeating the Axis. Does this not afford the British Government a new opportunity?⁷¹

⁶⁷ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 1, 1942.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ "Foreign Press and the Congress", *Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore. January 3, 1942.

⁷⁰ "Self-Rule for India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 3, 1942.

⁷¹ "Abandonment of Non-Violence", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 3, 1942.

It subsequently became apparent that there was a misunderstanding, or rather a misinterpretation, regarding the Congress Working Committee's decision, which seemed to signal approval for participating in the war, contrary to their stance during the Bombay session. President Mr. Azad clarified the CWC's decision, stating that it was influenced by the British Government's attitude toward the war. He emphasized that unless there was a shift in the British Government's approach, their position would not change. According to him, as per the Bombay Resolution, the Congress had adopted a stance of non-participation in the war due to political considerations, not nonviolence. When asked about the Congress's future actions, Mr. Azad expressed uncertainty about their course of action, but he emphasized that their position on the present war remained unchanged.⁷²

Pandit Nehru asserted that there were no fundamental differences between the Working Committee and Mr. Gandhi on the issue of freedom. He clarified that they did not sympathize with Hitler and were not under the illusion that he would grant them freedom. Nehru recognized that freedom could not be a gift from either Britain or Hitler, stating, "So long as Britain remained indifferent to the legitimate demands of India, cooperation with Britain was impossible."⁷³

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as the Frontier Gandhi, echoed a similar sentiment, emphasizing that active non-violence is the cornerstone of India's salvation. He firmly asserted, "I can never be a party to participation not only in this war but any war."⁷⁴ When questioned about his role in the Congress Working Committee (CWC), he candidly stated, "Friends will want to know my position regarding the Resolution of the working

⁷² "Position regarding War remain unchanged", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 4, 1942.

⁷³ "Our Freedom cannot be a Gift", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 4, 1942.

⁷⁴ "Key to India's Salvation", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 6, 1942.

committee. I must own that I am no politician. I do not understand legalities. I know nothing of diplomacy. I am in the Working Committee because friends want me in it."⁷⁵

The Congress convened another session in Wardhaganj to deliberate on Indian participation in the war. Once again, they reiterated conditional offers, consistent with their previous stance in Bardoli, emphasizing that "a free India alone can contemplate self-defense as well as cooperation with England in the cause of democracy."⁷⁶

In the face of waning support from Indians, the Viceroy sought to rally them through a broadcast message, urging men and women of all political affiliations, religions, and races to join the national war front. The message highlighted the imminent threat to the land and called for unity against an aggressor deemed barbarous and pitiless.

Make good the defense of the country to-day; go forward to victory tomorrow; for without victory there is no hope for the survival of free institutions, culture, or kindness in the world. We are members of a worthy company—China, Russia, America, Britain and a score of others. Let each one of us in India be worthy of our own country and of our comrades, for thus shall we make our victory swift and sure. I confide in your courage. H.E. The Viceroy.⁷⁷

Following the Viceroy's message, local leaders and government officials promptly engaged in propagating and influencing the masses to contribute to the war effort. They organized numerous sessions and *Darbars* to shape indigenous public opinion.⁷⁸ Some foreign newspapers labeled the British Policy as "Wartime Reforms: Post-War Self Government."⁷⁹

Simultaneously, the policies and credibility of the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, were under discussion, not only in the Native Press but also in the Foreign Press. The *Daily Herald* (London), published a prominent article characterizing him as a weak and timorous Minister, as a Secretary of State for India who, at a time of significant emergency and

⁷⁵ "Key to India's Salvation", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 6, 1942.

⁷⁶ "Congress will Defend only a Free India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 22, 1942.

⁷⁷ "Viceroys Message to People", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 14, 1942.

⁷⁸ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 14, 1942.

⁷⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 15, 1942.

a great opportunity, neither rose to the occasion nor fully grasped the opportunity. Expanding on his statements, the paper reported that when questioned about when he would actively address Indian problems, he responded that it would be when there was some prospect of a result. The paper went on to criticize his policies, questioning how there could be any prospect of a result until the British Government presented concrete proposals for negotiation instead of the vague offers that, unsurprisingly to any realistic person, Indian opinion had already rejected.⁸⁰

Cripps' Arrival: A Beacon of Hope in India's Unresolved Situation

The unresolved and mysterious situation led to the arrival of Stafford Cripps in mid-March with additional proposals. His objective was to persuade the Indians to support the British defense efforts in the ongoing war.⁸¹ The global press directed its attention to the arrival of Mr. Cripps, expressing high hopes for better results. There was a belief that he possessed extensive discretionary powers and could effectively persuade the political leadership in India. A renowned Turkish Deputy Secretary, M. Yaltchin, expressed in the Turkish daily *Yeni Sabah* that the moment of India's liberation was imminent, fostering great hope for a favorable agreement. Sir Stafford Cripps was perceived as the sole individual possessing the ability and reputation to address this longstanding issue successfully.⁸²

Sunday's Observer (New York), underlining the necessity of reconciliation, urged the leadership in India to let go of past grievances and concentrate on their defense by supporting the British. It cautioned that the recent development in the Japanese Plan posed a significant threat as it dangerously approached. Describing the Plan, the *Civil & Military Gazette*

⁸⁰ "Emphasis on Need of India's Cooperation", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 14, 1942.

⁸¹ "World War-II, August Offer and Road to Independent India," *India Today NE*, last modified August 15, 2021, accessed September 5, 2022, <https://www.indiatodayne.in/top-stories/story/world-war-ii-august-offer-independent-india-413226-2021-08-15>.

⁸² "Hour of Liberation is at hand", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 15, 1942.

articulated that the Japanese have three potential courses of action concerning India, they could choose to bypass it, advancing towards Ceylon, Aden, and Madagascar; they could try to capture only the major ports, or they could endeavor to invade the entire sub-continent.⁸³

Numerous leaders once again took to addressing the general public, urging them to embrace participation in the war and listen to Mr. Cripps. The renowned Kanaiyalal Maneklal Munshi⁸⁴ advised all parties and segments of Indian society that the only individual capable of truly connecting with the heart of India was Sir Stafford Cripps. He pleaded:

The heart of India has always remained responsive to friendly gestures on the part of Great Britain. Whatever therefore be our estimate of the offer he brings out to respect for the honesty and sincerity which actuates Sir Stafford, for the courage with which he has staked his future career and the future of his country on an effort to obtain Indian goodwill, all parties and interests in India must combine not to prejudice his efforts or to prevent the success of his mission.⁸⁵

He added while addressing the growing pessimism about war and boosting morally;

It is sheer pessimism to believe that looking to the unpreparedness of Britain, no effort will enable India to meet a foreign invasion. The war is not necessarily for the aggressive or well equipped. It is also for the brave; it is also for those who have the spirit of unflinching resistance. A vast country like India, inspired by a crusader spirit can put forward organized resistance in a manner which would make it difficult for any invader to enslave us.⁸⁶

There were faint whispers in Indian society suggesting the notion of allowing the Sub-Continent to be captured and taken over by Axis forces. Given their existing subjugation under British rule, the prospect of Japanese Rule seemed to some as a mere substitution of rulers. Responding to these sentiments, Munshi's views were featured in the *Civil & Military Gazette*:

It is unduly pessimistic to believe that, considering Britain's lack of preparedness, no endeavor will empower India to resist a foreign invasion. The war is not exclusively for those with aggression or superior equipment; it is also for the courageous and those with an unwavering spirit of resistance. A vast nation like India, inspired by a crusader's spirit, can mount organized resistance in a manner that would thwart any attempt to subjugate us.⁸⁷

⁸³ "Indian Problem Must be Faced with Courage", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 15, 1942.

⁸⁴ Kanhaiyalal Maneklal Munshi, widely recognized by his pen name Ghanshyam Vyas, was an influential figure in the Indian independence movement.

⁸⁵ "It must not be Allowed to Fail", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 17, 1942.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ "K.M. Munshi on Sir Cripps", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 17, 1942.

In response to those who genuinely believed that Japan's Conquest of India could not be worse than the present regime, Mr. Munshi remarked; "Japan's arrival in India will have profound consequences. The Axis epitomizes racial arrogance and unbridled force, openly seeking world domination. Its triumph would signify a regression for India to medieval barbarism."⁸⁸

The officials were alarmed by the prevailing defeatist mentality among the public. In a meeting of the Punjab War Board at Government House, Lahore, chaired by Governor Bertrand Glancy, Sardar Naunihal Singh, a member of the National Defense Council, expressed concerns. He complained that a portion of the vernacular press, through highlighting enemy victories, played a significant role in fostering a defeatist mindset among the people. Sardar Naunihal Singh urged the press to acknowledge its responsibility for maintaining public peace and tranquility.⁸⁹

Both the Muslim League and the Congress were in anticipation of Stafford Cripps' decision. The Congress President conveyed to the press the challenge of interpreting the Congress's response to Stafford Cripps' mission without knowledge of the final decision. He emphasized that there was no consideration of revisiting the Congress decision regarding the August Offer, which had been firmly set.⁹⁰

The All India Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind conference in Lahore, led by Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni, issued an appeal to the Muslim masses to set aside their internal differences. Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was also present at the conference. The

⁸⁸ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 17, 1942.

⁸⁹ "National War front in Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 19, 1942.

⁹⁰ "Congress and Sir S. Cripps's mission", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 20, 1942.

Secretary General, Maulana Ahmad Saeed, expressed optimism that the Jamiat's call for a United Front would be embraced by all political parties.⁹¹

The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), featured a prominent article discussing the arrival of Mr. Cripps, outlining the expectations and aspirations people held for this mission. It emphasized that beyond a Dominion Status for India, Mr. Cripps had brought the prospect of Home Rule, granting India the right to formulate its own constitution.⁹²

The *Yorkshire Post* (Washington), remarked on Stafford Cripps's arrival in India. It noted that sympathies, regardless of party, were with him for the task of reconciliation. The article emphasized the mission's grave importance and global anticipation for positive developments. People worldwide, especially in the U.S. and Russia, wished to see Indian parties cooperate in forming a government amid the broader struggle for freedom.⁹³

The *Civil & Military Gazette* also published a critique expressing concerns about the reliance on Stafford Cripps to resolve India's domestic issues. Despite blaming the British for internal differences, Political leaders were again looking to a British representative for solutions. The critique emphasized that India's destiny was in its own hands, and expecting external intervention without addressing internal differences was futile. Stafford Cripps was now burdened with the unrealistic expectation of being a Messiah to resolve all issues.⁹⁴

Vernacular Press and the Cripps Mission

The *Times of India* stated:

The War Cabinet's scheme seeks to unite all parties in the total war effort essential for India's defense. In considering the proposals, the first thing to remember is that they are sponsored by a British left-wing statesman who cannot be accused either of Imperialism or of a divide and Rule policy; we may take it for granted that the scheme unfolded today is largely the creation of Sir

⁹¹ "Safety of Muslim Nation and Islam", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 22, 1942.

⁹² "British Peace Envoy arrives", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 24, 1942.

⁹³ "Allied Eyes on India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 24, 1942.

⁹⁴ "Political Notes", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 24, 1942.

Stafford Cripps [...] India faces one of the most momentous decisions in her history; let her leaders decide aright, because neither time nor the enemy will wait.⁹⁵

The *Bombay Chronicle* stated:

The proposals are good in parts, dangerous in some respects, and in other respects need to be seriously modified. If they are to be accepted...it is absolutely essential of the people of India are to participate in the war with enthusiasm and vigor, that defense should be controlled by their accredited representatives.⁹⁶

The *Sakkal*, (Poona) stated:

Looking at the document one wonders if such a frank progressive and unconventional person as Sir Stafford Cripps has had any share in its making. The British Cabinet has certainly missed the bus [...] the present scheme is a Balkanization of India and will never be acceptable to the people of this country. Sir Stafford should go back smiling to England.⁹⁷

The *Free Press Journal* stated:

Good Bye Cripps; India demands today as Australia has done that; she shall be the mistress of her own destinies in fighting the aggressor nations.⁹⁸

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) stated:

What we most emphatically urge is that the emergency Government of India must be a National Government in the full sense of the term, with full and plenary powers and a popular drive, and must be in a position to mobilize the moral and material resources of the nation for effectively fighting the enemy who is already at India's gates.⁹⁹

Stafford Cripps' Objectives and their Implications

Against this backdrop of heightened tensions and a fractured political landscape, Mr. Cripps detailed the purpose of his mission. Emphasizing his commitment to facilitating discussions among various Indian political factions and fostering unity, he aimed to navigate the complexities of India's political spectrum for a cohesive Resolution amid diverse and conflicting interests. His statement was published by the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore);

I have come here because I am, as I have always been a great friend and admirer of India and because I want to play my part as a member of the war cabinet in reaching a final settlement of

⁹⁵ "Indian Press Comments", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 31, 1942.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

the political difference [...] my association in the past has been closer with my friends in the Congress than with the members of other parties and communities, but [...] to meet the deep anxieties which undoubtedly exist among the Muslims and the other communities. I shall therefore embark upon my task with a mind equally open to all points of view Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and others.¹⁰⁰

Explaining why the British suggestions were important, Mr. Cripps thought that the ideas from the War Cabinet would be liked by Indians because they came from a group really interested in solving India's issues.¹⁰¹ Cripps had a big Plan for a new Indian Union, giving it equal rights and powers like the United Kingdom and other places, even the right to leave if wanted.¹⁰² But sadly, both big parties, the Muslim League and the Congress, said no to these ideas. This moment was crucial in history, showing how hard it was to find a common way forward for India in a tough time. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) published his views, stating:

I have always been a firm friend of India and I have done my best in the past to work for the freedom of India [...] We offered the Indian people complete liberty the moment the war was over, to devise and set up their own form of government. We suggested the broad outlines of how they should proceed, but there was a rigidity in these suggestions. It was left open to the various religions and races to agree upon some other method, but to my regret, they neither accepted nor put forward any agreed alternative. It was not this future arrangement, however, but the immediate situation which caused the Congress party in India to reject the proposals.¹⁰³

Gandhi's Demands: Cripps Warns of Disorder and Anarchy

Congress's rejection of proposals and Gandhi's call for Civil Disobedience to expel the British from India prompted disapproval from Stafford Cripps. Concerned about potential issues for both the British and Indians, Cripps expressed regret over Congress's dismissal of his suggestions. He emphasized the impracticality of leaving India, especially amidst the ongoing war.¹⁰⁴ Interestingly, in late March, Cripps had expressed great satisfaction after

¹⁰⁰ "Final Settlement of India's political problem", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 24, 1942.

¹⁰¹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 25, 1942.

¹⁰² "Sir Stafford Cripps explains", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 30, 1942.

¹⁰³ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 28, 1942.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

meeting Gandhi.¹⁰⁵ Discussing the ongoing situation and the reactions of Gandhi and Congress in detail, Mr. Cripps highlighted that:

Mr. Gandhi has demanded that we should walk out of India, leaving the country, with its deep-rooted religious division, without any constitutional form of Government and with no organized administration. No responsible Government could take such a step, least of all in the midst of war. The Muslims, of whom there are at least 80 million, are deeply opposed to Hindu domination, as are also tens of millions of depressed classes. [...] Mr. Gandhi, I have always regarded with respect as a great nationalist and religious leader, but I am bound to say that in the present circumstances, he is not showing himself to be practical and realistic. Certainly, the action which he is now threatening—mass civil disobedience by his followers—is calculated to endanger both your war effort and our own and bring the greatest aid and comfort to our common enemies.¹⁰⁶

Expressing his perspective on what could have transpired if he had accepted the Plan, he stated: "to have agreed to the Congress party's or to Mr. Gandhi's demands would have meant inevitable chaos and disorder. This is not merely my assertion; it is stated by Mr. Gandhi himself. Quite recently he said: Anarchy is the only way."¹⁰⁷ Drawing attention to the responsibilities of the people in India, Cripps expanded:

This obligation is not only to the British and American forces in India; it is an obligation to the Indian peoples themselves. That is why your country and our country find themselves both intimately concerned with the condition of India at this moment. Your sons, as well as our sons, are helping to defend India and wage war against the Japanese. Your policy, as well as our policy, is to defend India, but Mr. Gandhi and the Congress party have other views.¹⁰⁸

The *Civil & Military Gazette* highlighted a noteworthy interaction between Gandhi and the press following his meeting.

Mr. Gandhi [...] addressing the crowd of pressmen "Look at the sharks. I see you like them." Sir Stafford: retorting "You like them more." Pressman: "Have you taken a vow of silence, Mr. Gandhi?" Mr. Gandhi: "I have taken my silence." Pressman: "Silence so soon? Is the scheme so good?" Sir Stafford: "You bad boy."¹⁰⁹

The *Civil & Military Gazette* suggested that Gandhi's primary thoughts upon leaving may have revolved around the diverse discussions on non-political rather than political matters. It was remembered that, in response to the announcement of Sir Stafford's mission, Mr. Gandhi had commented, saying, "Both of us are food faddists."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ "Cripps-Gandhi meeting", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 24, 1942.

¹⁰⁶ "Threat to Allied War Efforts", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 28, 1942.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ "Gandhi Meets Sir Stafford Cripps", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 28, 1942.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

Navigating the C.R. Formula: Insights into a Historic Framework

As the deadlock intensified, the former Congress Premier of Madras, Mr. Rajgopalachari, introduced a Plan for a political settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League, known as the C.R. Formula. The proposal suggested a communal division, urging the Muslim League to join forces with Congress for independence. While Gandhi generally opposed India's partition, some argue that he suggested the religious division of states to Jinnah through Rajagopalachari. In this view, the C.R. Formula was essentially Gandhi's initiative facilitated by Mr. Rajagopalachari.¹¹¹ Responding to this proposal, the Muslim League's newspaper Dawn commented:

C. R. and men of his way of thinking have been insisting on acceptance of Pakistan both in the interest of India's freedom and her defense... There is no doubt that Abul Kalam proposed, with the previous consent of Pandit Nehru and Mr. Gandhi, appointment of Committees by the Congress and the League to counter balance the proposal of C. R, it is a foolish proposal. The League demand of Pakistan is final and does not admit of any amendment. Nor there is any other alternative for it.¹¹²

To bridge their differences based on the proposed C.R. Formula, meetings between Gandhi and Jinnah were organized in Bombay in September 1944. Over the course of about 10 meetings, lasting several hours each, both leaders refrained from disclosing the outcomes and discussion points. This led to widespread speculation and rumors in the public and the press, with various analyses of their demeanor and dedicated narratives aiming to sabotage the ongoing peace talks. The press, eager for insights, shared anecdotes, such as reports from the *Zamindar* (Lahore) describing instances where Jinnah dominated the talks, both leaders appeared angry, and gestures like finger-pointing and emphatic hand movements were observed. These communications reflect the press's eagerness to uncover the secrets of these confidential meetings.¹¹³

¹¹¹ "Gandhi Urges Hindu Moslem State Division"; *Globe & Mail*, July 9th 1944.

¹¹² *Dawn*, Karachi. May 15, 1942.

¹¹³ *Zamindar*, Lahore. September 16, 1944.

Despite the numerous discussions between Gandhi and Jinnah, the outcomes were not fruitful. Gandhi opposed the Two Nation Theory, a core element of the AIML's 1940 Resolution, while Jinnah remained firm in not accepting any alternative approach to achieving independence. Gandhi advocated for dealing with the British colonial rule first and then deciding on any partition. Unfortunately, this stance deepened the existing deadlock between the two parties, leaving no apparent Resolution in sight.¹¹⁴

Jinnah consistently clarified that his primary objective was the Pakistan Plan. On March 22nd, he explicitly stated that no constitution based on a United India would be acceptable.¹¹⁵ It is noteworthy that the term 'Pakistan' was not officially used by the Muslim League before 1942. Hindu newspapers, *Milaap* and *Partaap*, introduced the term to create an anti-Muslim narrative, falsely attributing it to Jinnah and his allies as part of a Pakistan Movement. In response, Jinnah embraced the term, stating that if it's called the Pakistan Movement, so be it.¹¹⁶

Simla Conference: High Hopes and Deep Disappointments

The situation at that time concerned Viceroy Lord Wavell. With the Allies gaining an advantage in the war, he saw an opportunity to address the ongoing political deadlock. When reporting to the Prime Minister about his assigned tasks, Wavell admitted to a lack of progress in dealing with India's political problems, emphasizing their significant importance. Recognizing the dominance of the Congress and the League in Hindu and Muslim India, he suggested pursuing non-forceful measures and governing India with compassion.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ *Chronology of Pakistan Movement: March 23, 1940-August 14, 1947* (Pakistan Publications, 1982).47

¹¹⁵ Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. 4, (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1996),2245.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Penderel Moon, *Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, n.d.), 89-90.

He believed that the situation could deteriorate further, and to address the escalating differences and potential law and order issues, establishing a Provisional Government, as suggested by Cripps, was crucial. He presented a plan to the Secretary of State Amery, expressing concern that another failure could worsen an already challenging situation.¹¹⁸ The *Glasgow Herald* published an editorial, stating that the London conversations should yield some results, and the Viceroy's visit would be a positive sign for the Indians.¹¹⁹

Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore) published that in elaborating on the wartime needs, Amery explained that the March 1942 offer persisted in its entirety. Unfortunately, there had been no observed political stability since that time. He further elaborated that beyond the ongoing efforts exerted for the war against Japan, there was an immense task of reconstruction that couldn't wait for the successful political adjustments.

India cannot stand still. Beyond the ongoing efforts exerted for the war against Japan, there is an immense task of reconstruction that cannot wait for the successful political adjustments. Simultaneously, it calls for the wholehearted cooperation of every community and section of the Indian people. This cannot be achieved without some real advancement in the field, fostering a closer and more cooperative association of the organized civil and naval forces with the government of the country [...] At the present juncture, this is only possible on an interim and provisional basis. It must be without prejudice to the ultimate constitutional settlement. The ideal we have always envisioned is that of an all-India union in which the states play their full part [...] At the same time, we have recognized the possibility that a form of Indian unity may be attainable. Any interim advance, therefore, must not cast in any way prejudice for or against whether the ultimate settlement is based on a unitary idea or affects the existing position.¹²⁰

Wavell's visit to England extended until May 1945, involving twenty-six meetings of the India Committee.¹²¹ The purpose of this visit was to break the deadlock between the AIML and INC by proposing representation in the Executive Council. Building on Wavell's efforts, suggestions, and planning, the British unveiled a new scheme in June 1945, officially announced by Secretary of State Amery and conveyed in India on June 14, 1945.¹²²

¹¹⁸ "Lord Wavell's' Conclusions", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 27, 1945.

¹¹⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 27, 1945.

¹²⁰ "India's Immediate Future placed in Indian Hands", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 15 1945.

¹²¹ Antoine J. Bullier and H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India: Legend and Reality* (Universal Law Publishing Co Ltd, 1991), 75.

¹²² *Ibid.*

The agenda points of Wavell Plan were:

1. The Viceroy's Executive Council would be immediately reconstituted and the number of its members would be increased.
2. In the Council there would be equal representation of high-caste Hindus and Muslims.
4. All the members of the Council, except the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, would be Indians.
5. An Indian would be appointed as the member for Foreign Affairs in the Council. However, a British commissioner would be responsible for trade matters.
6. The defense of India would remain in British hands until power was ultimately transferred to Indians.
7. The Viceroy would convene a meeting of Indian politicians including the leaders of Congress and the Muslim League at which they would nominate members of the new Council.
8. If this Plan were to be approved for the central government, then similar councils of local political leaders would be formed in all the provinces.
9. None of the changes suggested would in any way prejudice or prejudge the essential form of the future permanent Constitution of India.¹²³

Providing a detailed account and speculative insights into the Simla conference, the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), elaborated that in the upcoming days, a comprehensive process of Independence was set to begin, with leadership discussions in Simla. All 21 leaders representing their respective groups were supposed to be invited. Every sect and group would be given an equal chance of representation, except the Hindu Mahasaba, which was excluded due to its involvement in anti-British activities during the war.¹²⁴ It was also clarified that Britain would stay out of Indian affairs, with only two portfolios remaining with the British—the Viceroy and the C-in-C (defense).¹²⁵

The Muslim League proposed a two-week delay in the Conference as its Working Committee Session was scheduled to assess the course of action based on preliminary discussions.¹²⁶ The Viceroy suggested to Jinnah to hold the League's Working Session in Simla. However, Jinnah expressed difficulties in arranging the AIML Working Committee meeting in Simla on the 25th or later, citing challenges in accommodation and travel

¹²³ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 16, 1945.

¹²⁴ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 22, 1945; *Munadi* (Delhi), June 8-16, 1945.

¹²⁵ Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, eds., *The Transfer of Power*, 1 September 1944-28 July 1945, Vol. 5 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1974), 110-111.

¹²⁶ "Request to Post Pone Conference", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 18 1945.

arrangements.¹²⁷ Additionally, Jinnah emphasized the need for disclosing the entire agenda. He argued that without the full details of the Conference scheme, convening the working committee meeting would be pointless in this case.¹²⁸ The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) published the exchange of correspondence between Jinnah and the Viceroy.

Telegram from Lord Wavell, dated: New Delhi, June 14 - You may have heard my broadcast on Thursday evening. The text and that of the Secretary of State's simultaneous announcement in Parliament will appear in newspapers on Friday. I hope you will agree to attend a Conference which I have proposed. I have suggested 11 am, on June 25 at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, for the first meeting. If you accept my invitation, I should welcome a discussion with you before opening the Conference; and suggest, subject to your convenience, 5 p.m. on June 24 at Viceregal Lodge, Simla. I have had accommodation reserved for you at the Cecil Hotel in the hope that you will accept. Viceroy.

Telegram from Mr. Jinnah to His Excellency Lord Wavell dated: June 15th. Your invitation of Thursday. Shall be glad to meet you on June 21 for discussion. But, as regards your proposals, particularly the Conference, I require clarification, which I hope will be available at our meeting on the 24th. This will enable me to consult my Working Committee in the light of your clarification and to decide upon our course of action. May I request you, therefore, to postpone the date of the Conference for a fortnight, as the time fixed is too short for a meeting of Working Committee members from all over India. "I reciprocate your appeal for cooperation and goodwill, and hope that the Muslim League will make its contribution to any just and reasonable Resolution in settlement. Please reply. Jinnah."¹²⁹

The response provided by the Viceroy to Jinnah was once again published by the *Civil & Military Gazette*:

[...] I have now received your telegram to me on June 15. I am grateful for your assurance of co-operation. My broadcast was a very simple statement of the proposals, and my intention is to deal at the Leaders' Conference itself with any points requiring clarification. I do not think it advisable to enter into detailed discussions before the Leaders' Conference meets. I would, therefore, prefer to adhere to the date for the opening of the Conference on June 25, and hope that you will attend. Perhaps, you could arrange for your Working Committee to meet in Simla. I shall look forward to seeing you on June 21. As your telegram has been published, I am sending this to the Press.¹³⁰

To which, Jinnah responded:

[...] I note that your intention is to deal at the Leaders' Conference itself with any points requiring clarification. It, therefore, follows that, until we have a complete picture of your proposals (as details would be no less vital than fundamentals), we shall not be able to deal with them. Until I know the full details of the scheme and am in a position to place the entire scheme before my Working Committee, it would serve no useful purpose to convene the meeting. Further, I hope

¹²⁷ M. Abid and Q. Abid, "The Simla Conference: A futile attempt to bypass Pakistan Scheme," *Pakistan Vision* 12, no. 1 (5).

¹²⁸ Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. 4, (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1996), 2242

¹²⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 16, 1945.

¹³⁰ "Viceroy's Correspondence with Leaders", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 17 1945.

that you will understand that calling a Working Committee meeting in Simla (as suggested by you) before June 25 is fraught with difficulties. First, they will be kept waiting indefinitely till the Leaders' Conference concludes. Second, it would not be easy for them to make arrangements for their suitable accommodation and travel from various provinces within the short time available. "However, after meeting on June 21 for discussion (as suggested by you), I may be in a better position to understand the situation and to arrange things accordingly- Jinnah.¹³¹

Release of Political Prisoners

Civil & Military Gazette reported that to ensure maximum participation of Indian leaders in the Simla meeting, political prisoners from the Non-Cooperation Movement were released.¹³² Stafford Cripps appreciated this move of releasing the political prisoners, describing it as intriguing. He said:

I am particularly delighted that the Secretary of State has been able to announce the release of members of the Congress Working Committee from detention, and I hope that all other political detainees will quickly gain their freedom at the hands of the Central and provincial Governments of India. These releases will mark the end of one of the three chapters of our relationship with India and will provide an opportunity for vigorous Indian leadership, which alone can solve India's problems of reconstruction.¹³³

According to the Wavell Plan, the total number of Executive Council members would be fourteen, with the proposed division as follows:

- Congress: 6

- The Muslim League: 5

- Others: 3¹³⁴

The Congress, in collaboration with the British, sought to include Unionists in the Executive Council. Khizer Hayat was approached for this purpose, but Jinnah rejected the idea and made it clear that he would not tolerate Khizer Hayat Khan's inclusion in the Executive Council.¹³⁵ Jinnah consistently argued that all five seats reserved for Muslims should belong to the Muslim League, while the Congress refused to acknowledge the League as the sole representative of Muslims.

¹³¹ "Viceroy's Correspondence with Leaders", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 17 1945.

¹³² *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 15, 1945.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ M. Abid and Q. Abid, "The Simla Conference: A futile attempt to bypass Pakistan Scheme," *Pakistan Vision* 12, no. 1 (10).

¹³⁵ Syed Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-47* (Vanguard, 1992), 288.

They could not accept the League as the sole representative and authoritative organization of the Muslims of India using the plea that there was a Congress ministry in the N.W.F.P.; in the Punjab it was a Unionist ministry; in Sind Ghulam Hussain depended upon the Congress support and much the same position was in Assam.¹³⁶

The Governor of Punjab, Sir Bertrand James Glancy, deemed the demands of the Muslim League or Jinnah as unreasonable. He suggested that the League should consider itself fortunate even if they are given three out of the five members. The Congress submitted its list of suggested members, but Jinnah refused to send any list, insisting that all Muslim members should be from the Muslim League. Jinnah clearly communicated this condition to the Viceroy in a meeting. Despite Jinnah's stance, the Viceroy remained firm, leading to a deadlock as Jinnah believed that the above scenario would be detrimental to the League.¹³⁷ Addressing the Press, Jinnah highlighted the that they [Muslim League] were willing to contribute fully to any just and reasonable settlement;

We are willing to make full contribution to any just and reasonable settlement. The Congress has already claimed the right to choose members from the Muslim block and some other party or parties may make similar claims. While we have every desire to find a solution, this is a point...that the Congress or any other body should be entitled to choose a Muslim from the Muslim block which we cannot accept either on principle or on facts as they are before us.¹³⁸

Subsequently, he provided a more detailed perspective, stating;

[...] the Muslim League passed its Resolution in Delhi in March, 1943, and there we formulated our demand. The demand was that we were always ready to consider any proposals or to negotiate with any party on the basis of equality of representation on the Provisional Central Government. At the time the party meant was the Congress—provided the British Government made a declaration guaranteeing to the Mussalmans the right of self-determination and undertaking to abide by the verdict of Mussalmans to give effect to the Pakistan scheme in accordance with the principles outlined in the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League in 1940.¹³⁹

He concluded that 'the Wavell proposals do not concede or accord with the declaration referred to. Both the Viceroy's broadcast and the announcement by the Secretary of State contained certain negative assurances.'¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ M. Abid and Q. Abid, *Simla Conference: A futile attempt to bypass Pakistan Scheme*, *Pakistan Vision* 12, no. 1 (7-8).

¹³⁷ Massarrat Abid, *The Punjab Muslim League (1940-1947)*, *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 48, no. 1 (2011).

¹³⁸ "Viceroy anxious to get on to next stage", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 1, 1945.

¹³⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 4, 1945; *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Collected and Edited by Jamil ul Din Ahmad, Vol.2 (Ashraf Press Lahore, 1964),176.

¹⁴⁰ Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. 4, (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1996),232.

Notably, even though Gandhi was just an 'adviser' to the Viceroy or Congress Working Committee and not part of the delegation, there were multiple news reports speculating about his role. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) noted that 'observers are considering the possibility of Mr. Gandhi intervening in the dispute with some bold compromised Plan.'¹⁴¹

Meanwhile, there were also reports in the Western Press that Jinnah was considering a plan in which the Congress and the Muslim League would jointly nominate two neutral Muslims, not affiliated with Congress or the Muslim League but having the confidence of both parties.¹⁴² On June 30th, during a conversation with Mr. Preston Grover from the Associated Press of America, Jinnah suggested that Gandhi should abandon the conference and collaborate with the Muslim League to devise a new arrangement in which the creation of Pakistan would be an accepted proposition.¹⁴³ Additionally, there were efforts from all parties to create a workable plan for the Viceroy. The goal was to make a joint list for the Executive Council. Master Tara Singh suggested that having a Muslim in the Executive Council, accepted by both the League and the Congress, would be a significant achievement and provide a good basis for new discussions.¹⁴⁴

During a religious gathering for *Rabi ul Awal* (Prophet's Birthday) in Simla, Jinnah offered advice to the Muslim Students Federation, emphasizing the importance of unity. He conveyed, "If the Mussalmans stand united, we win; if they stand divided, we lose."¹⁴⁵ Talking to the Associated Press of India, Jawaharlal Nehru said about Jinnah that Mr. Jinnah is certainly wrong in thinking that every Muslim seat in the Executive Council should be captured by the Muslim League.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ "Will Mr. Gandhi Intervene?", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 30, 1945.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. 4, (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1996),232.

¹⁴⁴ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 04, 1945.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 03, 1945.

The Failure

The apparent failure of the Simla Conference can be attributed to both major parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, as neither was willing to compromise. The Congress presented itself as the voice of all Indians, including Muslims. Allowing the Muslim League to be the sole representative of Muslims would imply that the Congress did not consider Muslims within its ranks but only Hindus. On the other hand, if the Muslim League had accepted another Muslim representative from outside AIML, it would have indicated that the Muslim League was not the exclusive representative of Indian Muslims, and the Congress also represented Muslims. The failure in Simla, coupled with Jinnah's inflexibility, had significant repercussions in London. It influenced influential Labor leaders to believe that interim settlements were insufficient, and the time had come to seek final solutions.¹⁴⁷ The Chinese newspaper *Ku Min Kung Pao* referred to the updated offer as more concrete than the previous Cripps Offer. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) published:

The present British proposals for India are much more concrete than those brought by Sir Stafford Cripps, says the *Ku Min Kung Pao*, the Chinese daily newspaper, in an editorial yesterday. 'The self-government demanded by Indians for decades has now been reached. We firmly believe that the British Government is determined to settle the dispute. This should be enough to remove the accumulated mistrust between the two countries.' The paper adds that the wisdom of Lord Wavell has helped world peace and the deployment of Allied military strength against Japan.¹⁴⁸

The response from London to the Viceroy Report was less than favorable. Bertrand Russell, a former chair of the Indian League, expressed that it would be more beneficial for the Indians to determine their own fate and decisions rather than relying on Lord Wavell's decisions, which he deemed regrettable.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 47.

¹⁴⁸ "Much more Concrete than Cripps Offer", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 30, 1945.

¹⁴⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 28, 1945.

The Victory of Labor Party

The breakdown of the Simla Conference was followed by the victory of the Labor Party in the United Kingdom elections. As Labor Party took office, the new Prime Minister, Attlee, and Secretary of State, Lord Pethick Lawrence, called for a review of the Indian situation. In India, the indigenous response to Labor's victory was not extraordinary.¹⁵⁰ Expectations from Labor were not high among Indians. According to the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), Mr. P. N. Saprú expressed his limited expectations for Labor to bring significant changes to India. However, as a well-wisher of the party, he rejoiced in their success. Dr. K. N. Katju observed that the news of the sweeping Labor victory in England would be met with great satisfaction throughout India. While he didn't anticipate revolutionary or radical changes in British policy for India, he looked forward to a change in outlook from the British people and their representatives. He hoped that the Churchillian slogan, "what we have we hold," would now be a dead thing of the past, and that Britain would realize that in Indian independence lies the real security and safety of the British Isles in the days to come.¹⁵¹ Abdul Kalam Azad, the President of the Congress, remarked that 'India will observe and be patient.'

Victory imposes a heavy responsibility on the Labor Party; the world is waiting to see if they can avoid the mistakes committed at the end of the last war [...] The British elections are momentous for the future of the world. More important than the men for whom the British people have spoken so unequivocally are the issues that decided their choice. The results are a signal victory of new ideas over old and prove that the people of Britain have decided to discard the old and worn-out order.¹⁵²

The Capitulation of Japan in August 1945 prompted demands in India for elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures, given the end of the war. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a renowned daily of Allahabad, captured this sentiment with a catchy phrase: "Amery and son go, Bengal famine avenged, Big Tory landslide."¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 28, 1945.

¹⁵¹ "India Welcomes British swing to the Left", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 28, 1945.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 28, 1945.

The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), published the tabulation of the British General Election results, constituency by constituency.¹⁵⁴

Implications of the Labor Party's Triumph on the Indian Scenario

In India, the conflicts between Hindus and Muslims or in other words the Congress and the Muslim League were getting worse. The British tried addressing the situation, possibly influenced by pre-election promises to resolve the Indian issue.¹⁵⁵ The prominent figures on the Indian political stage included Jinnah, Gandhi, and Nehru. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), released a piece discussing Gandhi and Nehru, elucidated by Mr. Sunder Joshi, an American professor from Chicago University who characterized Gandhi's political philosophy as outdated. It articulated:

India has waited for 20 years vainly for Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to do something concrete for India. Mr. Gandhi lives in another world. Pandit Nehru, though trained and cognizant of the need for social reform, has prostituted his principles to Mr. Gandhi's reactionary politics. Although Mr. Gandhi gave India political self-consciousness, his entire political philosophy is outdated. He bases his politics on religion, whereas the Western world has gone beyond that stage. Pandit Nehru is primarily an internationalist; Mr. Gandhi, a nationalist. Pandit Nehru is a peculiar mixture of the East and the West. He has been a keen disappointment because much was expected from his liberalism. He has drifted into conservatism. Both men have been too reactionary.¹⁵⁶

On 2 August 1945, Maulana Azad wrote to Gandhi about the solution to Hindu-Muslim problem. He said that as a Muslim he rejected Pakistan because it was against the essence of Islam and Muslims themselves. However, he acknowledged the valid concerns of Muslims and proposed a federal constitution for India, focusing on central subjects of an All-India nature. Azad recommended providing units with the right to secede, endorsing joint electorates over separate ones, and stressing the 'parity' of Hindus and Muslims in the Central Legislature. He urged his fellow Congressmen to respect the decision of Muslims. However, Gandhi and others

¹⁵⁴ "How the British Electorate Voted", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 28, 1945. (see annex 5)

¹⁵⁵ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 28, 1945.

¹⁵⁶ "Mr. Gandhi lives in another World", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 29, 1945.

did not accept this proposal, advising Azad to remain silent and let the process unfold naturally.¹⁵⁷

Declaration of Elections in India

The British War Cabinet communicated its policy to Lord Wavell regarding self-governing India in which, it stated:

The declarations of His Majesty's Government in favor of establishment of a self-governing India as an integral member of the British Empire and Commonwealth remains our inflexible policy. You will make, as occasion warrants, any proposals which you may consider may achieve that end.¹⁵⁸

A meeting of provincial Governors convened in Delhi on 1-2 August 1945 to discuss the future of India and the way forward. Various voices emerged, expressing their opinions to H.E. Viceroy. Some suggested proceeding without the Muslim League, while others believed that the exclusion of the League would not be a sane solution. There was a proposal to establish a committee to discuss the Pakistan Plan. Certain Governors advocated for H.E. Viceroy to make a formal announcement. Ultimately, on 21 August 1945, Wavell announced that elections to the Central and Provincial Assemblies would take place in the cold weather, and he would soon travel to England for consultation with HMG. Subsequently, Wavell visited England and returned on 16 September 1945.¹⁵⁹

There had been extensive debates about Indian situation in London involving ministers and members of the British Government. it was expected that the debates would conclude soon.

The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), published:

According to present indications, Lord Wavell's talks with members of the British Government on the Indian situation are likely to reach a conclusive stage in about a week or ten days' time [...] In the light of a preliminary review of the situation made available to them by Lord Wavell,

¹⁵⁷ Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, ed., *The Transfer of Power*, 1 September 1944-28 July 1945, Vol. 6 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1974), 155-157

¹⁵⁸ Mansergh, Nicholas. *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs: Problems of Wartime Cooperation and Post-War Change 1939-1952*. Routledge, 2013, 443.

¹⁵⁹ Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, ed., *The Transfer of Power*, 1 September 1944-28 July 1945, Vol. 5 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1974), 20

the Ministers had the political and constitutional position under consideration and that it is likely that further ministerial talks may take place before the end of the week [...] There is nothing to suggest that there is likely to be any departure from the Cripps proposals as the basis of British policy.¹⁶⁰

Self-Government for India

On September 19, the Viceroy, representing Her Majesty's Government, announced their strong commitment to working alongside Indian leaders to expedite the attainment of comprehensive self-government. Furthermore, he articulated the anticipation that political leaders in the provinces would take on ministerial responsibilities following the conclusion of the elections. The Viceroy also mentioned that once the results of the elections are out, they will start forming an Executive Council.¹⁶¹

The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) reported:

The Viceroy, in a broadcast announcement tonight, authorized by His Majesty's Government, stated that it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to convene as soon as possible a constitution-making body. As a preliminary step, they have authorized him to undertake, immediately after the elections, discussions with representatives of the Legislative Assemblies in the provinces. The aim is to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1912 declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative scheme is preferable or modified. His Excellency mentioned that discussions would also be undertaken with representatives of the Indian States to determine the best way they could participate in the constitution-making body. The Viceroy added, "His Majesty's Government has instructed me, as soon as the results of the provincial elections are proclaimed, to take steps to bring into being an Executive Council which will have the support of the main Indian parties."¹⁶²

Following the announcement, Lord Wavell indicated his plan to engage in discussions with the elected representatives and representatives of the Indian States post-elections. The objective was to ascertain the structure, authority, and processes of the constitution-making body.¹⁶³

Further elaborating the broadcast, the *Civil & Military Gazette* pointed out that the representation of the Legislative Assemblies in the provinces lacked clarity. It was not specified

¹⁶⁰ "India talks in London", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 1, 1945.

¹⁶¹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 20, 1945.

¹⁶² "Constitution making body to be Convened", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 20, 1945.

¹⁶³ "Full Self Government for India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 20, 1945.

how these representatives would be selected. The paper suggested that it could be possible for the leader of the opposition in each of the eleven provincial assemblies to be the primary representatives invited to submit a panel of names from which the Executive Council could be chosen.¹⁶⁴

The *Civil & Military Gazette* released a commentary on the aforementioned Plan from the Labor party's newspaper, *Herald* (London), under the heading "India Advance", stating that the British expected a cordial response in return. It stated:

The British Government was anxious that India's voice on world affairs should be heard without delay, and that India, through her democratically appointed spokesman, should exercise influence on world affairs, even while the complicated task of working out her constitution for self-government was still in progress. The British people would expect a cordial response to the proposals, and we desired that progress should be swift, but it must be orderly. Many were the sins and errors of British policy in India. We would perpetuate the crowning crime if we simply sat without ensuring that the peoples, we had ruled for so long were guaranteed genuine freedom, genuine security, and a genuine prospect of economic progress. Indian leaders from every party should, we urged, recognize the sincerity of these proposals and of the Labour Government's desire to bring the dark and long-drawn story to a happy conclusion.¹⁶⁵

The *Manchester Guardian* (Manchester), the voice of the Liberals, expressed optimistic expectations that the upcoming year, 1946, would be a significant period for Indian freedom. It foresaw new elections, the establishment of a Constituent Assembly, the practice of national self-government across provinces and in the Executive Council. The publication emphasized that if India embraced these measures with sincerity, their accomplishment would be swifter than many had previously imagined.

If India takes these measures in the sincere spirit in which they are offered, the speed of their accomplishment should be more rapid than, a little while ago, most of us dared to think possible. For completeness, the scheme, of course, needs supplementing administratively by the release of prisoners and freeing of political organization. But these things, we may be sure, will come. Everyone in this country will wish the Government well.¹⁶⁶

The *Civil Military Gazette* emphasized the significance of this opportunity, stating that the era for recrimination and fault-finding had come to an end. It conveyed the message that

¹⁶⁴ "Britain's New Proposals to India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 20, 1945.

¹⁶⁵ "Cordial Response Urged on Leaders", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 20, 1945.

¹⁶⁶ "Indians should Recognize Sincerity of Govt", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 20, 1945.

every political organization and citizen must recognize that India's advancement toward the goal of self-government could only be achieved through intelligent cooperation. Consequently, the upcoming elections for the Central and provincial Legislatures were anticipated to mark a milestone in India's constitutional progress.¹⁶⁷

Washington also had high hopes about the Indian situation and the British solution. According to the *Civil Military Gazette* report, Lord Wavell's recent statement was considered a significant indication of the determination of Britain's Labour Government to fulfill promises of independence for India. Observers in Washington noted that this commitment signaled a renewed effort to address the Indian question, surpassing the shortcomings of the Cripps Mission and the Simla Conference. The significance lay in the contrast between the then-favorable political climate and the challenging period when Stafford Cripps undertook his mission to India.¹⁶⁸

In discussions about the type of elections and the subsequent process, it was observed that the central Legislature had been excluded from the talks that the Viceroy would hold to determine the acceptability of the Cripps proposals or whether some alternative or modified scheme was preferable. In these discussions, representatives of the new Provincial assemblies would have a dominating, if not exclusive, role. The role of representatives from the Central and Provincial Legislatures in the shorter aspect of His Majesty's Government's Plan was not clearly defined. It was unclear whether representatives from the central Legislature would be involved in the steps to establish a new Central Executive Council with the support of the main Indian parties. However, a suggestion made proposed that each of the new Provincial Ministries

¹⁶⁷ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 22, 1945.

¹⁶⁸ "Washington Reaction to India Statement", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 21, 1945.

would be called upon to submit a panel of names from which the Executive Council could be selected.¹⁶⁹

Unfortunately, the deadlock between both leading parties could not lead to any productive outcome. So far as one could see, there was a little or no evidence of any attempt by either the Congress or the Muslim League to explore the extent to which compromises could narrow the gap between them. On the contrary, following the failure of the Wavell Conference, both organizations seemed to accentuate their differences through public statements asserting their respective points of view. They carried this emphasis on the correctness and unchangeability of their own political formulas to the extent of completely ignoring the crucial fact that there were other political factors that must also be taken into serious account, in addition to those they upheld. It was challenging to believe that any settlement considering only the views of the Congress and the Muslim League while neglecting the perspectives of other communities outside the folds of these two political organizations could effectively ensure India's progress toward self-government.¹⁷⁰

The Wavell papers revealed that in order to resolve the ongoing deadlock and Pakistan issue, the British Government was anxiously waiting for the elections. The Muslim League was also busy in mobilizing and engaging majority of Muslims and their affiliations towards the Muslim League. Several Working Committee meetings were held for this. The arguments of the Muslim Nationalism and divided India were primary narratives of these election campaigns. Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, while calling Muslims to assert their national will and referring to the Undivided India statements of the Congress, stated that the veil of honeyed words and misleading assurances had been finally lifted.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 22, 1945.

¹⁷⁰ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 23, 1945.

¹⁷¹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 25, 1945.

On the contrary, the Muslims belonging to some other groups came up with certain resolutions, one of which stated that the convention of various Muslim Organizations felt that under the present circumstances only the voters of the wealthy and the *Zehindar* classes could be registered and there was no possibility of the Muslim masses recording their votes. But, in spite of all these difficulties and handicaps, this convention considered it essential that Azad Muslims would participate in all elections of the central assembly in order to educate and guide Muslim public opinion and protect the Indian Mussalmans from the ruinous policy of the Muslim League, which was entirely a capitalist organization and which had formed an alliance with the imperialist Government to exploit Mussalmans for their own selfish end.¹⁷²

As the immediate object of these election was to ascertain correct public opinion this convention emphatically demands that these elections be held either on the adult franchise basis or at least on the basis of the present provincial electoral rolls.¹⁷³

Interesting to mention that several Muslim groups joined the voice of the Congress against their fellow Muslims of the Muslim League. An amendment to the Congress Working Committees' Resolution on the right of self-determination was moved by the Secretary of All India Jamiat Ulema, Maulana Hifz u Rehman, projecting the idea of United India.¹⁷⁴ Similarly the Anjuman-e-Watan, a nationalist organization working under Muslim chair joined Indian National Congress.¹⁷⁵

The Congress and its allies i.e., Sikhs and the Unionists were also utilizing their efforts in engineering the polls to defeat the Muslim League. Making some fervent appeals during the campaign, the Congress leaders projected a vision of United India once again. Their say was that, India had always been one and would always remain undivided. While referring to the Pakistan demand of the Muslim League, Pandit Nehru commented that while the tendency of

¹⁷² *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 25, 1945.

¹⁷³ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 24, 1945.

¹⁷⁴ "Congress Resolution on Self-determination", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 24, 1945.

¹⁷⁵ "Affiliation of Anjuman with Congress", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 24, 1945.

the nations was prone towards World Federation, it was strange that some of our countrymen were thinking of dividing the country.¹⁷⁶ He also criticized the Muslim League, challenging its ability to secure more than 25% of the Muslim seats in the Punjab Assembly. Responding to this challenge, the Lahore Muslim League organized a gathering of over 60,000 people in the municipal garden outside Mochi Gate. The event was presided over by Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot and Maulvi Ghulam MLA, who expressed the belief that time alone would determine whether the Congress would overpower the League or if the League would replace the Congress. Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan cautioned Muslims about the grave consequences if they neglected their duty towards the nation. He emphasized that their votes would decide the fate of Muslims in the country, determining whether they sought Pakistan or not.¹⁷⁷ The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) added:

The Congress challenge was based on a miscalculation of the Unionist strength in this province, which prompted Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to declare at the sessions of the ALCC that the Muslim League in the Punjab would not be in a position to capture more than 25 percent of the Muslim seats in the Punjab Assembly. He appealed to the Muslims to rally around the League flag to belie the Congress claim that it represented the Muslim masses also.¹⁷⁸

Congress Sincerity Questioned

The announcement of the elections posed a severe problem and difficulty for those Nationalist Muslims in the Congress camp. Despite a fact that the Desai-Liaquat Pact and later the Sapru reports were in favor of the Muslims' narrative. The reports had a view that the fears of the Muslims for their future in a United India were genuine and later the view of Azad also empowered the above observation. Although he was a nationalist Muslim but knew and was much prepared to admit that fears of Muslims are genuine in nature about their existence in United India.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 24, 1945.

¹⁷⁷ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 28, 1945.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Antoine J. Bullier and H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India: Legend and Reality* (Universal Law Publishing Co Ltd, 1991), 78.

By this time, some fractions of the Unionists were also getting disappointed of the Congress. Some of them even started drifting away from the Congress and its policies. Their view was that the Congress is not sincere about its claims. One such statement was given by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Punjab Government, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Faiz Muhammad, who said:

I must confess that I am not at all impressed by the Resolution of the Congress working committee on the question of self-determination. It must leave a large majority of Muslims, who are undoubtedly for Pakistan, cold... I regret to note that the Congress working committee has not clarified its position with regard to the self-determination issue to the extent that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his statement had promised to do. The Congress position remains vague and indefinite therefore any remarks from them are hardly called for.¹⁸⁰

Similarly, the policy of the Muslim League during the election campaign was also criticized, which besides challenging its claim to represent Muslims in India, emphasized that the League had failed to force any constructive program for the welfare of the Muslim masses.¹⁸¹ According to Ishtiaq Ahmad:

The nationalist Muslims in the Congress and outside were blatantly declared as traitors to Islam and the Muslims by Jinnah during the election campaigns. The tussle to gain Muslim support between the Muslim League and other stake holders was getting stronger. The Muslim League tried getting support of every single Muslim community because they believed that this is a matter of now or never and for them every vote counted.¹⁸²

The Muslim League made a strong effort to connect with the emotions of Muslims. In its campaigns, it presented an Islamic perspective and addressed the public opinion of Muslim masses. The league portrayed itself as a holder of Islamic ideology, emphasizing that Islam calls for unity among all sects of Muslims.

Jinnah in his public appeals to Muslims to join the Muslim League, on several occasions, Jinnah named Shias, Sunnis, Wahhabis, Ismailis, Bohris, the Ahrar and Khaksar. The Shia community and the Ahmadiyya community of the Punjab had to be convinced to support the Muslim League. It was not at all easy to deal with such delicate issues whereas it was obvious that approaching the aforementioned for the elections can create troubles. Although Ahmadis were not mentioned in such general appeals since he knew that it might offend most Muslims. But since the Muslim

¹⁸⁰ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 29, 1945.

¹⁸¹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), October 03, 1945.

¹⁸² Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2020), 303-304.

League was in dire need of voters and every vote counted so it was not sane to exclude a whole community from voting.¹⁸³

Concerns of Shias

The Shia community in India was worried about whether to support the Muslim League or the Congress. Their main concern was about being a minority and how they fit into the political process. Jinnah tried to address these worries, but it seemed the Shia community was not fully satisfied with the League. In a letter responding to their concerns, Jinnah explained why they should stick with the Muslim League and not join any other group. The letter said:

I regret to say that [you] are misguided and misled by our enemies. My advice to every Shia is to join the Muslim League unreservedly at this critical juncture. Any other course is harmful generally to the Muslims of India and even most detrimental to the Shia interests.¹⁸⁴

Jinnah referred to the fundamental principles of the AIML which were a part of the Lahore Resolution that:

...Cardinal and fundamental principles of the Muslim League laid down in clear terms in the Lahore Resolution of March, 1940 provide effective safeguards and protection of minorities and other religious rights and freedom. An overwhelming majority of Shias is with the League and legitimate grievances, if any, is a matter of our own internal concern and can be dealt it within our fold by the All-India Muslim League.¹⁸⁵

The Shia community aimed to be represented in the Constituent Assembly and the Provisional Government. They advocated for the acknowledgment of Shias as a significant minority in the future constitution of India, a proposal that didn't receive unanimous approval from some members of the League.¹⁸⁶ The *Civil & Military Gazette* reported that:

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Deputy Leader of the Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party, strongly asserts that bringing up any matter related to the treatment of Shias as a special minority at this crucial moment would be a severe disservice to the cause of Islam. Responding to an invitation from the Maharaja Kumar of Mahmudabad, President-elect of the All-Parties Shia Conference in Lucknow, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, due to indisposition, regrets his inability to attend. He underscores that any existing Shia-Sunni discord in a specific area should be addressed through mutual goodwill. Khan expresses appreciation that such an issue has not surfaced in

¹⁸³ ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2020), 303-304.

¹⁸⁴ "Join The Muslim League Unreservedly", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), October 3, 1945.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ "To Raise Shia Minority Problem", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), October 4, 1945.

Punjab. Khan fervently calls on all Muslims to unite under the League, urging Shia brethren to resist disruption for the well-being of the Shia community and the cause of Pakistan.¹⁸⁷

A Resolution asserting that Shias could not endorse the Muslim League's call for Pakistan was passed during the Council of Action meeting of the All-Parties Shia Conference, with Mr. Hossein Bhoj Laljee presiding.¹⁸⁸ The committee expressed a serious concern that the creation of Pakistan might lead to the imposition of the Hanafi Shariat in Shia regions, a legal system fundamentally different from the Shariat or Islamic Law adhered to by the Shias.¹⁸⁹ Hence, the Shias chose to support the Congress, leading to multiple discussions between their representatives and Congress members to address the concerns of the Shia community.¹⁹⁰

Addressing Ahmadis' Status: Hurdles for the Muslim League

Similar to the Shia Question within the League, the involvement of Ahmadis remained a persistent issue and a point of contention for the Muslim League. Correspondence found in the Archives of Freedom Movement (AFM) details how Ahmadis actively participated in electoral politics during the 1945-46 election campaigns.¹⁹¹ The criteria for their inclusion or exclusion primarily centered around the term 'Muslim'. This debate initiated soon after the Lahore session of the All-India Muslim League and endured until the elections in 1945-1946. While addressing this matter, the Secretary of the AIML conveyed the concern in a letter to the Foreign Secretary of the Head of the Ahmadiyya Community:

The word 'Muslim' used in the constitution is self-explanatory and already bears the meaning suggested by the Nazir. A further elucidation is sure to create a fuss and make the matters worse. It was with this undefined word 'Muslim' in the constitution, that Sir Zafarullah Khan rose to the office of the President of the League and to the eminent political rise he is enjoying today, and

¹⁸⁷ "To Raise Shia Minority Problem", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), October 4, 1945.

¹⁸⁸ "Conference to negotiate with Congress", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 29, 1945.

¹⁸⁹ "Shia opposed to Pakistan", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 28, 1945.

¹⁹⁰ "Conference to negotiate with Congress", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 29, 1945.

¹⁹¹ Dept. Secretary AIML, "Letter to the Secretary at Qadian, Darya Ganj," dated 09 August 1940, General Correspondence, 1940-1946, Correspondence with Qadian to join the Muslim League, Election issues, *Archives of Freedom Movement*, Vol. 7, 10.

there have been more than three dozen Ahmadis on the role of the council of the League; and if it is considered at all necessary to define the word, I would ask the Nazir to give out the view point of his community towards the Muslims who are not Ahmadis.¹⁹²

The Foreign Secretary to the Head of the Ahmadiyya Community also expressed grievances concerning the opposition raised against the Ahmadis regarding their voter status.

In response, Syed Shams ul Hasan, the Assistant Secretary of the AIML, provided a reply:

As to the opposition raised against the Ahmadis in the Punjab referred to in the letter, I would only remark that this is a common practice in elections that rival candidates denounce each other by exerting every means of opposition. There was nothing extraordinary if something arose in the elections held in 1936.¹⁹³

The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) released a statement of Jinnah, outlining the motto of the Muslim League:

The Muslim League and I have made it clear repeatedly that we stand for the justice and fair play towards every sect of Mussalmans and non-Muslim minorities. The Muslim League is already pledged to its basic principle of freedom for all religions and sects. The Muslim League will never interfere with faith and belief of any sect amongst Mussalmans or minorities.¹⁹⁴

Similar responses were provided to S. Zainul Abadin, Nazir *Umoor-e-Ama*, Ahmadiyya Movement, Qadian when addressing the question of permitting Ahmadis to vote, stating it as " the position according to the constitution of the All-India Muslim League."¹⁹⁵

During the election campaign, Sir Sikandar Hayat's son, Shaukat Hayat, shared a fascinating anecdote about his visits to Pathankot and Qadian to meet the head of Ahmadis and Abul Ala Maududi. He remarked:

One day I got a message from Quaid-i-Azam saying 'Shaukat, I believe you are going to Batala, which I understand is about five miles from Qadian. Please go there and meet the Hazrat Sahib of Qadian and request him on my behalf for his blessings and support for Pakistan's cause [...] when I got there [...] I sent him a message that [...] I had brought a request for him from the Quaid-i-Azam. He came down immediately and enquired what were Quaid's orders, I conveyed him Quaid's message to pray for and also support for Pakistan. He replied please convey to the Quaid-i-Azam that we have been praying for his mission from the very beginning.

¹⁹² Dept. Secretary AIML, "Letter to the Secretary at Qadian, Darya Ganj," dated 09 August 1940, General Correspondence, 1940-1946, Correspondence with Qadian to join the Muslim League, Election issues, *Archives of Freedom Movement*, Vol. 7, 10.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), October 2, 1945.

¹⁹⁵ *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers* (Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, National Archives of Pakistan, 1993.) Vol. 5, 175.

Shaukat Hayat elaborated on his meeting, stating that the head of the Ahmadis assured him that no Ahmadi would stand against a Muslim Leaguer. Additionally, if someone disobeyed Jinnah's advice, the community would not support him. As a result, Mumtaz Daultana achieved an overwhelming victory over the President of the local Ahmadi Community in the Sialkot District.¹⁹⁶

In a subsequent encounter, Shaukat Hayat shared that he visited Maududi in Pathankot to relay Quaid's message. During the exchange, when conveying the message and seeking prayers for Pakistan's cause, Maududi remarked, questioning how one could pray for *Na Pakistan* [i.e., Impure Pakistan]. He believed that the realization of Pakistan depended on the complete conversion of India to Islam. This portrayed Maududi's distinctive viewpoint on the idea of Pakistan.¹⁹⁷ Expanding on his view, Maududi stated that people saw the Muslim Party as the only savior, a way to embrace Islamic Ideology in an Islamic state or achieve Independent Islam in Independent India. It's crucial to note that the Muslims involved in this context had diverse traits, and their characters were not significantly different from those of non-Muslims.¹⁹⁸

Upon further examination of the Muslim League papers, a noteworthy discovery emerges where the Ahmadiyya community demonstrated significant support for the League's agenda. Mirza Bashir-ul-Din Mahmud, the head of the Ahmadiyya community, issued explicit instructions to all members, directing them to cast their votes exclusively for the Muslim League candidate. A communication exchange between an Ahmadi from the village of Gulzar in C.P and the community head concerning election participation sheds light on this. The individual inquired:

¹⁹⁶ Shaukat Hyat Khan, *The Nation that Lost Its Soul: Memoirs of a Freedom Fighter* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1995), 147.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Weekly *Tarjuman ul Quran*, (Lahore), August, 1940.

We have the honor to make a request and a query. We are a few Ahmadis here in this town and in the present electioneering campaign we have been approached both by the Muslim League and the Congress parties for distribution and assistance to their respective parties and candidates. Kindly give us as to whom we should support.¹⁹⁹

Replying to the individual, the head of the Ahmadiyya community said:

You ought to support the Muslim League (in the present elections) and offer them whatever means of cooperation and assistance you can possibly afford. The Muslims do require a united front in the present crisis; their difference, if allowed to exist, will affect them very adversely for hundreds of years to come.²⁰⁰

Some individuals disapproved of the Muslim League's decision to include Ahmadis in the voting process. One communication expressing this sentiment mentioned:

We have read in the *Ihsan* newspaper of the 5th May 1944 that in your talk with Pir Akbar Ali, M.L.A., you have referred to the Ahmadiyya Community as one of the sections of Islam and that the Ahmadis can become members of the Muslim League. The Muslims of Batala are feeling perturbed over this news. Would you very kindly let us know if an Ahmadi can become a Member of the Muslim League?²⁰¹

The reference made by the Secretary of the AIML, Syed Shamsul Hasan, concerning the appointment of specific Ahmadis to various positions is also evident in a correspondence found between the Governor of Punjab, H.D. Craik, and H.E the Viceroy Linlithgow. In late 1938, the Viceroy sought information from the Governor regarding the potential appointment of Zafarullah Khan as the Chief Justice of Punjab [Lahore High Court] following the departure of Young Douglas. While the Governor commended Zafarullah and recognized his capabilities, he expressed concerns that such an appointment might be viewed unfavorably due to his affiliation with the Ahmadis. The letter included:

[...] the principal objection to his appointment lies, in my opinion, in the fact that he is an Ahmadi and, I am afraid, a fanatical and leading adherent of that sect. I do not think his appointment as Chief Justice would, in existing circumstances, lead to resignations among the present Judges, but I do feel that it would be regarded by the Hindus and Sikhs as made on communal grounds, and I am convinced that it would not be popular with Muslims generally. The relations between orthodox Muslims and the Ahmadis, though less tense at the moment than they were a few years

¹⁹⁹ *Archives of Freedom Movement*, "Letter to the Secretary at Qadian," Vol. 7, 12.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ Letter of Imam Jamia Masjid Batala to the Secretary AIML, Batala. 04 May 1944. General Correspondence, 1940-1946. Correspondence with Qadian to join the Muslim League, Election issues. *Archives of Freedom Movement*, Vol. 7, 17

ago, are still very far from cordial, and mutual recrimination is still a common feature in certain organs of the press.²⁰²

The Governor further explained his reservations that "although Zafarullah's great abilities are generally recognized and admired, I do not think he is on cordial terms with Sikander or, indeed, with any of my present Ministers [...] the Sikh do not regard Zafarullah as impartial on communal questions".²⁰³

The Muslim League's Nomination Strategy

The next battleground for the Muslim League was the resistance from officials. The Governor of the NWFP, George Cunningham, notified Wavell that there could be objections if Jinnah nominated all members from the Muslim League.²⁰⁴ Similarly, feedback from various sections of India indicated that exclusive representation might provoke resentment or agitation among the Muslims in their respective areas.²⁰⁵ Concurrently, Jinnah was also involved in multiple meetings with League members to prepare them for the upcoming general elections.²⁰⁶ Towards the end of the first week, Congress leaders were actively engaging with high-ranking officials, sparking heightened Muslim sentiments in the lead-up to the Elections. Their primary agenda revolved around securing the release of all political prisoners. Since the announcement of Elections, Abul Kalam Azad, the President of All India Congress, consistently pressed high officials for the freedom of detainees.²⁰⁷

During Mid-August, Azad repeated his plea to Wavell for the release of political detainees. Wavell responded by stating that there was currently no consideration for

²⁰² Governor of Punjab, *H.D. Craik*. "Letter to the Viceroy *Linlithgow*." Dated Nov 25, 1938. IOR: 32214.

²⁰³ In the later days, there had been several criticisms on Zafarullah Khan exchanging information with the Head of Ahmadiyya Sect, Mirza Bashir ul Din, to which he published a denial as well. (Annex:50)

²⁰⁴ Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, ed., *The Transfer of Power*, 1 September 1944-28 July 1945, Vol. 5 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1974), 1190

²⁰⁵ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2020), 300.

²⁰⁶ "Guiding League Leaders on Elections", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 31, 1945.

²⁰⁷ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 12, 1945.

indiscriminate releases. The issue remained unresolved, leading Azad to write to Wavell again, this time specifying the names of leaders he believed should be set free. He argued that socialist leaders like Jaiprakash Narain, Ram Manohar Lohia, Achyut Patwardhan, once reintegrated into normal life, would align with the Congress. Despite the release of four detainees in Ferozepur, Azad continued to press for the release of all detainees.²⁰⁸ The correspondences continued until November 20 when Wavell rejected the request, stating that he did not believe lifting the remaining bans on political associations or releasing security prisoners, mostly individuals with a terrorist record, would significantly impact the situation.²⁰⁹ Reports also circulated about the meeting between the aforementioned Congressmen and Viceroy Lord Wavell, focusing on the release of many political prisoners still in custody.

An interesting aspect of this correspondence was Azad's offer to disclose all such letters between him and Lord Wavell with Mr. Jinnah. However, Jinnah responded by ridiculing Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's offer, describing it as futile and childish in a statement.

This offer is futile and childish. It is not a family matter between him and me or a private concern of two individuals. An elementary sense of duty and responsibility as President of the Congress should make him realize that he owes it to the public to release the correspondence so that the whole truth may be placed upon the bar of public opinion.²¹⁰

Subsequently, meetings took place in Bengal between Congress leaders and authorities. According to United Press reports, political circles speculated about the potential for an Azad-Wavell interview in Calcutta. It was suggested that the Congress president had been in communication with the Viceroy on significant matters since the Simla conference, and there was a likelihood of a personal discussion during the Viceroy's presence in Calcutta.²¹¹

Later on, Gandhi conducted interviews with the Governor of Bengal, Mr. R.G. Casey. Notably, one of these meetings occurred on December 3, which was designated as *Maun-Vrat*

²⁰⁸ "Four Detenus to be released from Ferozepur", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 31, 1945.

²⁰⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), November 26, 1945.

²¹⁰ "Jinnah Ridicules Azad's Offer", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 15, 1945.

²¹¹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 08, 1945. (See Annex 6)

[Day of Silence] for Gandhi. Despite this, he visited the Governor and engaged in written conversations. A published picture captured M.K. Gandhi handing over his written reply to the Governor of Bengal during one of these encounters.²¹²

Later on, the President of Congress also had his meeting with the Governor of Bengal along with some other Congress Leaders. The *Civil & Military Gazette* detailed:

The Governor of Bengal, Mr. R. G. Casey, had a meeting this evening at Government House with the President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, says a press note. The meeting lasted about two hours during which His Excellency had a very friendly discussion with the three congress leaders.²¹³

The paper further published that "the possibility of a Wavell-Azad-Patel-Nehru meeting, after the Gandhi-Wavell meeting [...] is hinted at in Congress circles tonight after the 100-minute meeting between the Bengal Governor, Mr. Casey, and Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel, and Pandit Nehru."²¹⁴

Precising about the discussions, the *Civil & Military Gazette* published:

The Governor assured the Congress leaders that there is no indication of adopting delaying tactics, and His Majesty's Government is committed to establishing a positive and cordial atmosphere in which crucial political matters can be resolved. The Congress leaders expressed their willingness to cooperate and create a peaceful atmosphere but highlighted the need for tangible proof of the British Government's sincerity and genuine intentions, given the unchanged attitude towards the Congress despite the change in the English government.²¹⁵

The paper continued:

Reliable sources indicate that today's meeting between the Bengal Governor and the Congress leaders has advanced the political discussions initiated by Mr. Gandhi's four-day interaction with Mr. Casey to a significant stage. The upcoming Gandhi-Wavell meeting on Monday is now eagerly anticipated. The discussions between Casey and the Congress leaders, as per trustworthy sources, encompassed the entire political landscape in the country, particularly in relation to the intentions of His Majesty's Government.²¹⁶

According to the *Civil & Military Gazette* report, the Congress President reiterated the issue of prisoner release, expressing dissatisfaction with the British approach, which he deemed

²¹² "Azad, Patel, Nehru Confer with Mr. Casey", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 8, 1945; Antoine J. Bullier and H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India: Legend and Reality* (Universal Law Publishing Co Ltd, 1991), xix.

²¹³ "Azad, Patel, Nehru Confer with Mr. Casey", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 8, 1945.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid

²¹⁶ Ibid.

insufficiently fair as it necessitated a two-way effort to address the problems. As the focus shifted towards the release of prisoners, the Governor requested the President to provide him with a list of detainees from Bengal for reconsideration, a request to which the President promptly acquiesced.

Trust could not be one-sided. It had to be mutual. There was no evidence of such mutual trust because the change of Government in England had not been reflected in the attitude of the Central and provincial Governments in India towards the Congress. The Congress President, it is understood, referred to the non-release of several political prisoners despite repeated requests and the continued ban on certain political organizations and restrictions on meetings and processions. The Congress President is stated to have pointed out that this attitude of the Central and provincial Governments in India could not be regarded as helpful to creating an aim and peaceful atmosphere in the country. The Bengal Governor, it is further learned, assured the Congress leaders that, with a little effort on both sides, mutual trust could be created. He asked the Congress President to let him have a list of the Bengal prisoners still in detention, and he would review their cases.

The *Civil & Military Gazette* reported that discussions among Congress leaders at Governor House extended until 7:45 p.m. (Bengal Time). Following their departure, the crowd outside Government House maintained their enthusiasm in greeting them. Earlier reporting about their reception, it elaborated:

Just before 6 p.m. Bengal Time, the Congress leaders arrived at Government House. The Private Secretary to the Governor received them and escorted them to the Governor's study, where they jointly met His Excellency. A sizable crowd of well-dressed individuals, mostly on their way back from work, gathered outside the northern gate of Government House to witness the leaders' arrival for the interview. The leaders' dark-colored car, displaying a Congress flag, received cheers of "Matram" and "Bande." The leaders engaged in discussions with His Excellency during their time at Government House.²¹⁷

Later on, on December 5, 1945, Governor Casey of Bengal corresponded with Wavell regarding his meeting with Gandhi. Casey conveyed that Gandhi had requested him to engage with Azad, Nehru, and possibly one or two other members of the Congress Working Committee. Subsequently, on December 8, 1945, Casey updated Lord Wavell, informing him that he had met with Azad, Patel, and Nehru the previous night. According to them, the release of all political prisoners would serve as evidence of goodwill on the part of the authorities.²¹⁸

²¹⁷ "Azad, Patel, Nehru Confer with Mr. Casey", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 8, 1945.

²¹⁸ Antoine J. Bullier and H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India: Legend and Reality* (Universal Law Publishing Co Ltd, 1991), xix.

Wavell diligently reported all such communications between Azad, Casey, and himself to Lord Pethick Lawrence. Consequently, it was well-known that Azad, in his capacity as the President of Congress, along with others, advocated for the release of all political prisoners, including prominent figures like Jaiprakash Narain and Ram Manohar Lohia. Later, Gandhi aligned himself with those advocating for the release of prisoners. In a letter dated April 2, 1946, addressed to Lord Pethick Lawrence, Gandhi expressed his stance on the matter.

It is the immediate release of political prisoners irrespective of the charge of violence or nonviolence. They cannot be a danger to the State now that the necessity for Independence has become common cause. It seems to be ridiculous to keep, say Shri Jaiprakash Narain and Dr. Lohis, both learned and cultured men of whom any society would proud, nor is there any occasion for treating any person as an underground worker.²¹⁹

There seemed some manifest confusion between the roles and authority of Congress leadership as well. A letter received at the *Civil & Military Gazette* that whom to believe? Who was more authoritative? The Mahatma Gandhi or Mr. C.R? In a recent statement C.R, he said that Mr. Jinnah was not sincere and so his belief in him was shaken when during Bombay talks, he rejected the Offer which according to him accepted Pakistan in essence. But interestingly after the breakdown of the Bombay talks, Mahatma Gandhi told Mr. Stuart in an interview for the *News Chronicle* (London), that "[...] I believe that Mr. Jinnah is sincere; we have parted as friends. These days have not been wasted. I am convinced that Mr. Jinnah is a good man. I hope we shall meet again"²²⁰

Criticism Over Proposed Discussions in India

On December 5, 1945, an announcement was made that after the elections in India, preparatory discussions would be conducted with the elected representatives of British India and the Indian States to 'secure the widest measure of agreement as to the method of framing a

²¹⁹ Antoine J. Bullier and H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India: Legend and Reality* (Universal Law Publishing Co Ltd, 1991), xix.

²²⁰ Letters to the Editor; *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 20, 1945.

constitution.²²¹ This sudden revelation of an alternative plan to address the deadlock before approaching the elections was not well-received. The *Civil & Military Gazette* expressed its sentiments regarding this development that:

The Government's decision to send an all-party delegation to India has had a mixed reception in the British Press, according to *Reuter*, Indian political opinion should be reminded of the realities of the present position by the statement on India presented recently. The Paper also marked the statement as a 'straight forward program which has thrown open the door through which Indians can pass to complete unfettered control of their own internal affairs.'²²²

The indigenous response to this was not appreciative. Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose, President of the All-India Trade Union, characterized it as an attempt of nervousness. He went on to express that the announcement indicated a pattern of indecision, which he deemed detrimental to both India and England. Mr. Bose emphasized the unfortunate aspect that "the Labor Government could not persuade itself to go beyond the idea of creating another Simon Commission."²²³

Baba Kharak Singh, a Sikh veteran²²⁴, remarked that the announcement regarding the proposed visit did not reflect favorably on the Labor Government, which had been anticipated with high hopes by India. Emphasizing the concept of freedom, he stated:

It is not in the nature for any foreign nation to bestow freedom as a gift to another nation in subjection. Freedom has to be won, and I will appeal to the Congress in particular and the Indian masses in general to get ready to give a decisive fight for winning complete independence. Those who believe that the Britishers will give independence to India are living in a fools' paradise.²²⁵

In response to these comments, the Secretary of State conveyed that the certain unjustified suggestions had gained wide currency in India, asserting that these discussions would be a fruitful source of delay.²²⁶ He further added:

His Majesty's Government regard the setting up of a constitution making body by which Indians will decide their own future, and also other proposals embodied in the announcement as a matter of the greatest urgency.²²⁷

²²¹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 06, 1945.

²²² "Unfettered Control of Own Affairs ", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 07, 1945.

²²³ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 10, 1945.

²²⁴ He was one of the founders of the *Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak* Committee (SGPC) and the first president of the organization and *Shiromani Akali Dal*.

²²⁵ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 10, 1945.

²²⁶ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 11, 1945.

²²⁷ *Ibid*.

Shifting the Onus

The introduction of Sikandar Hayat Khan as a non-League Muslim member of the Viceroy's Council faced dissatisfaction among the Muslim League members. Khan Ghazanfar Ali Khan issued a challenge to the Unionists, urging them to reconcile the Unionist Party's commitment to limit its election activities solely to the Punjab Assembly with the party's insistence on securing a seat in the Viceroy's Council.²²⁸ Responding to this, Khan Bahadur Faiz Muhammad, the Parliamentary Secretary, remarked:

Malik Khizar Hayat Khan did press for the appointment of a non-League Punjabi Muslim as a member of the Viceroy's Council. This is not the same thing as saying that a Unionist may be appointed [...] The statement issued by Quaid-i-Azam on July 14 last [...] finally we broke as Lord Wavell insisted upon his having one non-League nominee of Malik Khizar Hayat representing the Punjab Muslims [...] this is quite clear that Malik Khizer Hayat Khan pressed for the appointment of a non-League Muslim and not the Unionists.²²⁹

The culture of blame-shifting originated with Congress supporters who propagated rumors about the upcoming delegation [Cabinet Mission]. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), reported that despite Congress sympathizers persisting in expressing their disappointment, their assertion that the parliamentary delegation aimed at intentional delays was evidently unfounded. This was because no action was planned until after the elections and the convening of the new Legislatures. As a result, the delegation's inquiries wouldn't cause any unnecessary delays, and there was hope that positive outcomes could emerge, contributing to improving the overall atmosphere.²³⁰

On the contrary, the *Civil & Military Gazette* also strongly criticized the statements published by *Herald*, asserting that the newspaper had exaggerated the significance of the delegation. The *Herald's* interpretation, presenting this move as evidence of the Labor Government's proactive stance compared to Mr. Amery's 'Do-Nothing Attitude,' was

²²⁸ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), October 26, 1945.

²²⁹ "Unionists and Simla Conference", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), November 1, 1945.

²³⁰ "Congress Complaint of Delaying Tactics", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 07, 1945.

particularly scrutinized. Simultaneously, the *Times* cautioned the Government, emphasizing that dispatching the delegation should not serve as a substitute for the critical thinking and meticulous planning urgently needed at that time.²³¹

As the second week of December 1945 commenced, the election preparations were nearing completion. Political parties had initiated the distribution of tickets to the eligible classes, and the selection lists for various constituencies were published in multiple phases. By the onset of the second week, the Muslim League, Congress, Unionists, Communists, and Sikhs, among others, had largely concluded the selection of their candidates.²³²

Frontier Gandhi's Perspective

The eminent frontier leader, famously recognized as Frontier Gandhi i.e., Abdul Ghaffar Khan [Bacha Khan] made the conscious choice to align with Congress. His conviction rested on the belief that Congress stood as the exclusive representative of Indian people. In his own words:

I joined the Congress for the independence of my country, and I stick to it for this very reason, as it is my belief that the Congress is the only political body fighting for the freedom of India [...] There was a cold touch for me in the flat refusal of the Muslim League and the Muslim Conference when I approached them for help when we were in trouble. At that hour of need, only the Congress stood by us [...] Can I forget that timely help? Can we be so ungrateful? We who are Pathans by race, can never do that. The Congress stood by us and we are bound to stand by the Congress.²³³

Later in the first week of December, Abdul Ghaffar Khan participated in the Congress Working Committee Session held in Calcutta. While enroute, during an interaction with the press in Lahore, he asserted that the ultimate objective of the British government was to strengthen the Church Government. Regardless of whether it was a Labour, Liberal, or Conservative government, they displayed indifference to the aspirations of the English people in England or any other country. However, they were united in their pursuit of maintaining

²³¹ "Congress Complaint of Delaying Tactics", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 07, 1945.

²³² *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 12, 1945.

²³³ "Joined Congress for India's Independence", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), November 07, 1945.

dominance over India, emerging as advocates equally devoted to preserving their influence over the 400,000,000 people of the Indian subcontinent.²³⁴

Pre-Election Worries: A Closer Look at Concerns

The foreign press remained uncertain about the elections, occasionally shedding light on the entire electoral system. The *Manchester Guardian*, reported:

What is becoming increasingly clear in connection with India's progress towards self-government is that it is impossible for Muslims or any religious minority group ever to transform itself under the system of separate electorates into a majority in a general election. Such a change is possible only for a political or an economic group in a democratic system. A religious group on the other hand must be satisfied with a permanent minority status so long as it clings to a separate electorate.²³⁵

At that point, the singular focus of all Indian political parties was on the upcoming elections. It wouldn't be inaccurate to characterize the overall atmosphere as predominantly electoral, dominating the center stage of any political or social gathering. C. Rajagopalachari elucidated his proposal for representatives from each province to have the initial choice of declaring whether their province would stay within or opt out of an Indian Union before the formation of a homogeneous Constituent Assembly. He argued that the suggested method would inject a heightened sense of reality into the deliberation of the issue.²³⁶ He also expressed concern about the reconciliation process, highlighting that the parties [Hindus and Muslims] were brought together in such a loose manner that they seemed poised to fracture at the slightest provocation.²³⁷

In addition to the leaders, the common citizens also harbored concerns about specific aspects related to the elections. One prominent worry revolved around the registration of their votes. The prevailing sentiment was that a significant number of individuals were eligible to

²³⁴ "Labor, Liberal or Tory Ministry", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 05, 1945.

²³⁵ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 13, 1945.

²³⁶ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), October 02, 1945.

²³⁷ *ibid.*

vote for the Assembly, yet only a limited few were officially registered. Consequently, there was a call for a comprehensive revision of electoral rolls, seen as an imperative step for upholding the principles of democracy. The appeal was for all political parties to collaboratively advocate for the revision of the existing electoral rolls.²³⁸

Likewise, concerning the Central Assembly, there were rumors and some evidence suggesting that the number of registered voters compared to qualified voters was disproportionately low.²³⁹ Sikhs also appeared notably concerned about the voting system, with some holding the view that the introduced electoral system was structured in a way that accentuated religious differences.²⁴⁰

Religious Manipulation in Elections: Government Response and Criticism

Subsequently, there were rumors circulating that specific groups had resorted to threatening voters by invoking divine displeasure and exploiting religious sentiments once again. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), reported:

The Punjab Premier issued a statement that the Government had been impressed by the number of complaints that voters had been threatened with divine displeasure if they exercised their votes against particular parties. The Government further clarified that it was a criminal offence to endeavor in this way to influence the voters.²⁴¹

The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), reported that the Punjab Government imposed substantial fines and empowered magistrates to prosecute individuals engaged in such spiritual threats. The directive faced criticism from the Muslim League, indicating that those responsible were predominantly associated with the Muslim League. Sir Feroze Khan Noon, commenting on the aforementioned action, contended that the Unionist Ministry's primary target was The Muslim League workers, including the Pirs, who had played a dedicated role in awakening the

²³⁸ "Letters to the Editor", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 27, 1945.

²³⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 27, 1945.

²⁴⁰ "Voting System Setup to Stress", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), November 09, 1945.

²⁴¹ "Threat of a divine displeasure", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 22, 1946.

Muslim masses.²⁴² Adding a strong religious touch to his statement and infusing it with spiritual affiliations, he remarked:

The present Government make it a crime for us to mention the name of God and Islam to the electorate [...] Can we divorce the Muslim League from Islam? Islam is inherent in what we preach from the Muslim League platform. Islam is not merely a creed, but our conduct of life.²⁴³

A British Member of Parliament, Mr. William Cove, echoing similar sentiments on religious matters, remarked that:

It was impossible to have a democracy in a country where franchise was based on the religious opinions, and if the British system was based on such principle, then the communal problem would be insoluble...the solution of the Indian Problem is that religious opinions must be free and the franchise must be comprehensive.²⁴⁴

Expanding on the subject of British involvement and influence in Indian matters, he remarked; "Why not let Indians solve it themselves? If it is true that they will cut each other's throats, why should we intervene? Are we really in India to prevent Indians killing each other?"²⁴⁵

In his fortnightly report to Viceroy Lord Wavell, Punjab Governor Bertrand Glancy raised alarms about the growing fervor in the speeches of The Muslim League members. Maulvis and Pirs, traveling across the province, used slogans and threats to press the masses into voting for the Muslim League, suggesting that failing to do so might even impact their marital bonds. Glancy observed that by rallying behind the slogan 'Islam in Danger,' the Muslim League aimed to secure a substantial victory, surpassing the Unionist candidate without a doubt.²⁴⁶

January Polls Set the Stage for Political Shifts

The inaugural elections for provincial assemblies commenced on January 9 in Assam. Voting for general constituencies occurred on January 9, while for Mahomedan constituencies,

²⁴² "Prosecution for threats to Electorate", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 23, 1946.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ "Communal issue insoluble", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 23, 1946.

²⁴⁵ "Let Indians solve their problems", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 23, 1946.

²⁴⁶ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2020), 317.

it took place on January 10. Subsequent to this, elections were held in the North-West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P), Sind, and the Punjab, all within the month of January.²⁴⁷ The outcomes of the 1945-46 elections elevated the challenges faced by the British Raj to a new level, introducing a fresh wave of Hindu-Muslim tensions.²⁴⁸

The Muslim League achieved a resounding success with 86.6% support in areas predominantly Muslim, establishing itself as the 'Sole Representative of the Muslims.' This slogan had been consistently voiced by the Muslim League since the onset of the Cripps Mission.²⁴⁹ In contrast, the Congress, while winning the majority of seats in the General Constituencies representing non-Muslim areas (covering 91.3% of the votes), could not conclusively establish itself as the exclusive representative of All India. The fact that 8 to 9 crores of Muslims cast their votes in favor of the Muslim League underscored the reality that no settlement could be reached without consulting the Muslim population.²⁵⁰

The Dynamics of Cabinet Making

The subsequent focus shifted towards the 'Cabinet Making' process in Punjab, serving as the fundamental objective of these elections. The election campaign predominantly revolved around religious grounds for the Muslim League, while the Congress emphasized a narrative of a United India in their rallies and speeches. These persuasive speeches prompted Wavell to correspond with H.M.G, urging a prompt transition of powers and the establishment of constituent assemblies. The proposed concept aimed to establish an Executive Council at the center with provincial ministries in other regions.²⁵¹

²⁴⁷ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 3, 1946

²⁴⁸ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 27, 1946

²⁴⁹ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2020), 322.

²⁵⁰ Antoine J. Bullier and H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India: Legend and Reality* (Universal Law Publishing Co Ltd, 1991), xii.

²⁵¹ *ibid.*40.

Wavell, in a suggestion to the Secretary of State dated 27 December 1945 and later reiterated on 7th February, proposed the implementation of a Demarcation Award to delineate the 'Genuinely Muslim Areas,' putting forth his vision of division. In response, Jinnah conveyed his willingness to accept various proposals but adamantly refused to compromise on the creation of Pakistan.²⁵² His stance remained clear. The *Times* (New York), captured his reluctant demeanor with the headline "Jinnah Threatens Civil War"²⁵³, citing his warning that if the British failed to grant Pakistan within six Muslim-majority provinces, a Muslim revolt would erupt throughout India.²⁵⁴ The *Civil & Military Gazette* also published a cartoon elaborating this situation, which reveals how the editorial seen this all.



Figure 4: *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 26, 1946

²⁵² Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2020), 332.

²⁵³ *Deccan Times* (Madras), February 24, 1946

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

In February, Jinnah engaged in multiple meetings with the Governor of Bengal, Richard Casey, in Calcutta, alongside other leaders of the Muslim League. Following his return from one such meeting, an Associated Press Correspondent inquired whether there was any substance to the rumor suggesting a potential meeting between the presidents of both the Congress and the Muslim League in Calcutta. Mr. Jinnah dismissed the query with laughter, stating, "You don't put me such questions."²⁵⁵

Double Trouble

The Punjab faced a crucial period in cabinet formation, initiated by the Governor's invitation to Sir Khizar Hayat Khan to form a council of ministers, which he readily accepted. In discussions with various political leaders, including Bhim Sen Bachar, Sardar Baldev Singh, and the Nawab of Mamdot, it was asserted that the League held a majority and could establish a stable ministry. Sir Khizar claimed a solid following of 93 members, while the Nawab of Mamdot asserted support from 78 League members, with the prospect of ten more if needed for a cabinet.²⁵⁶ Talking about Khizer's press talk, the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), published:

In a statement to the press, Sir Khizar Hayat Khan expressed, "Two years ago, the differences that arose between Mr. Jinnah and myself had reference not to the policy being pursued by the Unionist party in the field of provincial administration, but to the position which the Muslim League party in the provincial Legislature should take up vis-a-vis other groups and parties in the Legislature. "It was then of the view, to which I adhere even more firmly today, that given the juxtaposition of parties and communities in the province, the only practicable basis of party formation should be economic rather than communal.

Following the Governor's decision, the situation escalated, becoming tense and complicated. In response to these developments, the Viceroy found it necessary to clarify and report

²⁵⁵ "Mr. Jinnah meets Mr. Casey", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 23, 1946.

²⁵⁶ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 7, 1946.

his findings to H.M.G. Recognizing the need to address the escalating tensions and bridge the gap between the two nations, the announcement of the Cabinet Mission's visit was made.²⁵⁷

It is noteworthy to mention that a mob attacked the car of the Governor of Punjab in Lahore. This incident occurred as he was returning to the Government House from the Secretariat. Student demonstrators were involved in the attack, resulting in the breaking of the windscreen and window panes. Additionally, the Union Jack flying from the bonnet was torn during the disturbance.²⁵⁸

The Mission

On February 19, 1946, Lord Pethick Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, made an announcement in the House of Lords. The declaration stated that three Cabinet Ministers were set to travel to India with the purpose of engaging in discussions with leaders of Indian opinion regarding the formulation of an Indian constitution.²⁵⁹ The objective of their visit was to seek a solution to the complex issues surrounding India by consulting leaders from both major political parties and other political forces.²⁶⁰

The mission was intended to address and undertake three key steps during its visit. As reported by the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore):

Three steps include, first, preparatory discussions with elected representatives of British India and with Indian States, in order to secure the widest measure of agreement as to the method of framing a constitution; second, the setting up of a constituent making body and, third, the bringing into being of an Executive Council, having the support of the main Indian parties.²⁶¹

²⁵⁷ Antoine J. Bullier and H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India: Legend and Reality* (Universal Law Publishing Co Ltd, 1991), 40.

²⁵⁸ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 28, 1946.

²⁵⁹ Chander, Jag Parvesh. *India Steps Forward: The Story of the Cabinet Mission in India in Words & Pictures*. (Indian Printing Works, 1946):13.

²⁶⁰ Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, "The Reminiscences of Sir Mohammad Zafrullah," Oral History Research Office: Columbia University, 1962, 74.

²⁶¹ "Early Realization of Self Rule", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 20, 1946.

There were debates and discussions surrounding the announcement of the aforementioned Mission. The leader of the opposition sought specific clarifications from the Prime Minister, Mr. Anthony Eden, while the Acting Leader of the Opposition inquired:

I would also ask whether Parliament will have an opportunity to discuss any developments of policy that may arise out of this visit, and may I tell the Prime Minister that, though it is hard to say at present, it may be that we would like to have an opportunity to discuss India before Ministers leave [...] Finally, and most importantly of all, may I ask the Prime Minister to make it clear that the main lines of British policy in respect of India still stand: that is to say, that it is the responsibility of Indians and not the Ministers from this country to bring about a constitution-making body.²⁶²

In response to the Leader of the Opposition and addressing the authority of the Mission during the visit, Mr. Attlee stated:

...I am not sure whether it is feasible to have a debate before they go out. In any case there is a Bill coming down to the House, designed to give the Viceroy more elbow room in the formation of his Cabinet on which discussion could rise...²⁶³

Addressing another question about whether a time limit was imposed on the visit by Mr. Reginald Sorensen (Labor), Mr. Attlee responded that, of course, no specific time limit was prescribed, but one hoped they would not be kept out there for an extended period.²⁶⁴

Before the dispatch of the Cabinet Mission to India, Mr. Clement Attlee, the British Prime Minister, told the house of Commons amid cheers that:

The British Cabinet Mission to India was going out resolved to succeed and he was sure that everyone would wish the ministers God Speed. What form of Government to replace the present regime is for India to decide but our desire is to help her setup forthwith a machinery for making that decision. There you have met with the initial difficulty of getting that machinery setup, but we are resolved that the machinery shall be set up and we seek the utmost cooperation of all Indian Leaders to do so.²⁶⁵

Expecting a favorable reply from the Indian populace, the Prime Minister proceeded by expressing:

I hope that the Indian people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that she will find great advantages in doing so...But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for

²⁶² *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 20, 1946.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 15, 1946.

independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible.²⁶⁶

Referring to the proposed treaty between Britain and India Mr. Attlee said: "We are not going to hang out for anything for our own advantage which would be to the disadvantage of India".²⁶⁷

There were extensive debates in the House of Commons regarding the British Cabinet Mission to India, discussing the destiny and future of India. Mr. Richard Butler, a member of the India Franchise Commission of 1941, expressed his desire for clarification on the probable terms of reference or the type of instructions the mission would receive, as he inquired:

...We trust that the mission will go to India in a positive mood and in a positive state of mind [...] They should go proud of Britain's record in India and proud of the fact that we have on repeated occasions made offers to India, which were eloquent of our sincerity [...] Nothing could be more prejudicial to its success than if the members were to be victims of propaganda that Britain has not carried out her pledges...²⁶⁸

Summarizing the British efforts, he added that the best summary of British intentions towards India was made in a speech by Mr. Amery, the former Secretary of State for India on June 14 last, dealing with the interim policy, in which he said that the offer of March 1942 stood in its entirety and that the offer was based on two main principles. 1) no limit was set to India's freedom to decide for herself her own destiny as a member of the British Commonwealth or outside it. 2) this could be achieved if there was a constitution to which the main elements in India's national life were the consenting parties.²⁶⁹

Mr. Godfrey Nicholson of Farnham, a British Conservative Party Member of Parliament (MP) from Surrey, stated that:

A heavy responsibility rests upon this Cabinet Mission, because on their action will depend a great deal in the future. Let it go forth from this House and from this country that we are full of

²⁶⁶ "India: Statement by the Cabinet Mission. (Hansard, 16 May 1946)," accessed January 25, 2023, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1946/may/16/india-statement-by-the-cabinet-mission>.

²⁶⁷ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 15, 1946.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

love and friendliness for India, that we want the Indians to be a free people and that we wish to face with them, in a spirit of comradeship, whatever the future may hold.²⁷⁰

According to Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the mission, the gap between these two perspectives was not considered 'unbridgeable.'²⁷¹ The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) reported the arrival of mission as:

The British Cabinet mission arrived in New Delhi on Sunday with the promise of self-Government for India in its hands and faced by a barrage of statements offering everything from co-operation to civil war.²⁷²

Explaining the sole purpose rather single agenda of the said mission, Dr. Ayesha Jalal states that it was "the need to redraw provincial boundaries if the Muslim provinces were to be given more autonomy than they had previously possessed."²⁷³ The Mission then explored the possibility of a smaller Pakistan, excluding non-Muslim areas in the Eastern Punjab and Western Bengal. It highlighted:

Any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We therefore have been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.²⁷⁴

The Functioning of the Cabinet Mission Plan

Following the Mission's arrival on March 23, 1946, a sequence of meetings and interviews with Indian leaders ensued. The primary objective was to evaluate the prevailing trends among the Indian leadership.²⁷⁵ On April 2, there was a meeting with Abul Kalam Azad, the President of All India Congress, discussing the Interim Government Plan. Azad opposed

²⁷⁰ *Al Hakam* (London), July 8, 2022.

²⁷¹ Sudhir Ghosh, *Gandhi's Emissary* (London: Cresset Press, 1967),96.

²⁷² "New chapter in India's History begins", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 25, 1946.

²⁷³ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge University Press, 1994),176.

²⁷⁴ Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, ed., *The Transfer of Power, 23 March -29 June 1946*, Vol. 7 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1977), 585

²⁷⁵ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 2, 1946.

the Two Nation Theory, stating that Pakistan wouldn't solve the communal problem.²⁷⁶ The Mission met Gandhi on April 3. Gandhi disagreed with Jinnah's Two Nation Theory and mentioned his efforts in the previous year to persuade Jinnah had yielded no results.²⁷⁷ Gandhi suggested giving the interim government to Jinnah and letting him choose ministers according to his preferences.²⁷⁸

On April 4, the Cabinet Missions' meeting with Jinnah took place. The Mission met Jinnah for around three hours. The mission asked him the reason and justification of Pakistan to which he responded that India never remained united before as well. He further added that if India was left un-divided, it would certainly result into some serious bloodshed. He could not agree to any plan which would derogate the sovereignty of Pakistan.²⁷⁹ Additionally, Jinnah engaged in a seventy-minute conversation with Tara Singh, the head Akali Leader, but the talks proved unproductive with no fruitful results.²⁸⁰

It was noted that after meeting the Cabinet Mission, Congress leaders consistently emphasized the narrative of a United India with a single Constituent Assembly and the immediate formation of an Interim Government, whether formally or informally. In contrast, Mr. Jinnah and other League members explicitly presented their demand for Pakistan to the Cabinet Mission. They urged the Mission to make a decision on the Pakistan Plan before agreeing to the establishment of an Interim Government. Jinnah went to the extent of not only requesting an announcement but also demanding assurance for Pakistan.²⁸¹

On April 5, the princes from the Princely States of India met with the Cabinet Mission. They expressed a straightforward stance, unanimously agreeing and committing to coordinate

²⁷⁶ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 3, 1946.

²⁷⁷ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 4, 1946.

²⁷⁸ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2020), 3328.

²⁷⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 6, 1946.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 7, 1946.

without imposing any conditions towards the British policy of granting independence. Subsequently, some of the princes proposed the concept of Rajasthan, but the Mission did not adopt this idea.²⁸² The *Civil & Military Gazette* reported that:

The Indian Princes through their spokesmen, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Nawab of Bhopal, have made it clear to the Mission that the Indian Princes are fully behind India's demand for immediate independence, that they have no desire to stand in the way of British India and that they themselves are prepared to make adjustments in their internal structure so as to fall in line with the British Indian administration. The princes have also unequivocally declared that they are in favor of a United India.²⁸³

Recognizing the paramount significance of the Cabinet Mission and the dialogues held with leaders, nearly all political parties promptly convened their respective working committee meetings, either soon after or during these interactions. The purpose behind these meetings was to thoroughly discuss the ongoing negotiations and strategize for the anticipated outcomes. The decision of the Congress President to call a meeting on April 12 and the continuous sessions of the Muslim League Working Committee in Delhi since March 30 exemplify the widespread effort among parties to engage with and respond to the evolving dynamics of the talks.²⁸⁴



Figure 5: *The Cabinet Mission at work; Civil & Military Gazette, April 07, 1946.*

²⁸² *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 8, 1946.

²⁸³ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 6, 1946.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

On April 5, the Sikh delegation, led by Giani Kartar Singh and Sardar Harnam Singh, met with the Cabinet Mission. During the meeting, Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, expressed Sikh opposition to Pakistan and insisted on *Sikhistan* if Pakistan were granted.²⁸⁵ Sardar Baldev Singh, another Sikh representative, also voiced opposition to Pakistan but favored a United India. In the event of partition, Harnam Singh proposed a separate Sikh land, encompassing Ambala and Jullundur.²⁸⁶ While, Sardar Baldev Singh advocated for *Khalistan*, a separate land, proposing the river Chenab as its boundary.²⁸⁷ Discussions included the establishment of a Sikh State, addressing boundaries and methods for creation, with Master Tara Singh suggesting realigning provincial boundaries for a separate Sikh province in united India, reducing the Muslim majority.²⁸⁸

On the same day, Dr. Ambedkar emphasized the importance of ensuring that the Scheduled Castes are not at the mercy of caste Hindus. In his extensive 65-minute meeting with the mission, he sought safeguards for the scheduled castes and submitted a memorandum outlining the perspective of the Scheduled Caste Federation.²⁸⁹

According to the *Civil & Military Gazette*, Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, the Premier of Punjab, played a significant role in the discussions with the Cabinet Mission by presenting his distinct ideas on the matter of Pakistan, which notably deviated from the stance of the Muslim League.²⁹⁰

On April 8, Mr. Jinnah participated in another crucial meeting with the delegation, extending over three hours. Throughout this extensive discussion, he directed his focus towards

²⁸⁵ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 6, 1946.

²⁸⁶ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 7, 1946.

²⁸⁷ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2020), 341.

²⁸⁸ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 6, 1946.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

the concerns and interests of the Mussalmans, reiterating that the safeguarding of Muslims could only be ensured through the establishment of Pakistan. Notably, when queried about the prospect of reaching an agreement with the Congress, his categorical response was a firm 'No!'.²⁹¹ Simultaneously, on the same day, Huseyn Suharwardy engaged with the delegation, conveying a perspective aligned with the Muslim League's vision. Suharwardy asserted that no Muslim was in opposition to the idea of Pakistan and emphasized that a divided India was the only feasible Resolution. He urged the Congress to recall their historical willingness to accept more modest demands and accommodate the greater number of Hindus within a democratic constitution. However, Suharwardy pointed out that the Congress had consistently rebuffed these modest demands. Consequently, he argued that the only remaining option was to demand separation, asserting the legitimate right of Muslims.²⁹²

Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, the Premier of Punjab, significantly contributed to the discussions with the Cabinet Mission by presenting distinct ideas on Pakistan, diverging from the Muslim League's stance. In a 65-minute interview, he expressed his views on critical issues, followed by an additional 15-minute discussion with the Mission staff, providing further insights. Notably, it became news for the press that he spent an extra 15 minutes in the Viceroy lodge, adding an intriguing dimension to his involvement in the ongoing deliberations.²⁹³ However, the secretary of the Punjab Unionist Party later refuted claims that the Premier introduced any new scheme regarding Pakistan. The *Civil & Military Gazette* published his statement that:

The news emanating from certain press sources that he [Khizar Hayat] submitted a new version or scheme of Pakistan and a memorandum to the Mission regarding the recent election in the Punjab is entirely conjectural and a myth. The Premier submitted no scheme or memorandum of any sort. The delay of 15 minutes that took place after the Premier's interview with the Mission had no political significance. The Premier only conversed with old friends, who had been

²⁹¹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 10, 1946.

²⁹² *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 11, 1946.

²⁹³ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 6, 1946.

working for long years with his late lamented father, General Sir Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana in the India Office.²⁹⁴

Sir Evans Jenkins Assumes Governorship

Meanwhile, a new Governor for Punjab, Sir Evans Jenkins, was appointed in succession to Bertrand Glancy. He traveled from Delhi to Lahore on a special train to attend the ceremony, where he was welcomed by Punjab Premier Khizer Hayat Khan and around 80 cabinet members at the Lahore Railway Station. Notably, Sir Evans Jenkins had started his career 20 years ago as an assistant commissioner in Hoshiarpur. This transition marked a significant event in Punjab's



Figure 6: Welcoming the New Governor; *Civil & Military Gazette*, April 09, 1946.

²⁹⁴ "No New Version of Pakistan Submitted", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 7, 1946.

governance. This appointment underscored the historical context, with Sir Evans Jenkins having commenced his career as an assistant commissioner in Hoshiarpur 20 years ago.²⁹⁵

Political Horizon at Simla

The political parties were invited to Simla to carry on their findings in bringing about the constitution making process successful. They had almost eight sessions to discuss, what would be the fate of India, but unfortunately the conference failed badly.²⁹⁶ The representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League had met for eight days with the Cabinet Delegation and hopes of Indians for a settlement had fluctuated up and down with almost every move of the delegation.²⁹⁷ It was a shocking blow to Indians, many of whom had expected a quick transition from a "British controlled country to an Indian controlled country."²⁹⁸

The *Civil Military Gazette* published the statement by the Cabinet Mission:

The British Cabinet Delegation and H.E. the Viceroy, while greatly regretting that the discussions in Simla have not led to any agreed plan, entreat the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League to proceed with the working out of a new Indian constitution. It is essential to clarify that this does not, in any way, bring to an end the mission with which they were charged by H.M. the King and the British people.²⁹⁹



Figure 7: *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 7, 1946.

²⁹⁵ "Punjab's New Governor Sworn in", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 9, 1946.

²⁹⁶ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 14, 1946.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 15, 1946.

²⁹⁹ "Missions' Statement", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 9, 1946.

The paper further published the following communique, issued by the tripartite conference:

After considering the views put forward by the two parties, the conference has come to the conclusion that no use would be served by further discussions, and therefore, the conferences should be brought to a conclusion. The Cabinet Mission desires to emphasize the fact that no blame can be placed on either party for the breakdown of the conference, as both sides did their utmost for a settlement. It is proposed in the course of a few days to publish the correspondence that has passed between the parties during the conference.³⁰⁰

As reported by the *Civil & Military Gazette*, the specific reason for the breakdown in negotiations was not officially disclosed. However, as the discussions approached a critical juncture, sources from both sides conveyed their positions. A mutual sense of resentment emerged, with each side accusing the other of being "intransigent" and unwilling to compromise. Primarily, the Congress contended that the Muslim League insisted on the partition of the northern regions of India into a separate and fully independent Muslim state. The Congress argued that the entire country should be governed in specific matters by the Central Executive, encompassing areas such as foreign affairs, defense, communications, and a substantial portion of the Finance Department to finance other central departments.³⁰¹

During the conference, the Muslim League and the Congress devised their respective plans, which included:

The Congress Plan

1. The Constituent Assembly shall be formed by elected representatives elected by each provincial assembly by proportional representation. The Representatives of the princely states will be on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India.
2. The Constituent Assembly shall draw up a constitution for the Federal Union. It will consist of an all-India federal government and Legislature dealing with foreign affairs, defense, communications, fundamental rights, currency, customs and planning, as well as other subjects as may be found to be allied intimately to them. The Federal Union will have the necessary powers to acquire finances needed for these subjects and thus the power to raise revenue in its own right. Additionally, it must have powers to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the Constitution and in grave emergencies.

³⁰⁰ "Missions' Statement", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 9, 1946.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

3. All the remaining powers will be vested in the provinces or units.
4. Groups of provinces may be formed which can determine the provincial subjects they desire to take in common.
5. After the Constituent Assembly had framed the Union Federal Constitution the representatives of the provinces may form groups to decide provincial constitutions for their groups and for the group.
6. No major point in the Indian Federal Union which affects communal matters shall be deemed to be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of members of the community or communities concerned present and voting in the Assembly separately are in its favor. In case of no agreement on such an issue, it would be referred to arbitration. In case of doubt on whether an issue is communal or not, the Speaker can decide, or it can be referred to the Federal Court.
7. If a dispute arises in the process of Constitution-making, it can be referred for arbitration.
8. The Constitution should provide machinery for its revision subject to such checks as may be desired. It can be laid down that the whole Constitution may be reconsidered after ten years.³⁰²

The Muslim League Plan

1. The Muslim-majority provinces must be grouped together as one group.
2. They must appoint their own Constitution-making body which will deal with all matters, except defense, foreign affairs and communications.
3. Provincial governments will deal with all other matters and will have residuary powers.
4. There will be a separate Constitution-making body for the Hindu group.
5. The Muslim and Hindu groups will separately frame constitutions for the group and for the provinces within them.
6. Each province will have the option to opt out of the group after the constitution for the group has been framed.
7. Each community in each province will be properly represented in the group and in each province within the group.
8. The Union will be limited to three subjects: foreign affairs, defense and communications. Its financing will be decided by the joint meeting of the two Constitution-making bodies.
9. There will be parity of representation of the two groups in the Union executive and Legislature, if any.
10. No major point in the Union Constitution which affects the Communal issue will be passed unless a majority of the representatives of the Hindu-majority provinces and Muslim-majority provinces are present and voting separately in its favor.³⁰³

The Cabinet Mission Proposals

Having concluded the final negotiations, the British Cabinet Mission faced the task of formulating their own plan for India's independence. According to the *Civil & Military Gazette*, the prospects for the acceptance of their Plan were anticipated to be equally challenging. It

³⁰² *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 13, 1946.

³⁰³ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 12, 1946.

appeared as challenging to secure approval for their plan as it was for the Congress and The Muslim League to agree on one.³⁰⁴

The Cabinet Mission proposed the following:

1. There should be a union of India, embracing both British India and the princely states, which should deal with foreign affairs, defense and communications and have the power to raise finances required for those three areas of government activity.
2. All other areas of policy would be vested in the provinces.
3. The princely states would retain all powers other than those ceded to the Union.
4. The provinces would be free to form groups, with each group forming their own executive and Legislatures, and each group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken up in common.
5. The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of so years and at 10 years intervals thereafter.³⁰⁵
6. Representation should be given to three groups—General (Hindus and others), Muslim and Sikh representatives in the provincial Legislatures, with each group electing its own members.
7. Three sections or groups should be constituted by the provinces. Group A should include the Hindu-majority provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Orissa. Group B should include the Muslim-majority provinces of the north-west: the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind. Group C should include the Muslim-majority provinces of the north-east: Bengal and Assam.
8. It was calculated that in the Constituent Assembly consisting of 385 members, elected by each provincial Legislature of the three groups, General seats (Hindus and other communities minus Muslims and Sikhs) would be 210, Muslim seats 78 and princely states would have 93 seats.³⁰⁶
9. Several clauses about the Constituent Assembly, which would frame a constitution for the federation, were taken up. It was stated that the government assigned the greatest attachment to the setting up of an interim government enjoying the support of the major parties. The British intention was now to create an independent India which would choose to remain a member of the British Commonwealth.³⁰⁷

Gandhi asserted that the Cabinet Mission's proposal should not be labeled solely as an Award but rather as a set of recommendations for the Constituent Assembly. The Mission, in collaboration with the Viceroy, aimed to foster agreement between parties, presenting their suggestions as open to negotiation. This approach allowed the Constituent Assembly the flexibility to alter, reject, or improve upon the proposed recommendations, maintaining its sovereignty in shaping the constitution for an independent India.³⁰⁸ *The Civil & Military*

³⁰⁴ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 14, 1946.

³⁰⁵ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 14, 1946.

³⁰⁶ Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, ed., *The Transfer of Power*, 23 March -29 June 1946, Vol. 7 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1977), 588-589.

³⁰⁷ "Cabinet Mission's Award for India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 17, 1946.

³⁰⁸ "Something to be Proud of", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 17, 1946.

Gazette reported on the rejection of the Pakistan Plan, emphasizing that the refusal was based on the argument that such a state would still have a significant non-Muslim minority. The report specified that Western Pakistan was anticipated to have a minority population of 37.9%, and Eastern Pakistan of 48.3%. The mission suggested a smaller Pakistan without any minority inclusion.³⁰⁹ Jinnah criticized the Cabinet delegation's rejection of the Pakistan Plan in the following words, as reported by the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore):

I regret that mission should have negatived the Muslim demand for the establishment of a complete sovereign state of Pakistan which we still hold, is the only solution of the constitutional problem of India and which alone can secure a stable Government and lead to the happiness and welfare, not only of the two major communities but of all the people of this sub-continent.³¹⁰

The Interim Government:

The British Cabinet Minister made the decision to promptly establish an Interim Government Cabinet. There was genuine hope among officials that both the Congress and the Muslim League would accept the offer to form an Interim Government.³¹¹ The Viceroy extended invitations to 14 individuals to join the interim Government. The invitees included Sardar Baldev Singh, Sir N. P Engineer, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. MA Jinnah, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. H. K Mahtab, Dr. John Matthai, Nawab Muhammad Ismael Khan, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Sardar Abdul Rabb Nishtar, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.³¹²

It was also announced that if any of these invited was unable, for personal reasons, to accept the viceroys offer, the Viceroy after consultation would invite some other person in his place. The Viceroy would arrange the distribution of portfolios in consultation with the leaders of the two major parties.³¹³

³⁰⁹ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2020), 350.

³¹⁰ "Pakistan Rejection Condemned", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 23 1946.

³¹¹ "Interim Government Next Week", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 17 1946.

³¹² "Interim Government of 14", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 16 1946.

³¹³ *Ibid.*

Jinnah accepted the Offer, contingent on two assurances: Firstly, the Defense portfolio was to be assigned to him upon taking the oath. Secondly, any Communal issue would be addressed through mutual agreement between both parties. In response, he was informed that while the second demand could be met, the decision on the first one would rest with His Excellency, the Viceroy.³¹⁴

While the initial invitations were extended to fourteen individuals, subsequent developments witnessed each party outlining their specific criteria for inclusion and exclusion. Jinnah reiterated the central narrative of the Muslim League's Working Committee, emphasizing that no non-Muslim League member should be nominated for the Muslim seat. In a letter to Wavell, Jinnah expressed concerns about the unfulfilled assurance of excluding non-League members and the neglect of the president of AIML's suggestion in the finalization of Muslim representatives from the League.³¹⁵

Jinnah sought negotiations with Congress, conditional upon the creation of a 'viable' state that did not jeopardize the fundamental nature of Pakistan. If Congress resisted, Jinnah advocated for the Mission to impose a Resolution, asserting their capability to do so. In the perspective of Ayesha Jalal:

What Jinnah needed was to get all the parties to agree to dissolve the existing centre, in principle if not in fact, and then immediately to recreate it on the basis of a sovereign Pakistan. In his opinion this alone would ensure the Muslims equal treatment at the centre, since it would be an equality underwritten by the law of nations: a treaty between sovereign states. In return he was prepared to give up parts of the six Muslim provinces (though Assam could hardly be considered a Muslim province) to which he had laid claim. But unless and until Congress came forward with a clear yes, he would not say what he was willing to give up. He wanted to make terms with the Congress, but only if it gave him a viable state, not if it struck at the heart of Pakistan. If Congress refused to budge, then Jinnah wanted the Mission to impose a settlement, and thought they were in a position to do it.³¹⁶

³¹⁴ Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, ed., *The Transfer of Power*, 1 September 1944-28 July 1945, Vol. 7 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1974), 961

³¹⁵ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2020), 358.

³¹⁶ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League, and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 187.

Later, Stafford Cripps held discussions with Azad and Gandhi, conveying the constraint that no Muslim nominee could be accepted. Azad redirected Cripps to Gandhi for further deliberation. Gandhi, in response, apologized, citing Azad's presidency as a reason for consultation. In June 1946, Wavell assured Jinnah that no alterations to the proposed names for the Interim Government would occur without consultation from both parties. The fundamental disagreement persisted, with Congress seeking to nominate a Muslim, a proposition vehemently rejected by Jinnah. Ultimately, Congress declined to endorse the formation of the Interim Government, while the Muslim League, despite accepting the Mission Plan, did not receive the anticipated invitation to assume roles in the Interim Government.³¹⁷

In reaction to these events, Jinnah wrote a strongly worded note, articulating his dissatisfaction with what he perceived as a biased and tilted approach by the British Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy. The note likely detailed Jinnah's objections and apprehensions concerning the composition and decision-making procedures of the proposed Interim Government. It stated:

I maintain that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy have gone back on their words within ten days of the publication of their final proposals in not implementing the statement of June 16, and I fully endorse what has been put so well. Statesmen should not eat their words.³¹⁸

In response to Jinnah's accusation, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy promptly refuted the claim in letters addressed to him, asserting that they had not gone back on their commitment regarding the establishment of the Interim Government. They emphatically stated:

Our course of action was determined by what had been laid down in paragraph eight of the statement of June and we had made it plain to you before your Working Committee meeting on June 25, that we proposed to follow this course.³¹⁹

³¹⁷ Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, ed., *The Transfer of Power*, 1 September 1944-28 July 1945, Vol. 7 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1974),976

³¹⁸ Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. 4, (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1996),2326

³¹⁹ "Jinnah's Suggestions refuted", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 29, 1946

The newspaper analysis show how people were disappointed and worried about the Cabinet Mission Plan failing. The Plan aimed to create a United and Democratic India, but its collapse was seen as a setback, raising fears of more violence and instability. The Mission faced challenges in executing its intended plan and deviated from the approach outlined by Wavell. The proposed Interim Government, as detailed by the *Civil & Military Gazette*, differed from the National Government under the previous year's terms of Offer.³²⁰

According to the publication, the envisaged interim Government was anticipated to be a more effective body, playing a crucial role in the development of a new constitution for India. Additionally, there were expectations of transferring more powers related to external and foreign affairs to Indian Ministers. The duration of the Interim Government would be contingent on the successful realization and implementation of the new constitution.³²¹

In response to the failure of the Simla conference, Dr. Anup Singh, Chairman of the American National Committee for India's Freedom, expressed profound shock. He urged the British Cabinet Mission to announce its opinion on the responsibility for the Simla breakdown.

The *Civil & Military Gazette* published:

The British Cabinet Mission must announce who, in its view, is responsible for the Simla breakdown. The negotiators must announce their own solution and implement it in cooperation with those who are prepared to assume responsibility or refer the case for international arbitration. If the British are not prepared to take any risks, they must leave India, leaving Indians to seek their own solution.³²²

George Bernard Shaw, an English Political activist, expressed the opinion that India should be granted freedom to govern its own affairs. He remarked that if India decided to divide into 50 Pakistans and engage in 50 civil wars, it would be her own business and not anyone else's.³²³ This sentiment echoed the idea that India should have the autonomy to shape its

³²⁰ "Mission's Plan to be different from Wavell's offer", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 15, 1946.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² "Mission Should Announce its opinion", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 15, 1946.

³²³ "Let India Manage her own affairs", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 15, 1946.

destiny. Similarly, the reactions to the Mission were not confined to India alone; they resonated in Britain as well. The *Civil & Military Gazette* published various responses, including one from the Chairman of the Committee of Indian Congressmen in Britain, who asserted:

The British Cabinet Mission and Government will be blamed by the people of Britain if they do not settle with India immediately, just as they blamed the Ministry of Lord North for not coming to an early and amicable settlement with the American colonies [...] We have now in all the provinces [of India] popular Ministries who are quite competent to fill up any vacuum created by the evacuation of the British from India. If Britain hesitates to quit voluntarily and gracefully, the enormous pressure of public opinion exerted by and through these Ministries will force them.³²⁴

Press Discourse on Simla Talks

The failure of the Cabinet Mission's Plan was a significant topic of discussion in both Houses. A report from *Civil & Military Gazette* noted that the British House of Commons sought details from the Prime Minister regarding the failure. Members inquired about the possibility of new Plans or instructions, as suggested by certain Indian press reports. The Prime Minister responded that, at present, there were no such plans under consideration. He assured the House that he would provide updates if the situation changed.³²⁵

The Mission's actions garnered widespread attention from the media, both nationally and internationally. The press, both in local languages and globally, extensively covered the Mission's activities. The gravity of the Indian situation was even conveyed through the use of cartoons, with notable publications like the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Mirror* featuring caricatures to depict the state of affairs. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), highlighted this noteworthy aspect in an article.

In the *Daily Mail* the well-known cartoonist Illingworth portrays Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah and Sir Stafford Cripps sitting on a narrow platform high up in a tree in a jungle. Beneath them stalks a tiger labelled 'Civil War' and a wolf labelled 'Famine'. At the foot of the tree a woman, representing 'Mother India' clutches her child. On the platform Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi wrestle for the possession of a rifle tagged "New Constitution" while Sir Stafford watches their struggle.³²⁶

³²⁴ "Defeat of Attempt to Divide India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 15, 1946.

³²⁵ "British Interest in Cabinet Mission", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 15, 1946.

³²⁶ "Gandhi, Jinnah and Cripps as big game Hunters", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 15, 1946.

Continuing with another notable publication, the *Daily Mirror*, published:

A bird that would have fed them all and shows the Viceroy holding a dove in cage. He is surrounded by bodies of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. The Bird has a label round its neck, which reads: 'British proposals rejected by Muslims and Congress.'³²⁷

The reporting on the failure by various newspapers reflected diverse perspectives. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) acknowledged several other publications, each offering its viewpoint on the breakdown of the "Simla Parleys".³²⁸ An editorial in the *Independent Baltimore Sun* emphasized that blaming the British was unwarranted, considering such failures as integral to India's gradual struggle for independence. In contrast to previous instances where British offers could be criticized, this time, the responsibility was squarely placed on the Indians, particularly the major political-religious groups, Hindus and Muslims.³²⁹

Barnet Nover, a columnist in the *Independent Washington Post*, suggested that Britain might need to go beyond offering independence to India and could potentially have to impose it, presenting a paradoxical yet possibly inevitable scenario. Describing Britain's dilemma, Nover highlighted the challenges in choosing between supporting Pakistan or insisting on unity, with both options carrying consequences. The *Independent New York Post* proposed an international settlement involving China, Britain, Russia, and the United States, guaranteed by the United Nations in case of local agreement failure.³³⁰

Despite the Mission's apparent failure to produce an acceptable plan for India's future Government, there was hope in Labour Government circles that the new proposals would eventually find acceptance. Upon the Mission's return to Britain, there was an expectation that the Viceroy could reopen discussions and develop a workable scheme for the interim

³²⁷ "Gandhi, Jinnah and Cripps as big game Hunters", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 15, 1946.

³²⁸ "No Basis for Placing Blame on the British", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 15, 1946.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ "No Basis for Placing Blame on the British", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 15, 1946.

Government. Once formed, this provisional body would be tasked with considering the future status and form of the Government of India.³³¹

The foreign editor of the *Liberal News Chronicle*, in a dispatch written on the way to New Delhi, expressed the view that regardless of the British Mission's outcome, Britain had never been more faithfully or unstintingly served by her representatives, despite minor excusable miscalculations.³³²

³³¹ "No Basis for Placing Blame on the British", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 15, 1946.

³³² *Ibid.*.

CHAPTER 02

Mountbatten's Appointment to India and June 3rd Plan

In March 1946, the Cabinet Mission visited India and presented long-term and short-term schemes following extensive discussions. The proposed Plan advocated the division of India into two regions along communal lines, with a federal government overseeing their affairs. The Congress, however, did not fully embrace the long-term proposals, providing conditional acceptance with reservations, notably regarding the grouping clause. Despite this stance, as reported by Jinnah in a statement published in the *Civil & Military Gazette*, the Cabinet Mission conveyed a misleading impression to the British Parliament, falsely asserting that the Congress had accepted the long-term plan. In an effort to appease the Congress, the Cabinet Mission modified the proposal to include a Parsi representative. Unfortunately, this adjustment was met with rejection by the Congress.³³³ He further described it as:

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy evidently thought that if they had one Parsi, then it might appease the Congress, because there was every likelihood that the Parsis would support them. When that was suggested, the Congress turned it down again. Then we were told that the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy would announce their own proposals. These were made known on June 16 and were known as the Short-Term Scheme. We were also told that this was final and that it was up to the Congress to accept or not and to the Muslim League to do the same. Ladies and Gentlemen, you will be surprised to hear that the Congress did not accept. When the names were announced the Congress said we do not accept the nominees you have chosen. We want this substituted and that substituted.³³⁴

On June 16, the Cabinet Mission proceeded to unveil their own short-term scheme, declaring it as final and leaving the decision to the Congress and the Muslim League to accept or reject. However, both parties rejected the plan, through party resolutions rendering it ineffective after several complications. The same was expressed by Lord Mountbatten during

³³³ "Interpretation of Grouping Clauses", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 15, 1946.

³³⁴ *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Collected and Edited by Jamil ul Din Ahmad, Vol.2 (Ashraf Press Lahore, 1964),385-386.

a briefing on the June Plan held in Delhi on 2nd June 1947 that "at different times all parties had agreed to it [and he still thought that] the Cabinet Mission Plan represented the best solution. It meant a great deal to the States, the majority of which set much store by it."³³⁵

According to the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), it was decided that around 1000 Indian workers and seamen in Great Britain would observe mass fasting coupled with a sit-down outside the House of Commons and Provincial town halls if the Cabinet Mission failed at resolving issues between Hindus and Muslims.³³⁶

The political situation in India became even more complex when Nehru replaced Abul Kalam Azad as the President of the Congress. The main reason behind this was the growing differences between the leaders of the Congress, as Azad's policies and ideas were no longer acceptable to Nehru and Gandhi. Gandhi hinted at this in a letter to Nehru, suggesting that Azad should step down from the presidency.³³⁷ After the change occurred, Nehru took hold of the presidency. Soon after his appointment, his controversial stance regarding the Cabinet Mission's proposals was made manifestly clear during a press conference on July 10th, 1946, where he said that the Congress had agreed only to participate in the Constituent Assembly and regarded itself free to change or modify the Cabinet Mission Plan.³³⁸

The Muslim League's Council initially accepted the proposals of the Cabinet Mission on June 6, 1946, with the condition that the League would be included in the interim Government if Congress rejected the Plan. However, Jinnah reversed his approval on July 29, following Nehru's statement, signaling a significant shift in his stance.³³⁹

³³⁵ Zawwar H. Zaidi, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, Vol. 02 (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, National Archives of Pakistan, 1993), 7.

³³⁶ "Mass Fast by Indians in Britain", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 17, 1946.

³³⁷ Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion: The Life and Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 203.

³³⁸ Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, ed., *The Transfer of Power*, 1 March 1945-28 September 1946, Vol. 7 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1974), 1036.

³³⁹ Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (Vol. 13 of Cambridge S.A Studies; CUP Archive, 1972), 15.

The failure of the Cabinet Mission's proposal and the subsequent efforts to establish an interim government represented a major setback in the negotiations for a United India. Acknowledging his fault in the matter and emphasizing the importance of securing the cooperation of the Congress, Lord Wavell stated:

The failure to secure an Interim Government was perhaps more my fault than theirs [cabinet ministers], since I conducted most of the negotiations to this end. They came near success, I think. But at the last moment Gandhi, whose conduct, as always, was quite unpredictable, threw a spanner in the works at the Congress end; and Jinnah chose that moment to give to the Press an intemperate letter he had written to me about the attitude of Congress, before I had ever received it ... we must try to leave India united; and we must secure the co-operation of the Congress which represents the great majority of Indian political opinion, whatever our views on the past record of that Party.³⁴⁰

Despite the Viceroy's efforts, both the Congress and the AIML refused to accept the proposal, and obstacles such as Gandhi's unpredictable behavior and Jinnah's aforementioned public letter further complicated the negotiations. The stance of Nehru about modification in the plan created a widespread disorder and resentments among both the Muslim League and the Congress itself. Since it was a manifest shift from the Congress' standing policy, the Congress Working Committee had to make some difficult decisions to mitigate the damage caused by Nehru's statement. They later passed a resolution reaffirming the acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Plan as proposed.³⁴¹ Notably, Gandhi also proposed to the British Cabinet Mission that if a resolution between the Congress and the Muslim League regarding Mr. Jinnah's demand for Pakistan is not reached, the entire issue could be referred to an International Tribunal.³⁴²

Jinnah responded by calling on his supporters to engage in campaigns, similar to Gandhi's civil disobedience movements, to underscore his support for Pakistan and challenge

³⁴⁰ Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, ed., *The Transfer of Power, The Cabinet Mission Plan, 23 March–29 June 1946*, Vol. 7 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1977), pp. 1091–092.

³⁴¹ Barbara Metcalf and Thomas Metcalf. *A Concise History of Modern India*. 2nd ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 217.

³⁴² "British Governments Great Desire", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 16, 1947.

the Congress's stance. The situation escalated further following the formal announcement of the Direct Action Day by the All-India Muslim League (AIML) on August 16th. Notably, the chosen day, a Friday, was strategically aligned to address and mobilize Muslim religious sentiments, leveraging the influence of mosques once again. As reported by the *Civil & Military Gazette*, congregations were organized in the mosques after Friday prayers, providing a platform for Muslim League leaders to address and navigate the unfolding situation.³⁴³

In the wake of Direct Action Day, various regions of India were struck by a wave of sectarian violence. In the second week of August, Calcutta experienced extreme riots, with random attacks, military and police gunfire resulting in a death toll of between 2000 to 3000 people, and thousands more injured.³⁴⁴ According to the Military Report dated August 24, 1946, from the headquarters of the Eastern Command, the unrest originated on August 16th when Hindus erected barricades to obstruct Muslim processions. In response, Muslims compelled Hindus to shutter their shops and markets. This initial clash rapidly escalated, leading to the gathering of crowds and the outbreak of violent confrontations. The unrest extended across North Calcutta and involved individuals from diverse backgrounds, including students, *Goondas*, *Gwallahs*, rickshaw pullers, *teashop wallahs*, *pan berri wallahs*, among others, of the most disruptive nature.³⁴⁵

Resultantly, there was a huge wave of mistrust amongst both communities, having fear of being killed by one another.

The result of this [...] has been complete mistrust between the two communities. Most of the *Babus*³⁴⁶ dare not go to their offices because they have to pass through Muslim areas, and they are afraid of being stabbed. Though the city is quiet, there are still stabbing cases and both sides are very frightened.³⁴⁷

³⁴³ "Direct Action Day in Lahore", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 17, 1946.

³⁴⁴ "Calcutta Riots Casualties", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 20, 1946.

³⁴⁵ "Military Report on the Riots in Calcutta" (Calcutta, 24 August 1946) (War Office File. 216/662.)

³⁴⁶ As a matter of fact, *Babus* was the term used for all office going men including Muslims and Non-Muslims. Which is why the above report appears to be biased against Muslims.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

While accusing the Bengal Ministry for the violence, Azad said:

They proclaimed a 'Direct Action Day' without taking proper steps to maintain order and discipline among their followers. Nor did they take the necessary precautions against any outbreak of disorder and violence by arranging for a requisite police and military pickets.³⁴⁸

The Military report also blamed Suhrawady, stating:

There is hardly a person in Calcutta who has a good word for Suhrawardy, respectable Muslims included. For years he has been known as 'the King of the *Goondas*' and [...] he fully anticipated what was going to happen, and allowed it to work itself up, and probably organized the disturbance with his goonda gangs as this type of individual has to receive compensation every now and then.³⁴⁹

Later on, in December, the violence extended to the Hazara district of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). In this region, Hindus and Sikhs, historically a minority, became the targets of Muslim mobs, facing systematic and fatal attacks. Many of the victims, who had coexisted with their Muslim neighbors for generations, were involved in trade, operating small shops and moneylending businesses. The aftermath of this brutal violence forced thousands of traumatized survivors to flee to Rawalpindi, seeking refuge across the border in the Punjab.³⁵⁰

According to *Civil & Military Gazette* reports, Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, Finance Minister of NW.F.P., affirmed the unwavering resolve of Hindus and Sikhs to stay with their Muslim Pathan counterparts. He also highlighted the need for coordination between the Frontier's popular Government and the Political Department, proposing that the *Khudai Khidmatgars* could have effectively resolved the issues.³⁵¹ The newspaper further reported:

Referring to the recent turbulent events in Hazara district, Mr. Khanna said that such occurrences on the Frontier borders were not very uncommon. Still, he did not rule out that the recent raids had a certain amount of bearing on the communal situation in the country. He mentioned that individuals from affected areas like Bihar had attempted to incite communal passions among simple Pathans. Inflammatory posters, bearing no names of the press or the publisher, had been distributed, depicting harrowing tales of Bihar riots. Every attempt had been made to poison the minds of the people. Besides, Mr. Khanna added, League leaders had been given easy passage

³⁴⁸ "Calcutta Riots Casualties", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 20, 1946.

³⁴⁹ "Military Report on the Riots in Calcutta" (Calcutta, 24 August 1946) (WO 216/662), The National Archives of the United Kingdom, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C17281704>.

³⁵⁰ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 29.

³⁵¹ "Resolved to Live with Muslim Brothers", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 27, 1946.

to the Tribal Area, talking of the Hindu interim Government attempting to snatch the freedom of the tribal Pathans.³⁵²

The Muslim League had already presented a Resolution reaffirming complete faith in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, pledging to lay down their lives if and when the time for action would come. In his comments on the Cabinet Mission discussions, Jinnah often noted the opposing positions of the British and the Congress, who held authority and mass support, respectively. He argued that Muslim League now had the advantage and was willing to act on it, having made a careful decision to refuse the proposals and undertake Direct Action, standing firm by their position. In a speech to the AIML council, he said:

Throughout the fateful negotiations with the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, the other two parties, the British and the Congress, held a pistol in their hand, the one of authority and the other of mass struggle and non-co-operation. Today, we have forged a pistol and are in a position to use it. The decision to reject the proposals and to launch Direct Action had not been taken in haste, but it was taken with full sense of responsibility and all deliberations that [are] humanly possible. We mean it and release [means spreading or releasing to public] every word of it. We do not believe in equivocation.³⁵³

On the contrary, the Hindus, particularly the Mahasabha party, showed strong retaliation towards the Muslim League Direct Action. During his presidential address at the 27th annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. L. P. Bhopatkar, the president of the Mahasabha party, declared that nobody was keener on the achievement of freedom than a Hindu. However, he emphasized that freedom, if built on the ruins of his religion and culture, of his self-respect and the honor of his womenfolk, would be no genuine article; it deserved to be kicked miles away. Moreover, he also urged for a Hindu front sufficiently strong to resist and put down Muslim aggression of every sort or kind.³⁵⁴ The *Civil & Military Gazette* further published his statement.

If those who at present hold the leading strings of Indian politics do intend ultimately to grant Pakistan, under this or that guise or disguise, then the proper course for them is to do so as early as possible and thereby avoid the otherwise inevitable bloodbath. But let them at the same time bear in mind the lesson of Indian history that a Muslim mind is never satisfied with the grant of what it demands. It ever cries for more and still more, till you are completely engulfed therein body, mind, and soul. Has not a responsible Muslim member of the interim Government only recently said that Pakistan could not be said to have been really achieved unless and until all the

³⁵² "Hazara Trouble Repercussion of Bihar", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 27, 1946.

³⁵³ Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of the Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. 4 (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1996), 2348-2349.

³⁵⁴ "Call to Organize Hindu Front", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 28, 1946.

non-Muslims in India had embraced Islam? That is the real Muslim mind and mentality in all their nakedness.³⁵⁵

The Muslim League encountered opposition not only externally but also from within Muslim segments. As per the report from the *Civil & Military Gazette*, the Central Committee of the All-India Majlis-i-Ahrar criticized the political shortsightedness of the Muslim League for designating the grouping system as Pakistan. The grouping system presented by the Cabinet Mission in the statement of May 16 cannot reasonably be identified as Pakistan.³⁵⁶ The committee issued a warning to every political group in the Constituent Assembly, asserting that any constitution failing to adhere to basic principles and frameworks would have been unacceptable to Muslims. These principles included the prohibition of foreign troops in the country, parity between the two major communities in key portfolios, and the establishment of a Muslim ecclesiastical department.³⁵⁷ According to the statement:

In reality, groups, divested of the three important subjects: Defense, State Affairs, and Communications are old and totally powerless. The Committee, therefore, understands the meaningless hostile propaganda of the Congress and some other political organizations against the grouping system.³⁵⁸

Post-Conference Challenges: Lord Wavell's Evolving Approach

Lord Wavell's efforts to address the Indian problem through the Simla Conference and the Cabinet Mission Plan encountered significant challenges, ultimately resulting in failure. According to a report in the *Civil & Military Gazette*, the Viceroy expressed concern about the ongoing situation. He appealed to Jinnah and Gandhi to issue a joint statement with their names and that of the Viceroy, urging people to maintain peace and refrain from warfare. However,

³⁵⁵ "Need to Meet Muslim Direct Action Threat", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 28, 1946.

³⁵⁶ "Grouping System not Pakistan", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 28, 1946.

³⁵⁷ "Considered view of Majlis-i-Ahrar", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 28, 1946.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

the paper notes strict reticence from both the Muslim League and Congress regarding the Viceroy's initiative.³⁵⁹

On the other hand, in his broadcast, Lord Wavell expressed sympathy and genuine concern for India's betterment. He emphasized that India could not progress toward its destiny, and we could not wholeheartedly commit ourselves to the important work ahead when our minds were filled with constant anxiety and apprehension. Like every person of goodwill, he aspired to see an India free from the fear of communal strife.³⁶⁰ *Civil & Military Gazette* further published his remarks:

I ask, therefore, on my behalf and on behalf of my government, which wholeheartedly supports this appeal, that the communal strife, which now poisons the life and disfigures the fair name of India, should cease. Let us not look backward to old hatreds and injuries and recriminations, but forward to the prospect of a free, powerful, and prosperous India.³⁶¹

The Viceroy visited England in early December 1946 to discuss his next course of action. Interestingly, he opposed the Pakistan Plan and referred to it as an unsatisfactory solution to the Indian problem. He believed that India should remain united, as partition would lead to the division of the armed forces and result in India's failure to contribute to the Commonwealth defense, probably influenced by the statement given by Sir Claude Auchinleck, the C-in-C.³⁶² Lord Wavell also suggested that withdrawal should be done in phases rather than complete withdrawal, as the latter might lead to disastrous consequences. However, the Cabinet rejected Lord Wavell's plan and recommended a time limit instead of an exact date for the Transfer of Power.³⁶³

³⁵⁹ "Call to Organize Hindu Front", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), October 29, 1946.

³⁶⁰ "Wavell's Personal Appeal", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), October 29, 1946.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² According to Ishtiaq Ahmed, in 1946, Commander-in-Chief Sir Claude Auchinleck wrote a top-secret memorandum on the strategic implications of including "Pakistan" in the British Commonwealth. He argued that creating a weak state in the Northwest of the Indian Subcontinent, or dividing it into two, would not serve British interests in the Indian Ocean. Auchinleck believed that a stronger, independent India, which was estranged from Britain, could align itself with the Soviet Union. (Ahmed, Jinnah, 350)

³⁶³ Ibid.

Verily, the ongoing situation in India was a cause of concern for the British government. Along with some other areas of concern, there were also discussions about finding a replacement for Lord Wavell as the Viceroy.³⁶⁴ The proposed replacement was Lord Mountbatten, who was reluctant to accept the appointment unless a precise date for the transfer of power was announced. However, the Cabinet ultimately decided to announce a time limit for the withdrawal of the British, rather than a specific date.³⁶⁵

According to the *Deccan Times* (Madras), there was an apparent perception that the Muslim League was not adhering to the May 16 statement by the Cabinet Mission, causing hindrance and delay to progress in political development in India. It was also asserted that the Muslim League sought a postponement in the Constituent Assembly.³⁶⁶ This was raised on several occasions. The same was also discussed in the correspondence between the Viceroy and Mr. Jinnah. In one such exchange, the Viceroy inquired about the League's acceptance of the May 16 proposals and urged Jinnah to discuss it with League members in the hope of gaining acceptance. In response, Jinnah argued that acceptance was contingent on the Congress also agreeing; it was not solely the Muslim League's decision to accept. He referenced Nehru's statement in a letter dated 26th September to P.M Assam and then Mahatma's statement of 23rd October 1946, where both manifestly denied the May 16 statement. Jinnah was of the view, as quoted by the *Deccan Times*, that:

I deeply regret that the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government have decided to summon the Constituent Assembly on December 9. In my opinion, it is one more blunder of a very grave and serious character. It is quite obvious that the Viceroy is blind to the present serious situation and the realities facing him, and is entirely playing into the hands of the Congress and is appeasing them in complete disregard of the Muslim League and other organizations and elements in the national life of the country. [...] I want to make it clear that no representative of the Muslim League should attend the Constituent Assembly summoned to meet on December 9, 1946.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁴ This was expressed by Stafford Cripps in a conversation with Major Short in New Delhi in June 1946. (Wavell: *The Viceroy's Journal*, ed. by Penderel Moon, 1973, 458).

³⁶⁵ Khurram Ali Shafique, *How Jinnah Liberated India* (Lahore: Topline Publishers, 2022), 11.

³⁶⁶ "Postponement Suggestion not Favored", *Deccan Times* (Madras), November 24, 1947.

³⁶⁷ "Muslim League to Boycott Constituent Assembly", *Deccan Times* (Madras), November 24, 1947.

The decision of Jinnah, and consequently, the Muslim League, to boycott the Constituent Assembly faced severe criticism from various quarters, including Muslims. As reported by the *Civil & Military Gazette*, Syed Ali Zaheer, a former member of the interim Government, cautioned Muslims about the potential dire consequences. He urged them to reject Jinnah's and the Muslim League's policy and encouraged independent contemplation regarding its comprehensive implications.

A very crucial phase for the country appears to be fast approaching [...] Mr. Jinnah has decided not to join the Constituent Assembly [...] The choice before the Muslims is clear: either what has happened in Calcutta, Noakhali, and Bihar is to be continued, or the Muslim League policy must be altered [...] I beg the Muslim League leaders to pause and think over what is at stake. If they disapprove of what has happened, as I certainly believe that they do, they must break away from the barren policy of the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah [...] I implore the Muslim leaders to consider the full implications of boycotting the Constituent Assembly before authenticating Mr. Jinnah's decision on this question.³⁶⁸

The mediators (the British) seemed helpless and confused. The differences among Indian parties were preventing the Constitutional Assembly from functioning as desired. These concerns were also expressed in the British Cabinet's late December resolution, as the HMG was dissatisfied with the non-participation of all sections of Indians in the Constitutional Assembly, since the Muslim League boycotted it.³⁶⁹ Many members of the British Cabinet gave their observations on the Indian Problem. Mr. Reginald Sorensen, a labor member of the British Parliament, expressed that the problem of India is the problem of mankind. He stated, "We are foreigners to Indians, although the people of Britain consider that God created two types of people: British and foreigners."³⁷⁰ In reference to the stance of the Muslim League on Cabinet Proposals, he further commented:

I do not agree with some extravagant statements that the rift between the Muslim League and other groups is the fault of Britain. It is the Muslim League alone that is against the Implementation of the Cabinet mission's proposals. Other minorities have accepted the proposals. But I do not discourage the emotional strength behind Pakistan. The best thing Britain could do is to say that on a certain date they will withdraw all vestiges of imperialism, no matter what developments have

³⁶⁸ "Muslims Stop and Think", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), November 21, 1947.

³⁶⁹ Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, ed., *The Transfer of Power*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1974), Vol.9, 393.

³⁷⁰ "India's Problem is Problem of Mankind", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 18, 1947.

occurred in the country [...] There must be emancipation from superstition and fear. A most necessary task is for India to release her womanhood from the domination of man.³⁷¹

The continuous struggle for a separate Muslim state by the Muslim League and the Congress' insisting for the United India resulted into a polarized political climate. The British played a significant role in this divide, but the Muslim League's increasing popularity in their people and willingness to use force further complicated the situation in Punjab. With the Congress' entrance into the Constitutional Assembly and the League's refusal to participate, the situation worsened further.

Detention of Muslim League Leaders

The Punjab was under a Coalition Government headed by Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, which included the Punjab Unionist Party, the Congress, and the Sikhs. By that time, the Muslim League had not yet executed their Direct-Action Plan in Punjab. However, the situation changed on January 24, 1947, when Khizar banned the Muslim League National Guards and the RSS as a precautionary measure to prevent communal violence shift from Hazara to Punjab.³⁷² Several leaders were arrested, which included Khan Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, Mr. Firoz Khan Noon, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Begum Shah Nawaz, Mian Iftikhar ul Din, Mr. Mumtaz Daultana and Syed Amir Hussain Shah.³⁷³

The statement issued by the Punjab Government on the Lahore Arrests went on:

The Punjab Government recently decided to declare the Rastriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and the Muslim League National Guards to be unlawful associations under the criminal law amendment Act of 1908. Its reason for this decision was that in the present state of feeling, private communal armies are a danger to peace [...] The search of the office of the RSS [Rastriya Swayam Sewak Sangh] in Lahore passed off without incident; but at the office of the M.LNG [Muslim League National Guards] in Lahore, certain gentlemen obstructed the search and compelled the police to arrest them under the ordinary law. The arrests were followed by demonstrations, necessitating further arrests so far about 30 further arrests.³⁷⁴

³⁷¹ "India's Problem is Problem of Mankind", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 18, 1947.

³⁷² Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (London: Penguin Books, 2019), 352.

³⁷³ "Punjab League Leaders Arrested", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 25, 1947.

³⁷⁴ "Punjab Government on Lahore Arrests", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), January 25, 1947.

Private armies being formed by different communities had been a concern for Punjab Governors since 1945. When Khizar's actions led to the arrest of the Punjab Muslim League leaders, Jinnah strongly criticized him. He denied that the Muslim League National Guard was a militant organization, despite accusations to the contrary.³⁷⁵ In a statement he said:

The repercussion of this one more mad and inimical action against the Muslim League on the part of the Punjab Government will be terrific all-over Muslim India and I appeal to the Viceroy immediately to intervene and save the situation which otherwise may take a very serious turn for which the responsibility will rest with the Viceroy and H.M.G.³⁷⁶

Another statement was released on February 2, in which Jinnah instructed the Governor to respect the civil rights of the people. He also appealed to the Punjabi Muslims to maintain peace and harmony and not get involved in communal clashes.³⁷⁷

This was the time when *Akali Fauj*, a private army of Sikh leaders reinstated in the Punjab, following the ban on the Muslim League National Guards and *Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh* by the Punjab Government. According to the *Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore)*:

Master Tara Singh, the veteran Akali leader, has reportedly decided to revive the *Akali Fauj* movement in the province. It had been initiated by him a few years ago but had to be abandoned due to certain reasons. Given the current circumstances, the Sikhs believe that their safety in the province, which they consider their homeland, lies in building opposition against Pakistan.³⁷⁸

The Sikhs again proposed their plan of *Sikhistan* comprising of 11 districts along the river Ravi. Press Reports surfaced that the Sikh leaders had already initiated discussions with the leaders of Kapurthala, Faridkot, and Nabha, seeking their support in the establishment of *Sikhistan*. The *Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore)*, published

In response to the demand for Pakistan, the Sikhs intend to establish *Sikhistan*, an independent state comprising 11 districts along the river Ravi, where non-Muslims are in the majority. *Sikhistan* would include the six Sikh states in the Punjab, and it has been learned that the leaders of Kapurthala, Faridkot, and Nabha have already been approached by Sikh leaders for assistance

³⁷⁵ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (London: Penguin Books, 2019), 352.

³⁷⁶ Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of the Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. 4 (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1996), 2513.

³⁷⁷ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (London: Penguin Books, 2019), 352.

³⁷⁸ "Sikh Movement to be Revived", *Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore)*, February 16, 1947.

in establishing Sikhistan. All six Sikh states in the Punjab have agreed, as indicated by *Akali Dal* leaders, to appoint Sikh leaders as prime ministers in their respective states.³⁷⁹

Implementation of the League's Boycott

On 31 January 1947, the Muslim League Council formally decided to boycott the Constituent Assembly. As a result, the Congress demanded the withdrawal of the Muslim League from the Interim Government.³⁸⁰ The League had been intensely blamed for numerous accusations, particularly regarding its agitational politics. An editorial from *the Civil & Military Gazette*, (Lahore), stated about the motives of Muslim League that:

While it claimed to fight for the restoration of civil liberties, its true aim was believed to be the dismantling of the Coalition Ministry. This raised concerns not only for the Government (as League members mistakenly perceived), but also for the overall peace of the Province and the Constitutional stability of Governments in the Punjab, as far as foreseeable in the future.³⁸¹

Despite concerns raised about the League's true intentions and their potential impact on the Coalition Ministry, there were certain elements who stepped forward to defend the League's stance and shed light on the situation. One such defense came in the form of a critical editorial published in the *Civil & Military Gazette*. The editorial sought to challenge the notion that the League's campaign of civil disobedience was solely aimed at dislodging the present Ministry from office. Instead, it questioned whether there was anything inherently wrong in demanding freedom of speech and association, particularly if the intention was to use this freedom to bring about a change in leadership. The editorial expands:

What are the demands behind the Muslim League's campaign of civil disobedience? It is sometimes said that, whatever the nominal demands may be, the real intention is to dislodge the present Ministry from office. The assumption is correct in a broad sense. But is there anything wrong about a demand for freedom of speech and association if the intention is to use this freedom for the purpose of ousting a Ministry from office? This intention is, in fact, the main justification for the demand and the most cogent reason why a Ministry under democracy should be anxious to concede it. A Ministry condemns itself when it says, in effect, 'We shall not concede your demand because it is only nominally for freedom of public meetings and political demonstrations. Your real intention is to oust us from office.'³⁸²

³⁷⁹ "Sikh Movement to be Revived", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 16, 1947.

³⁸⁰ Sangam Lal, "The Muslim League and the Constituent Assembly of India," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 5, no. 1 (1984), 115-124.

³⁸¹ "The Next Move", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 12, 1947.

³⁸² *Ibid.*

People feared that the Muslim League in the Punjab was on a dangerous path that could lead to sufferings and even death for those who had no harmful intentions and little knowledge of political plotting. Pandit Nehru addressed this critical matter by presenting the case to Lord Pethick Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India. He emphasized the conflicting position of Muslim League members in the Interim Government, to which the *Civil & Military Gazette* labelled as the 'untenable position of the Muslim League members functioning in the Interim Government, while the League still remained outside the Constituent Assembly.'³⁸³

The *Civil & Military Gazette*, (Lahore), further published a piece labelling it 'Nehru's Ultimatum to League' that:

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is believed to have asked the Viceroy to demand resignations from the Muslim members unless they immediately accept the long-term plan and participate in the Constituent Assembly. This threat has been denounced by Mr. Jinnah. He maintains that unless the Congress gives adequate assurances in favor of grouping and also accepts the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, he will not convene a session of the League Council to reconsider the best political situation.³⁸⁴

With the Muslim League boycotting the Constituent Assembly, tensions were getting high regarding their continued participation in the Interim Government. Sardar Patel threatened that the Congress would withdraw if the League was allowed to remain in the existing conditions. The Congress members of the Interim Government had asked His Majesty's Government either to require the Muslim League to share in drafting a new constitution or to leave the Cabinet.³⁸⁵

Further he added that:

The situation would be changed, however if the League reversed its recent decision and decided to take part in framing a constitution for an independent India...Leagues officials have made it clear that they intend to remain in the Cabinet. The British Cabinet is faced with the possibility of precipitating trouble, whether it orders the League out of the Cabinet or refuses and thus causes the Congress to walkout in opposition.³⁸⁶

³⁸³ "British Governments' Great Desire", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 16, 1947.

³⁸⁴ "Nehru's Ultimatum to the Leagues Group", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), November 21, 1946.

³⁸⁵ "British Governments Great Desire", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 16, 1947.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, held a meeting with Jinnah and expressed optimism about the Muslim League's participation in the Constituent Assembly. However, Jinnah maintained that unless the Congress acknowledged the interpretation outlined in the Statement of 6 December, there was no basis for the League to join. He reiterated that the League Council would not be convened unless the Congress unequivocally accepted that interpretation.³⁸⁷

According to the *Civil & Military Gazette* reports, in one of his prayer sessions, Gandhi recited from the Holy Quran, an act that faced opposition from some attendees. Despite protests, Gandhi emphasized the importance of Hindu-Muslim unity and expressed satisfaction in successfully promoting harmony by invoking both *Rama* and *Rahim* in the same breath.³⁸⁸

The Cabinet Mission Plan played a crucial role between the 1946 election results and the establishment of the Gandhi-Jinnah formula. Jinnah's acceptance of the Plan signaled his commitment to working under a united Indian Constitution. However, as the Congress effectively rejected the Plan and Gandhi criticized it for lacking parity between Hindu-majority Provinces (with a population of 19 crores) and two groups of Muslim Provinces (with a population of 9 crores), the Plan became obsolete. Discussions persisted until Mountbatten officially declared it dead on 9 April 1947. Jinnah, in conversation with Mountbatten, asserted that the Congress had no genuine intention to implement the Plan fairly, a sentiment that Mountbatten acknowledged. Additionally, statements from Patel to Mountbatten indicated that unless the Muslim League accepted the Plan without its safeguards, the Congress favored partition.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁷ M. A. Jinnah, statement on December 21, 1946, in Zawwar H. Zaidi, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, Vol. 14 (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, National Archives of Pakistan, 1993), xviii.

³⁸⁸ "Koran Recitation not Objected to", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), November 6, 1946.

³⁸⁹ Antoine J. Bullier, *Partition of India: Legend and Reality* (Universal Law Publishing Co Ltd, 1991), 171.

Mountbatten exerted significant pressure on Jinnah, attempting to persuade him to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan and remain within the Indian 'Union' at such a late stage. He issued a stern warning, stating that if Jinnah persisted in his pursuit of an independent sovereign Pakistan, it would inevitably result in the division of the Punjab and Bengal along communal lines. Mountbatten argued that if India were to be partitioned, any province encountering communal tensions would also have to be divided. Despite Jinnah's efforts to convey how the division would adversely impact the administrative and economic aspects of these provinces in Pakistan, Mountbatten remained unyielding.³⁹⁰

Governments Struggles to address Civil Unrest in India

Despite Cabinets several attempts to persuade Indian leaders, the crisis in India escalated further with the Congress challenge to the Muslim League Ministers to resign from the Cabinet, *the Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), went on commenting the crisis that:

The new crisis, which has flared up in India after the Congress Party's challenge to the Muslim League Ministers to quit the Cabinet because of the League refusal to take part in the Constituent Assembly, made front page news in British newspapers today despite competition for much-compressed space from the domestic fuel crisis and yesterday's Palestine debate in the House of Commons.³⁹¹

The foreign press also published some pieces on the same. Quoting them, *the Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) published:

The tabloid-type '*Daily Mirror*', which usually prints only human-interest stories on its front page, today carried a double column spread: "Cabinet straining to head off civil war in India." The paper's political correspondent declared that the Government, "considering the grave developments in India." is directing its efforts to prevent a complete breakdown which might end in civil war and the necessity of evacuating British citizens." The general trend of comment is summed up by the Labour '*Daily Herald*'s 'correspondent, who said: "I understand that the Prime Minister will re-emphasize what he told the Indian leaders in London last December: there is no prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly except on the basis of agreed procedure. The British will not force such a constitution on any unwilling party of India."³⁹²

³⁹⁰ "No Cabinet Split on India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 18, 1947.

³⁹¹ "Congress-League Dead Lock", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 20, 1947.

³⁹² Ibid.

The Muslims were passing through a critical phase in the Sub-Continent history, declared Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, finance Member, in his convocation address at the Aligarh Muslim University on 16th February 1947. He called upon the individuals to thoroughly evaluate their circumstances and future needs in order to gain a deeper understanding of their current state. He emphasized that it was essential to fully comprehend their present position.

We want to live in this sub-continent as an independent and self-respecting people, and we are not interested in or prepared to submit to a change of masters. We shall live our own life as a nation in our own way, and we do not want anyone to have the power to prevent us from doing so. This can be possible only if we have a free and independent state of our own. Our objective is such a state. We want Pakistan. In order to achieve that goal, we need all the discipline, all the effort, and all the energy that we can command. We have to make ourselves strong and organize for the great endeavor that is and will be required of us, and we should be prepared to make all sacrifices. All our policies and programs must be modified, if necessary, to meet the needs of our national objective.³⁹³

His address provided insights into the important challenges that the Muslim community in the Sub-Continent was facing. They were dealing with changing power situations and envisioning their future as a nation that governs itself, following the principles of Islam. Apparently, the League's position began to incline towards a more religious stance, with the party using the slogan of religion as a base for its campaigns. According to Islamic teachings, sovereignty belongs to God and can only be exercised on His behalf. The goal of Islam is to establish a society where there is no exploitation of one person by another, and where differences based on birth, color, or geography are to be eliminated. The Muslim League leader concluded his speech at the Aligarh convocation stated that:

What is that way of life and what are the principles on which our state will be based? The ideal which a Muslim has before him is and can be none other than the ideal that was set before the world by Mohammad of Arabia over 1300 years ago. The message that Mohammad [PBUH] brought is still with us, [p]reserved for the whole of humanity in the greatest of all books, the Quran - Islamic society.³⁹⁴

Liaquat Ali Khan further emphasized that the coexistence of Hindus and Muslims under the same Central Government for centuries excluded any basis for their treatment as a separate

³⁹³ "Independence by June 1948", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 21, 1947.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

nation. This argument was met with criticism. *The Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) responded to Liaquat Ali Khan's narrative by presenting counter arguments and highlighting examples from the Muslim World:

There are more than 300,000,000 Muslims scattered throughout the world in all five continents. Do they constitute one single nation because they profess the same religion? The Muslims of Afghanistan and Persia believe in the same religious creed, but they form two distinct and separate nations. The same is true of the Turks and the Egyptians. It is a pity that an enlightened personality like Mr. Liaquat Ali should make such a sorry exhibition of medieval mentality.³⁹⁵

Furthermore, Liaquat Ali Khan faced opposition from various segments of Indian society in response to his narrative. It is noteworthy that not only Hindus and Sikhs but also certain nationalist Muslims expressed criticism of the League's ideology, specifically commenting on Khan's address at the convocation of Aligarh University. Master Tara Singh provided the Sikh perspective, while Abdul Majid Khan, a nationalist Muslim, put forth the argument that the Muslims in India were not a separate nation but an essential part of the Indian nation.³⁹⁶

Scheduled Caste Representation

Amidst the ongoing deadlocks, the inclusion of a Scheduled Caste representative in the Punjab Cabinet held significant importance. This demand was passionately advocated by two Scheduled Caste leaders, Chaudhari Sundar Singh, the Parliamentary Secretary Punjab, and Chaudhari Mehar Chand, the Private Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Public Works. To address the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes, they submitted following suggestions to the Governor of Punjab:

(1) A special department should be set up to look after the affairs of the Scheduled Castes to be manned entirely by a person from amongst them. (2) The Government should provide special educational facilities to the Scheduled Castes. (3) The Scheduled Castes should get their due share as and when the I.C.S. is provincialized and remodeled. (4) The Scheduled Castes should get to Scheduled Caste officers for example in the Civil Supplies Department where at present there is no Scheduled Caste officer. (5) The Scheduled Castes should get proprietary rights in villages

³⁹⁵ "League Ideology Criticized", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 19, 1947.

³⁹⁶ "Partition of India will Never Become Reality", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 21, 1947.

just like other zamindars. (6) The selection of Scheduled Caste students for studies abroad should be on the basis of two and a half per cent. 7) The reform of the criminal tribes in the Punjab should be entrusted to the care of a member of the Scheduled Castes.³⁹⁷

Independence by June 1948

On February 20th, 1947, Prime Minister Attlee made an announcement that Britain would leave India by June 1948 by handing over power to responsible Indians. Despite the British's century-long claims about India's eventual independence, Prime Minister Attlee's announcement, took many Indians by surprise as it was the first time a specific deadline had been given. Nonetheless, the Cabinet's all strategies failed to bridge the divide between the AIML and INC. Explaining the background of the situation he referred to the progress of the expensive³⁹⁸ Cabinet Mission Plan as:

The Cabinet Mission, which was sent to India last year, spent over three months in consultation with Indian leaders in order to help them to agree upon a method for determining the future constitution of India, so that the transfer of power might be smoothly and rapidly effected. It was only when it seemed clear that without some initiative from the Cabinet Mission, agreement was unlikely to be reached that they put forward proposals themselves. These proposals, made public in May last, envisaged that the future constitution of India should be settled by the Constituent Assembly composed, in the manner suggested there in, of representatives of all communities and interests in British India and of the Indian States. Since the return of the Mission an Interim Government has been set up at the Centre, composed of political leaders of the major communities, exercising wide powers within the existing Constitution. In all the provinces Indian Government's responsible to legislatures are in office.³⁹⁹

In addition, a notable development unfolded within the House of Commons concerning the transfer of power in British India. The crowded chamber fell silent as the announcement was made regarding the change of Viceroy. It was disclosed that Field-Marshal, the Right Honorable Viscount Wavell, who had exhibited remarkable leadership during the war in various high-ranking military positions, was appointed Viceroy in 1943 on a wartime basis.

³⁹⁷ "Scheduled Caste's Demands", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 13, 1947

³⁹⁸ According to the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 20, 1947, the British Cabinet Mission's visit to India incurred an approximate cost of 31,000 pounds. Additionally, the press reports also revealed that the Indian delegation's travel and other expenses during their visit to London amounted to approximately 9,000 pounds.

³⁹⁹ "Realization of the Self-Rule in India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 21, 1947.

However, as a new and decisive phase in India's history emerged, it was deemed appropriate to conclude this wartime appointment. Consequently, Admiral the Viscount Mountbatten was chosen as Lord Wavell's successor and entrusted with the responsibility of transitioning the governance of British India to Indian authorities.⁴⁰⁰ The announcement went:

Field-Marshal, the Right Honorable Viscount Wavell was appointed Viceroy in 1943 after having held high military command in the Middle East, South-East Asia and India with notable distinction since the beginning of the War. It was agreed that this should be a wartime appointment. Lord Wavell has discharged this office during this very difficult period with devotion and a high sense of duty. However, it has seemed that the opening of a new and final phase in India is an appropriate time to terminate this wartime appointment. His Majesty has been pleased to approve the appointment of Admiral the Viscount Mountbatten as Lord Wavell's successor. Lord Mountbatten will be entrusted with the task of transferring responsibility for the government of British India to Indian hands in a manner that will best ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India. The change of office will take place during March. The House will be glad to hear that His Majesty has been pleased to approve the conferment of an Earldom on Viscount Wavell.⁴⁰¹

However, the situation quickly became tense when Churchill, the Leader of the Opposition inquired about the reasons behind the removal and dismissal of the Viceroy, the atmosphere grew more animated. The Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, responded to the questions, stating that the decision was made because it was deemed an appropriate time for the change, without elaborating further. He reassured the House that the intention was not to hand over India to chaos. He added that the new Viceroy, Admiral Mountbatten, aged 47, had previously held the position of Commander-in-Chief of the South-East Asia Command.⁴⁰²

Maulana Azad praised Lord Wavell for his extra ordinary services in addressing the Indian issue and making it nigh to where it was standing then. He said:

One may disagree with his [Lord Wavell's] assessment of the situation, but one cannot doubt his sincerity or integrity of purpose. Nor can I forget that Lord Wavell deserves credit for creating the changed atmosphere in Indo-British relations today through the steps he courageously took in June 1945. I am confident that India will never forget Lord Wavell's service, and when the time comes for historians to analyze the relations between England and India in independent India, Lord Wavell will be credited with opening a new chapter in these relations.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ "Independence by June 1948", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 21, 1947.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ "Recall of Wavell Regretted", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 25, 1947.

The announcement had a one-of-a-kind nature and had a profound impact on public opinion and the indigenous response, as evident from the Letters to the editor section of *Civil & Military Gazette*. One particular letter thoroughly examined the announcement and emphasized the responsibility of Indian leaders to seize this opportunity with utmost dedication. The letter also concisely stated that the failure then would have been solely Indians responsibility.⁴⁰⁴

Communal Violence

As mentioned earlier, the manifestation of religious emotions gave rise to chaotic situations in different areas of India. It is important to note that towards the end of 1946, communal tensions were running high in India, particularly in the Eastern province of Bengal. According to Ishtiaq Ahmad, the Muslim League's Direct-Action campaign which had begun as a peaceful movement, quickly became more aggressive and intimidating gradually. As tensions between Hindus, Sikhs, and League supporters increased, incidents of harassment and violence became more frequent.⁴⁰⁵

The situation in Noakhali, a District in Bengal, was particularly worse, with reports of widespread violence against the Hindu minority by Muslim mobs. Against this, Fazl-ul-Haq, a prominent political leader, sent a telegram to Mahatma Gandhi, urging him to leave Noakhali and take action to prevent further violence and bring about communal harmony in other parts of India. Mr. Huq said:

Nothing in this world can change my opinion that you should immediately leave Noakhali. Go to Bihar and bring about friendly relations between the two communities, and then hurry to Delhi to save India. You should remember that while you are wasting your time under coconut sheds in Noakhali, India is marching headlong towards destruction.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ "Failure Now will be Ours Alone", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 01, 1947.

⁴⁰⁵ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 353.

⁴⁰⁶ "Indian Union Sabotaged", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 25, 1947.

Jinnah also visited Bihar during the second week of February. He addressed the Biharis and later spent some time in their camps, exchanging views with a number of them. He inquired about the arrangements made for their stay and assured them of every help in terms of money, food, cloth, and medical aid that he and Muslim India could provide. He also presented Rs 5,000 for the relief of Bihar Mussalmans,⁴⁰⁷ stating that:

The Nations are built through sacrifices, and I am really proud of the Bihar Mussalmans, who have sacrificed so much. Their sacrifices will not go in vain. They have certainly brought our goal of Pakistan nearer and shown our readiness to make any sacrifice for its attainment.⁴⁰⁸

It was also stated that regardless of the actions of the Hindus, Muslims would always remain generous and good to all. The demand put forward by them was considered just and the only way to liberate the ten crores of Muslims in India. The sufferings undergone by the Muslims in Bihar and other places were cited as evidence to support the idea of having a separate state of Pakistan.⁴⁰⁹

Eventually Mr. Haq's views had reflected a sense of urgency and the need for immediate action to save India, while Jinnah's visit to Bihar and his address about Bihar Muslims therein had highlighted the importance of the demand for a separate state of Pakistan and the sacrifices made by Muslims in the region.⁴¹⁰

Budget Controversy

In late February, a crisis unfolded as the Interim Government presented its budget. Liaquat Ali Khan, the finance minister, faced criticism for the budget's perceived political motives rather than its economic content. Although the Congress did not fundamentally oppose

⁴⁰⁷ "India Heading for Destruction", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 19, 1947.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

Liaquat Ali's proposals, several concerns were raised about the extreme framing of specific measures without sufficient consultation.⁴¹¹

The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) published some interesting details of the session:

A visitor in the public gates forgot the warning against demonstrators and clapped his hands in wild glee until a more sedate neighbor silenced him. Lobby comments varied from enthusiastic welcome to skeptical shaking of heads. (Among distinguished visitors were Mr. George Merrell, the American Chargé affairs, Mrs. Naidu, and Mr. M. A. Master).⁴¹²

Poor Man's Budget

Upon assuming office as the Finance Member of the Government of India in October 1947, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan declared that the particular portfolio to follow would not aim to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, but rather to bring down the rich and raise up the poor.⁴¹³ Commenting on this, Nawab Ismael Khan hailed it as the 'Poor man's Budget'. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) further published:

He [Liaquat Ali Khan] has kept his promise, as is very clear from the budget he introduced the other day as the first Indian Finance Member. Except for the multi-billionaires and the easy-rich, who are hard hit by the budget, there is universal applause. A glance at the budget proposals is enough to prove that the burden of taxes falls on the rich people. That the proposals were not actuated by mere financial considerations but something nobler is fully explained by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan who said: 'The proposals that I have to place before this House, whether they involve the levy of fresh taxes or the abandonment of the existing taxation, are related, not to purely financial purposes but to certain social objectives, which I am sure the House will agree, must be kept prominently in view by all.'⁴¹⁴

Khawaja Nazimuddin, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party, characterized it as a standard budget. Meanwhile, Khan Mahomed Yamin Khan from AIML expressed the view that the taxes on higher income were advantageous, and the elevation of the income tax exemption level to Rs. 2500 should be welcomed.⁴¹⁵ Notably, Mr. N. V. Gadgil of Congress offered an intriguing perspective, stating, 'the poor man gets his salt; the rich man has his grave.'⁴¹⁶ Seth Govind Das

⁴¹¹ Rakesh Ankit, "State before Partition: India's Interim Government under Wavell," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 42, no. 1 (2019): 25.

⁴¹² "Poor Man's Budget", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 01, 1947.

⁴¹³ "Poor Man's Budget", *Deccan Times* (Madras), March 9, 1947.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ "Poor Man's Budget", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 01, 1947.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

(Congress) expressed satisfaction, deeming it the most satisfactory budget presented in his 23-year legislative tenure. Nonetheless, he critiqued the Finance Member's comments on planning.⁴¹⁷ Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, a Bombay Industrialist, expressed significant concerns, stating, 'It is much more extensive than anybody could ever have expected, and its consequences on the present conditions of trade and industry in the country will be difficult to estimate'.⁴¹⁸

Congress Response to the Budget Proposals

Wavell observed that the Congress seemed to be changing its stance due to the budget's lack of popularity among its influential business supporters. The Historian Sarvepalli Gopal asserted that Liaquat Ali introduced a comprehensive budget without consulting his colleagues or even Jawaharlal Nehru adequately.⁴¹⁹ On the contrary, John Matthai, the former finance minister agreed with Liaquat Ali that the 1947 budget should be based on the assumption of ongoing war conditions. Nehru also supported this viewpoint. The budget sparked controversy and debate, with differing perspectives on the tax proposals. Some viewed it as necessary given the prevailing conditions, while others saw it as a populist move to gain support. The Congress party expressed dissent, particularly regarding the budget's impact on Hindu commerce. European members of the assembly criticized the budget for its heavy taxation and perceived negative consequences for industrial interests.⁴²⁰

The Evolution of Agitation in Punjab

The agitation in Punjab stemmed from the rising communal tensions that permeated society. These tensions, arising from religious and political disparities, gradually reached a

⁴¹⁷ "Poor Man's Budget", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 01, 1947.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ Rakesh Ankit, "State before Partition: India's Interim Government under Wavell," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 42, no. 1 (2019): 25.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

boiling point, leading to widespread agitation. The resulting violence and unrest had far-reaching consequences on the already volatile political landscape of India. This agitation in Punjab resulted in several violent clashes and riots. In Amritsar, the agitation escalated to a dangerous level, prompting the police to open fire on multiple occasions. Lahore and Rawalpindi also experienced similar incidents where the police had to forcefully disperse the demonstrators. The violence and unrest catalyzed the already tense political climate in India. On the contrary, various leaders were also seen advocating for different approaches to address the issues of communal conflict and independence.

[In such incidents] a Sikh constable was beaten to death by a wild mob in the civil lines, and the additional district magistrate, Mr. Ikram-ul-Haq, was brutally assaulted, sustaining severe wounds to the skull. A sub-inspector was also subjected to a murderous assault by a demonstrator who was killed by police fire.⁴²¹

There appears some parallel version of the above incident. Khawaja Iftikhar claimed that the Muslim crowds had become more assertive and aggressive, causing the government officials to retreat, and some were also manhandled. The police officers started firing from behind bushes and trees upon seeing the protestors. The situation escalated when a young man, while waving and replacing a Muslim League flag with the Union Jack on the building, was shot dead. This event heightened tensions, with protestors chanting slogans in support of Pakistan.⁴²²

Tensions escalated between the protesters and the police as Muslim women joined the demonstration, vociferously chanting slogans against the British and in favor of Pakistan. The police superintendent, expressed his anger by using his whip on some of the women as they moved toward the Town Hall.⁴²³ Ishtiaq Ahmad suggests that the Sikh constable on duty was

⁴²¹ "Constable done to Death", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 25, 1947.

⁴²² Khawaja Iftikhar, *Jabb Amritsar Jall Raha Tha (When Amritsar was Burning)* (Lahore: Khawaja Publishers, 1991), 82-83.

⁴²³ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 115.

killed by Muslims, triggering a series of events where Sikhs targeted Muslims and, in retaliation, Muslims caused considerable damage. The killing of the Sikh constable occurred in the midst of this chaotic situation.

His death resulted in the protestors going berserk. They went about shouting '*Ley key rahen gey Pakistan, Daina parey ga Pakistan*' (we will take Pakistan, Pakistan will have to be given) and '*Pakistan ka matlab kya? La Illaha Il Lillah*' (what is the meaning of Pakistan? It is: there is no God but Allah).⁴²⁴

Non-Muslims, particularly in Amritsar, expressed significant apprehensions about the future of the Muslim League in Punjab. The violence in Amritsar on that day drew the attention of Governor Punjab Evan Jenkins, who highlighted the gravity of the situation in his report on February 28, 1947. This incident led Sikh leader Master Tara Singh to characterize the movement as no longer political but evolving into a communal conflict. Singh cautioned about the potential for civil war and demanded that the British return control of Punjab to the Sikhs.⁴²⁵

The Sikhs were determined to prevent the Muslim League from coming to power. In an interview with the *New York Times*, the Sikh leader spoke of the possibility of war, stating that he did not trust the Muslims and that the Sikhs had the ability to drive them out of the Punjab entirely.⁴²⁶ The *Pakistan Times* reported his following words:

I do not see how we can avoid civil war. There can be no settlement if the Muslims want to rule the Punjab. We cannot trust the Muslims under any circumstances. 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.⁴²⁷

In the Pursuit of Peace

In an effort to break the political deadlock, the Punjab premier, Khizar Hayat sought the help of Khawaja Nazimuddin, a member of the Bengali Muslim League who had a good

⁴²⁴ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 115.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁴²⁶ *Pakistan Times* (Karachi), March 2, 1947.

⁴²⁷ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 115.

relationship with him. Eventually the Governor of Punjab met with Nazimuddin to discuss potential solutions, including the replacement of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance and the lifting of the ban on meetings. Although both sides agreed that a settlement was possible, Evan Jenkins was still hesitant to comply, and the negotiations ended without any conclusion.⁴²⁸ The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), reported;

Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din [...] had met the Punjab Governor twice in the last two days in an effort to bring the Muslim League agitation to a peaceful end. [...] it seems quite clear that the next move lies with the detained leaders who, it is believed, will be brought together to take counsel among themselves.⁴²⁹

Later on, Evan Jenkins visited the arrested leadership of League, Mamdot and Noon at the Kasur sub-jail under the Premier's authority. While the initial conversation was reasonable, the group wanted Mumtaz Daultana to be present during the discussions. After Mumtaz Daultana arrived, he took a stronger stance, and they collectively demanded a meeting of the entire Punjab Muslim League council. The council met on 20 February at the Kasur sub-sail and decided to send Maulana Daud Ghaznavi to seek instruction from Jinnah on the matter.⁴³⁰

The *Civil & Military Gazette*, (Lahore) detailed it further:

It will be two or three days before the 21 members of the Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim League, who are detained in different jails throughout the province, are able to meet for consultations in one location. This meeting will provide an opportunity for them to consider any quid pro quo formula that may have emerged from the Jenkins-Nazim-ud-Din parleys, aimed at ending the conflict. Both sides are clearly anxious for a settlement, but they must also save face. While the government may claim that it is not standing on prestige, the fact that the ban on the Muslim League National Guards was lifted indicates otherwise.⁴³¹

However, the situation was not as simple as it seemed. Withdrawing the ordinance might not have been the only way to ensure communal peace. It was possible that the government could have explored other options to address the concerns of all communities not

⁴²⁸ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 119.

⁴²⁹ "Jenkins-Nazim-ud-din talks Outcome", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 21, 1947.

⁴³⁰ *Pakistan Times*, February 25, 1947.

⁴³¹ "Efforts to End League Agitation in Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 21, 1947.

only from the Muslim League but also from the spokesmen of the other two communities, Hindus and Sikhs.⁴³² In order to avoid further complications, other political parties also implemented a policy that required their members to obtain prior approval from their party leaders before issuing any statements.⁴³³

On February 24, Jinnah in a press interview suggested settlement of the Punjab dispute. Jinnah believed that his settlement was just and offered the same terms that Governor Evan Jenkins and Khawaja Nazimuddin had previously discussed.⁴³⁴ He supported the demand of the Punjab Muslim League for the removal of the ban on public meetings and processions under the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance and was of the view to replace the Punjab Safety Ordinance with a Legislative enactment. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) published that:

The government has accepted Mr. Jinnah's suggestion to replace the Punjab Safety Ordinance with a legislative enactment, which will be introduced in the upcoming Budget session of the Punjab Assembly. The terms of the settlement are as follows: (1) the ban on public meetings is lifted, (2) necessary legislation will be brought forward to maintain peace and public order, replacing the current Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, (3) all prisoners detained under trial or convicted in connection with the movement, except those accused or convicted of offenses under Section 325 or serious offenses against a person under the Indian Penal Code, will be released, and (4) the ban on processions will continue. The Punjab Premier issued the following statement on Wednesday noon.⁴³⁵

The Muslim League and the Punjab ministry arrived at an agreement on February 26 to halt the agitation and release all those who had been detained.⁴³⁶ Despite the Unionist Muslim premier leading the Punjab Government, many of its Muslim officials still supported the Muslim League. Although the negotiations between Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana and the Muslim League had not been successful earlier, the two sides still had friendly personal relations.⁴³⁷

⁴³² "Efforts to End League Agitation in Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 21, 1947.

⁴³³ "No Statements without Leaders' Approval", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 21, 1947.

⁴³⁴ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 25, 1947.

⁴³⁵ "Legislation to Replace Safety Ordinance", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 27, 1947.

⁴³⁶ "Settlement", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), February 26, 1947.

⁴³⁷ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 133.

On 27 February, the Government began releasing Muslim League leaders, but instead of dispersing, they held a public meeting at Kasur, which was a significant display of growing Muslim support for their aims. It was announced that the Muslim League would be celebrating 2 March as Victory Day, which was later celebrated throughout the Punjab. On 29 February, Mian Iftikhar Uddin along with some other leaders put a demand for Khizar's resignation and asked for fresh elections.⁴³⁸

The announcement made on 20 February had a big impact on Khizar in the Punjab. The Muslim League's protest against Khizar, which non-Muslims believed was an attempt to establish Muslim rule all over the province, intensified. Khizar reacted by calling the announcement the work of lunatics, but he eventually resigned on 2 March 1947⁴³⁹, and Section 93 was imposed in the province stating that 'severe restrictions contemplated for some days'.⁴⁴⁰ After being in power for 23 years, the Unionists finally accepted defeat. Some call this tenure coalition among interests of different parties of India. Some also held the view that the Congress-Unionist-Akali coalition of 1946 was a continuation of the Unionist regime and only existed to counter the Muslim League.⁴⁴¹

Landscape of Premier's Resignation

The following excerpts shed light on the opposition and hostility directed towards Khizar Hayat during his tenure in power. Notably, the slogans raised during the Muslim League's direct action in Lahore are noteworthy.

- Pakistan *ka na'ara kya? La Ilaha Il-lilah!* ('what is the slogan of Pakistan? There is no God but Allah') [The first part of this slogan was sometimes worded 'Pakistan *ka matlab kya?*' i.e.: what is the meaning of Pakistan?]

⁴³⁸ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 133.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, 120.

⁴⁴⁰ "Governors Rule in Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 6, 1947.

⁴⁴¹ Bal Ram Nanda, *Punjab Uprooted: A Survey of the Punjab Riots and Rehabilitation Problems* (Hind Kitabs, 1948), 12.

- ‘*Seenay par goli khayengey, Pakistan banayengey!*’ (‘we will create Pakistan even if we have to be shot in the chest.’)
- ‘*Le key rahengey Pakistan, jaisey liya tha Hindustan!*’ (‘we will get Pakistan the way we got Hindustan.’)
- ‘*Khoon se lenge Pakistan!*’ (‘we will acquire Pakistan with bloodshed.’)
- ‘*Maareingey marjaangey par Pakistan banayengey!*’ (We will die and we will kill but we will create Pakistan’).⁴⁴²
- ‘*Khizar dalla hai hai!*’ (Down with Khizar the pimp); ‘*Khizar kanjar hai hai*’ (Down with Khizar the procurer); ‘*Khizar kutta apni maa nal sutta*’ (The dog Khizar slept with his mother).⁴⁴³

An illustrative instance of the derogatory slogans aimed at humiliating Khizar in Gujrat was recounted by Lt Col. (Retd) Nadir Ali, and it surpassed others in its intensity and impact.

Chalo bhayee chalo, ikk cheez meley gi Kya bhayee kya? Khizar ki beti, wah bhayee wah! (Come let’s go, we will get something. What? Khizar’s daughter. Oh, what fun!)⁴⁴⁴

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, widely recognized as the Frontier Gandhi, conveyed profound dissatisfaction with the conduct of Muslim League workers during his journey from NWFP to Punjab. His statement on this matter was published by the *Civil & Military Gazette*:

When I was returning to Bihar [...] from the N-W.F.P., I was awakened by loud and disruptive slogans being shouted at Gujar Khan station. I was surprised to hear my name being associated with that of Malik Sir Khizar Hyat Khan's, and I wondered what I had done to become a target of the invective against the Punjab Premier.⁴⁴⁵

Khan added that:

The League would not succeed in achieving its goals by promoting hatred and hostility. Shouting abuses and spreading hatred is completely un-Islamic [...] I appeal to my League brothers that if they genuinely wish to help their suffering people, they should do so through constructive means. I want to draw their attention to the fact that in every crisis, there are two forces: destructive and constructive. This recent outburst from the League is unforgivable, as they abused all the freedoms granted to them in an exceptionally democratic manner. India is on the brink of independence, and we must reassess our approach to all our longstanding issues. A good starting point would be to abandon the use of inflammatory and hateful slogans. Let the sufferings of innocent victims of communal violence serve as a lesson to us all.⁴⁴⁶

The Muslim League agitators' mood shifted drastically after Khizar resigned on March 2, as reflected in their new slogan *Tazi khabar aiye hai, Khizar saadha bhai hai*.⁴⁴⁷ This change

⁴⁴² Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 120.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ "League will not be Spreading Hatred", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 01, 1947.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 120.

in mass narrative illustrates the exploitation of religious sentiments for political gain. The *Jinnah Papers* contain various correspondences that emphasize the significance of this resignation, providing its own insights on the matter. One such correspondence, written on March 3rd, 1947, was authored by a person who referred to themselves as a 'Humble Pakistani' stressing that some diplomat should persuade Khizar and his lieutenants to retire from politics.

A letter dated March 3, 1947, written by an individual identifying as a 'Humble Pakistani,' urged diplomatic intervention to persuade Khizer and his associates to retire from politics.⁴⁴⁸ Another letter shows the persuasion efforts of Mr. Zafarullah Khan for convincing Khizar upon resignation. The letter was originally written by Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, the then Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement, while addressing Jinnah he said:

As I told you when we met in Delhi, it has been my impression all along that, at the proper time, Sir Khizar Hayat Khan could be persuaded to join the League. Unfortunately, certain events spoiled this plan for some time. However, on H.M. G's new declaration, Sir M. Zafrullah Khan approached Sir Khizar and suggested that he should not fail his community at this critical juncture. Malik Sahib then asked Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan to come to Lahore. As I was on my way to Sind and had to stay there for one night, Sir Muhammad came there yesterday and discussed the matter with me. Following this, last night he had a long conversation with Malik Sahib and Qizilbash [the unionist minister in the Coalition Cabinet]. They have agreed to resign. Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan has shown me Malik Sahib's declaration, which will be published tonight or tomorrow after he has seen His Excellency the Governor. I pray that no issues arise. Now you have a great opportunity to get Muslim rights from your opponents. Now, only the N.W.F.P. remains. I will try to study its situation [...] Perhaps we can meet in Delhi in April.⁴⁴⁹

Later, on March 3rd, Jinnah released a statement expressing his satisfaction in hearing about the resignation of Malik Sir Khizar Hayat and his cabinet's dissolution. He praised Khizar's decision and hoped that Dr. Khan Sahib, the Chief Minister of NWFP, would follow Khizar's lead.⁴⁵⁰ However, Dr. Khan Sahib unequivocally rejected Jinnah's suggestion and responded accordingly.

I will only resign if those who voted me into power express their wish for it [...] While the Punjab Premier's actions may have been influenced by certain factors, I am certain that the Pathans are

⁴⁴⁸ Zawwar H. Zaidi, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, Vol. 01 (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, National Archives of Pakistan, 1993), 177.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of the Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. 4 (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1996), 2525.

on my side. The advice given to me may be relevant only for opportunistic individuals who are impatient for leadership without the willingness to make necessary sacrifices.⁴⁵¹

The circumstances surrounding Khizar's resignation were ambiguous. While some believed it was anticipated and possibly orchestrated by Jenkins and his team, the exact nature of Khizar's decision remains uncertain. In a letter to Wavell, Jenkins mentioned Khizar's desire to spend May 1947 in Europe, hinting at a potential premeditation. However, there were also indications that even Jenkins was taken aback by the resignation, adding an element of unpredictability to the situation.⁴⁵²

Various anti-Muslim League press outlets also claimed that the government had aided in Khizar's resignation. The *Tribune* (Lahore), reported that Khizar's resignation was not voluntary, but rather due to pressure from certain Muslim officials, particularly those in the police department who had sided with the Muslim League.⁴⁵³ This view was shared by many non-Muslim League leaders, including Mota Singh and Sardul Singh Caveeshar, who believed that the riots were caused by government employees.⁴⁵⁴

"Surprised Resignation"

Interestingly Khizar maintained that he stepped down because he could not lead a coalition ministry in which the Muslim League was not represented.⁴⁵⁵ Lord Wavell believed that the resignation was a result of the February 20th announcement.⁴⁵⁶ The *Civil & Military Gazette* called it a 'surprise' and published it as 'Surprised Resignation by Premier'.⁴⁵⁷ While

⁴⁵¹ "Majority of Pathans with me", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 08, 1947.

⁴⁵² Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Reporting the Partition of Punjab 1947: Press, Public and Other Opinions* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 2006), 116.

⁴⁵³ *Tribune* (Lahore), March 3, 1947.

⁴⁵⁴ *Tribune* (Lahore), March 6, 1947.

⁴⁵⁵ *Tribune* (Lahore), March 3, 1947.

⁴⁵⁶ Archibald Percival Wavell, Wavell: *The Viceroy's Journal*, ed. by Penderel Moon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 428.

⁴⁵⁷ "Khizar Ministry Goes", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 04, 1947.

the resignation was seen as an honorable departure from an unpopular position by the Muslim League, it also paved the way for political anarchy, creating a complex situation.

From the purely personal point of view Sir Khizar secured in the eyes of the Muslim League following a somewhat honorable exit from an unpopular position. From the political point of view his resignation opened the sluice gates of anarchy.⁴⁵⁸

The recent political events in Punjab, including the resignation of the Coalition Ministry, were described as a 'Drama' by the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore). These developments had significant consequences, fostering greater support for the Muslim League and the formation of new political alliances. Punjab emerged as a crucial player in shaping the trajectory of Pakistan in the northwest region of India.⁴⁵⁹ The report further said:

The dramatic developments in Punjab provincial politics over the weekend, culminating in the resignation of the Coalition Ministry [...] expected to have far-reaching repercussions and implications that are not easily grasped at the moment. [...] The timing of the resignation is likely to solidify Muslim support behind the Muslim League and provide a platform for non-League or anti-League elements in provincial politics to come together [...] However, the true transformation will be witnessed at the all-Indian level, rather than just the provincial sphere. From now on, the Punjab, according to the League's perspective, will rightfully assume its place as the spearhead of Pakistan in the north-west of India.⁴⁶⁰

According to Ayesha Jalal, Jinnah entered the final phase of the endgame with his followers in the Muslim provinces experiencing complete confusion. She referred to the correspondence of Olaf Caroe to Wavell dated 13.3.47 and Nehru to Wavell dated 19.3.1947 as evidence of this state of affairs.

In the N.W.F.P. the so-called 'Local League' had taken up 'direct action' to bring down the Congress ministry. This was accompanied by widespread communal disturbances in the towns and villages of the province. The military had to be called in to restore a semblance of law and order. But violent attacks on non-Muslims continued to spread both east and south of Peshawar. In Hazara district, there were forced conversions of non-Muslims, and Hindu temples and Sikh gurudwaras were reduced to ashes [...] Nehru alleged that the Governor was encouraging the League' agitation and called for his immediate dismissal.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁸ Bal Ram Nanda, *Punjab Uprooted: A Survey of the Punjab Riots and Rehabilitation Problems* (Hind Kitabs, 1948), 15.

⁴⁵⁹ "Punjab Drama", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 04, 1947.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 239.

New Suggestions

After Khizar's resignation, proposals and suggestions were put forward to Jinnah regarding the appointment of a new leader in the political arena to replace Khizar. One such communication, found in the *Jinnah Papers*, was addressed by the Central Government Servants from Punjab to M.A. Jinnah, recommending Malik Firoz Khan Noon as the right type of man for the Premiership of the Punjab, as he possessed all the necessary qualities:

The sacrifices and fortitude exhibited by the Muslims of the Punjab have forced the dummy Ministry of the Punjab to resign. This altered position places the Muslim League in the forefront to form a Ministry. It is, therefore, categorically imperative that a man possessing personality, vast experience and administrative and tactical ability should be at the helm of affairs in the Punjab. We mean to say that the leadership of the Punjab Muslims should vest in a person who should be able to guide and control the Punjab flawlessly in the difficult times ahead, should such an eventuality arise in 1948 in view of H.M.G.'s announcement of the White Paper. Permit us to suggest humbly that Malik Firoz Khan Noon is the right type of man for the Premiership of the Punjab. He bears all the qualities mentioned before.⁴⁶²

Even though Malik Feroze Khan Noon's name was also suggested by some, the Governor of Punjab, Sir Evan Jenkins, took a different approach. On Monday morning, he invited Khan Iftikhar Hussain of Mamdot, the Muslim League opposition leader in the Punjab Assembly, to assist him in forming a council of ministers. The *Civil & Military Gazette* explained this development further:

Mr. Iftikhar Hussain of Mamdot, who met the Governor at 11:15 on Monday morning, told his Excellency that he was in a position to form a ministry. When asked when he was submitting the name of his ministers, he said in an interview, "I will take my own time." The Punjab Assembly League Party met in the Assembly chamber on Monday in a jubilant mood and unanimously re-elected Mr. Iftikhar Hussain as its leader. Sirdar Shaikat Hyat Khan was elected Deputy Leader, and Mian Nurullah Khan was elected Secretary.⁴⁶³

But the situation didn't unfold in a peaceful manner. Khizar's resignation had caused a political and constitutional crisis. The Muslim League had a majority in the Punjab Assembly, but failed to find coalition partners from the Congress and Sikh after Khizar's resignation. The Punjab Muslim League president, Nawab Mamdot, tried to win over Scheduled Castes and

⁴⁶² Zawwar H. Zaidi, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, Vol. 01 (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, National Archives of Pakistan, 1993), 169.

⁴⁶³ "Khizar Ministry Goes", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 04, 1947.

Christian votes, but failed to secure a majority. On March 3, Master Tara Singh and other Sikh members of the Assembly shouted anti-Pakistan slogans. That evening, Hindu and Sikh leaders met and made provocative speeches, vowing to never let the Muslim League form the government or partition India.⁴⁶⁴

The Sikhs Plan

The Sikhs believed that the Muslim League did not provide any assurances for their future security and well-being, despite its aspirations for a united Punjab. They perceived that Muslims viewed them as inferior, making it difficult for them to form an alliance.⁴⁶⁵ Their leaders also resolved to file an appeal with the Privy Council. Following a confidential meeting in Lahore, representatives from various Sikh parties reached a consensus to seek resolution through the Privy Council. Their claim was that the Punjab should have been returned to the Sikhs, as they were the original custodians of the province. Master Tara Singh's comments reflected the heightened tensions and volatile atmosphere in the region.⁴⁶⁶

The Muslim League agitation created great apprehensions in the minds of the Sikhs and Hindus. Master Tara Singh, a Sikh leader, asked his followers to get prepared to rebuff Muslims as the Muslim League had designs to gain domination in the Punjab. Now both Hindus and Sikhs seemed determined that their safety lay in separate province for themselves.⁴⁶⁷

Tara Singh also expressed grave concerns about the potential outbreak of a civil war in Punjab, underscoring the seriousness of the situation and the urgent need for resolution. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) published his statement to this effect:

The contention of the Sikhs is that the rightful claimants to the province are the lineal descendants of Maharaja Dalip Singh, the last ruler of Punjab. They point out that the administration of the province was taken over by the British when Maharaja Dalip Singh was a minor. A Council of Regency was set up, but the Sikhs allege that the province was later usurped. [he added] there

⁴⁶⁴ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 135.

⁴⁶⁵ Farah Gul Baqai, *Jenkins and the Partition of Punjab 1947* (Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University, 2018), 39.

⁴⁶⁶ "Sikh Claim to the Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 02, 1947.

⁴⁶⁷ Farah Gul Baqai, *Jenkins and the Partition of Punjab 1947* (Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University, 2018), 39.

can be no settlement if the Muslims want to rule Punjab, we cannot trust them under any circumstances.⁴⁶⁸

Several other leaders also shared their comments on the situation. Sadar Pratap Singh remarked that "Pakistan can only be built on our ashes."⁴⁶⁹ The President of *Akali Dal*, Gyani Kartar Singh, emphasized that Punjab is for Punjabis, and no communal Ministry would be acceptable for Punjab.⁴⁷⁰

The Congress Plan

As the deadline for the transfer of power approached, the British government was already facing intense pressure to find a solution to the political crisis in India. They recognized that the Congress and the Muslim League were deeply divided, and that the demand for a separate Muslim state was becoming increasingly popular. The British were reluctant to see India divided, but they also recognized that they could not hold on to the country indefinitely. In the end, they decided that partition was the only viable solution. Ayesha Jalal recalled it as "a time-bomb under an already tottering administrative structure"⁴⁷¹

By May 1947, the British high-ranking officials had acknowledged the necessity of partition. It was observed that West Pakistan would fulfill Britain's strategic objectives through the provision of the Karachi port, air bases, and Muslim manpower whenever necessary. Additionally, they emphasized the importance of keeping Pakistan relatively weaker than India, ensuring its continued reliance on Western assistance be it military, political, or economic to maintain its sustainability.⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁸ Farah Gul Baqai, *Jenkins and the Partition of Punjab 1947* (Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University, 2018), 39.

⁴⁶⁹ "Pakistan can only be Built on our Ashes", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 05, 1947.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 245.

⁴⁷² Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 351.

After Jinnah rejected the Cabinet Mission's proposals, the Congress proposed to permanently remove the League and its supporters from the all-India arrangements. The Congress came out with an ultimatum, proposing to give the League only those districts which possessed a clear Muslim majority and were contiguous to each other. Congress offered Jinnah a 'Pakistan' stripped of the Punjab's eastern divisions, Assam except Sylhet district, Western Bengal and Calcutta, which Jinnah had rejected earlier in 1944 and 1946.⁴⁷³

On March 8, 1947, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution calling for the partition of Punjab into two, stating that these tragic events had made it clear that there could be no resolution to the Punjab problem through violence and coercion. Arrangements based on coercion were inherently unsustainable. Therefore, it was imperative to find a solution that involves the least amount of compulsion.

This necessitates the division of Punjab into two provinces, separating the predominantly Muslim areas from the predominantly non-Muslim areas. The Working Committee endorses this solution, believing it will benefit all communities involved, reduce friction, and alleviate fears and suspicions among them.⁴⁷⁴

This proposal was with the possibility of extending the same principle to Bengal if necessary.⁴⁷⁵ The Congress working Committee also invited Muslim League to nominate the representatives in order to consider the situation.⁴⁷⁶

Considering the new developments leading to a rapid transfer of power in India, it is now necessary for the Indian people to jointly and cooperatively prepare for this transition, ensuring a peaceful outcome that benefits all. Consequently, the Working Committee extends an invitation to the All-India Muslim League to appoint representatives who will meet with Congress representatives, with the aim of addressing the current situation and devising appropriate measures to address it. The Working Committee will maintain close communication with the Sikh community and other concerned groups, collaborating with them to take necessary steps and safeguard their interests.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷³ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 246-247.

⁴⁷⁴ "Congress Against Compulsion or Coercion", *the Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 10, 1947.

⁴⁷⁵ "Two Provinces of Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 10, 1947.

⁴⁷⁶ "League Invited to Discuss Situation", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 10, 1947.

⁴⁷⁷ "Congress Against Compulsion or Coercion", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 10, 1947.

This above invitation of dialogue was welcomed by the London Circles, stating that the efforts are being made to facilitate a smooth transfer of power in India through cooperation between leading Indian parties, ensuring that Indian leaders are prepared to govern independently.⁴⁷⁸ It further went:

These processes cannot take place overnight, but it is believed that given the necessary cooperation in India, with a particularly strong impetus provided by the collaboration between the two leading Indian parties, it would be Britain's intention, in association with Delhi, to actively prepare for a smooth transfer of power. When the actual moment of transfer arrives, Indian leaders, who have already been nominated, would find themselves fully prepared to continue governing with strength and authority. In reaction to this, it is anticipated that there will be a sense of satisfaction. Political parties of all affiliations will eagerly await the unfolding developments resulting from the Congress Conservatives' bold and direct approach. Inspired by the audacity of the Labour Government's "Quit India" movement, they would welcome the active and practical collaboration among Indian leaders at this significant juncture in India's political history. This collective effort would ensure a logical and organized transition of the country's destiny from British to Indian hands.⁴⁷⁹

Deccan Times (Madras), published:

Unless the Congress accepts the principle of Pakistan, it is pointless to talk about partitioning the Punjab and Bengal. Once the demand for Pakistan is accepted, the critical question of re-adjusting its boundaries can be considered by experts. So, let the Congress bravely take one more step forward!⁴⁸⁰

Nehru advocated for separate ministries in the Punjab to prevent a full-scale civil war. The Congress' declaration was a two-headed coin in the political game; if Jinnah accepted division on these terms, Congress would win control of all the regions they wanted, but if he refused, then Congress would be the real master, able to exclude the League from power. The resolution eliminated Jinnah's few remaining options, limiting his choices going forward.⁴⁸¹

According to a report in the *Deccan Times* (Madras) titled "Congress Manoeuvre for *Akhand Hindustan* through back door", doubts were raised about the potential for constructive discussions between the representatives of the Muslim League and Congress. The report highlighted concerns about the Congress's intentions for a United India:

⁴⁷⁸ "London Circles Welcome Congress Move", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 11, 1947.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁰ "Why Congress Suggests Punjab Partition", *Deccan Times* (Madras), March 15, 1947.

⁴⁸¹ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 247.

In these circumstances, we do not see what good can result from any discussions that may take place between representatives of the Muslim League and those of the Congress in pursuance of the Congress Working Committee's "invitation." But that, of course, is for the League High Command to decide. We ourselves see little merit in this pale gesture by the Congress, which has proved by its Working Committee's latest decisions that it still remains wedded to its exploded *Akhand Hindustan* ideology.⁴⁸²

On the contrary, slogans of 'No Support for League' were also echoed in some circles.

Congress and Sikh leaders of the Punjab declared in Lahore that:

Having witnessed the tragic occurrences that are currently taking place, where communal threats and coercion are being used to dissolve the Ministry and establish a purely communal one, possibly with the aim of advocating for Pakistan, we want to make it unequivocally clear to the public that we will not provide any assurance or support to the Muslim League in forming a Ministry. We are firmly opposed to Pakistan in any form or shape.⁴⁸³

In the light of various concerns around financial support, partitioning, and defense expenditure, several alternatives were presented for the Muslim areas. The first alternative, which was a separate transfer to each of the provincial governments, was quickly rejected. The second alternative was a transfer to three authorities: 'Hindustan', 'Pakistan' of North-Western India, and Bengal as a separate entity. But there were strong arguments against it. The third and preferred alternative was a transfer to two authorities: 'Hindustan' and 'Pakistan' (which included North-Western India and Bengal without Assam). The fourth alternative was a transfer to two authorities with a partition of the Punjab and Bengal.⁴⁸⁴

Jinnah faced a concerning situation as Congress had a clear upper hand in the interim government. If that government became the ruling power, it would mean Congress in control, leaving the relationship with the League and provinces to be resolved later. This posed a problem for Jinnah as it aligned with British interests but London wasn't ready to fully commit

⁴⁸² "Akhand Hindustan through the Back Doors", *Deccan Times* (Madras), March 16, 1947. (See Annex 26)

⁴⁸³ "Pakistan to be opposed in any shape or form", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 10, 1947.

⁴⁸⁴ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 247.

and face the consequences. It would have required going back on promises made to Muslims and princes, leading to debates and conflicts in Parliament.⁴⁸⁵

The *Deccan Times* (Madras), in its assessment of these tactics as a mere jugglery of words, expressed that:

What is obvious from all this jugglery of words is that Congress expects the British to transfer power into its hands, and this is amply borne out by the fact of the Congress demanding the recognition of Interim Government as Dominion Government forthwith. Everyone understands that this move is aimed at solidifying Congress' authority and control.⁴⁸⁶

Malik Feroze Khan Noon, while addressing the Sikh problem, emphasized that the current act of the CWC suggesting the Partition of the Punjab would be injurious to the Sikhs. The *Deccan Times* (Madras), in an article titled "Congress Ignores Sikh Interests", published his statement stating:

It appears that the Congress Working Committee in Delhi has passed a resolution demanding a partition of the Punjab in the belief that the Punjab Muslims will dislike the idea and accept *Akhand Hindustan* at the Centre. The Sikh interests seem to have had little influence in this decision.⁴⁸⁷

Arrival of Mountbatten

Mountbatten's official arrival in India on March 22nd, 1947, became a significant turning point in the fight for India's independence from British rule. As the final Viceroy appointed by the British government, he assumed the critical responsibility of overseeing the transfer of power from British India to a sovereign India and Pakistan. Given his reputation as a proficient diplomat and his prior experience in facilitating transitions in other British colonies, many Indian leaders viewed his appointment optimistically, hoping that he would be sympathetic to their cause for independence. The Honorable Sir Patrick Spens, Chief Justice

⁴⁸⁵ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 250.

⁴⁸⁶ "Partition of Punjab will be Injurious to Sikhs", *Deccan Times* (Madras), March 16, 1947.

⁴⁸⁷ "Jugglery of Words", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 25, 1947.

of India, administered the oath to Lord Mountbatten at the swearing in ceremony in the Durbar Hall Delhi.⁴⁸⁸

Mountbatten's arrival in India happened during a time of intense political turbulence, as the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress found themselves at odds over the partition question. Mountbatten's initial objective was to foster a compromise between the two sides and avoid the need for partition altogether. Nevertheless, as the situation worsened, he eventually recognized that partition was unavoidable. As he was being sent out from London, the British policymakers were uncertain about their future course of action. They had not yet accepted the possibility of a sovereign 'Pakistan' with an independent center. However, they had no clear way forward, and there was still a chance that Jinnah might be able to save or rescue some portion of his plan. The British government had made a decision to strengthen the central authority in India and avoid fragmentation, which was demonstrated by the Secretary of State's analysis of the available alternatives.⁴⁸⁹

According to some historians, this appointment was done because the previous viceroy, Wavell, had become controversial due to his bias towards Jinnah and antipathy towards Gandhi and Congress. Wavell rejected advice to ask Jinnah to form the government and instead asked Nehru, which greatly antagonized Jinnah. Nevertheless, Mountbatten appreciated the efforts made by Lord Wavell during his swearing in ceremony in Delhi on March 24, 1947. He stated:

It will be no easy matter to succeed Lord Wavell who has done so much to take India along the path to self-government. I have always had a great admiration for him and I shall devote myself to finishing the work which he began.⁴⁹⁰

Lord Wavell, on his return to Britain, stated in an interview at the airport:

If I have been of any service to India in the last five years, I shall be very proud because I owe India a great deal. I have handed over the final task of reaching complete self-government to my

⁴⁸⁸ "Oath Taking", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 25, 1947.

⁴⁸⁹ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 247.

⁴⁹⁰ "Government of India, External Affairs Department to Secretary of State, Telegram, L/P&J IOF/Y8: F 26," in *The Transfer of Power in India*, ed. Nicholas Mansergh, Vol. 10 (London: HMSO, 1977), 563.

successor, and I shall naturally continue to take interest and show sympathy for the progress of India. I am sure my successor will be able to help India in the final stages without disturbances. I hope we shall hand over a united India that will still maintain connections with the British Commonwealth. I am quite sure that India will, in the end, come out well. I have great faith in the eventual progress of India, but she has some very hard and dangerous years to go through. In this last final stage, she has the right man in my successor.⁴⁹¹

Mountbatten also made some strong statements regarding his appointment and said that his viceroyalty would not follow the conventional path. The British Government had a firm commitment since long to transfer power to Indian hands by June 1948, necessitating the discovery of a solution within a short timeframe.⁴⁹² According to V.P Menon:

His earnest determination to carry out the decision of His Majesty's Government to transfer power to Indian hands smoothly and speedily created a deep impression.⁴⁹³

Mountbatten's Role in the Congress-League Power Struggle

Mountbatten's central idea revolved around the notion that the future constitutional arrangements after the transfer of power should be agreed upon by Indians themselves, rather than being imposed by the British. He firmly believed in allowing the provinces to determine their own paths forward. This method, according to him, would grant the Indian people the highest degree of choice and self-determination. Once he had outlined a general framework for the transfer of British power to India, he engaged in.⁴⁹⁴

In doing so, he explored various methods to accurately gauge the will of the people in different provinces, engaging in extensive discussions with Indian leaders, including the Quaid-i-Azam and Gandhi, and subsequently met with Sikh leader Tara Singh, marking the beginning of important discussions on the future of a divided India or *Akhand Bharat*.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹¹ "Wavell's leave India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 26, 1947.

⁴⁹² "Declaration by the New Viceroy", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 25, 1947. (See Annex 2)

⁴⁹³ V. P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States* (Bangalore: Reproduced by Sani H. Panhwar, 1955), 62.

⁴⁹⁴ Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, "Mountbatten and the NWFP Referendum: Revisited," J.R.S.P., Vol. 48, No. 1 (2011): 16.

⁴⁹⁵ "Divided India or *Akhand Bharat*", *Deccan Times* (Madras), April 13, 1947.

Interestingly, in the majority of the meetings, Mahatma Gandhi offered himself as a mediator. Sometimes, he was summoned by the Viceroy himself to assist or accompany him during his meetings. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) reported that:

Mahatma Gandhi has expressed his readiness to assist all concerned without being seen as a spokesperson for any organization. Political circles interpret this as Mahatma Gandhi's unwillingness to assume any role other than that of an advocate for the millions of people in the country, regardless of their class or creed. The attempt [...] to portray Mahatma Gandhi as a defender of the Hindus and the Viceroy's invitation to him in his capacity as a leader of the Hindus is resented by these circles.⁴⁹⁶

On the contrary, in his post-prayer speech on 28th March, Gandhi directed the attention of his audience to the initial statement made by Lord Louis Mountbatten upon assuming office. Mountbatten declared that he had been sent to India as the ultimate Viceroy to conclude British rule and transfer power to the existing National Government at that time. Gandhi commended his mission and conveyed his best wishes. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) reported:

Considering the events unfolding in the country, [talking about the Indians] Mahatma Gandhi expressed concern that due to their own folly or, to put it bluntly, their insanity, they might inadvertently let their hard-won prize slip from their hands before firmly securing their unbreakable fate. They themselves might tempt the Viceroy to test the sincerity of his words on a crucial occasion. Mahatma Gandhi fervently hoped that such a scenario would never arise. However, even if he were to be a voice in the wilderness, he declared that the Viceroy should steadfastly and genuinely fulfill the pronouncement and successfully complete the British withdrawal.⁴⁹⁷

The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) also published a caricature declaring Gandhi as 'Adviser to Congress League Viceroy'.⁴⁹⁸ and the same 'adviser' later on offered Mr. Jinnah the presidency of the Indian Republic, on the condition of accepting a united India.⁴⁹⁹

Meanwhile, Mountbatten exerted considerable effort to convince Jinnah to embrace the Cabinet Mission Plan and continue as part of a united India. Despite Jinnah's repeated assertions that he would not entertain any alternative proposals, during a reception hosted by the Memon Chamber of Commerce, Jinnah remarked that:

⁴⁹⁶ "Mahatma Gandhi Ready to Assist", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 28, 1947.

⁴⁹⁷ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 28, 1947.

⁴⁹⁸ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 30, 1947.

⁴⁹⁹ "Divided India or Akhand Bharat", *Deccan Times* (Madras), April 13, 1947.

Pakistan is coming nearer and nearer. Therefore, let us now call for a truce and let us agree on Pakistan. It is better to divide and flourish than to be united and destroy everything. There is no other alternative. United India will only result in destruction. Why should there be destruction? The answer is very simple. United India can only mean the rule of one- nation over another. United India means three votes for Hindus and one vote for Muslims. Therefore, one nation with a brute majority cannot rule, and inflict its own ideals on another nation.⁵⁰⁰

Explaining his categorical stance about Pakistan, he further said that:

I am fighting for Pakistan, which means that I am fighting for the freedom of India, as Pakistan is the only practical solution to address this problem. The alternative ideal of a united India and a government based on the parliamentary system is a futile dream and an impossibility. India is neither a country nor a nation but rather a score of nations.⁵⁰¹

The speech sparked widespread discussions, particularly regarding the concept of a united India. An editorial was published, delving into the matter and labelling that the Quaid-i-Azam had, in fact, attempted to fit the new wine of the 'quit' resolve into the old bottles of Pakistan.⁵⁰² The editorial further stated that:

This is the only conclusion that can be reached from Mr. Jinnah's statement that Britain's offer of a united India was carefully calculated to pit Muslims against Hindus. Such a fantastic perversion of logic makes all advocates of a united Hindustan agents of British imperialism. It can be believed by, and can convince, no one in the world - least of all Mr. Jinnah himself.⁵⁰³

Mountbatten applied significant pressure on Jinnah, warning him of the consequences if he insisted on an independent sovereign Pakistan. Mountbatten emphasized that such a stance would result in the division of Punjab and Bengal along communal lines. He argued that he could not agree to the partition of India without also agreeing to partition within any province facing similar communal challenges.⁵⁰⁴

On the other hand, the Congress leaders urged Mountbatten to ensure the division of Punjab and Bengal as a condition for accepting the overall partition of India. Jinnah tried to convey to Mountbatten the adverse effects that the division would have on the

⁵⁰⁰ "Monday 11:am Indias Zero Hour", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 28, 1947.

⁵⁰¹ "Truce on Basis of Pakistan", *Ibid.*

⁵⁰² "Nonsense, Mr. Jinnah!", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 29, 1947.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁴ Sikanadar Hayat, ed., *Pakistan Studies: A Book of Readings* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2023), 31.

administrative and economic aspects of these two provinces in Pakistan, but his efforts were in vain.⁵⁰⁵

Commenting on the proposed plan of partition of Punjab and Bengal by the Congress Working Committee, Jinnah called it a sinister move and exclaimed that:

It is a mistake to compare the basic principle of Pakistan and the demand of cutting up of the provinces throughout India into fragmentations. I do hope that neither the Viceroy nor His Majesty's Government will fall into this trap and commit a grave error.⁵⁰⁶

Jinnah further elaborated on the involvement of Sikhs and the Mahasabha in the Congress' Plan, stating that the intention of Congress is to deliberately mislead both parties.

This orchestrated move by Congress has caused significant confusion and disruption indeed:

The Congress propaganda is intended to disrupt and put obstacles, obstructions, and difficulties in the way of an amicable solution. It is quite obvious that they have propped up the Hindu Mahasabha in Bengal and the Sikhs in the Punjab, and the Congress Press is inciting the Sikhs and misleading them. The Sikhs do not stand to gain by the partition of the Punjab, but they will be split into two halves. More than half of their population will have to remain in Pakistan, even if a partition of the Punjab takes place according to their conception. Whereas in Pakistan, as proposed by the Muslim League, they will play, as one solid minority, a very big part.⁵⁰⁷

Jinnah, in discussing the consequences of this proposed partition, emphasized the segments of society that would suffer the most if the plan were implemented. He articulated that:

The new clamor for partition, initiated by a vocal section of caste Hindus in Bengal and particularly by the Sikhs in the Punjab, will have disastrous results if these two provinces are partitioned. The Sikhs in the Punjab will be the greatest sufferers. Muslims under the proposed Western Punjab will undoubtedly be affected, but it will inflict the greatest blow to those, especially the Sikhs, for whom this new wave has been instigated. Similarly, in Western Bengal, the caste Hindus will endure significant suffering, as will the caste Hindus in Eastern Punjab. This idea of partition is not only thoughtless and reckless but, unfortunately, if embraced by His Majesty's Government, it would lead to grave consequences.⁵⁰⁸

The proposed plan included the division of Punjab and Bengal. Jinnah reluctantly accepted the plan as a compromise rather than a satisfactory settlement, while Prime Minister

⁵⁰⁵ Sikanadar Hayat, ed., *Pakistan Studies: A Book of Readings* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2023), 31.

⁵⁰⁶ "Sinister Move Actuated by Spike", *Deccan Times* (Madras), May 4, 1947.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁸ "Jinnah Reiterates Corridor Demand", *Deccan Times* (Madras), May 25, 1947.

Attlee lamented it as an inevitable alternative to the Cabinet Mission Plan.⁵⁰⁹ Jinnah's response to the argument against the partition of Punjab and Bengal was to propose transferring power to the provinces, allowing them to decide their own groups and whether to join Pakistan or Hindustan. This was an effort to prevent Congress from taking control without opposition. However, Mountbatten had a different plan and pressured Jinnah with a scheme that excluded Muslim-majority districts, transferring power to them. Jinnah refused to assist, instead, he asked to see Congress's partition proposals for Punjab and Bengal to prepare his own counterproposals.⁵¹⁰

Jinnah realized that if the Mission's plan for a United India (which postponed the creation of Pakistan) were revived, it would allow the Congress again to suppress the League and its aspirations. This was the main reason why Jinnah had to settle for whatever he could attain while the British still held power in India.

Meanwhile, certain sections of Hindus and Sikhs developed a strategy to counter Jinnah's Pakistan by forming an alliance and jointly opposing him. Speaking at a public gathering in a Sikh gurdwara, Tara Singh passionately urged Hindus and Sikhs to set aside their differences and unite as one entity for the greater good of their nation. He made a heartfelt appeal for Hindu-Sikh unity, saying;

Unite as one man and nation and sink all your differences [...] The Punjab trouble will not end unless and until the whole Indian question is solved [...] Unite as one man and nation and sink all your differences. Pray for our success in Punjab every morning and evening, as our struggle in Punjab will be the decisive struggle.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁹ Sikanadar Hayat, ed., *Pakistan Studies: A Book of Readings* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2023), 31.

⁵¹⁰ Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 253.

⁵¹¹ "Unite as One Man and Nation", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 29, 1947.

After the session, a purse of Rs. 31,000 was also presented to Master Tara Singh by Sardar Indo Singh MLA as the first installment towards the target of Rs. 1 lakh for Cawnpore's Punjab Relief Fund, to be spent at Master Tara Singh's discretion.⁵¹²

Tense Situation

The end of March witnessed a deteriorating communal situation across the country. On one front, there were sessions held by the Hindu-Sikh united front, against the Muslims. Conversely, various regions of the country experienced large-scale communal rioting. In Calcutta, the initial eruption of violence led to police firing, prompting the deployment of the army to restore peace. The military diligently patrolled the affected areas to suppress any further disorder. A similar scenario unfolded in Kohat, in the Northern province, where Sikhs and Hindus found themselves targeted in acts of hostility, catalyzing the already tense communal climate.⁵¹³

Some fragments of the society were quite worried with the public exhibiting of *Kirpan* (a pointed Knife) a religious obligation for Sikhs. In response to a question in the Central Assembly, Mr. Patel avoided addressing the issue of the *Kirpan* by stating that it was a religious obligation for Sikhs to wear it. However, he failed to address the negative consequences and incidents associated with its misuse in Punjab. When asked that *Kirpan* ought to be a small knife only, Mr. Patel remarked that there was no specific definition for what constituted a *Kirpan*, suggesting that it could be any weapon carried by a Sikh and given that name.⁵¹⁴

The *Deccan Times* (Madras), commented on Patel's response that:

The whole thing is so ridiculous. There is an open state of war between the two communities. [Muslims and Sikhs] But those responsible for law and order have totally disarmed one section, banning even a pen knife or stick for them, whereas they have, under the pretext of so-called religious obligation, armed the other section literally to the teeth. [...] It is unfortunate that

⁵¹² "Unite as One Man and Nation", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 29, 1947.

⁵¹³ "Calcutta Situation Worsens", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 30, 1947.

⁵¹⁴ "Kirpan Wreaks Havoc in Punjab", *Deccan Times* (Madras), April 27, 1947.

someone in such a position of authority, responsible for the safety of life and property, would treat such an important matter regarding public peace with such casualness.⁵¹⁵

By this point, the Congress had successfully garnered support from specific Muslim factions. The prominent *Ahrar* group, instead of aligning with the Muslim League, chose to associate themselves with the Congress. This decision was publicly announced during an All-India gathering, which was reported by the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) as follows:

The General Council of the All-India Majlis-e-Ahrar, after a two-day session in Lahore on April 21, endorsed the resolution of the Majlis-Ahrar Working Committee of March, which called for severing ties with the Congress. Maulana Ataullah Shah Bokhari presided over the session.⁵¹⁶

Summon from London

The Viceroy was summoned to London for a short visit, as announced from the Viceroy's House in New Delhi. Over the past ten days, His Majesty's Government carefully reviewed the proposals for power transfer submitted by the Viceroy and generally agreed with them. However, they wanted to have discussions with the Viceroy before making any official announcements due to the importance of these proposals for India's future and the world. Certain details, including the partition of Bengal and Punjab, as well as interim arrangements for the armed forces, were discussed between Lord Mountbatten and the British Cabinet.⁵¹⁷

Meanwhile, the Viceroy held talks with Indian leaders after returning from Simla. He met Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah twice and also had discussions with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Nehru. As a result, Viceroy Mountbatten was invited to join Pandit Nehru for further discussions.⁵¹⁸ On 21 May, as a clear indication that Jinnah did not consider the agreement to be final, he requested a corridor through Hindustan to connect the two parts of Pakistan.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁵ "Kirpan Wreaks Havoc in Punjab", *Deccan Times* (Madras), April 27, 1947.

⁵¹⁶ "Ahrar Joins Congress", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 14, 1947.

⁵¹⁷ "Viceroy Called to London", *Deccan Times* (Madras), May 18, 1947.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁹ "Jinnah Reiterates Corridor Demand", *Deccan Times* (Madras), May 25, 1947.

On the contrary, Jinnah's proposals were widely seen as land-grabbing tactics with the aim of acquiring more territory. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, a prominent member of the Indian National Congress, provided his commentary on Jinnah's scheme, stating:

If Jinnah's dream comes true, Punjab Hindus and Sikhs will oppose the corridor. It would be absurd to expect the units of infantry to favor Mr. Jinnah's territorial ambitions and support his land-grabbing aspirations.⁵²⁰

Rajagopalachari expressed that the Muslim League had to realize that their dreams need to match the reality. India could not waste any more time on unimportant things. The urgency of establishing peace and order was obvious, so that the problems of economic life in India, which millions of people were deeply concerned about, could be addressed by responsible governments. He also ridiculed Jinnah's demand for corridor. Calling it absurd, he emphasized that coercing the hostile populations in Punjab and Bengal into a new government before Pakistan's formation is an additional absurdity.⁵²¹

He explained:

A hostile population of millions in the Eastern part of Punjab and millions of even more hostile men and women in Western Bengal have to be coerced into a new and unknown government before Pakistan can take shape, according to Mr. Jinnah. As if this absurdity were not enough, Doon Campbell has suggested that Mr. Jinnah asks for a 1,200-mile-long corridor from Lahore to Dacca. Such conditions reduce the League's claim to stark absurdity.⁵²²

The events of June 1947 played a pivotal role in shaping the future of India. On June 10, the Muslim League Council reaffirmed its steadfast support for the Plan, emphasizing its foundational principles as a compromise. A few days earlier, on June 4th, Mountbatten had made a significant announcement during a press conference, officially declaring that the Partition of India would take effect on August 15, 1947.⁵²³

⁵²⁰ "Cannot Concede League's Land Grabbing Policy", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 01, 1947.

⁵²¹ "Reduces League Claim to Stark Absurdity", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 29, 1947.

⁵²² Ibid.

⁵²³ Sikanadar Hayat, ed., *Pakistan Studies: A Book of Readings* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2023), 31.

The Last Hope of Securing Unity

Britain made its position clear to India and the world during several meetings between Indian leaders and the Viceroy. The Cabinet Mission's plan for a settlement, which aimed to maintain the country's essential unity, was presented, potentially for the last time. Despite some hope generated by Mahatma Gandhi's support and Congress Socialist Party's endorsement, it was not widely predicted that the Mission's formula would be accepted at this late stage. Observers believed that Britain felt a sense of urgency and a significant risk of the situation deteriorating, leading to the conclusion that a prolonged examination of the Mission's scheme was not feasible.⁵²⁴

Voices of Native Leadership: Opinions and Perspectives

The British Government's announcement on February 20, along with the subsequent plan announced on June 3, provoked a diverse range of reactions from Indian leaders. Certain individuals perceived the announcement as a strategic move, strategically aimed at influencing the Congress and the Muslim League's participation in the Constituent Assembly. Conversely, there were those who considered it a tactic to impose the Cabinet Mission's plan on India.

The Leader of the Indian delegation to the Empire Communist party, Dr. G. Adhikari, described the February 20th announcement as a deceptive move designed to intimidate the indigenous population. According to him, its sole intention was to buy time for the implementation of the Cabinet Mission's plan. In an interview with *Reuters*, Dr. Adhikari further stated:

The British Government is now waiting to see whether it will temporarily sway the Congress and persuade the Muslim League to participate in the Constituent Assembly. This way, a constitution can be framed by a complete Assembly. If this does not happen and the League chooses to remain outside the Constituent Assembly, then the British Government will consider whether to transfer control of India to the Central Government or divide it among the provinces. This clear threat of

⁵²⁴ "Last Effort at Delhi", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 01, 1947.

partition is being presented [...] To sum up, the true purpose behind the British Government's announcement is to create rivalries between the Congress and the Muslim League, intensifying their conflict and making it easier to enforce the Cabinet Mission's plan on India.⁵²⁵

Likewise, several other Hindu leaders denounced the announcement, raising concerns about the threat to nationalism. L.B. Bhopatkar, the President of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, foresaw a political debacle for the country, with a repetition of the old story of Congress resorting to appeasement to bring the Muslim League on board. He alarmed the Hindus regarding Congress' actions and their level of support and said that 'any appeasement of the Muslim League would ultimately lead to the division of the country, fulfilling the League's demand for partition.'⁵²⁶ Mr. Bhopatkar expressed appreciation for His Majesty's Government's establishment of a timeline for the transfer of power to India. However, he criticized the British Government for their inconsistent approach towards the Muslim League and their failure to address the League's refusal to join the Constituent Assembly.⁵²⁷

Mahatma Gandhi, in response to questions from *Reuter's* special correspondent Doon Campbell regarding the current situation in India and global affairs, expressed that the communal division of India was inevitable, and the British withdrawal, if carried out honestly and completely, would be one of the noblest acts in the history of the British nation. Gandhi stressed that the division must proceed according to the predetermined schedule, irrespective of internal conditions.⁵²⁸

I do not doubt the nobility of the British declaration, nor do I question the sincerity of the Viceroy. However, facts are facts. Neither the British Cabinet nor even an exceptional Viceroy can change the reality. The reality is that India has become accustomed to relying on British power for everything. It is not possible for India to abruptly shift away from this dependence. I have never been convinced by the argument that the British need many months to prepare for their departure. During this time, all parties will continue to look to the British Cabinet and the Viceroy. We have not defeated the British through armed conflict. Our victory has been achieved through moral force.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁵ "Partition Threat Held Out", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 01, 1947.

⁵²⁶ "Congress Circles Unnerved by the Latest Declaration", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 01, 1947.

⁵²⁷ "British Threat to Divide India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 01, 1947.

⁵²⁸ "Gandhi likes British Withdrawal Immediately", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), March 06, 1947.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*

Interestingly, the wave of independence was spreading rapidly, capturing the attention of the native and international press both. The *Manchester Guardian* (Manchester), published an editorial suggesting that the most straightforward solution to the Indian question is the one advocated by Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel. According to their proposal;

We should directly transfer our powers and responsibilities to Pandit Nehru's government, making it accountable to the Constituent Assembly. It would then be Pandit Nehru's responsibility to engage in negotiations with the Muslim League regarding the issue of partition, deciding whether it should be implemented or not.⁵³⁰

Turning Point: The June 3rd Plan

The 3rd June Plan, also referred to as the Mountbatten Plan, was a partition proposal presented by Lord Louis Mountbatten, the final Viceroy of India, on June 3rd, 1947. The plan suggested the division of British India into two nations, India and Pakistan, along religious lines. The Plan played a significant role in the partition of India, leading to the independence of India and Pakistan on August 15, 1947. Under the 3rd June Plan, the Indian states were given the choice to join either of the two Constituent Assemblies or declare independence. However, in practice, both Mountbatten and Congress were coercing the states to accede to India.

During the annual session of the All-India States People's Conference on 18 April, Nehru delivered a significant address wherein he proclaimed that any state refusing to join the Constituent Assembly would be regarded as a hostile entity and would have to face the repercussions of such a stance. Liaquat Ali Khan, the leader of the Muslim League Party, quickly responded to Nehru's statement by issuing a press release. He argued that the Congress had no power to force the states to join the Constituent Assembly. He pointed out that according to the Cabinet Mission plan and the clarifications from His Majesty's Government, the states

⁵³⁰ "Immediate Transfer of Power to Nehru Govt", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 24, 1947.

had the right to refuse participation. He urged the states to ignore what he saw as an insignificant threat.⁵³¹

I am surprised to find that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking at the All-India States Peoples' Conference in Gwalior on Friday, made an open threat to the Indian states, stating that any state not joining the Constituent Assembly would be regarded as a hostile state by the country [...] According to the Cabinet Mission's plan and the clarifications issued by His Majesty's Government, the states have every right to refuse participation in the current functioning of the Constituent Assembly [...] Pandit Nehru [...] has no authority to coerce them into succumbing to the Congress's dictates. [...] Once the decision regarding the future of British India is announced, the Indian states will be free to negotiate agreements with either Pakistan or Hindustan as dictated by considerations of contiguity or their own self-interest. [...] I am confident that the Indian states will dismiss the empty threats made by Pandit Nehru. If the spirit of arrogance displayed by Pandit Nehru is to be the guiding principle of Congress's future policies, then may God help those who align themselves with the Congress.⁵³²

In the broader context, the 3rd June Plan offered Indian states the choice to align themselves with either of the two Constituent Assemblies or assert their independence. However, the practical reality revealed that Congress exerted pressure on the states to accede to India. V.P Menon noted that Congress also exhibited reluctance towards the notion of states forming unions:

The attitude of the Congress towards the idea of the States grouping themselves into unions was not favorable. Gandhiji personally was averse to the suggestion, for he had a suspicion that the proposal had been instigated by the Political Department. When the rulers of the Deccan States approached him, he advised them to consult Nehru. The latter was not opposed to the idea of their grouping themselves into a Union, but he said that the first step was for each ruler to grant responsible government to his people. Later, in a speech at the All-India States People's Conference, Nehru said that States which could not possibly form economic units should be absorbed into the neighboring.⁵³³

Mountbatten was determined to align the states before the 15th of August. He was confident that "if I can bring in a basketful [sic] of states before the 15th of August, Congress will be willing to pay any price I stipulate for the basket."⁵³⁴ According to Mountbatten, Jinnah had considered the idea of providing each state with an individual treaty of accession in relation

⁵³¹ "Attempting to Coerce States into Submission", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 22, 1947.

⁵³² Ibid.

⁵³³ V. P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States* (Bangalore: Reproduced by Sani H. Panhwar, 1955), 66.

⁵³⁴ Zawwar H. Zaidi, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, Vol. 03 (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, National Archives of Pakistan, 1993), XVI.

to Pakistan. During an interview with the leader of the Justice Party in Madras, Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, Lord Mountbatten claimed that he was the only person capable of bringing peace between the two factions of India.⁵³⁵

I was the only person who could bring peace between the two Indias. I told him that that was ridiculous. I said 'One can introduce a couple to each other and hope for the best. But if they take a violent dislike to one another, it is no good tucking them off into bed and hoping that the honeymoon will be a great success.' This went very well with him, and he admitted the truth of the parallel.⁵³⁶

Conference of the Indian Leaders

An important conference of the Indian leaders was convened on June 2nd to deliberate on the prospective Constitutional framework for India's future. The Viceroy called this meeting, gathering prominent leaders from both the Congress and the Muslim League. At the conference, the Viceroy unveiled a plan recognized as the H.M.G. Plan or 3rd June Plan. The leaders were asked to respond by the next day, indicating their acceptance of the proposed Union of India or their preference for partition, into Pakistan and Hindustan.⁵³⁷

The meeting, held at the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, including attendees such as Louis Mountbatten, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, J. B. Kripalani, Baldev Singh, H.L. Ismay, Eric Mievill, Erskine Crum, M. A. Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, and Abdur Rab Nishtar. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the Plan presented.⁵³⁸

During the meeting, the Viceroy explained that he had deliberately invited only a small number of party leaders to create a friendly atmosphere around a small table. The Viceroy

⁵³⁵ Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, ed., *The Transfer of Power*, "Record of Interview between Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma and Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar." Mountbatten Papers. Viceroy's Interview No. 108. Vol. 10. London: HMSO, 1977. 563-64.

⁵³⁶ Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, ed., *The Transfer of Power*, 1 March 1945-28 September 1946, Vol. 7 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1974), 1036.

⁵³⁷ "H.M.G. Plan Handed Over", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 02, 1947.

⁵³⁸ Zawwar H. Zaidi, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, Vol. 02 (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, National Archives of Pakistan, 1993),7.

remarked that in the past five years, he had participated in numerous important meetings where the outcome of wars had been determined. However, he couldn't recall any of those meetings where decisions had been made with such a profound impact on world history as the ones that were to be made in the current meeting.⁵³⁹

The Viceroy highlighted the gradual acceptance of alternative plans by the different parties over the past two and a half months. While Mr. Jinnah advocated for complete Pakistan, Congress initially opposed the partition of India. However, Congress had now accepted the principle that Muslim-majority areas should not be coerced into joining the existing Constituent Assembly. They emphasized that they could only accept the principle of partition if it also applied to non-Muslim majority areas included in the original Pakistan Plan. Mr. Jinnah, on the other hand, rejected the partition of provinces, considering it fundamentally wrong. This created a dilemma where Congress did not agree to the partition of India but accepted the non-coercion principle, while Mr. Jinnah demanded the partition of India but rejected the partition of provinces. The Viceroy stressed the impossibility of fully accepting one side's principles.⁵⁴⁰

Regarding His Majesty's Government's statement, the Viceroy informed that he had formulated the plan after discussions with five of the seven Indian leaders present at the meeting. The Plan had undergone changes to accommodate their suggestions before his departure for London, and he was pleased to find that most suggestions were not rejected by the other side. He mentioned small drafting alterations in the statement for clarification purposes, which were agreed upon by His Majesty's Government and would only be included if he and the major Indian parties agreed. Copies of the statement were distributed during the meeting.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁹ Zawwar H. Zaidi, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, Vol. 02 (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, National Archives of Pakistan, 1993),7.

⁵⁴⁰ "H.M.G. Plan Handed Over", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 02, 1947.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

Many historians suspect that the initial draft was rejected by Nehru who was then staying at Viceroy house and happened to have a glance at the draft. Alex Von Tunzelmann, author of *Indian Summer* claims that the Plan announced on 3rd June was not the original plan conceived by Mountbatten and approved by the British government, rather it was a plan drafted by Jawaharlal Nehru, V. P. Menon, and the Governor of the Punjab, Evan Jenkins.⁵⁴²

The Viceroy expressed gratitude for the support and continued involvement of Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, and Sardar Baldev Singh, all of whom signified their assent at this juncture. Shashi Tharoor, the author of *An Era of Darkness*, suggested that the occasion brought out the best in Nehru, stating: "we are little men serving a great cause, [...] mighty forces are at work in the world today and India."⁵⁴³

While detailing about the Leader's conference, the *Civil & Military Gazette* reported:

The Indian leaders who held a conference with the Viceroy recently, were asked to respond by tomorrow regarding their acceptance of a Union of India or the division into Pakistan and Hindustan, two dominions with separate interim Governments. A statement will be simultaneously released from London, as reported by the special correspondent of the *Civil & Military Gazette*. Mr. Jinnah is reported to be unyielding, as he considers the Cabinet's plan obsolete and disagrees with Lord Mountbatten's proposed division of India. He expresses dissatisfaction with the provision of a corridor and the partition of Bengal and Punjab, which he believes do not meet Muslim terms.⁵⁴⁴

Mr. Jinnah stated:

It was perfectly true to say that neither side agreed with certain points in the plan. Its formal acceptance by the Muslim League, which would have to come later, and the constitutional procedure of the League had to be considered. The decision could not be left to the leaders and the Working Committee⁶ (of which there were 21 members) alone. There were many important people outside the Working Committee. The leaders and the Working Committee would have to bring the people round. Much explanation would be necessary. Rather than a few representatives of the Muslim League immediately committing themselves, he would rather say that the plan had been fully examined and that they would do their best to see that the proposals were given effect to peacefully and without bloodshed.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴² Lubna Saif, "Kashmir and 3 June Plan," *Pakistan Vision* 14, no. 1 (2013): 98.

⁵⁴³ Shashi Tharoor, *An Era of Darkness: The British Empire in India* (Aleph Book Company, Daryaganj, 2016), 157.

⁵⁴⁴ "British Press Comments on Indian Situation", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 01, 1947.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Despite their numerous reservations, the leaders endorsed the plan on the same day.

Reporting on this development and revealing details about further meetings accordingly, the

Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore) stated:

The Congress, Muslim League, and Sikh leaders have agreed to the plan, although the parties are not entirely satisfied with the proposals. They have indicated to the Viceroy what they consider to be "objectionable features of the plan." The President of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, met with the Viceroy at 11:30 PM on Monday night. It is understood that the League President assured the Viceroy of his acceptance of the plan and pledged to exert his influence to get the Muslim League Council to accept it. At midnight on Monday, the Congress High Command held a session at Pandit Nehru's residence to draft a reply to His Majesty's Government's proposal. According to a prominent Sikh leader, the Sikhs welcomed the plan as it acknowledged their need for the partition of Punjab. However, they opposed the partition's specific details, particularly the allocation of Gurdaspur and Lahore districts to Pakistan. The Sikh leader's response was sent to the Viceroy shortly after 3 AM.⁵⁴⁶

Although certain British newspapers believed that the proposed plan spelled disaster for the Indians, the immense magnitude of these responsibilities bore heavily on Indian leaders, prompted them to consider their mutual objectives and the attainable level of cooperation. Furthermore, there were those who perceived the division as an act that would bring harm to the Indian Army.⁵⁴⁷

Viceroy's Broadcast to the Nation: Partition of Punjab and Bengal

After engaging in extensive consultations and holding meetings with political leaders, including a visit to London, Lord Mountbatten stood before the nation to announce a new plan for India's future. He announced on a broadcast on June 3, explaining in detail. Starting from imploring upon the importance of Unity, he urged:

Since my arrival in India at the end of March, I have dedicated every day to consulting with numerous leaders and representatives from various communities and interests [...] A unified India would be the best solution to the problem. For over a hundred years, 400 million of you have lived together, and this country has been administered as a single entity. This has led to unified communications, defense, postal services, and currency. There have been no tariffs or customs barriers, providing the foundation for an integrated political economy. My hope was that communal differences would not destroy all of this.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁶ "Leaders Accept New Plan", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 03, 1947.

⁵⁴⁷ "The New Plan", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 02, 1947.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

Feeling sorry for the failure of the proposed Cabinet Mission plan, he said:

My first course of action was to strongly encourage the political leaders to wholeheartedly accept the Cabinet Mission Plan of May 16, 1946. In my opinion, that plan offers the best arrangement that can be devised to address the interest of all the communities of India has been a priority. Unfortunately, it has been impossible to reach an agreement on the Cabinet Mission plan or any other plan that would maintain the unity of India. Coercing communities to live under a government where another community holds the majority is not an option.⁵⁴⁹

Mentioning the Partition as the only solution, but highlighting some other important elements, he further said:

[...] The only alternative is partition. When the Muslim League demanded the partition of India, the Congress presented similar arguments for the partition of certain provinces. In my opinion, this argument is flawed. Neither side is willing to leave a substantial area where their community holds the majority under the governance of the other community. I am opposed to both the partition of provinces and the partition of India itself for the same fundamental reasons. Just as there is an Indian consciousness that should transcend communal differences, there is also a Punjabi and a Bengali consciousness that evoke loyalty to their respective regions. It is crucial that the people of India decide the question of partition for themselves. The procedure for this self-determination will be outlined in the upcoming statement. However, there are a few points I would like to further clarify.⁵⁵⁰

Addressing the issue of the Sikhs, Mountbatten expressed regret as he announced that maintaining the Sikh community undivided was deemed too challenging. He stated:

...We have carefully considered the situation of the Sikh community. They constitute approximately one-eighth of the Punjab's population, but their distribution is such that any partition of the province will inevitably divide them. Those of us who are concerned about the welfare of the Sikh community deeply regret that the desired partition of Punjab cannot avoid causing some degree of separation among them. The specific extent of this division will be decided by the Boundary Commission, with Sikh representation.⁵⁵¹

Encouraging the native Indians to invest their maximum efforts for the promotion of goodwill, he added:

The entire plan may not be flawless, but like any plan, its success relies on the spirit of goodwill with which it is implemented. I have always believed that once the method of power transfer is determined, the transfer should occur as soon as possible. However, we faced a dilemma: if we waited until a constitutional setup for all of India was agreed upon, it would take a considerable amount of time, especially if partition was chosen. On the other hand, if we handed over power before the Constituent Assemblies completed their work, we would leave the country without a constitution.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁹ "Viceroy Explains New India Plan", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 03, 1947.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵⁵² Ibid.

Finally, proposing a solution to the existing problems of India, he said:

The solution to this dilemma [...] is for His Majesty's Government to transfer power now to one or two Governments of British India, each having Dominion Status, as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made. [...] it is important to emphasize that this legislation will not impose any restrictions on the sovereignty of India as a whole or the two states in case of partition. It will be left to them to determine their future relationship with each other and with other members of the British Commonwealth.⁵⁵³



Figure 8: Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), June 04, 1947.

⁵⁵³ "Viceroy Explains New India Plan", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 03, 1947.

The Way Forward

Mountbatten, in his appeal to Indians to actively participate in a peaceful transfer of power, emphasized that the opportunity for an earlier transfer of power than originally anticipated was now evident. His plea, as reported by the *Civil & Military Gazette*:

The path is now clear for an arrangement through which power can be transferred many months earlier than previously estimated. At the same time, it allows the people of British India to decide for themselves about their future, which aligns with the declared policy of His Majesty's Government. I have not mentioned the Indian States, as the new decisions by His Majesty's Government pertain to the transfer of power in British India. If the transfer of power is to be carried out in a peaceful and orderly manner, each one of us must devote all our efforts to this task. This is not a time for discord or for the continuation of the disturbances and lawlessness witnessed in the past few months. Let us not forget the delicate balance we are all working towards. We cannot afford any hesitation or division. We are all in agreement on this.⁵⁵⁴

Views on the Plan

Following the Viceroy's address regarding the Plan, Nehru, Jinnah, and Baldev Singh delivered subsequent speeches. Nehru expressed his vision of a free and independent united India but acknowledged that partition was the appropriate decision given the current circumstances.⁵⁵⁵

While acknowledging that the Plan did not meet the satisfaction of everyone, particularly the Sikh community, Sikh Leader Baldev Singh wholeheartedly accepted the Plan in his broadcast. However, in a subsequent letter addressed to Mountbatten, he highlighted various shortcomings in the Plan. Baldev Singh expressed concerns about the potential lack of security for a significant portion of the Sikh community residing in Muslim-dominated areas. He urged the Boundary Commission to include as many Sikhs as possible in Eastern Punjab.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁴ "Viceroy Explains New India Plan", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 03, 1947.

⁵⁵⁵ Zawwar H. Zaidi, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, Vol. 02 (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, National Archives of Pakistan, 1993), XI.

⁵⁵⁶ "Baldev Singh Plea", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 04, 1947.

Furthermore, he proposed that 'Other factors' should be considered during the demarcation of boundaries. According to him, these factors were not clearly defined and should be interpreted by the Boundary Commission to include the exchange of population with property, based on the land revenue paid by non-Muslims.⁵⁵⁷

Sardar Baldev Singh's statement about Plea for Trial of New Plan, expressed his unwavering belief in the unity of India and passionately pleaded for the implementation of the new plan, assuring the nation of relentless efforts to bring an end to the prevailing disorders. He felt sorry for the partition itself and said that "Our common quest for progress and unity has divided and torn us asunder from one another. This has sadly taken place."⁵⁵⁸

You have just listened to the broadcasts of His Excellency the Viceroy, as well as two distinguished leaders, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Jinnah. Now, you are also aware of the terms of the plan devised by His Majesty's Government to break the long-standing political impasse that has perplexed us for many months and years [...] The plan [...] may not please everyone, particularly the entire Sikh community, but it is certainly a worthwhile settlement. Let us accept it as such. [he continued that] I firmly believe that the divisions that currently separate us will not endure. Despite choosing to remain apart for now, we share so much in common - economically, geographically, and even spiritually - that upon careful examination, the blueprint of our plan will bind us together.⁵⁵⁹

Baldev Singh also expressed dissatisfaction with the hypothetical division of Punjab, which included Gurdaspur in Pakistan. He proposed that three districts Amritsar, Gurdaspur, and Lahore from the Lahore Division be added to Eastern Punjab, in addition to the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions.⁵⁶⁰

Mr. Jinnah while addressing his nation through Radio Broadcast, said:

I am glad that I am afforded an opportunity to speak to you directly through a radio from New Delhi. It is the first time, I believe, that a political official has been given an opportunity to address people through this powerful medium on political matters. I augur well, and I hope that in the future, I shall have greater facilities to voice my views and opinions, which will reach you directly and in a timelier manner than in the printed newspapers.⁵⁶¹

Talking about the acceptance criteria, he further added:

⁵⁵⁷ "Baldev Singh Plea", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 04, 1947.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁶¹ "Final Decision Rests with League Council", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 04, 1947.

The League Council, scheduled to meet on June 9, would have the ultimate authority to decide on the plan proposed by His Majesty's Government. He expressed that while there were certain aspects of the plan that did not align with their viewpoint, it was crucial to carefully examine it before reaching a final decision. It is for us now to consider whether the plan as presented to us, should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement.⁵⁶²

Jinnah's hesitation to fully endorse the Plan raised concerns and upset the Viceroy. Nehru indirectly hinted that due to the unique nature of the situation, the leaders themselves had to make decisions. He clarified his position to Mountbatten in a private conversation that night, explaining the procedures followed by the ML Working Committee and Council in such situations. He assured Mountbatten that he would make every effort to persuade the Council to accept the Plan as a settlement.⁵⁶³

The Planner of the Plan

The appointment of Mountbatten created a change in the way previous Viceroys used to rule over the Indians. Unlike his predecessors, Mountbatten aimed to present himself and his office differently. For many years, the Viceroy of India held a position of great power and was seen as distant and untouchable, much like a revered god. He was heavily guarded and isolated from the people he governed. Mountbatten wanted to break away from that image. He deliberately surrounded himself with symbols of imperial grandeur that fascinated the Indian masses. This was partly to elevate himself and make a strong impact when he interacted with the common people, challenging the traditions.⁵⁶⁴

Mountbatten received praise from the press, being hailed as a hero for both Britain and India. His charm, good looks, and royal connections were widely admired. The *Guardian* particularly noted, "Now less than a century after Victoria, her great-grandson stood as the

⁵⁶² "Final Decision Rests with League Council", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 04, 1947.

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁴ Larry Collins, *Freedom at Midnight* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1976), 98.

freely chosen constitutional head of a free state."⁵⁶⁵ They believed he accomplished in a short time what others could not achieve in years.⁵⁶⁶

British Prime Minister Attlee also received praise for his strong Indian policy, with his long-term commitment to India being recognized. Even critics acknowledged Attlee's courage in taking a bold step.⁵⁶⁷

Mountbatten was chosen to transfer power to Indians on conditions favorable for Britain. He was considered charismatic and prestigious enough to extract an agreement from the feuding Indian politicians, which Wavell had failed to achieve.⁵⁶⁸

As Von Tuzlemann writes:

Lord Mountbatten, the last viceroy, was told by the British prime minister, Clement Attlee, in March 1947 to negotiate an exit deal with Indian leaders by October; if he could not, Britain would leave India with no deal by June 1948. The decision to speed this up and leave on Aug. 15 was Lord Mountbatten's. The decision to grant this power to Lord Mountbatten, a naval officer nicknamed the 'master of disaster' in the admiralty for his propensity to damage warships by precipitate action, was Mr. Attlee's.⁵⁶⁹

Mountbatten faced criticism in two significant areas: first, for hastening towards the partition plan, and second, for failing to control the violence and upheavals during the migration and partition process. Despite these two points of contention, Mountbatten was generally regarded as one of the most sensible and influential viceroys.⁵⁷⁰

Mountbatten introduced a fresh perspective to the Viceroy's role, recognizing the exceptional challenges of the situation.⁵⁷¹ In contrast to his predecessor, Lord Wavell, Mountbatten prioritized engaging with the media actively. Unlike Wavell, who did not

⁵⁶⁵ *Guardian* (New York), August 16, 1947.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁷ Chandrika Kaul, "At the Stroke of the Midnight Hour: Lord Mountbatten and the British media at Indian independence," *The Round Table* 97, no. 398 (2008): 17.

⁵⁶⁸ D.N. Panigrahi, *India's Partition: The Story of Imperialism in Retreat* (London: Routledge, 2004) 320.

⁵⁶⁹ Alex Von Tunzelmann, "Who Is to Blame for Partition? Above All, Imperial Britain," *The New York Times* 18 (2017), accessed May 5, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/18/opinion/india-pakistan-partition-imperial-britain.html>.

⁵⁷⁰ Larry Collins, *Freedom at Midnight* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1976), xvi.

⁵⁷¹ A. Campbell-Johnson, *Mountbatten in Retrospect* (South Godstone: Spantech & Lancer, 1997), 49.

emphasize cultivating the press, Mountbatten sought public attention and participated in extensive media interactions. Described as outgoing and sociable, he operated in a highly public manner. In his inaugural speech, Mountbatten acknowledged the unconventional nature of his role as Viceroy and stressed the significance of goodwill from the Indian population to fulfill his responsibilities effectively.⁵⁷²

Mountbatten's tenure as the last Viceroy of India was marked by significant events. Alan Broke, author of *War Diaries*, noted Mountbatten's exceptional skill in self-promotion, considering him among the most adept Senior British Commanders at boosting popularity.⁵⁷³ Woodrow Wyatt reminisced in *Confessions of an Optimist* about his meeting with Mountbatten before his departure for India, highlighted Mountbatten's primary concern about what he should wear upon arrival.⁵⁷⁴ Wyatt's conversation with Mountbatten regarding his attire continued:

They're all a bit left-wing, aren't they? Hadn't I better land in ordinary day clothes?' Mountbatten inquired, and was delighted when I said, 'No, no, you are the last Viceroy. You are a royal. You must wear your grandest uniform and all your decorations and be met in full panoply and with all the works. Otherwise, they will feel slighted.' And that is what he did, to everyone's pleasure.⁵⁷⁵

According to H.V. Hodson, Mountbatten played a substantial role in shaping the announcement made on February 20, 1947. Although the announcement was not directly dictated by Mountbatten, the wording was meticulously agreed upon through discussions between Mountbatten and Mr. Attlee. These conversations took place when Attlee invited Mountbatten to India at the end of 1946, aiming to bring about the effective conclusion of British rule, marking the end of the British Raj.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷² Chandrika Kaul, "At the Stroke of the Midnight Hour: Lord Mountbatten and the British media at Indian independence," *The Round Table* 97, no. 398 (2008): 11.

⁵⁷³ Alan Brooke, *War Diaries 1939-1945* (University of California Press, 2003), 27.

⁵⁷⁴ Woodrow Wyatt, *Confession of An Optimist* (London: Collins, 1985), 162.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁶ Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India-Partition-Independence* (New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2012), 367.

Finally, the insights from the Viceroy Journal (attributed to Lord Wavell) shed light on his perspective when he received information about the potential shift in viceregal leadership.

A longish telegram from the PM, to say that they propose to make an announcement next week on India and include the change of Viceroy, and that Dickie Mountbatten had been appointed. An unexpected appointment but a clever one from their point of view, and Dickie's personality may perhaps accomplish what I have failed to do.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁷ Penderel Moon, *Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 147.

CHAPTER 03

Establishment and Operations of the Boundary Commission

The Congress has accepted the principle of Pakistan, I am not a party to it and I will oppose it.⁵⁷⁸

MAHATMA GANDHI

I have not lost faith in an undivided India. I believe no man can divide what God has created as one.⁵⁷⁹

RAJENDRA PRASAD

The June Plan was a significant turning point towards partition, gaining widespread acceptance among Indian leaders, albeit partially or fully. It broke the cycle of disagreements and contentious debates surrounding proposed plans for Indian independence. The Plan achieved consensus among leaders from different political backgrounds, though not everyone was completely satisfied. It paved the way for further discussions on partition and highlighted the urgency to find a solution. The unanimous acceptance demonstrated unity and the need for collective decision-making. The June Plan holds immense historical importance as a symbol of agreement and progress towards the eventual division of India.

The salient points of this Plan were:

1. The provincial Legislative Assemblies of Punjab and Bengal were to meet in two groups: the Muslim majority districts and the non-Muslim majority districts. If any of the two decided in favor of the division of the province, then the Governor-General would appoint a boundary

⁵⁷⁸ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 11, 1947.

⁵⁷⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 03, 1947.

commission to demarcate the boundaries of the province based on ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of the Muslims and the non-Muslims. 2). The Legislative Assembly of Sindh was to decide either to join the existing Constituent Assembly or the New Constituent Assembly. 3). To decide the future of the North-West Frontier Province, a referendum was proposed. The Electoral College for the referendum was to be the same as the Electoral College for the Provincial Legislative Assembly in 1946. 4). Baluchistan was also to be given the option to express its opinion on the issue. 5). If the people of Bengal decided in favor of partition, a referendum would be held in the Sylhet District of Assam to determine if it would continue as a part of Assam or be merged with the new province of East Bengal.⁵⁸⁰

Several leaders expressed their opinions and concerns regarding the proposed Plan. Some viewed it as a victory for Jinnah, who had long desired this outcome. Others remained hopeful that the bubble of Jinnah's aspirations would eventually burst, leading to the restoration of a United India. Mr. Casey, the former Governor of Bengal, shared similar views, stating that once the emotional fervor among Muslims subsided, there would be an opportunity to reunite Pakistan and India.⁵⁸¹

The correspondent of the *Daily Express* remarked that the recent 2000-word British paper, although omitting the word Pakistan in its White Paper, failed to acknowledge the efforts of the unyielding Mr. Jinnah, whose unwavering pursuit for a true India had left an enduring imprint on the course of events. He further stated:

The statement also refrained from acknowledging the influence of the man whose shadow cast across every paragraph, the resolute Mr. Jinnah, who left an enduring imprint on the future of a significant portion of the human race. Jinnah's unwavering pursuit of a true India, is a struggle that, although not conclusively won, has significantly shaped the course of events[...] Jinnah had nearly secured his victory in this global endeavor.⁵⁸²

Citing a report from the *Chronicles* (London), the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), conveyed that the correspondent regarded Jinnah's vision for Pakistan as a costly endeavor.

The failure of either side to accept the verdict of the referendum could start immediate civil war. It is realized that Mr. Jinnah, when he gets partition, will have bought it at a very heavy price and he and his followers will live their own lives only at the cost of grave economic difficulties and

⁵⁸⁰ Shashank Bharadwaj, "Remembering Mountbatten's June 3 Plan That Partitioned India," OpIndia, Last modified June 3, 2021, <https://www.opindia.com/2021/06/lord-mountbatten-plan-june-3-india-partition>.

⁵⁸¹ *Ranjit* (Lahore), June 06, 1947.

⁵⁸² "Pakistan Word that Started it", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 06, 1947.

perhaps even dire poverty. While the Hindu majority who have accepted partition only with extreme reluctance as the price of freedom, will similarly have to be prepared to pay the price.⁵⁸³

Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the former Secretary of State, expressed his best wishes to all sections of the Indian people and hoped they would find a way to a harmonious Constitution, which would prove beneficial to them and the world, as India played a vital role. The *Civil & Military Gazette* reported that the former Secretary didn't make any statement on the new Plan itself, not only because he was not yet in possession of complete details, but also because, in his opinion, "it would be unwise at the present juncture to criticize the Plan which the British Government, after due consideration, moved forward as the best solution to a very difficult problem."⁵⁸⁴

Historian Yaqoob Khan highlighted in his article *Anglo-Indians and the Punjab Partition: Identity, Politics, and the Creation of Pakistan* that Lord Mountbatten's partition Plan in June 1947 prioritized the interests of larger communities like Muslims and Sikhs, while marginalizing smaller communities such as Anglo-Indians, Christians, and "untouchables".⁵⁸⁵

From the Leaders' Lens: Analyzing their Reaction to the Plan

Different leaders responded differently to the Plan, showcasing a variety of reactions. Initially, the leaders addressed the nation through radio broadcasts. The speeches received a mixed response from different segments of society. While some appreciated the addresses given by their leaders, others critically evaluated them. Certain newspapers, in particular, voiced their criticism of the speeches, while there were those who supported their leaders' messages.

⁵⁸³ "Jinnah's Dream a Costly Affair", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 06, 1947.

⁵⁸⁴ "Strong Faith in Indias Future", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 06, 1947.

⁵⁸⁵ Yaqoob Khan Bangash, "Anglo-Indians and the Punjab Partition: Identity, Politics, and the Creation of Pakistan," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 51, no. 1 (2023): 145.

Following the announcement of the 3rd June Plan, a noteworthy publication of daily *Ranjit* (Lahore), surfaced, providing critical insights into the speeches delivered by leaders from the three main parties—Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. It noted that Nehru concluded his speech with the words *Jay Hind*, Mr. Jinnah ended with *Pakistan Zindabad* but the Sikh leader, Baldev Singh concluded his speech without any such phrase, giving the impression as if he was addressing a school function rather than the entire Sikh nation.⁵⁸⁶

The *Ranjit* (Lahore) further conducted an analysis that highlighted an intriguing observation regarding the speeches. It noted that music accompanied the speeches of Nehru and Baldev Singh, creating a lively atmosphere. However, there was a distinct silence before Jinnah's speech. The newspaper speculated that this silence could be attributed to Jinnah's personal belief that music was un-Islamic or possibly indicated the influence of anti-Islamic policies promoted by All India Radio during that period.⁵⁸⁷

Master Tara Singh expressed concerns regarding the Mountbatten Plan, stating that it completely neglected the provision of granting any power or status to the Sikhs or safeguarding their position and interests. He emphasized that the Sikhs' decision to accept or reject the Plan would largely depend on the terms of reference assigned to the Boundary Commission. He further emphasized that the very existence of the Sikh community was now at stake.⁵⁸⁸ In response to this, Evan Jenkins, the Governor of Punjab, commented that the Sikhs were exhibiting anger and aggression, and Master Tara Singh's statement did not contribute to improving the overall situation.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁶ *Ranjit* (Lahore), June 06, 1947.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁸ J.S. Grewal, *Master Tara Singh in Indian History: Colonialism, Nationalism, and the Politics of Sikh Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 456.

⁵⁸⁹ Jenkins to Mountbatten, 4 June 1947, in *Punjab Politics: 1 June–14 August 1947*, ed. Lionel Carter (New Delhi: Manohar, 2007), 53.

Punjab Concerns

Since the announcement of the partition, Indian leaders appeared preoccupied with propagating and justifying their community's standards and statements. However, there was a pressing need for united efforts to address the potential risks of riots and violence. Gandhi emphasized this during a speech, stating that now when the Plan had been revealed, it was the duty of all leaders to come together and collaborate on the way forward. He commended the intentions and hard work of H.E. the Viceroy and urged Mr. Jinnah to join other parties in discussing crucial aspects related to the Partition Plan. Gandhi also emphasized that now that Jinnah had achieved what he had long desired, he should consider other factors to maintain peace throughout.⁵⁹⁰

Global leaders also expressed concerns about the proposed boundary and division of India. Burmese leaders specifically criticized the British plan, considering it a negative astrological symbol and warning that a divided India would have detrimental effects on the surrounding Asian region. The international community shared apprehensions regarding the future implications of the partition.⁵⁹¹

Jaswant Singh, a prominent Sikh leader, expressed deep concerns and strongly criticized the Plan, which he believed posed a significant threat to the Sikh community, pushing it towards destruction. He denounced the Plan as biased and unjust, pointing out the irony that Sikhs had stood at the forefront with the British during wars, defending the greater homeland. However, now that it was time to address the needs of the Sikh community, he expressed his disappointment that those responsible had turned a blind eye now. In his concluding remarks, he sorrowfully stated that "those who were once our comrades on the battlefield have now

⁵⁹⁰ *Ranjit* (Lahore), June 06, 1947.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

turned against us."⁵⁹² Similarly, the Sikh press accused Jinnah and Mountbatten of fueling the ongoing push for partition. The *Ranjit* (Lahore), in its coverage of Mountbatten's visit to Britain, asserted that if his proposal were to be endorsed by His Majesty, he would return to India with a political agenda, resulting in a *Langra* Pakistan [handicapped Pakistan], *Loola Langra* [paralyzed] Bengal, *Zakhmi* [wounded] Assam, *Majrooh* [hurt] Punjab, and *Pareshan Sarhadi Sooba* [a distressed North-Western Frontier Province.]⁵⁹³

During the India East Association's gathering in London, Lord Wavell, the former Viceroy of India, delivered an uplifting speech, expressing his confidence in India's ability to overcome challenges and envisioning a promising future. Concluding his remarks on India's ongoing situation, he eloquently stated, "Birth pangs are always unpleasant, especially if the result is twins."⁵⁹⁴

While Gandhi continued his involvement in influencing the sentiments of the Pathans, he commented on the ongoing situation during one of his prayer sessions. In New Delhi, he expressed apprehensions regarding the division of the Pathans through a referendum into two parties. Gandhi urged Mr. Jinnah to initiate dialogues with Frontier Ministers, Badshah Khan, and his [*Khudai*] *Khidmatgars* to understand their reasons for aligning with Pakistan. Emphasizing the significance of appealing terms, Gandhi aimed to foster unity and mitigate conflicts among the Pathans.⁵⁹⁵

Resultantly, there had been mass movements in Peshawar and suburbs for the Pathanistan slogans. The intensity of the processions could be determined by the words "We will have Pathanistan by force".

About 20,000 Pro-Congress *Khudai Khidmatgars* and *Zalme Pakhtoos* (young Pathans), shouting slogans like 'Pathanistan Zindabad', 'Badshah Khan Zindabad', and 'We will have

⁵⁹² *Ranjit* (Lahore), June 07, 1947.

⁵⁹³ *Ranjit* (Lahore), May 20, 1947.

⁵⁹⁴ "No Reason to Despair", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 13, 1947.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

Pathistan by force,' peacefully made their way through narrow streets and *Kissa Khani Bazaar* yesterday afternoon on the occasion of the celebration of 'Pathanistan Day'.⁵⁹⁶

The *Civil & Military Gazette* elaborated further on the procession:

It was a two-mile long procession of Red Shirts accompanied by band pipes and drums. It took one hour and five minutes for the procession to pass. The procession included smartly dressed Red Shirts in uniform and Pathans in *salwars* and *kurtas*. Hundreds of them carried sticks, axes, and walking sticks, but no one carried firearms. The reason why the *Zalme Pakhtoons* did not carry firearms yesterday was that Dr. Khan Sahib, the Frontier Province Premier, had specifically instructed the organization not to do so. Dr. Khan Sahib later said in an interview; these Red Shirts you see are only drawn from certain parts of Peshawar and Mardan districts.⁵⁹⁷

On the contrary, the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), reported that a gathering of approximately one hundred thousand people assembled in the processions of Bannu and D.I.Khan, led by the *Pir of Zakori Shareef* in support of Pakistan. The paper further stated that Pir Sahib addressed the Muslim masses of the Frontier Province, urging them to align with the Muslim League cause, as it represented the cause of Islam. Various slogans were reported during the event, including *Pir Zakori Badshah*, *Islam Zindabad*. The processions concluded with chants of *Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan Murdabad*, *Pathanistan Murdabad*.⁵⁹⁸

The Punjab, covering an area of approximately 99,089 square kilometers, had a significant population [diversity]. According to the 1941 census, out of the total population of 28,418,819 in Punjab, 16,717,242 were Muslims. The region was divided into five commissionaires: Ambala, Jalandhar, Lahore, Multan, and Rawalpindi, and comprised a total of 29 districts.⁵⁹⁹ The East Punjab Assembly approved the partition of the province with 50 votes in favor and 22 against.⁶⁰⁰ After the declaration of the Partition Plan, the West and East Punjab Assemblies were convened on June 23, 1947. The West Punjab Assembly cast 99 votes against the partition of the province, while 27 members voted in favor.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁶ "Pathanistan Day in Peshawar", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 8, 1947.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁸ "*Mussalmanun ka Na'ra-i-Haq*", *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), July 17, 1947.

⁵⁹⁹ Masuma Hasan (ed.) *Pakistan in a Changing World*, Karachi, 1978, 23.

⁶⁰⁰ Nicholas Mansergh, ed., *India - The Transfer of Power 1942-7*, Vol. XI (London: H.M.S.O., 1982), 190.

⁶⁰¹ *The Partition of the Punjab 1947: A Compilation of Official Documents*, vol. 1 (National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1983), vii.

Anticipating an imminent division, the major setback was the expected suffering of the majority of MNAs who held vote banks across the projected division line. They all shared deep concerns about the fate of their vote banks and how the partition of Punjab would unfold. Among them, the Khan of Mamdot and Sirdar Shaukat Hayat Khan, leader and deputy leader respectively of the Muslim League, were particularly affected. Representing constituencies in the Eastern zone, their prospects for claiming ministerial positions in the Western zone were compromised, despite the prominence of formidable personalities such as the late Premier Malik Sir Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, Malik Firoze Khan Noon, Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, Nawab Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari, Nawab Ashaq Hussain, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, and Begum Nawaz Shah [sic].⁶⁰²

In the Western zone, significant non-Muslim M.L.As, including Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar, Chaudhri Krishna Gopal Dutt, Lala Bihari, Lal Chanana, Dr. Lehna Singh, Mr. Virendra, Professor Tilak Raj Chaddha, Sardar Ujjal Singh, Sardar Jagjit Singh Mann, and Sardar Jaswant Singh Duggal, were present. Similarly, in the Eastern zone, Sardar Swaran Singh, Leader of the *Panthic* Party, Seth Sudarshan, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, Sardar Kapur Singh, Deputy Speaker, and Mehta Ranbir Singh served as notable non-Muslim M.L.A.s, all greatly concerned about the future of their vote banks and the implications of the partition of Punjab.⁶⁰³

The Boundary Affairs

A strong sense of opposition was shared by both Hindus and Sikhs, who strongly opposed the notion of relocating their base camps beyond Lahore. This staunch resistance exemplified their unwavering dedication to preserving their claims on the city and rejecting

⁶⁰² "Administrative Division of the Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 05, 1947.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*

any abstract boundaries. A note by the Private secretary of the Viceroy, Abell detailed the unfolding developments in Punjab. The note went:

I have no doubt that the Sikhs are in dangerous mood. Kartar Singh, who met the Governor on 10 July, practically delivered an ultimatum that the Sikhs would resort to guerrilla warfare after 15 August. Hindus and Sikhs were unwilling to set up a government anywhere except in Lahore on 15 August. They believed that moving from Lahore would prejudice their claim to the city, and they adamantly refused to accept notional boundaries.⁶⁰⁴

Sir Evan Meredith Jenkins, the then Governor of the Punjab explained that the Hindus and Sikhs were hesitant to accept the notional boundary because they feared that once accepted, it would be challenging to reverse the decision later. They were apprehensive that if the Muslims gained control over Lahore through the boundary, it would be impossible to rectify the situation. To mitigate this concern, they expressed their preference to maintain the East Punjab government in Lahore until the actual announcement of the Award. Jenkins advocated for both claimants to shift their East and West Punjab governments out of Lahore until the Award was formally declared.⁶⁰⁵

Jenkins also shed light on the communal sentiments prevalent in various divisions. Muslims in certain regions, such as Ambala outside Gurgaon, and non-Muslims in Rawalpindi Division, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, and Jhang, appeared resigned to their respective fates amid the mounting tensions. Additionally, Lahore and Jullundur Divisions experienced heightened tension, further complicating the situation.⁶⁰⁶ Another critical aspect that Jenkins addressed was the disintegration of higher services, particularly the Indian Civil Services (ICS), where none of the non-Muslim members were willing to serve in West Punjab. This could lead to a significant administrative challenge in the aftermath of the partition.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁴ Nicholas Mansergh ed., *India - The Transfer of Power 1942-7*, Vol. XII (London: H.M.S.O., 1982), 117.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Referring to the workings of the Partition Committee, Jenkins expressed doubt about achieving a smooth partition, stating that it would be quite impossible in the limited time available. He predicted appalling confusion after 15 August and emphasized that certain aspects of civil administration could not be accomplished within a matter of days or weeks.

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 [...] after 15 August, there will be appalling confusion. In civil administration, certain things cannot be done in a matter of days or weeks [...] from mid-July, many new officers will be posted to key appointments, and the new government will face the critical time in August with district (administration) even weaker than we have had in the past couple of years. There will be much wrangling for (key) postings [...] The prospect is far from encouraging, but we can only go ahead and see what happens.⁶⁰⁸

The issue of Lahore's ownership generated intense debates and active involvement from the newspapers. Interestingly, a letter from a Muslim individual challenged the prevailing notion that all Muslims in Lahore unanimously supported its inclusion in Pakistan. The writer contended that if a referendum was held in Lahore, the majority vote would be in favor of being a part of Hindustan, as not all Muslims were followers of Jinnah and not all desired to be part of Pakistan.⁶⁰⁹

In West Punjab, the Hindus and Sikhs believed that Lahore would fall in India, but when they knew that Lahore would fall in Pakistan, they fled to the east in panic seeking only to save their lives. Mountbatten flew to Lahore on Sunday, July 20, and suggested the Punjab Partition Committee that the new government of east Punjab's 'unessential personnel all be moved out to Simla by August 10, but Radcliffe's final award would remain top secret till the eve of partition and Independence.⁶¹⁰

The *Civil & Military Gazette* reported that the assurance provided by Mr. Arthur Henderson, the under-Secretary of State for India, to the Sikhs, that the locations of their religious sites would be taken into consideration alongside other factors, had raised strong optimism among non-Muslims that Lahore would remain in Hindu hands.

The Muslim population in Lahore is confident that their numerical strength will carry significant weight. On the other hand, non-Muslims, particularly Sikhs, are equally certain that the Boundary

⁶⁰⁸ Nicholas Mansergh ed., *India - The Transfer of Power 1942-7*, Vol. XII (London: H.M.S.O., 1982), 134.

⁶⁰⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 09, 1947.

⁶¹⁰ Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 334.

Commission will consider both the economic importance and their religious and historical heritage.⁶¹¹

The mounting tension surrounding Lahore led to further revelations in a report by the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) on July 24. The report disclosed that the West Punjab government secretly planned to move its new capital for the divided West Punjab either to Gujranwala or Rawalpindi in the event that Lahore was awarded to East Punjab. In preparation for such a possibility, senior officials even initiated a secret survey to assess the availability of accommodation in these potential locations.⁶¹²

Punjab's Parting Ways: Sikh Community's Worries and Aspirations

Throughout the entire process of seeking freedom, the Sikhs experienced a state of confusion. Initially, they had advocated and fought for a separate Sikh land known as Khalistan. However, when the original Plan for the partition of Punjab was announced, the Sikhs opposed it. Some of their leaders even suggested alternative methods and plans for dividing the region. During the 'Cripps Mission', approximately forty Sikh leaders signed a memorandum demanding the reorganization of the Punjab province. Overall, the demand for a separate Sikh state was not solely voiced by the *Akalis* but represented the aspirations of the Sikh *Panth* as a whole.⁶¹³

During 1942–3, Master Tara Singh and other Akali leaders first advocated for the '*Azad Punjab*' scheme. However, they faced opposition from the bureaucracy, the Muslim League, and the Congress. Notably some Sikh leaders like Kharak Singh and Sant Singh were against it. The discussions between Rajagopalachari and Jinnah influenced Master Tara Singh, giving the impression that Rajagopalachari and Mahatma Gandhi were open to the idea of conceding

⁶¹¹ "Lahore Sure to be a Bone of Contention", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 23, 1947.

⁶¹² *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 24, 1947.

⁶¹³ J.S. Grewal, *Master Tara Singh in Indian History: Colonialism, Nationalism, and the Politics of Sikh Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 455.

Pakistan with certain changes in the boundary process. As a result, Master Tara Singh proposed the concept of a separate Sikh state. If Pakistan were to be accepted, the Sikh memorandum to the Sapru Committee insisted on the establishment of a Sikh state that would accommodate a significant Sikh population, protect historical gurdwaras, and facilitate the transfer of people and property.⁶¹⁴

On 4th July, the Sikh Leaders called for a mass *Hartal*⁶¹⁵, to which there was a great response and a large number of *Panth* gathered for it. This was the time when Master Tara Singh started emphasizing that the only acceptable proposal for the Sikhs to move forward would be division along the *Chenab* River.⁶¹⁶ He emphasized that the issue at hand extends beyond politics, encompassing the religious and cultural influences of the Sikh community. He called upon the *Khalsa* to draw inspiration from their spiritual leader, Guru Gobind Singh, and formulate a concrete Plan to assert their position.⁶¹⁷

The Sikh Press also accused Mr. Jinnah of engaging in controversial and secretive commitments and meetings with the Viceroy, which were believed to have played a role in the current state of partition. Of particular concern was Jinnah's stance on Pakistan's potential membership in the Commonwealth after attaining independence.⁶¹⁸ In contrast, the same newspaper published an incident where the Viceroy was asked about the scenario, if Jinnah did not approve or support the proposal and it was rejected by AIML. The Viceroy responded by expressing his readiness to face any consequences and adapt his plans accordingly, emphasizing his commitment to ensuring the passage of the bill.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁴ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 23, 1947.

⁶¹⁵ The *hartal* got a lot of support in the province, including Delhi, from both Sikhs and Hindus. Lala Bihari Lal, a leader, also told Hindu families to support the *Panth's* call. In many places like Delhi, Lahore, Amritsar, and others, shops closed. In Punjab, people passed resolutions asking for Sikh unity, a fair share of canal water, and protection for Sikh shrines. (Tanwar 2006, 255)

⁶¹⁶ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 10, 1947.

⁶¹⁷ *Ranjit* (Lahore), June 05, 1947.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*

The Press expressed concerns that the proposed division of Punjab would disproportionately harm the Sikh community compared to Hindus and Muslims. They highlighted the need for proper planning, mutual interests, and discussions with other parties to address the challenges faced by the Sikhs. The editorial published on June 5th, in daily *Ranjit* (Lahore) emphasized the importance of following the teachings of their spiritual leader to foster relationships with Hindus and Muslims, as Sikh survival relied on their ultimate focus on patriotism towards the country, transcending communal lines. The editorial raised questions about the fate of a nation of 40 lakhs if divided against their will, urging a reconsideration of behavior and advocating for dialogue with Hindus and Muslims to avoid the proposed partition. The editorial dismissed the notion that division along the *Chenab* or *Satluj* rivers could ever serve as a solution to the problems faced by the Sikhs.⁶²⁰

Some leads also showed that the narrative of a few indigenous Sikhs was that if one part of Sikh land fell into Muslim land (Pakistan), then one half would still remain as per their own wish (in India). One of the Sikh leaders, while writing to the *Times of India*, expressed concern about Jinnah's denouncement of the Partition of Punjab and Bengal, stating:

It is hard to believe that Mr. Jinnah, who has spent his life fighting for the right of self-determination for Muslims, would deny the same right to Sikhs. If Hindus do not benefit from the partition of Punjab, that is their own business. If the partition of Punjab leaves half of the Sikh population in Pakistan, at least the other half will remain where they want to be.⁶²¹

It further stated:

In Pakistan, Sikhs will be a "solid minority," just as Muslims would have been a 'solid minority' in a united India. This did not stop Muslims from demanding partition, so it should not stop Sikhs from calling for it [...] the call to partition Punjab and Bengal is a natural consequence of the Muslim League's demand to divide India into two separate independent states. Mr. Jinnah started the ball rolling on partition.⁶²²

Earlier, there were rumours suggesting that the British had made a decision to retain a larger number of Sikhs in India rather than in Pakistan. These rumors were attributed to a

⁶²⁰ *Ranjit* (Lahore), June 05, 1947.

⁶²¹ "The Sikhs and Partition", *Times of India* (Bombay), May 23, 1947.

⁶²² *Ibid.*

statement reportedly made by Mr. Attlee. However, certain sections dismissed it as merely a comment from the press without any substantial evidence to support the claim. Although Sikh Leader Baldev Singh accepted the Plan though lamenting that it did not fully satisfy everyone, he later raised concerns and highlighted various shortcomings. He specifically expressed worries about the safety of Sikhs in predominantly Muslim areas and urged the Boundary Commission to ensure greater Sikh representation in Eastern Punjab. Additionally, he recommended that other factors to be taken into consideration during the demarcation of boundaries, such as population and property exchanges based on non-Muslims' land revenue contributions.⁶²³

The Sikh community also began voicing slogans advocating for the division of Pakistan. One such expression was published in the *Ranjit* (Lahore), which stated, *Agr banay ga Pakistan, Batt kr rhega Pakistan*.⁶²⁴ [If Pakistan emerges as a result of the division, it is likely that Pakistan itself will encounter further divisions.]



Figure 9: Sikhs threatening Pakistan

⁶²³ *Ranjit* (Lahore), June 04, 1947.

⁶²⁴ *Ibid.*

Punjab's Partition: Echoes of Discord in the Muslim Community

The partition Plan faced resistance from Muslims who saw it as a threat to their community's unity and interests. The Muslim League vehemently opposed the division of Punjab and sought to negotiate with Akali leaders to secure a significant portion of the province for Pakistan. After Mountbatten's press conference, the daily *Dawn* (Lahore), acknowledged the Viceroy's statement holding the Sikhs accountable for the situation. The editorial went further, stating that the Sikhs had requested this partition themselves, and now that they had received it, they had to bear the consequences. The editorial concluded by asserting that 'If they [Sikhs] find it [decision of their own choice] a bed of thorns, the thorns are all of their own implanting.'⁶²⁵

Maulana Habib ur Rehman, former secretary of AIML, took a proactive step in addressing this concern by establishing an organization called *Wahdat-e-Punjab* [Unity of Punjab]. The primary purpose of this organization was to tackle the issue of Punjab's division and work towards preserving unity among Muslims. Maulana Habib ur Rehman expressed hope that within a year, they would be successful in achieving a united Punjab once again.⁶²⁶

Mirza Bashir Ahmad, M.A Qadian, expressed his criticism of the division of Punjab in an article published by the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), providing further insight by stating:

Hindus and Sikhs now seem to believe that a division of Punjab is necessary on the same grounds as Muslims argue for the division of India [...] Unwary individuals can be misled by an apparent analogy between the division of India and the division of Punjab [...] One division does not justify another. Each division has to be examined and judged on its merits. The division of the Punjab has no intrinsic justification. The division of India has some justification. It is true, however, that even the division of India might never have been proposed but for the intransigence shown by Hindu leaders to legitimate Muslim demands. There was a time when they did not ask for the division of India; they asked only for safeguards in a united India. But to these safeguards, Hindu leaders did not agree.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁵ Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Reporting the Partition of Punjab 1947: Press, Public and other Opinions* (Vanguard Publications – January 1, 2006), 210.

⁶²⁶ *Ranjit* (Lahore), June 06, 1947.

⁶²⁷ "Pakistan and Partition of the Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 03, 1947.

Concluding his stance, and while addressing the Sikh issues, he further said that:

It will only result in dividing their [Sikhs] already very small numbers and weakening their influence, which, if undivided, should be considerable. Therefore, it is currently advantageous for them to be at peace with Muslims, with whom they share much, including their basic religious creed. The demand for the division of the Punjab is therefore unjust and ruinous. Muslims in the Punjab are opposed to it and consider it a cruel design. They will resist it with all their strength.⁶²⁸

According to news sources, it was revealed during the initial stages of the Pakistan Plan that Jinnah had put forward a rationale. He expressed concerns that any harm or discrimination faced by Muslim minorities in India would result in a comparable treatment of the Hindu minority in Pakistan. A Hindu writer referred to some past events indicating that the Prime Minister of Sindh had begun implementing Jinnah's principles, with reports emerging of targeted actions against Hindu minorities.⁶²⁹ The newspaper advised Jinnah to reconsider these actions, emphasizing that if Pakistan considered itself autonomous, it should refrain from interfering in the affairs of others.⁶³⁰ The press also referred to the forthcoming Pakistan as the 'crippled one'.⁶³¹

Proposed Divisions along Rivers

The prevailing political situation in Punjab during the partition phase was marked by contrasting views between the Sikh leadership and the Muslim League regarding territorial boundaries. The Sikh leadership favored river Chenab as a natural boundary, considering it an appropriate demarcation line. On the other hand, the Muslim League had different plans and sought to expand the boundaries of Pakistan further. This was evident through the assertive

⁶²⁸ "Pakistan and Partition of the Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 03, 1947.

⁶²⁹ According to the Congress mouthpiece newspaper, *Harijan* (Ahmedabad) of May 25, 1947, when Gandhi was asked about the migration of Sindh Hindus in the event of partition, he advised that they should endure suffering with bravery and non-violence until death. However, if they were unable to do so and faced a situation where they had to surrender their honor, womenfolk, and religion in a disgraceful manner, then the only viable option for them would be to migrate collectively along with all Hindus and non-Muslims.

⁶³⁰ *Harijan* (Ahmedabad), May 25, 1947.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*

stance of Sufi Abdul Hamid, a prominent League M.L.A representing Karnal, who went so far as to demand the inclusion of Panipat in Pakistan. His bold demand reflected the League's ambition to incorporate additional territories into the new nation.⁶³²

References were made to the idea of utilizing river Sutlej as a potential dividing line. Firoz Khan Noon, who held a more prominent role within the League's hierarchy in Punjab in comparison to Abdul Hamid, issued a statement advocating for river Sutlej to serve as the legitimate boundary.⁶³³

However, the *Dawn*, the official mouthpiece newspaper of the League, expressed its dissent in a strongly worded editorial, seemingly endorsed by the League's leadership. The editorial categorically dismissed Noon's proposition. It argued against Noon's stance on the river *Sutlej* as the demarcation line, asserting that this choice would neglect substantial Muslim-populated territories, including Ludhiana, Hisar, and even Kangra. These areas held significant influence over critical irrigation and hydro headworks in Punjab. The editorial introduced a thought-provoking query, 'How can the allotment of Amritsar to the Sikhs be justified solely on the grounds of a Sikh shrine's presence?'⁶³⁴

Sardar Shaukat Hayat, a prominent Muslim League leader, responded to the Sikhs' request for a border along river *Chenab* stating;

By agreeing to the river Sutlej as the boundary, the Muslims had shown a willingness to accommodate the Sikhs even if it meant sacrificing their own people [...] But now, the Muslims will not be satisfied until the boundary is set at the river Jumna.⁶³⁵

Regarding the Punjab rivers, Geography experts expressed that a river needs certain characteristics to work well as a boundary:

The only type of river really satisfactory as a boundary is one flowing through a deep rock-walled canyon, or possibly through extensive marshes, with a fairly constant volume of water, without

⁶³² *Pakistan Times* (Delhi), July 15, 1947.

⁶³³ *Dawn* (Karachi), July 13, 1947. (See Annex 20)

⁶³⁴ Ibid.

⁶³⁵ "Jumna Demanded as Boundary Line", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 18, 1947.

shifts of course, with few crossing-places, and useless for navigation or rafting, irrigation or hydro-electric power. Few rivers have all these negative virtues, and those of the Punjab are decidedly not among them.⁶³⁶

Efforts to Mitigate Mass Migrations

In the first week of July, the Sikh *Panth* called for a significant *hartal*. In order to manage the situation and shift focus from the *hartal*, leaders from the Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim League groups got involved. Feroz Khan Noon, from the Muslim League, was hopeful that the separation caused by the partition would only be temporary. He believed that over time, people would realize they needed to live together and that most people could overcome distrust to heal the separation. Sardar Swarn Singh accepted that partition was going to happen, but Noon argued that since the big problems were mostly fixed, it was time to bring back peace.⁶³⁷

Nevertheless, the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), remarked that the core concerns remained unaddressed. The task of satisfying Giani Kartar Singh's plea to unite a minimum of 85 percent of Sikhs in East Punjab remained unresolved. Alongside various other requisites, their primary aims encompassed securing a fair share of canal waters and safeguarding Sikh shrines.⁶³⁸ The same publication mentioned that Giani Kartar Singh had warned about possible Guerilla warfare by Sikhs if their demands were not met.⁶³⁹ Sardar Baldev Singh also indicated that if the decision went against Sikhs, they were ready to defend their honor.⁶⁴⁰

A Minorities Convention was held in Rawalpindi on July 7, which brought together representatives from Western Punjab districts. This was aimed to address the concerns of minority communities in the context of the upcoming partition. Speakers discussed the

⁶³⁶ OHK Spate, "The Partition of the Punjab and Bengal," *The Geographical Journal* CX (July-December 1947): 202-203.

⁶³⁷ *Tribune* (Lahore), July 16, 1947.

⁶³⁸ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 10, 1947.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

importance of cooperation with Pakistan and the safeguarding of minority rights. They highlighted the significant Sikh population in West Punjab. Resolutions were put forth, advocating for the safety of minorities, equal citizenship rights, religious freedom, and representation in legislative bodies. The Convention also aimed to discourage migration and promote mutual goodwill among communities.⁶⁴¹

According to the *Tribune* (Lahore), Krishan Gopal Dutt (MLA) presented the principal resolution during the Convention. This resolution emphasized the need to protect the lives and property of minorities, equal citizenship rights in the new state, safeguard freedom of worship, and prevent coerced religious conversions.⁶⁴² However, it is worth noting that some Sikh speakers expressed strong and provocative sentiments in favor of a separate Sikh state.⁶⁴³

Not only the leaders and influencers who presented resolutions at the Minorities Convention in Rawalpindi, but also various other voices were urging Hindus and Sikhs to stay in West Punjab. Avtar Narain, a Congress leader from Rawalpindi, encouraged minorities to become part of the mainstream in Pakistan. He believed that their positive conduct could lead the majority to accept them as equal members of the new state.⁶⁴⁴

Contrasting Ideas on Minority Resettlement in Punjab

Leaders across various political parties were actively discouraging mass migration across the anticipated borders. Numerous efforts were made to ensure the safety and security of minority populations. Mumtaz Daultana, a prominent leader of the Muslim League, expressed:

⁶⁴¹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 8, 1947.

⁶⁴² *Tribune* (Lahore), July 9, 1947.

⁶⁴³ *Hindustan Times* (Delhi), July 8, 1947.

⁶⁴⁴ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 3, 1947.

Pakistan is on test and the first fulfillment of the test must be the security and well-being of the minorities [...] I advise my Hindu and Sikh friends to make Pakistan your home [...] share with us the building of a new world [...] the Muslims are determined to do justice.⁶⁴⁵

Between June and August, there were different opinions within the Muslim League, making it confusing for ordinary people, especially minorities in Punjab. They did not know whom to believe, Mamdot⁶⁴⁶ and Daultana who thought alike, or Firoz Khan Noon who disagreed. Noon said that Punjab land belonged to the state, and since most tenants were Muslim, the Sikh demand hardly mattered. These differences led to confusion among the minorities. They did not know whom to trust or what to believe. Some leaders advised them not to leave their homes, while others had different opinions.⁶⁴⁷

Interestingly, Gandhi also advised people against migrating and encouraged them to stay where they were in West Punjab. In early July, Ajit Singh Ambalvi, the editor of the well-known *Akali* newspaper *Ajit*⁶⁴⁸ had a meeting with Gandhi. He inquired if Sikhs and Hindus who followed Gandhi's counsel to remain in West Punjab would receive a solemn assurance that Congress would take action if they faced communal violence again. Gandhi's response was typical of his philosophy, he said "I recommend that Hindus and Sikhs place their trust not in me or Congress, but in God's guidance. They should not doubt receiving fair treatment in the new state."⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁵ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 3, 1947.

⁶⁴⁶ In the July 10, 1947 edition, the *Civil & Military Gazette* cited his remarks from the Minorities Convention, in which he conveyed the ambition to establish Pakistan as an exemplary democratic state, with the treatment of minorities serving as a model for other states to emulate.

⁶⁴⁷ *Dawn* (Lahore), July 13, 1947.

⁶⁴⁸ The *Punjab Vernacular Reports* of 1947, provide insights into the Sikh newspaper *Ajit*. Aligned with the *Shiromani Akali Dal*, *Ajit* advocated for Sikh unity under the banner of the *Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak* Committee and Master Tara Singh. Despite claiming a nationalist stance, the publication operated on communal lines, opposing non-violence as a policy but not as a creed, and expressing anti-Unionist and anti-Muslim League sentiments. (*Statement of Newspapers and Periodicals of Punjab*. (Rippon Press, Lahore, 1947), 11.

⁶⁴⁹ *Tribune* (Lahore), July 9, 1947.

However, the situation on the ground was much more complicated and less straightforward than Gandhi's words suggest. Surjan Das Kumar, editor of the *National Industry & Finance*, wrote to the *Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore)*, expressing the widespread chaos and confusion. It remained unclear what status those who chose to stay behind would have. He detailed that "they [concerned authorities] were worried not only of the status of the political rights but also of the bank accounts and economic rights of the non-Muslims who might stay on in West Punjab."⁶⁵⁰

On July 13, Jinnah conducted a significant press conference at his residence in New Delhi. His remarks during the conference were, to some extent, a response to issues raised at the Minorities Convention in Rawalpindi.⁶⁵¹ Jinnah provided a categorical assurance regarding the protection of minorities in the new state, ensuring safeguarding of their life, property, culture, religion, and belief.⁶⁵² When asked about the minorities' stay or possible population exchanges, Jinnah stressed that "as far as I can speak, I can say there is no reason for apprehension [...] it is for the minority to decide [...] I cannot order them."⁶⁵³

The setting of Jinnah's press conference was marked by a sense of discomfort, as observed and reported by the press. The *Hindustan Times (Delhi)*, provided its description, stating that:

The press conference held by Jinnah was marked by challenging conditions. It took place on a hot and humid Sunday morning, catching reporters off guard as Jinnah had already begun proceedings earlier than expected. The room was crowded, some managed chairs, while others stood in the stifling heat, with a lone table fan directed at Jinnah. The weather seemed to drain his energy, making him barely audible and evasive in his responses. Despite these discomforts, the conference held great significance, as Jinnah strongly assured protection for minorities in the new state and emphasized their loyalty.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵⁰ *Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore)*, July 10, 1947; *Paisa Akhbar (Lahore)*, July 24, 1947.

⁶⁵¹ *Dawn (Lahore)*, July 14, 1947.

⁶⁵² *Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore)*, July 15, 1947.

⁶⁵³ *Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore)*, July 10, 1947.

⁶⁵⁴ *Hindustan Times (Delhi)*, July 14, 1947.

Questioning Jinnah's Vision of the State

Amid the significant aforementioned press conference, another intriguing interaction unfolded between a journalist and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The focal point of the conversation revolved around the potential nature of Pakistan's governance, a secular or theocratic state. Jinnah's reply was clear and he didn't seem to give it much importance, as he said, "You are asking me a question that is absurd. I do not know what a theocratic state means."⁶⁵⁵

The reporter kept pushing, trying to explain the idea of a theocratic state – a system where only people of one specific religion are considered full citizens while others are not. As the reporter explained this, Jinnah's frustration became quite evident, and he responded; "For God's sake get this non-sense out of your head—I do not know what is a theocratic state."⁶⁵⁶

Commenting on the above statement by Jinnah, the *Hindustan Times* (Delhi), stated that there was no reason to question the sincerity of Mr. Jinnah, whether he genuinely meant all the statements he made or not.⁶⁵⁷

Jinnah's Assurances: A Beacon of Hope for Minorities in West Punjab

Due to Jinnah's press conference, many people in Punjab started thinking that minorities didn't need to switch places. Nevertheless, these statements held little significance for those who had already decided to leave. However, for those willing to remain in West Punjab, Jinnah's assurances brought immense relief. This sense of security also extended to the millions of Muslim families in a comparable situation living in East Punjab, mirroring the predicament of Sikhs and Hindus in the West.⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁵ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 10, 1947.

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁷ *Hindustan Times* (Delhi), July 14, 1947.

⁶⁵⁸ *Tribune* (Lahore), July 16, 1947.

A well-known Panth leader, Sardar Ajit Singh [...] told minorities to stay where they were and fully support the new state. He emphasized if they were brave and fearless, they would be noticed and that no country could accept disloyal citizens. This applied to Muslims in India too. [...] Some like Haji Maula Bux, whose brother was famous as Allah Bux, felt that the two countries had a lot in common and would come together again.⁶⁵⁹

However, while Quaid-i-Azam himself offered reassurances to minorities, many questioned their significance. Rajendra Magoo of Gujarat, in a letter, doubted the sincerity of the Muslim League's assurances of equal rights and their assertion that 'Pakistan is the common heritage of Hindus and Muslims'.⁶⁶⁰ He pointed out that despite such assurances, the proposed Pakistani flag did not symbolize this shared heritage. Sant Ram Sanyal found such assurances irrelevant, considering them meaningless as the leaders making appeals had little control over the League workers causing the issues.⁶⁶¹

People also had concerns about the leaders guiding Sikhs and Hindus. Charanjit Lal, who was the President of the Hindu Defense Committee in Peshawar, noticed that while Muslims were getting clear guidance, Hindus were very confused. He described this confusion as a big problem for Hindus in West Punjab and the NWFP, highlighting the difficulties they were facing nowadays.⁶⁶²

The Boundary Commission

According to the June 3 Partition Plan, it was stated that once a decision regarding partition had been taken for the Punjab province, a Boundary Commission would be set up by the Governor-General. The *Gazette of India* issued a notification dated June 30th 1947 which laid down the terms of reference for the Partition of Punjab:

[...] as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for the province [of the Punjab], a Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and 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 based on ascertaining the contiguous

⁶⁵⁹ *Dawn* (Lahore), July 14, 1947.

⁶⁶⁰ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 12, 1947.

⁶⁶¹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 10, 1947.

⁶⁶² *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 18, 1947.

majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. It will also be instructed to take into account other factors. Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix will be used.⁶⁶³

During a meeting with the Viceroy on June 7, 1947, Mr. Jinnah proposed that the Chairman of the Boundary Commission should possess expertise in the delineation of boundaries based on broad principles. On June 13, 1947, a meeting took place where the Viceroy, leaders from the Congress and the Muslim League, and Baldev Singh were in attendance. The main topic of discussion centered on the composition of the Boundary Commissions. During the meeting, two alternative suggestions were proposed for the composition of the Boundary Commission which basically aimed to address the question of how the Commission should be formed.⁶⁶⁴

The first suggestion was to have each Commission comprised of three individuals appointed through the United Nations Organization (UNO), along with three expert assessors from each side of the partitioned province. The second proposal was for each Commission to have an independent Chairman and four other members, with two members nominated by Congress and two by the Muslim League.⁶⁶⁵

Pandit Nehru raised concerns about potential delays and the suitability of the selected individual in the first suggestion, which involved communication between the U.N.O. Headquarters and member governments. He recommended that the four nominees in the second suggestion possess a distinguished judicial background. Mr. Jinnah expressed his preference for suggestion (A) but was willing to accept suggestion (B). The Viceroy presented the idea of

⁶⁶³ *The Partition of the Punjab 1947: A Compilation of Official Documents*, vol. 1 (National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1983), vii.

⁶⁶⁴ Nicholas Mansergh ed., *India - The Transfer of Power 1942-7, Vol. XI* (London: H.M.S.O., 1982), 190.

⁶⁶⁵ *The Partition of the Punjab 1947: A Compilation of Official Documents*, vol. 1 (National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1983), viii.

obtaining individuals with prior experience in drawing boundaries through the U.N.O. and suggested their attachment to each Commission in an advisory role.⁶⁶⁶

The session agreed:

(i) That each Boundary Commission should consist of an independent chairman and four other individuals, with two nominees from Congress and two from the Muslim League. (ii) That ideally, all these individuals should have a distinguished judicial background. (iii) Congress would appoint a Sikh as one of their two nominees for the Punjab Boundary Commission. (iv) Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah were requested to promptly submit their nominees for both Boundary Commissions to the Viceroy. (v) Once nominated, the members of each Boundary Commission were expected to convene and select an independent chairman. If they failed to reach a decision, the Indian leaders would choose the chairman in a meeting.⁶⁶⁷

Quest for the Appropriate Individual

In contrast, the correspondence between the Viceroy and his staff in London, as documented in the India Office files, reveals that the desired candidate should not possess any prior knowledge or experience of India or Indian affairs. In a telegram, the Viceroy expressed his consideration of establishing an Arbitral Tribunal to handle various issues arising from partition. He specifically mentioned his intention to seek the assistance of a member from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to serve as the Chairman. Importantly, the Viceroy emphasized that individuals with prior experience in India would not be deemed suitable for this crucial role.⁶⁶⁸

The Viceroy's Private Secretary wrote to the Lord Chancellor, stating:

I enclose a copy of a telegram I have just received from the Viceroy in which he says that it is contemplated that an arbitral tribunal may have to be set up in India to deal with matters arising out of the partition. You will see that the Viceroy says that he may have to ask for the services of a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as Chairman, and that men with previous experience of India would not be acceptable.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁶ *The Partition of the Punjab 1947: A Compilation of Official Documents*, vol. 1 (National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1983), ix.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ix.

⁶⁶⁸ Viceroy's Private Secretary, letter dated June 9, 1947, published in the *India Office Record* (IOR) L/P+J/7/12500.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

One of the initial references to Cyril John Radcliffe's potential involvement can be traced back to a conversation between Earl Listowel and Mountbatten date 13th June 1947.

On receiving your telegram No. 1348-S of 7th June about the proposed Arbitral Tribunal, I at once approached the Lord Chancellor about a possible Chairman. It seems that, apart from any other consideration, the members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council are all ruled out on account of age since 60 ought, I think, to be regarded as an absolute maximum and 55 would probably be the optimum age. [...] An approach is, however, being made to Sir Cyril Radcliffe who would, I think, fill the bill admirably.⁶⁷⁰

Later on, the Radcliffe's name was finalized. Moreover, the idea of consulting UNO was also abandoned.

I note that it was agreed at your meeting on 13th June that Patel and Liaqat Ali Khan should consider together the composition of the Arbitral Tribunal; possibly, however, the services of a distinguished outsider as chairman may still be required. You will have received my telegram [...] about Radcliffe who, as I said in my previous letter, ought to fill the bill admirably if he is accepted. I am glad that the idea of consulting UNO about the composition of the Boundary Commissions has been abandoned and it will probably be best if a reference even to the president of the International Court of Justice is also avoided...⁶⁷¹

During the meeting of the Partition Council on June 27, 1947, the Viceroy announced the appointment of Sir Cyril Radcliffe as the Chairman of the Boundary Commission. This was unanimously accepted by both the Congress and the League.⁶⁷² Subsequently, on June 30, Lord Mountbatten announced the names of the four additional members of the Commission: Justice Din Mohammad, Justice Muhammad Munir,⁶⁷³ Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan, and Justice Teja Singh.⁶⁷⁴ As reported by the daily *Dawn* (Lahore), these four judges were tasked with making decisions, while the Chairman's role was envisioned as that of an umpire.⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁷⁰ The Earl of Listowel to Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma, letter, India Office, "13 June 1947," cited in Nicholas Mansergh ed., *India - The Transfer of Power 1942-7, Vol. X* (London: H.M.S.O., 1982), 336.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

⁶⁷² During his lecture at Cambridge in 1968, Mountbatten mentioned that all parties, including the Congress and the Muslim League, had agreed to appoint a British person to lead the Commission. The full text of the lecture can be found in the *I.M. Stephens Papers* (Box 21), *Centre of South Asian Studies (CSAS)*. Additionally, V.N. Datta's work titled *Interpreting Partition* in *'The Partition in Retrospect'*, edited by Amrik Singh (New Delhi, 2000), contains relevant information on this matter, 277.

⁶⁷³ Justice Munir, an esteemed graduate of Government College, Lahore, held the position of Chief Justice of Pakistan from 1954 to 1960. Among his notable literary works are *From Jinnah to Zia* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1960) and *Highways and Bye-ways of Life* (Lahore: Law Publishing Company, 1978).

⁶⁷⁴ Nicholas Mansergh ed., *India - The Transfer of Power 1942-7, Vol. XII* (London: H.M.S.O., 1982), 63.

⁶⁷⁵ *Dawn* (Karachi), July 13, 1947.

The *Jinnah Papers* revealed that there was a consensus among leaders regarding the appointment of a Chairman for the Council. The proposed Arbitral Tribunal, consisting of three members with substantial judicial experience, was suggested to have its chairman selected from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Decisions on the other two members were open to discussion among Indian leaders or recommendations from the Committee constituted by members of the ongoing Interim Government.⁶⁷⁶

It is noteworthy that Zafarullah Khan, the Muslim League representative in the Punjab Boundary Commission, documented in his autobiography that Jinnah favored the inclusion of three members from the British Privy Council. However, Lord Mountbatten dismissed this idea, providing a weak justification that Privy Council members were elderly and might not withstand India's challenging weather conditions.⁶⁷⁷

The Boundary Commission was given specific instructions for its terms of reference. Its primary task was to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Punjab based on identifying the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. While this was the primary consideration, the Commission was also directed to take 'Other Factors' into account.⁶⁷⁸

The division of Punjab was notionally based on district boundaries. Seventeen districts were assigned to West Punjab, while the remaining twelve were designated as part of East Punjab. However, the central districts posed a challenge as they formed a disputed territory. These included Sheikhupura, Gujranwala and Lyallpur districts in the *Rachna Doab*, as well as Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Lahore and Montgomery in the *Bari Doab*. Additionally, Jullundur and

⁶⁷⁶ Zawwar H. Zaidi, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, Vol. 02 (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, National Archives of Pakistan, 1993), 149.

⁶⁷⁷ Muhammad Zafarulla Khan, *Tehdis-e-Naimat* (Lahore, 1971), 500.

⁶⁷⁸ J.S. Grewal, *Master Tara Singh in Indian History: Colonialism, Nationalism, and the Politics of Sikh Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 456.

Hoshiarpur in the Bist Jalandhar Doab and Ferozpur to the east of the Sutlej River were also part of this disputed region.⁶⁷⁹

The authors of *Freedom at Midnight* describe Sir Cyril Radcliffe as a brilliant and accomplished man, burdened with the complex task of India's partition.

Despite his encyclopedic knowledge of a vast array of subjects, however, Radcliffe knew virtually nothing about India. He had never written about it or become involved in any of its complex legal problems. Indeed, Radcliffe had never even set foot on the subcontinent. Paradoxically, it was for that very reason that Radcliffe was summoned from his chambers to the office of the Lord Chancellor of England on the afternoon of June 27, 1947.⁶⁸⁰

It was agreed that Sir Cyril Radcliffe would chair the Commission. He was going to remain in Delhi and not directly partake in the sessions of the Punjab Boundary Commission. The records of the proceedings were to be flown to him by air.⁶⁸¹ During one session, the Permanent Under Secretary of the India Office showed Radcliffe a map of the subcontinent. As Radcliffe traced the courses of the Ganges and the Indus, he realized the enormity of the provinces he had to divide. This included eighty-eight million people, their homes, rice paddies, jute fields, orchards, railways, factories, and more, all condensed to a mere-colored paper on a desk in London.⁶⁸²

Just before leaving for New Delhi, Radcliffe had his final meeting in the serene gardens of 10 Downing Street. Clement Attlee couldn't help but feel a sense of pride for Radcliffe, as his work would soon impact the lives of countless Indians, surpassing any previous Englishman's influence during centuries of Anglo-Indian history.⁶⁸³

Despite the ominous atmosphere in India, Attlee found comfort in the shared background with Radcliffe, both being alumni of Haileybury School, and he trusted that

⁶⁷⁹ J.S. Grewal, *Master Tara Singh in Indian History: Colonialism, Nationalism, and the Politics of Sikh Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 456.

⁶⁸⁰ Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight* (Vikaas Publishing House, 1999), 159.

⁶⁸¹ Kirpal Singh, *Select Documents on Partition of Punjab-1947* (Delhi: National Book Shop, 1991), 104.

⁶⁸² Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight* (Vikaas Publishing House, 1999), 159.

⁶⁸³ Ibid.

Radcliffe would carefully draw the partition line through the homelands of eighty-eight million people.⁶⁸⁴

Arrival of Radcliffe

Radcliffe arrived in New Delhi on 8 July, 1947. His arrival marked a crucial moment in the history of the Indian subcontinent. The same evening, he held significant meetings with the Viceroy and prominent Indian political leaders, including Nehru, Jinnah, Baldev Singh, Liaquat Ali, and others. The discussions during these meetings were of immense importance, as they revolved around the partition of British India and the creation of two separate nations, India and Pakistan.

During his stay in New Delhi, Cyril John Radcliffe was accommodated in the Comptroller's House⁶⁸⁵ within the Viceroy's estate. To assist him in the complex task of delineating the borders, Sir Christopher Beaumont, an esteemed member of the Indian Political Service, was appointed as the Secretary of the Boundary Commission. V.D. Iyer also played a crucial role as Assistant Secretary to the joint Chairman.⁶⁸⁶

Among the Indian leaders, Radcliffe's discussions with Nehru and Muhammad Ali Jinnah were particularly noteworthy. These two iconic figures were at the forefront of the struggle for independence and had vastly different visions for the future of the region. Some segments of society even compared them to fictional religious characters from Hindu mythology, specifically the *Kauravas* and *Pandavas* from the *Mahabharath*. Just like the mythological characters who fought for their own kingdoms, Gandhi and Jinnah were seen as

⁶⁸⁴ Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight* (Vikaas Publishing House, 1999), 160.

⁶⁸⁵ "Royal-Household Official." *Merriam-Webster*.

⁶⁸⁶ Patrick French, *Liberty or Death: India's Journey to Independence and Division* (London: Vintage Publishers, 1947), 324.

leaders representing their respective communities and interests in the struggle for independence.⁶⁸⁷

Communal Press

While newspapers such as the *Tribune* (Lahore), and partially *Hindustan Times* (Delhi), were presenting arguments in favor of Sikhs and Hindus, hoping to influence the Punjab Boundary Commission, others like *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), and the *Dawn* (Karachi), were fully committed to the Pakistan cause and aligned with the Muslim League's vision.

It was emphasized that any division line which disregarded the unity of Sikhs, their sacred sites, and their territories would not be accepted. Sardar Jodh Singh, the Principal of Khalsa College in Amritsar, a widely respected intellectual figure of the region, conveyed in a letter to the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), that incorporating Sikh regions into West Punjab based on a theoretical division line would jeopardize the favored profession of Sikhs i.e. military service. Since the Pakistan Army might prefer Muslims, the situation of the 1.7 million Sikhs in the western areas was worrying. Jodh Singh asked the Muslim League to think about a separation line that would help Sikhs move with less disagreement.⁶⁸⁸

Amjad Ali from Ambala Cantonment wrote to the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), suggesting that the best course for Sikh solidarity was to keep Punjab united. He believed Sikhs could attain an honorable position within the Pakistan government, given the intertwined fate of Sikhs and Muslims. Prominent Muslim League leader Ghazanfar Ali Khan also proposed on July 19th that the possibility of consolidating the majority of the Sikh population in one

⁶⁸⁷ Patrick French, *Liberty or Death: India's Journey to Independence and Division* (London: Vintage Publishers, 1947), 324.

⁶⁸⁸ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 19, 1947.

state lay in the incorporation of the entire Punjab into Pakistan, excluding portions of the Ambala Division.⁶⁸⁹

The Sikhs had distinct intentions, revealed in the period leading up to the unfolding events. Kirpal Singh highlighted that for the Sikhs, joining Pakistan would have been akin to aligning with Ahmad Shah Abdali to establish an Afghan Kingdom in the Punjab. Rattan Singh Bhango, the author of *Panth Parkash*, metaphorically described it as 'mingling fire with water.'⁶⁹⁰

On July 17, the *Pakistan Times* (Delhi) published excerpts from around 40 letters, all conveying the same message - that Muslims would not tolerate injustice, and any such injustice could lead to civil war. An organization called *Anjuman-i-Jats* in Ludhiana, declared; "Ludhiana Muslims expect complete justice in matters of boundaries. Be prepared to face all possibilities if the decision is otherwise."⁶⁹¹ Many letters used phrases like "will resist with all our might," and "to the last drop of blood."⁶⁹²

Before the Punjab Boundary Commission's inaugural meeting in Lahore, several prominent Punjab Muslim League leaders issued a collective statement, cautioning the Punjab Boundary Commission against acting unjustly towards Muslims. They emphasized that Muslims would fiercely resist if any man or acre of land rightfully belonging to them was withheld.⁶⁹³ They worked together to make their claims known, and this involved sending many telegrams to the press. In just one day, the *Dawn* (Karachi) received telegrams from different places like Gurgaon, Ferozepur, Lahore, and others, all saying similar things - that they were ready to fight until the end, no matter what.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁸⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 20, 1947.

⁶⁹⁰ Zulfiqar Ali Mohal, "*The Unfolding Crisis in the Punjab, March-August 1947: Key Turning Points and British Responses*" (PhD dissertation, GC University Lahore, [2011]), 158.

⁶⁹¹ *Pakistan Times* (Delhi), July 19, 1947.

⁶⁹² *Tribune* (Lahore), July 20, 1947.

⁶⁹³ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 14, 1947; *Pakistan Times* (Delhi), July 13, 1947.

⁶⁹⁴ *Dawn* (Karachi), July 22, 1947.

As reported by the Tribune (Lahore), the Akhari Tehsil (Jullundur) League declared, "Muslims who fought for Britain in two wars can also fight for their own rights."⁶⁹⁵ The Kasur unit expressed their readiness to exert all efforts, emphasizing their stance to the Punjab Boundary Commission. Similar warnings were issued by units in Chiniot, Hansi, Wazirabad, and Batala.⁶⁹⁶

Punjab Boundary Case in the High Court

From July 16 to July 24, the Bengal Boundary Commission convened, and from July 21 to July 31, the Punjab Boundary Commission held its sessions in the chambers of the Punjab [Lahore] High Court's Chief Justice. The hearings were to be open to the public. However, due to space constraints, entry was to be controlled through passes, with specific allocations for members of the Bar and the press.⁶⁹⁷

Mountbatten observed that the four judges collaborated smoothly, to the extent that they unanimously agreed on Justice Munir as Chairman when Sir Radcliffe was absent. When the idea of rotating the chairmanship was suggested by Radcliffe, the other three judges turned down the proposal, expressing their confidence in Justice Munir. Mountbatten regarded this atmosphere of rationality and patience as a positive sign.⁶⁹⁸ Despite the panel's strong eagerness and willingness, in the absence of Sir Cyril Radcliffe, it was Mr. Din Muhammad who assumed the role of presiding over the sessions.⁶⁹⁹ Although the absence of the commission's head during this crucial time reflected the seriousness of the Chairman, as the fate of many was at stake.

⁶⁹⁵ *Dawn* (Karachi), July 16, 1947.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁷ *Tribune* (Lahore), July 18, 1947.

⁶⁹⁸ Nicholas Mansergh ed., *India - The Transfer of Power 1942-7*, Vol. XII (London: H.M.S.O., 1982), 225.

⁶⁹⁹ Mehr Chand Mahajan, *Looking Back: The Autobiography of Mehr Chand Mahajan, Former Chief Justice of India* (Mumbai: Asia Publishing House, 1963), 114.

During the proceedings, both the non-Muslim and Muslim sides were well-represented by skilled individuals. Both sides were granted four and a half days each, with the non-Muslim side presenting their arguments first with a total of 13 days allocated for their arguments. Subsequent to this, the following 11 days were designated for the Muslim side's arguments, and the last day was reserved for their response to the opposing side.⁷⁰⁰

On the non-Muslim side, Mr. M. C. Setalvad, an experienced lawyer, led the way, supported by Bakshi Sir Tek Chand, a former judge. They were also assisted by R. B. Badri Dass, Sadar Harnam Singh, and other notable figures. Representing the Muslim side was Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan,⁷⁰¹ an esteemed former judge, who had a team of capable lawyers providing valuable help throughout the proceedings.⁷⁰²

During the public hearings, the parties involved were also granted equal opportunity to present their respective cases to the Boundary Commission. The Muslim perspective primarily relied on their demographic majority in the disputed regions, asserting that it should be the dominant factor in determining the boundary line. Conversely, the non-Muslim viewpoint emphasized economic conditions, as they significantly contributed to the central Punjab's economy. Additionally, the Sikhs sought a "special position"⁷⁰³ due to their spiritual connection to the region. However, the most contentious aspect was the interpretation of the 'other factors' outlined in the mandate. The question of how much weight these 'other factors' should carry

⁷⁰⁰ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 18, 1947.

⁷⁰¹ In his autobiography *Tehdis-e-Naimat* (1971), Zafarullah Khan states that things were quite tough. The group of lawyers he was working with didn't really help much – they didn't prepare things for the case. Instead, they just planned to meet him after he came back from England. He was surprised to see that there weren't any important papers or documents ready to support him in the case. However, he does mention a few people who were a big help. Khwaja Abdul Rahim, the Commissioner of Rawalpindi, happened to meet him in Lahore and gave him some maps to use in the case. Then he talked about four lawyers who helped him during all of this. They were Nawazish Ali, Sheikh Nisar from Montgomery, Syed Muhammad Shah, Chaudhry Ali Akber, and also Ahmad Saeed Kirnami from Lahore (503).

⁷⁰² "Punjab Boundary Case Opens", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 22, 1947.

⁷⁰³ Kirpal Singh, ed., *Select Documents on Partition of Punjab-1947: India and Pakistan* (Delhi: National Book Shop, 1991), 353.

relative to the Muslim population majority⁷⁰⁴ led to divergent views among counsels, contributing to the controversy surrounding the boundary delimitation.⁷⁰⁵

The Sikh's Case

The Sikhs demanded regions and places in Punjab due to their reverence for their ten gurus. The issue of Sikh shrines is interesting, as discussed by the Commission judges. Justice Teja Singh, a Sikh himself, compared the importance of the ten Sikh Gurus to that of Christ for Christians and Hazrat Mohammad [PBUH] for Muslims. He pointed out that historic Gurdwaras in United Punjab were closely connected to the life and times of the gurus. In contrast, there are no shrines of Muslims in India founded by their Prophet, as he lived, worked, and died in Arabia.⁷⁰⁶

Harnam Singh presented the Joint Memorandum of the Sikhs to the Punjab Boundary Commission, which consisted of 75 pages.⁷⁰⁷ The argument put forth was that the Sikhs had been the majority in Punjab from 1881 to 1901, and it was not until 1911 that Muslims were shown as the larger group. The memorandum criticized the census figures, suggesting that they were flawed.⁷⁰⁸ One point was that the census inaccurately included and recorded the floating Muslim population, which usually increased in Punjab during winter when nomadic families moved from the hills to the plains. Interestingly, it was also suggested that the number of Muslims was inflated because the Congress had boycotted the last census, leading to a predominantly Muslim census staff.⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁴ Kirpal Singh, ed., *Select Documents on Partition of Punjab-1947: India and Pakistan* (Delhi: National Book Shop, 1991), xxiv.

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 353.

⁷⁰⁶ Pippa Virdee, *From the Ashes of 1947* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 63.

⁷⁰⁷ "Sikh Arguments Concluded", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 25, 1947.

⁷⁰⁸ *Pakistan Times* (Delhi), July 16, 1947.

⁷⁰⁹ *Hindustan Times* (Delhi), July 25, 1947.

The memorandum advocated for a continuous area in Punjab to be allocated to the Sikhs. In the Ambala Division, Muslims made up only 28.7% of the population, contributing just Rs. 15,94,082 out of the total land revenue of Rs. 66,40,971. Similarly, in Jullundur, where Muslims constituted 34.54% of the population, their share in the land revenue of Rs. 74,68,945 was merely Rs. 2,18,060. When making a claim for Lahore, the memorandum pointed out that Muslims formed only 45.5% of the population and paid Rs. 5,83,686 out of the total land revenue of Rs. 12,00,759. According to census data, there were 85,714 non-Muslims and 75,481 Muslims.⁷¹⁰

The Sikhs put forth a strong argument regarding the old and new canal colonies. Notably, these lands had been cultivated into fertile grounds mainly by Sikh farmers. The memorandum also pointed out that many workers in these colonies had left their families in the central districts, which meant that the June 3rd Plan was likely to divide a substantial number of Sikh families. Additionally, it was argued that the Plan would not only deprive East Punjab of its primary food-producing regions but also take away a significant portion of its irrigation water.⁷¹¹

Giani Kirtar Singh reiterated that Sikhs would not rest content till their demands are fulfilled.

A full share in the canal colonies belongs to the Sikhs because it was their sweat and toll which has made these areas so covered. This demand gains additional weight when considered in conjunction with the question of the daily bread in the Eastern Punjab [...] the Sikhs will not rest content till: 1) The boundary line is demarcated in such a way that it leaves at least 85 percent Sikhs in India. 2) Both the States of Pakistan and India are committed to facilitate the transfer of the remaining 15 per cent from Pakistan to India.⁷¹²

The Sikh leader advocated for the inclusion of their sacred religious places in the boundary discussions. They highlighted that the districts of Sheikhpura, Lyallpur, and

⁷¹⁰ *Hindustan Times* (Delhi), August 04, 1947.

⁷¹¹ *Hindustan Times* (Delhi), July 25, 1947.

⁷¹² "85 Percent Sikhs Must be Left in India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 26, 1947.

Gujranwala contained large non-Muslim majority areas with historic gurdwaras like Nankana Sahib and Khara Sauda. Stressing the religious significance of these sites, they expressed reluctance to live apart from them. Furthermore, they suggested the river Chenab as a natural boundary line, considering the sentiments attached to these sacred locations.⁷¹³

Ishtiaq Ahmed further explained:

The Sikhs also claimed Nankana Sahib, the birthplace of the founder of the Sikh faith, Guru Nanak, but it too was in the predominantly Muslim district of Sheikhpura. Not surprisingly, the nominated members of the two boundary commissions supported the claims of the parties that had nominated them.⁷¹⁴

The Muslim Leagues' Case

Presenting the Muslim League's case, Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan argued that base line should be determined at the tehsil level or higher to avoid overlapping and complications.⁷¹⁵ He stressed the importance of disregarding religious sentiments, property ownership, banking, and factories since the partition question was related to different matters. He proposed the Sutlej River as the border due to geographical and natural reasons. He also asserted that the main reason for the Muslim League's partition demand was the economic disparity between Muslims on one side and wealthy Hindus and Sikhs on the other. This reasoning negated claims of property ownership by Hindus and Sikhs, including banks, factories, and urban properties, made to the Commission.⁷¹⁶

Furthermore, according to his perspective, the disturbances in March were not instigated by Muslims, but rather by agitators from the Hindu and Sikh communities who provoked clashes in Lahore, Gujranwala, and Rawalpindi.⁷¹⁷

⁷¹³ "Gurdwaras to be Added", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 16, 1947.

⁷¹⁴ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2020), 382.

⁷¹⁵ Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, *Tehdis-e-Naimat* (Lahore, 1971), 508.

⁷¹⁶ Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Reporting the Partition of Punjab 1947: Press, Public and other Opinions* (Vanguard Publications – January 1, 2006), 279.

⁷¹⁷ Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, *Tehdis-e-Naimat* (Lahore, 1971), 509.

The Sikhs' claim to the canal colonies was easily the most convincing, yet Zafarullah made out a formidable case against it: 'Commenting on the canal colonies, the Muslim League's counsel asserted that the land was originally the homeland of Muslim nomadic and pastoral peoples. More importantly, the area allotted by the Crown in the canal colonies also showed that Muslims constituted a majority.' He then went on to quote figures to support his argument.⁷¹⁸

Indigenous Response to the Commission

Despite the relief felt by leaders in Delhi, concerns were growing in Punjab that the power transfer deadline was being rushed. The *Tribune* (Lahore), highlighted the potential problems if the Boundary Award announcement was delayed or if the transfer of power preceded it.⁷¹⁹ Jenkins had previously noted on July 11 that it would be challenging for the Punjab Boundary Commission to meet the August 15 deadline.⁷²⁰ Even Swarn Singh, a staunch Congressman and loyal follower of Nehru, expressed the Sikh community's apprehensions about a transfer of power before boundary settlement, fearing it would unfairly prejudice their interests.⁷²¹

Some leaders from Punjab were very concerned about the Boundary Commission and the Partition Plan. They were so anxious that they asked Cyril Radcliffe, the Commission's Chairman, not to come to Punjab. They suggested that he should consult his colleagues in Delhi or some other place outside the province instead. The fear was that if Radcliffe visited Punjab, his actions could be misunderstood and create more mistrust and accusations of bias.⁷²² Firoz Khan Noon, suggested that its proceedings should be conducted outside Punjab. He believed that Sir Radcliffe's interactions with different groups might be misinterpreted and undermine the impartiality of his decisions. While speaking at a social function in Lahore, he expressed:

⁷¹⁸ Ishtiaq Ahmed, "The 1947 Partition of Punjab: Arguments put forth before the Punjab Boundary Commission by the Parties Involved," in Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh (eds.), *Region and Partition: Bengal, Punjab and the Partition of the Subcontinent* (Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1999), 138.

⁷¹⁹ *Tribune* (Lahore), July 12, 1947.

⁷²⁰ Nicholas Mansergh ed., *India - The Transfer of Power 1942-7*, Vol. XII (London: H.M.S.O., 1982), 121.

⁷²¹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 8, 1947.

⁷²² *Hindustan Times* (Delhi), July 7, 1947.

If Sir Cyril came to Punjab and shook hands with a Sikh, the Muslims would think that he had become an Amritdhari Sikh, and if he was seen taking a cup of tea with a Muslim, the Sikhs would perceive him as pro-Muslim. Considering the potential distrust and doubts, I advise Sir Cyril not to come to Punjab.⁷²³

Allegations of Bias

During the challenging process of partition, people from all sides made accusations that officials were favoring one group over another. These accusations were not only made in the newspapers but also by the leaders themselves. For instance, Justice Munir of the Punjab Commission accused Christopher Beaumont, Radcliffe's top assistant, of showing bias in favor of Hindus. Munir claimed that Christopher Beaumont deliberately misled Radcliffe to ensure a favorable outcome for India. Such accusations were symptomatic of the deep divisions and suspicions between the communities during this tumultuous period.⁷²⁴

On the contrary, Christopher Beaumont had dismissed these accusations as absurd, vehemently denying any favoritism towards a particular group. However, the most disputed issue was the Ferozepore border and the nearby headworks. On August 8, 1947, George Abell, Mountbatten's private secretary, sent a letter to Evan Jenkins, the provincial Governor, providing an initial description of the Punjab boundary. This draft indicated that the Ferozepur area and its headworks would be given to Pakistan. However, when the final decision was announced, Ferozepur was assigned to India instead. This sudden change greatly angered the Muslim League who firmly believed that Nehru and Mountbatten had pressured Radcliffe to alter his stance, leading to accusations of foul play and manipulation.⁷²⁵

Following partition, both sides made accusations in the local media, claiming that their opponents had successfully bribed Radcliffe to favor their own interests. These allegations

⁷²³ "Sir Cyril Radcliffe Asked to Keep Away from Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 8, 1947.

⁷²⁴ Mian Muhammad Sadullah, ed., *The Partition of the Punjab 1947: A Compilation of Official Documents*, vol. 1. (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications): xvii.

⁷²⁵ Nicholas Mansergh ed., *India - The Transfer of Power 1942-7*, Vol. XII (London: H.M.S.O., 1982), 346.

further fueled the animosity and distrust between the two newly formed nations. The public outcry over perceived biases and external influences shaped the narrative of partition, exacerbating tensions and making reconciliation even more challenging.⁷²⁶

O.H.K. Spate, the only Geographer in Punjab Boundary Commission

Oskar Hermann Khristian Spate, a geographer originally from London, was engaged by the Ahmadiyya group to advocate their case before the Boundary Commission. While he was there, he also helped the Muslim League in developing their argument, especially when it came to geographical aspects. He stood out as the sole expert geographer enlisted by any community for this task. Emphasizing this aspect, Fitzpatrick remarked:

When he arrived, he learned that those who had hired him were also representing the Muslim League's case in the hearings, and so, while he had been brought to India to work for the Ahmadis, he also found himself serving as advisor to the League. He worked in Lahore, out of his room at the luxurious Faletti's Hotel near the city's governmental hub, and occasionally at the home of the Pakistani statesman Muhammad Zafarullah Khan (who was himself a member of the Ahmadiyya community) where the Muslim League's delegation was based.⁷²⁷

Spate identified concerns with the functioning of the Commission. According to him, the main issue was that even though the hearings were being conducted by Indian judges in the absence of Sir Radcliffe, he would still be the one to deliver the final verdict.⁷²⁸ He also recounted an intriguing incident involving Mrs. Firoz Khan Noon's assertion that Justice Din Mohammad had received a significant sum of money, specifically 25 Lakh Rupees, from India.⁷²⁹ Zafarullah Khan mentioned in his autobiography that Spate provided him with valuable insights into the geographic situation of certain areas, which ultimately proved advantageous during the arguments in the Punjab Boundary Commission.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁶ Lord H.L. Ismay, *The Memoirs of General Lord Ismay* (New York: Viking Press, 1960), 442.

⁷²⁷ H. Fitzpatrick, "Imagining and Mapping the End of an Empire: Oskar Spate and the Partition of India and Pakistan," *Journal of Historical Geography* 66 (2019), 2.

⁷²⁸ Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Reporting the Partition of Punjab 1947: Press, Public and other Opinions* (Vanguard Publications – January 1, 2006), 265.

⁷²⁹ Ibid.

⁷³⁰ Ibid.

His overall assessment of the Radcliffe Award, was that it favored the Congress in the Punjab and the Muslim League in Bengal. He also served Muslim League as an unofficial advisor. He expressed that:

I was employed as a technical advisor by a Muslim group, the Ahmadiyya community of Qadian in Gurdaspur District; to them I owe an invaluable professional experience and much personal kindness [...] I found myself acting in effect as an unofficial advisor to the Muslim League, and considered myself perhaps on inadequate grounds as an expert witness.⁷³¹

Comparing Spates' expertise and professionalism with that of Radcliffe, Fitzpatrick noted;

Spate had more experience of the subcontinent than Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who chaired the boundary commissions for the British government. Radcliffe had neither visited India nor undertaken any serious boundary making duties during the course of his distinguished career as a lawyer and law lord.⁷³² [...] While it is possible that he was not entirely genuine in his commitment to the League [...] But it is also clear that Spate hoped his analytical expertise would have some positive political outcome, especially for the League, and a discernible influence in mitigating conflict in the region.⁷³³

Unveiling Radcliffe's Aerial Observation

Justice Din Muhammad conveyed to Zafarullah Khan that Radcliffe had organized an airplane to conduct aerial observations of the presumed boundary line. He expressed concerns over having glimpsed the instructions provided to the pilot regarding the designated flying area, which included marked maps of the boundary line. He harbored suspicions that Radcliffe had already predetermined a specific boundary and intended to verify it from the aircraft.⁷³⁴

Additionally, Din Muhammad noted that Radcliffe had extended an invitation to two committee members to accompany him on the flight which was going to take off from Walton airport. Unfortunately, due to adverse weather conditions, the aforementioned flight was unable

⁷³¹ OHK Spate, "The Partition of the Punjab and Bengal," *The Geographical Journal CX* (July-December 1947): 207.

⁷³² H. Fitzpatrick, "Imagining and Mapping the End of an Empire: Oskar Spate and the Partition of India and Pakistan," *Journal of Historical Geography* (2019),3.

⁷³³ R.P.B. Singh, *Uprooting Geographic Thoughts in India: Toward Ecology and Culture in the 21st Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 13.

⁷³⁴ Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, *Tehdis-e-Naimat* (Lahore, 1971), 506.

to proceed as planned.⁷³⁵ Din Muhammad also thought about leaving the Commission along with Justice Munir because they thought the British were showing bias. However, Zafarullah Khan advised him to talk to Jinnah first, explain the situation, and then decide according to Jinnah's advice.⁷³⁶

Notwithstanding this, Jinnah did not allow them to resign from the Commission. Instead, he directed Ch. Muhammad Ali to convey his apprehensions to Lord Ismay. Jinnah communicated that he had received disconcerting information about the Commission's activities and stated that "if the boundary actually turned out to be what these reports foreshadowed, this would have a most serious impact on the relations between Pakistan and the United Kingdom."⁷³⁷ Muhammad Ali proceeded to offer a more detailed narrative of how the situation unfolded:

I conveyed to him [Lord Ismay] the Quaid-i-Azam's message. In reply, Ismay professed complete ignorance of Radcliffe's ideas about the boundary and stated categorically that neither Mountbatten nor he himself had ever discussed the question with him. It was entirely for Radcliffe to decide; and no suggestion of any kind had been or would ever be made to him. When I plied Ismay with details of what had been reported to us, he said he could not follow me. There was a map hanging in the room and I beckoned him to the map so that I could explain the position to him with its help. There was a pencil line drawn across the map of the Punjab. The line followed the boundary that had been reported to the Quaid-i-Azam. I said that it was unnecessary for me to explain further since the line, already drawn on the map, indicated the boundary I had been talking about. Ismay turned pale and asked in confusion who had been fooling with his map.⁷³⁸

General Apprehensions

As anticipated, the Commission failed to come to a unanimous decision, leaving the destiny of millions in the hands of a single individual, Chairman Sir Cyril Radcliffe. As a matter of fact, Radcliffe had never set foot in India before and did not even participate in the public hearings. As per the author of *The Politics of the Punjab Boundary Award*, Radcliffe opted not

⁷³⁵ Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, *Tehdis-e-Naimat* (Lahore, 1971), 507.

⁷³⁶ Ibid.

⁷³⁷ Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore, 1967), 185.

⁷³⁸ Ibid.

to sit with the commission. His reasoning was that his assigned role as an umpire would only come into play if the commission could not reach a unanimous or majority decision.⁷³⁹

Even though the Radcliffe Award was prepared by August 13th, it was disclosed to the political leaders on August 16th and then shared with the public on August 17th. Strangely, this announcement came two days after India and Pakistan had already celebrated their independence. The Radcliffe Award has been a subject of intense controversy. The rationale often cited for its delayed revelation after both countries had gained independence is that Mountbatten anticipated strong reactions from the involved parties - the Muslim League, the Congress, and the Sikhs regarding the international boundary dispute. Since Mountbatten was obligated to participate in the Independence Day festivities of both nations, he considered it appropriate for the Award's announcement to occur after the official ceremonies had concluded.⁷⁴⁰

Many people thought the Commissions were a trick, and they believed Mountbatten personally decided on the new divisions. In his last report as Viceroy, Mountbatten admitted, "I regret to say that there is still a significant portion of the public in this country who firmly believe that I will ultimately make the final decision."⁷⁴¹ However, some stories suggested that Mountbatten did not control Radcliffe's decisions or the final result.⁷⁴²

The Punjab Boundary Force

In order to facilitate peace and maintain law and order, the Punjab province was divided into three divisions. The northern area encompassed the entire Rawalpindi Division, while the Central Area included Lahore and Multan Divisions, along with Ferozepur and Kangra. The

⁷³⁹ Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *The Politics of the Punjab Boundary Award*, Working Paper No. 1, (September 2000, University of Heidelberg), 6.

⁷⁴⁰ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2020), 383. (See Annex 23)

⁷⁴¹ Nicholas Mansergh ed., *India - The Transfer of Power 1942-7*, Vol. XII (London: H.M.S.O., 1982), 489.

⁷⁴² Hugh Tinker, "Pressure, Persuasion, Decision: Factors in the Partition of the Punjab, August 1947," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 36, no. 4 (1977): 695.

third Division consisted of Jalandhar Division (excluding Kangra and Ferozepur) and Ambala Division (excluding Gurgaon, which would fall under Delhi Cantonment). Frank Messervy was appointed to command all these Divisions, as announced by the General Officer Commanding Lahore. The General Officer Commanding of the Army emphasized that the troops were expected to demonstrate high levels of professionalism, serving impartially and honestly without being influenced by emotions or a desire for revenge.⁷⁴³ People familiar with the Indian Civil Service, such as Malcolm Hailey, who had a deep understanding of the challenges in Punjab, expressed concern. Hailey cautioned that Britain was in a perplexing situation, uncertain whether there would be chaos or peace.⁷⁴⁴

Due to the prevailing disturbances and violence, the Partition Council declared the establishment of the Punjab Boundary Force. Both governments committed to accepting the decisions of the Boundary Commission and ensuring the safeguarding of minorities.⁷⁴⁵ Consequently, on August 1, the Punjab Boundary Force was officially established to offer protection to the refugees.⁷⁴⁶ This decision was reached during a Partition Council meeting, which included His Excellency the Viceroy, with the representation of the future government of India by Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad. On the Muslim League side, M.A. Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan were the representatives.⁷⁴⁷

Similar methods had been witnessed in recent history, particularly when dealing with the concerns of the Sikh community, as highlighted by Chatterjee;

The Government's determination to resist Sikh attempts to seize the territory between the Ravi and the Sutlej was made explicit by ordering Major General Bruce, the Acting General Officer

⁷⁴³ *Ranjit* (Lahore), June 04, 1947.

⁷⁴⁴ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 06, 1947.

⁷⁴⁵ *Report of the Members and Awards of the Chairman of the Punjab Boundary-Commission* (Allpore: Superintendent, Government Printing, West Bengal Government Press, 1950), 303.

⁷⁴⁶ "To Safeguard Peace in the Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 25, 1947.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Commanding and Lt. General Sir Arthur Smith, the Acting Commander-in-Chief to move additional forces into the Punjab along the disputed territory between the Ravi and the Sutlej.⁷⁴⁸

Elaborating on this matter, Ishtiaq Ahmed writes;

The province which was going to face the threat of a bloodbath was the Punjab. Sir Evan Jenkins's appeals for thousands of neutral troops had been rejected by Delhi. Instead, hurriedly, on 17 July, the Punjab Boundary Force (PBF) was set up by the Partition Council. Major General Rees, commander of the 4th Division, was to be the officer responsible for the PBF and his troops were to be operational in the disturbed districts of the Punjab by about 7 or 8 August. Initially, the districts considered disturbed were Sialkot, Gujranwala, Sheikhpura, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur and Ferozepur. Later, Ludhiana was also added to the disturbed list. General Rees was to be advised by Brigadier Digamber Singh Brar (India) and Colonel Ayub Khan (Pakistan). British officers were to be present with practically each unit of the PBF.⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁸ Chhanda Chatterjee, *The Sikh Minority and the Partition of the Punjab 1920-1947* (Routledge, 2018), 210.

⁷⁴⁹ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History* (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2020), 384.

CHAPTER 04

Punjab's Story of Partition, Violence and Migration

*The weather was frightfully hot
 And a bout of dysentery kept him constantly on the trot.
 But in seven weeks it was done, the frontiers decided,
 A continent for better or worse divided.
 The next day he sailed for England, where he quickly forgot
 The case, as a good lawyer must. Return he would not,
 Afraid, as he told his club, that he might get shot.*

W.H. Auden⁷⁵⁰

*And we are here as on a darkling plain,
 Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
 Where ignorant armies clash by night.*

Matthew Arnold

Jawaharlal Nehru once described British India as being like an enormous country house in which the English were the gentry living in the best parts, with the Indians in the servants' hall: 'As in every proper country house there was a fixed hierarchy in the lower regions-butler, housekeeper, cook, valet, maid, footman, etc.-and strict precedence was observed among them. But between the upper and lower regions of the house there was, socially and politically, an impassable barrier.'⁷⁵¹

The year 1947 brought a significant transformation to the Indian subcontinent. Many factors, including politics, society, and culture, played crucial roles in shaping this historical episode. The division of Punjab had far-reaching effects, impacting the lives of countless individuals and shaping the trajectories of newly-formed nations that were just beginning to stand on their own after getting freedom from colonial rule. Punjab, with its large population and importance in politics and economics, faced a momentous division.

For decades they [Hindus and Muslims] had planned the ouster of the British masters and dreamt of an independent land. Yet as the time approached and the goal came in sight, they who had lived like close neighbors, sheltered one another, laughed and cried together for centuries, now at the realization of their dream confronted one another like enemies, thirsty for each other's blood, honor and property.⁷⁵²

⁷⁵⁰ This is a piece from W.H. Auden's poem "*Partition*" (written in 1966), which talks about how Radcliffe's actions messed up the peace on the continent. It's in a collection of Auden's poems called "*City Without Walls*," published in 1969 from London.

⁷⁵¹ Shashi Tharoor, *An Era of Darkness: The British Empire in India* (Aleph Book Company, Daryaganj, 2016), 246.

⁷⁵² Rabia Umar Ali, "The Ordeal of the Punjab 1947: Violence, Religious Rhetoric and the Role of Leadership," *Journal of Religious Studies and Philosophy* 52, no. 2 (2015):153.

Some segments of society still envisioned reconciliation, anticipating the resolution of animosity between the Muslim League and Congress, which would contribute to the stability of United India.⁷⁵³ The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) reported on certain leaders expressing similar sentiments. They leaders believed that the demarcation line to be established by the Boundary Commission would not permanently keep them divided. Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, the former Leader of the Eastern Section of the Punjab Congress Assembly Party, expressed hope that the lack of confidence and mistrust resulting from recent events would be short-lived.⁷⁵⁴

Sardar Swaran Singh, the Leader of the *Panthic Akali* Party attributed the division of India to the insistence of the Muslim League, making the partition of Punjab unavoidable. He opined that, despite heading towards an unfortunate partition, they could still be good neighbors. He also expressed that if the present mistrust could be removed, both parts could progress and prosper happily.⁷⁵⁵

Unfortunately, the decision-makers didn't fully foresee how this division might affect the region, its people, and its significance. Dr. Ambedkar criticized the British policy, stating that although the British people had always regarded the unity of India as their achievement in which they used to take pride, unfortunately, the British Parliament has now decided not to hand over a united India but to destroy that unity.⁷⁵⁶

The *Civil & Military Gazette* published an intriguing story during the passage of the Partitioning Punjab bill in the House. The majority of the members expressed sadness. The publication went:

Many members expressed sadness. Mr. Butler (Conservative): 'Punjab had one of the greatest traditions of any country or any part of the world', and that the decision had broken the heart of many Englishmen, who had served there. Godfrey Nicholson (Conservative) described the division of Punjab as nothing less than tragic: 'I believe the Punjab will within five years be

⁷⁵³ "Stability of United India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 8, 1947.

⁷⁵⁴ "Present Mistrust and Doubts", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 8, 1947.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁶ "Sowing Enmity between Dominions", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 9, 1947.

reunited. Commenting on the difficulties of the Sikhs, Nicholson added: 'As for the Sikhs I suspect they can look after themselves and will certainly do so.'⁷⁵⁷

Earlier there also had been confusing debates regarding joining of states, which part they would prefer to join, India or Pakistan. On June 19, 1947, the League's Organ newspaper, the daily *Dawn* (Karachi), reported that a number of states were considering joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. The editorial expressed that these states could expect to hold an honorable position in the new Dominion. Jinnah also emphasized a similar sentiment.⁷⁵⁸ Despite the possibility of joining Pakistan and the eagerness of the Pakistanis, all the border states ultimately chose to join India. This decision cannot be solely attributed to demographic or geographical factors but must be understood within the complex history of the League's interactions with the princes during the colonial period.⁷⁵⁹

On 1 August, Lord Mountbatten gave a luncheon to several of the leading rulers. The A.D.Cs. had helped to form virtual 'Aye' and 'No' lobbies of the rulers in accordance with their attitude to accession. The Maharajas of Patiala and of Bikaner created a diversion by passing through the 'No' lobby and then roaring with laughter. The 'No' lobby consisted of 'last-ditchers' who were inclined to execute Standstill Agreements and to mark time so far as the Instrument of Accession was concerned. To deal with them it was announced at a conference of rulers and States' ministers at Bikaner House on 1 August that the Government of India had decided that Standstill Agreements would be entered into only with those rulers who executed the Instrument of Accession.⁷⁶⁰

The Boundary Commission, entrusted with the duty of demarcating new borders, undertook extensive efforts to establish them. However, the borders it ultimately devised became a deliberate catalyst for ongoing violence and multifaceted complexities. At the core of these outcomes was an esteemed and famous lawyer, Cyril Radcliffe, stood in stark contrast to his lack of knowledge about India.

The burden of carrying out the most complex task involved in India's partition was to fall upon one lonely man laboring in June 1947 in the Dickensian gloom of his law chambers [...] Sir Cyril Radcliffe [...] the son of a wealthy sportsman, [he] was the most brilliant barrister in England.

⁷⁵⁷ "Painful Cause", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 8, 1947.

⁷⁵⁸ *Dawn*, (Karachi), July 13, 1947.

⁷⁵⁹ Copland, Ian. "The Princely States, the Muslim League, and the Partition of India in 1947." *The International History Review* 13, no. 1 (1991): 42.

⁷⁶⁰ V. P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States* (Bangalore: Reproduced by Sani H. Panhwar, 1955), 96.

Despite his encyclopedic knowledge of a vast array of subjects, however, Radcliffe knew virtually nothing about India.⁷⁶¹

Interestingly, Radcliffe, known for his uprightness and impartial judgments possessed no prior knowledge about India, rather it was his first ever visit to India which is why while informing about his arrival in Karachi, the Secretary of State for India also wrote to the Viceroy that "As newcomer to India, it would be helpful if he could be met at Karachi".⁷⁶² However, the notion that Barrister Radcliffe spent his six-weeks stay in India during July 1947 in complete seclusion, detached from any social interaction and removed from the political intricacies of the final days of British rule, was a misperception. Contrary to this belief, Radcliffe actively engaged in social interactions. He shared meals with influential figures, including Auchinleck, the Commander in Chief of the Indian Army, Lord Mountbatten, Chief Justice Sir Patrick Spens, his close friend Sir Walter Monckton, Sir Evan Jenkins, the Governor of Punjab, and other prominent figures within British Indian society.⁷⁶³

Even in Lahore, he ventured into interactions with the local Indian community. His initial inclination to reside at the Governor House with Jenkins, although discouraged due to potential misunderstandings, further underscores his immersion in local circles. Some leaders had similar concerns, and one of them was Firoz Khan Noon of AIML. Although, apparently, he trusted the Commission, but also suggested that Boundary Commissions' work should take place outside Punjab because people might not understand Sir Radcliffe talking to different groups, and that might make his decisions not seem fair. Noon shared this idea during a social gathering in Lahore, as already described.

If Sir Cyril came to Punjab and shook hands with a Sikh, the Muslims would think that he had become an Amritdhari Sikh, and if he was seen taking a cup of tea with a Muslim, the Sikhs

⁷⁶¹ Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight* (Vikaas Publishing House, 1999), 268.

⁷⁶² Political Department, "POL:10566/47", letter to Secretary of State for India and Viceroy, July 3, 1947, *India Office Records (IOR)*.

⁷⁶³ Patrick French, *Liberty or Death: India's Journey to Independence and Division* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1997), 322.

would perceive him as pro-Muslim. Considering the potential distrust and doubts, I advise Sir Cyril not to come to Punjab.⁷⁶⁴

There had been strategies and planning to acquire Lahore by almost all parties. "Hindus and Sikhs were unwilling to set up a government anywhere except in Lahore".⁷⁶⁵ Evan Jenkins, the Governor of the Punjab, advocated for both claimants to shift their East and West Punjab governments out of Lahore until the Award was formally declared.⁷⁶⁶ The *Hindustan Times* (Delhi), reported that a written statement by Setalwad, M.C. (Chief council for Congress, Punjab Boundary Commission) which clearly proposed the concept of allocating a continuous region within Punjab for the Sikhs, was conspicuously overlooked. On the contrary, the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal revealed that Sikhs were not only seeking regions in Punjab alone but they had planned for the establishment of Sikh States within Hindustan.⁷⁶⁷

Concerning Lahore, there had been several arguments about the census reports. The *Hindustan Times*, (Delhi) emphasized that Muslims comprised only 45.5% of the population and contributed Rs. 5,83,686 to the total land revenue of Rs. 12,00,759. According to census data, there were 85,714 individuals from non-Muslim communities and 75,481 Muslims. These statistics specifically pertain to the collection of land revenue.⁷⁶⁸

Justice Munir recalls an interesting perspective on Sir Cyril's wavering stance concerning Lahore. The Hindus contended that Lahore, based on factors like property, industry, education, and commerce, was predominantly a Hindu city.

Sir Cyril had also been informed by his Secretary, Mr. Beaumont, that Lahore did not fall under any irrigation system. When he communicated this impression to me, I asked him whether he had seen Lahore with this aspect in view and told him that Lahore was the greenest city in the

⁷⁶⁴ "Cyril Radcliffe Asked to Keep Away from Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 8, 1947.

⁷⁶⁵ Nicholas Mansergh, ed., *India - The Transfer of Power 1942-7*, Vol. XI (London: H.M.S.O., 1982), 117.

⁷⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁷ "Union of Sikh States", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 8, 1947.

⁷⁶⁸ *Hindustan Times* (Delhi), August 04, 1947.

Punjab. It would not be so unless it received water from the canal that flows between the cantonment and the city. If the Mughals had not watered their beautiful gardens, Lahore would have been a desolate city.⁷⁶⁹

Justice Munir also highlighted that Mr. Beaumont, an I.C.S. officer, showed pro-Hindu inclinations with Hindu associates. This raised suspicion regarding his influence on Sir Cyril's decisions. Justice Munir narrated some of his personal observations:

Whenever I went to his office, I found him poring over a large map and surrounded by Hindus. This suspicion of mine is founded on the ground that he had considerable influence on Sir Cyril and would not hesitate to mislead him.⁷⁷⁰

After exhaustive efforts and thorough discussions between the commission members, Radcliffe took the initiative to arrange a luncheon for the members of the Commission. This event occurred on August 7, 1947, at the Services Club in Simla.⁷⁷¹ Justice Munir later recalled the details surrounding this particular situation where Mr. Justice Mahajan inquired whether Radcliffe, having thoroughly reviewed the entire record and engaged in comprehensive arguments, would express his personal opinion to the members. Radcliffe's response was apologetic.

[...] the apologetic reply was that he had not made up his mind and would have to consult the Governor-General. If consultation with the Governor-General was considered by Sir Cyril to be necessary, is it beyond expectation that the Governor-General would not suggest to him some alterations in the Award.⁷⁷²

Earlier, Sir Cyril Radcliffe extended his gratitude to colleagues, lawyers, and other team members, acknowledging their invaluable contributions. Their assistance played a pivotal role in elucidating complex issues and presenting diverse arguments.

I am greatly indebted to my colleagues for indispensable assistance in the clarification of the issues and the marshalling of the arguments for different views; but it became evident in the

⁷⁶⁹ "Days to Remember", *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), June 23, 1964.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁷¹ *The Partition of the Punjab 1947: A Compilation of Official Documents*, vol. 1 (National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1983), xviii.

⁷⁷² Justice Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1960), 15.

course of our discussions that the divergence of opinion between my colleagues was so wide that an agreed solution of the boundary problem was not to be obtained.⁷⁷³

Controversies Surrounding the Draft

There were accusations backed by evidence suggesting that the last version of the draft was changed by someone before it was made public. These claims were supported by clear proof and became important topics in many discussions later on. However, there was no use in being upset about something that had already happened. Once the Award was announced, there was no other choice but to agree with it. Radcliffe personally addressed such allegations by stating:

I do not think that it is entirely accurate to refer to provisional and final awards. No award could exist until I had made the decision to submit a report to the Viceroy. Consequently, only the document incorporating that report could legitimately be termed an award. The preceding drafts, of which there were several, were exclusively drafts and nothing beyond that.⁷⁷⁴

However, additional exchanges between various sections heightened suspicions that indeed some changes were made in the draft. According to certain sources, one piece of evidence was the directive provided to the Chief Engineer of Irrigation in Punjab. The instruction was to choose a headquarters outside the Ferozepur tehsils, indicating a possible intention to place Ferozepur and its headworks on the West Punjab side. However, this narrative was altered by Nehru's letter of August 9th to the Viceroy, where he urged against including such areas in Pakistan.⁷⁷⁵

Radcliffe's residence during that time was located in New Delhi on the Viceregal estate. This choice was made to avoid any perception of influence from the Viceroy's House, where the Commission Chairman might stay. Lord Mountbatten, in particular, ensured limited

⁷⁷³ *The Partition of the Punjab 1947: A Compilation of Official Documents*, vol. 1 (National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1983), 282.

⁷⁷⁴ Tinker, Hugh. "Pressure, Persuasion, Decision: Factors in the Partition of the Punjab, 1947." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 36, no. 4 (1977), 704.

⁷⁷⁵ *The Partition of the Punjab 1947: A Compilation of Official Documents*, vol. 1 (National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1983), xxiii.

personal interactions with Sir Cyril to maintain independence. Furthermore, Lord Mountbatten declined any involvement that could have interfered with the proceedings. Nevertheless, it is evident that consultations took place between Mountbatten and Radcliffe during crucial moments. During an interview with Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, Mountbatten did admit, "I told him he was not to take defense considerations under judgment in making the Award."⁷⁷⁶ Mountbatten further revealed:

In my original discussion with him, I said, it's up to you, but basically, I hope you are going to get the right population on the right side of the line. But the line must make some sense. It is possible for people to move in small quantities to the right side of the line, but if you make it an impossible line to work along, there'll be trouble. We need the best national boundary line you can find without doing violence to the population.⁷⁷⁷

On the contrary, it is worth noting that during the announcement of the Awards, a prevailing notion in India was that Radcliffe was merely adhering to Mountbatten's counsel, thereby framing the Awards as an execution of commanded performance.⁷⁷⁸ Some British officers believed Radcliffe followed Mountbatten's instructions. Muslim members thought Mountbatten's influence favored India by revising the original Award. The commission's decisions were perceived against Pakistan.⁷⁷⁹

Mountbatten Blamed in the U.N. Security Council

The Boundary Awards, which were seen as unfair, were officially announced on August 17, 1947. This decision caused significant distress in Pakistan. The Award in Punjab generated a wave of indignation in the areas to be in Pakistan. It was regarded as extremely unfair, disgusting, abominable and one-sided.⁷⁸⁰ Although the major focus of resentment was the allocation of the Muslim majority district of Gurdaspur to India, the Punjab Boundary

⁷⁷⁶ Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Mountbatten and the Partition of India* (Colombo: Peoples Publishing House, 1982), 70.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁸ *Eastern Times* (Lahore), August 28, 1947.

⁷⁷⁹ Farooq Ahmad Dar, "Boundary Commission Award: The Muslim League Response," *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, vol.33, no. 1 (2012): 24.

⁷⁸⁰ *Pakistan Times* (Delhi), Aug 19, 1947.

Commission had also awarded to India parts of several districts of Punjab in which the population was predominantly Muslim.⁷⁸¹ Loss of Gurdaspur District was viewed as a major blow because it meant something much more than simple award of additional territory to India.⁷⁸²

On August 21, 1947, the *Dawn* strongly criticized it, labelling the situation as Territorial Murder. The source of anger lay in the belief that Pakistan should have received more land in Punjab, Bengal, and Sylhet. Despite his own disappointment, Pakistan's leader, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, encouraged people to stay resilient and accept the division of India, even if they found it unfair.⁷⁸³

Pakistan's decision to approach the international community in this manner underscored the gravity of their grievances and their commitment to seeking a resolution on this matter through diplomatic channels. In the proceedings of the United Nations Security Council, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Zafarullah Khan, accused Lord Mountbatten of playing a detrimental role in the partition of Punjab. In response to these allegations, Lord Mountbatten, clearly displeased, sought support from the British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, and the Commonwealth Secretary, Philip Noel-Baker, to counter Zafarullah's claims. In this context, Noel-Baker composed a letter addressed to Zafarullah Khan, advising him against making such accusations. He deemed it unwise and inappropriate because it could tarnish the reputation of the British leader in India, who was unable to defend himself against these allegations. Subsequently, Mountbatten received word from London that Zafarullah had abandoned his allegations concerning the Boundary Commission.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁸¹ Donald N. Wilber, *Pakistan: Yesterday and Today* (New York: Old Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1964), 216.

⁷⁸² G.W. Choudhury, *Pakistan's Relations with India 1947-1966* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1968), 53.

⁷⁸³ *Jinnah Papers*, Volume 5 (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, 1993), 381.

⁷⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

H.V. Hodson's Disclosures

While H.V. Hodson, the former Reforms Commissioner with the Government of India, was finalizing the draft of his book, *The Great Divide*, with the intention of maintaining transparency of facts, he corresponded with Francis Mudie and Radcliffe to seek clarification on the above allegations, particularly concerning the alteration of the Gurdaspur boundary. The correspondence found in the India Office indicates that there were numerous letters exchanged between Hodson, Francis Mudie, and Radcliffe for this specific purpose. In connection with this matter, Francis Mudie also approached a Pakistan Government official, seeking assistance regarding any available sketch or fact to be provided to Mr. Hodson.⁷⁸⁵

He conveyed:

One Hodson, formerly the Reforms Commissioner with the Government of India [...] is writing a book on the transfer of power in India and has sent me a draft of certain bits which concern me. He is not too complimentary about me in certain passages, but what irritates me is his account of the last-minute change of boundary, which transferred two Ferozepur tehsils from Pakistan to India.⁷⁸⁶

Then he added on further:

As you probably remember, I had received a map from Abbott, who had obtained it from Abell, which showed these tehsils in Pakistan. A few days later, a message came from Delhi to "Eliminate salient," i.e., the two tehsils from Pakistan. The accusation in Pakistan was, of course, that Mountbatten, or someone else, had influenced Radcliffe to alter his award. This, however, has always been denied, and we have been told that Mountbatten had no dealings at all with Radcliffe. In any case, Hodson pretends that the charge was of no importance because Pakistan has refused to publish the map. I enclose a copy of my reply to Hodson, which will, I hope, make the position clearer. Obviously, Beaumont or Radcliffe must have a copy of the note Beaumont wrote or his update when he sent it to Abell, and it is really for them to produce it.⁷⁸⁷

Requesting S. Ghias ul Din Ahmad for tracing the originals, he further wrote:

I gave the map to Liaquat, and it should be either in the Cabinet papers or in Liaquat's private papers. Do you think that you could institute some inquiries to ascertain where it is? The matter is of some importance, and I don't see why what went on should not be exposed.⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁵ Letter to S. Ghias ul Din Ahmad by Francis Mudie, dated 15th August 1968, India Office Record, MSS EUR F164/63.

⁷⁸⁶ Letter to S. Ghias ul Din Ahmad by Francis Mudie, dated 15th August 1968, India Office Record, MSS EUR F164/63.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid.

The response from Mr. Ghias ul Din Ahmed, is indeed illuminating, indicating that the published facts by Chaudhri Mohammad Ali and Dr. G.W. Choudhury had not been contested up to that point. The letter received by Francis from Ghias ul Din Ahmed read:

The sketch map mentioned in your letter, along with the accompanying descriptive note, is currently in the possession of the Pakistan Government. However, they express reluctance to provide it to a private individual, Mr. Hodson, as they are hesitant to rekindle a controversy that might prove embarrassing to H.M.G. The Pakistan Government aligns with your suggestion that Mr. Hodson should approach either Lord Radcliffe or Christopher Beaumont for insights into this map. It is worth noting that this map has already been featured in recent publications by Chaudhri Mohammad Ali and Dr. G.W. Choudhury, and the contents therein have not been contested.⁷⁸⁹

It appears that Hodson reached out to Sir Evans Jenkins as well during a similar timeframe. While expressing gratitude to Francis Mudie and reflecting on this matter, he also conveyed his dissatisfaction with Radcliffe's decision to destroy all the papers.

Radcliffe has not only been absolutely mum on the subject [...] but also deliberately destroyed all papers leading up to his awards before he left India. The pity of it is that this particular draft ever saw the light of day. To my knowledge, the map has never been published, but I may be able to hear more about it from Abell or Beaumont. Your recollection of the variation between it and the award conforms with something that I had from Sir Zafrullah Khan. Sir Evan Jenkins's memory was hazy on the point. He recollected having shown you the map since you were staying with him about that time, but I take it from you that it was Abbott and not he who showed it to you.⁷⁹⁰

Hodson also expressed curiosity about how the confidential letter became public knowledge, particularly considering Radcliffe's purported destruction of all documents before leaving. He pondered whether it was Zafarullah Khan or Liaquat Ali Khan who might have played a role in this revelation.⁷⁹¹

Jinnah shared the trauma felt by his countrymen but urged them to bear it with courage and fortitude:

The division of India is now finally and irrevocably effected. No doubt, we feel that the carving out of this great independent sovereign Muslim State has suffered injustices. We have been squeezed in as much as it was possible and the latest blow that we have received was the Award of the Boundary Commission. It is an unjust, incomprehensible and even perverse Award. It may

⁷⁸⁹ *Letter to Francis Mudie by S. Ghias ul Din Ahmad, dated 19th November 1968*, India Office Record, MSS EUR F164/63.

⁷⁹⁰ *Letter to Francis Mudie by H.V. Hodson, dated 26th August 1968*, India Office Record, MSS EUR F164/63.

⁷⁹¹ *Letter to Francis Mudie by H.V. Hodson, dated 27th January 1969*, India Office Record, MSS EUR F164/63.

be wrong, unjust and perverse and it may not be a judicial but political Award, but we had agreed to abide by it and it is binding upon us. As honorable people, we must abide by it.⁷⁹²

Announcement Date of the Award and Subsequent Delays

It is evident that the Award was ready by August 9th. By that time, both the Viceroy and the Governor of Punjab, along with their secretaries, already knew what was in it.⁷⁹³ The notes from the Viceroy's Staff meeting on August 9, 1947, at 11:00 a.m. also confirm this. These notes say that Sir Cyril Radcliffe would be ready to announce the Award of the Punjab Boundary Commission that evening. In the same meeting, the Viceroy remembered that he had asked for the award to be ready by August 10th.⁷⁹⁴

After that, there was some thinking about whether it was a good idea to release the Award right away. On that same day, August 9th, Lord Mountbatten had a private talk with Sir Cyril Radcliffe. H. V. Hodson explains this in more detail.

He [Mountbatten] asked whether Sir Cyril could hold his reports until after 15th August. Sir Cyril replied firmly that he could not delay beyond the 13th at the very latest. The Viceroy agreed that the reports should be sent to his office on the 13th.⁷⁹⁵

However, the Award was officially signed by Radcliffe on August 12th and transmitted to Mountbatten on August 13th. The Award's public release took place on the afternoon of August 16th. Providing further context, Mountbatten articulated:

When I realized, he [Cyril Radcliffe] was going to produce the thing so close to the final day, I knew that whatever he did was going to be violently attacked by both sides, if it came out on the day of Independence. It would kill any hope of good feeling and goodwill. I felt it would be much better to let them have the joy of their Independence Day, and then face the misery after the situation. It couldn't be on the day itself; it might have been a day or two earlier. If it had been five days or a week earlier it might have helped. A day or two wouldn't have made any difference [eventually].⁷⁹⁶

⁷⁹² *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 02, 1947; M. Rafique Afzal, *Speeches and Statements of the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1976), 432.

⁷⁹³ H. V. Hodson, *The Great Divide* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1969), 351.

⁷⁹⁴ *The Partition of the Punjab 1947: A Compilation of Official Documents*, vol. 1 (National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 1983), xxiii.

⁷⁹⁵ H. V. Hodson, *The Great Divide* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1969), 351.

⁷⁹⁶ Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Mountbatten and the Partition of India* (Colombo: Peoples Publishing House, 1982), 69.

According to the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), the Boundary Commission for Punjab was supposed to announce its decision on August 12th. The Eastern Punjab Government was asked to prepare for possible administrative changes:

It is learned that the Boundary Commission for the Punjab is expected to announce its decision on August 12. Meanwhile [...] the Eastern Punjab Government has been asked to make provisions for the appointment of Deputy Commissioners for Montgomery, Lahore, and Gurdaspur so that, if the Commission's award goes in favor of the Indian Union, administrative personnel will be readily available...⁷⁹⁷

The Remarkable Encounter

Chaudhri Muhammad Ali recounted an episode where he met Lord Ismay on behalf of Quaid-i-Azam, delivering his message on August 10th. He additionally described envisioning the room where this encounter took place. He said that in that room, there was a map on the wall. Chaudhri Muhammad Ali showed Ismay a line drawn with a pencil on the map. This line marked the border of Punjab, which matched what he had talked about with Quaid-i-Azam. He didn't need to explain more because the line on the map was just like the one, they talked about.⁷⁹⁸

The specifics of this incident were also documented in Zafarullah Khan's autobiography, *Tehdis-e-Naimat*. He had been chosen by the leader of the AIML to represent the Muslim League in the Boundary Commission proceedings.⁷⁹⁹ Furthermore, he added to the above conspiracy by Ismay, stating, "Curiously enough, when the Award was announced, the boundary followed the line described in the 'slip of paper,' except for one change, again, adverse to Pakistan, which I shall discuss later regarding a specific issue."⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁷ "Boundary Award on August 12", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 7, 1947.

⁷⁹⁸ H. V. Hodson, *The Great Divide* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1969), 351.

⁷⁹⁹ Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, *The Reminiscences of Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan*, interviews conducted by Professors Wayne Wilcox and Aislie T. Embree for Columbia University, with an introduction by Prof. Dr. Pervez Perwazi (2004), 146.

⁸⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 151.

Understanding the gravity of his 'achievement', Radcliffe left India before the Awards were disclosed and never set foot again. When asked, he stated that he wouldn't come back to India, even if the citizens of the country desired it. He held the conviction that he would be met with immediate hostility by those who had suffered due to his unfair decisions.⁸⁰¹ According to some, he also disposed of all his documents associated with the Boundary Commission to ensure that the truth would never become publicly known.⁸⁰²

He had destroyed his papers because he wanted to maintain the validity of the Awards. Probably, he knew that exposure of the facts would hurt the legality of the Awards. In an interview with a newspaper a few months before his death, he did show his dissatisfaction about what happened in the Punjab in 1947.⁸⁰³

Significant Developments in Governance and Leadership

The Governance landscape of both nations underwent substantial changes. During this period, five new Indian Governors were appointed to replace the outgoing British Governors, marking a shift in colonial-era leadership. This transition included notable figures such as Mr. Rajagopalachari, who assumed the role of Governor for West Bengal, and Dr. B. C. Ray, who took charge of the Eastern Provinces. Simultaneously, Pakistan saw the appointment of new Governors for its provinces, including Sardar Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah for Sind and Sir Francis Mudie for the NWFP.⁸⁰⁴

Around August 5, 1947, there were some really important changes that happened in the Punjab administration, and these changes had a greater impact. The East and West Punjab Governments started working separately, a big shift in how things were run. They had planned ahead, so the people in charge of these governments had their own places in the Civil Secretariat in Lahore. This arrangement continued until one of the Secretaries left after the

⁸⁰¹ Leonard Mosley, *The Last Days of the British Raj* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961), 200.

⁸⁰² Andrew Roberts, *Eminent Churchillians* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994), 97.

⁸⁰³ Farooq Ahmad Dar, "Boundary Commission Award: The Muslim League Response," *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, vol.33, no. 1 (2012): 24.

⁸⁰⁴ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 1, 1947.

Boundary Commission Award was announced. Notably, the East Punjab Government reacted to these changes by closing its offices in Lahore on August 10. They moved their main operations to Simla and started again on August 14.⁸⁰⁵

At the same time, important changes were happening in Punjab's leadership as well. Sir Evan Jenkins, the final British Governor of Punjab, was expected to finish his duties around midnight on 14th August. Reports hinted at a new Governor for East Punjab taking over soon. This new Governor's appointment was still being discussed among the relevant people, and they were expected to start working on the 15th. The process of putting together a government team for East Punjab was also quite complex. It was clear that this process would take time, even after the new Governor started. People who knew a lot about this said that the new Governor would need to ask the leader of the biggest party to help with making a government team. So, the new government team would really only start taking shape after August 15.⁸⁰⁶

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that significant changes in the compensation for Indian Union Governors were also noted. A flat rate of Rs. 5,500 a month, exclusive of State expenses, was established as the salary for these Governors. However, British Governors of Bombay and Madras continued to receive their old scale pay for the remainder of their tenure. Furthermore, there were signs pointing to the possibility of fixing the Governor General's pay at Rs. 10,000 per month.⁸⁰⁷

Government Offices Relocation amid Independence

As Independence Day drew closer on the horizon, a sense of urgency permeated the air. It became increasingly apparent that the celebration of Pakistan Dominion independence was

⁸⁰⁵ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 29, 1947.

⁸⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰⁷ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 7, 1947.

a pivotal moment in the nation's history. In light of this significant milestone, the Pakistan Government deemed it essential to orchestrate the meticulous relocation of its staff from the Delhi office to Karachi. The press went:

The staff from the Finance, Post and Telegraphs, and Public Health Departments have arrived today via the Pakistan Special train. This contingent comprises approximately 2,500 members of the Pakistan Government who have reached Karachi thus far. In light of the Pakistan Dominion independence celebrations, the Sind government has officially declared August 11 and 15 as public holidays.⁸⁰⁸

In spite of these circumstances, concerns about housing shortages in Delhi persisted.

Despite widespread expectations that the partition would alleviate Delhi's housing shortage, the crisis worsened, as noted by an official from the Works, Mines, and Power Department. Approximately 5,750 officers and clerks had left for Karachi, but this exodus was overshadowed by a larger influx of over 3,055 individuals from Pakistan. These newcomers included employees from various departments who chose to stay in India. Additionally, around 150 officers and 1,500 clerks had recently arrived in Delhi from Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Quetta, and smaller stations.⁸⁰⁹

Joining of New Offices

Mr. Jinnah expressed gratitude to all friends and well-wishers who had sent him messages of greetings and good wishes on the establishment of Pakistan. He regretted that due to the overwhelming number of messages received, he could not respond individually to each one. He cited the immense workload related to the division of India as the reason for this.⁸¹⁰

In his farewell message to the citizens of Delhi, Mr. Jinnah appealed to everyone to live in peace in this historic city. He emphasized the need to bury the past and start anew as two independent sovereign states, Hindustan and Pakistan, while extending his wishes for prosperity and peace for Hindustan.

I bid farewell to the citizens of Delhi amongst whom I had many friends of all communities and I earnestly appeal to everyone to live in this great and historic city with peace. The past must be buried and let us start afresh as two independent sovereign States of Hindustan and Pakistan.⁸¹¹

⁸⁰⁸ "Pakistan Govt's Karachi Move ", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 6, 1947.

⁸⁰⁹ "Housing Shortage in Delhi to be Worse ", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 6, 1947.

⁸¹⁰ "I Wish Hindustan Prosperity and Peace", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 8, 1947.

⁸¹¹ Ibid.

The *Civil & Military Gazette* featured a noteworthy report concerning the property of Jinnah, known as Jinnah House at 10 Aurangzeb Road. This property, previously sold to the Indian industrialist Dalmiya for 300,000, was currently repurposed as an office for the Anti Cow Slaughter League.⁸¹²

Upon Jinnah's arrival in Karachi, he received an immense and enthusiastic welcome. A vast gathering at Mauripur airfield warmly greeted Jinnah, Pakistan's Governor-General-Designate, and their unwavering enthusiasm prompted him and his sister [Fatima Jinnah] to acknowledge their excited reception. Following this, a procession of hundreds of vehicles stretched for three miles, trailing Jinnah as he traversed a 15-mile route to reach Government House. Along this path, thousands of citizens waved League flags and chanted slogans in celebration. Subsequently, at Government House, Jinnah conducted an inspection of a Guard of Honor, and the occasion was marked by the hoisting of the Muslim League flag, generating widespread celebration throughout Karachi.⁸¹³

Press Accounts of Violence: Reporting on Disturbances in Punjab

In the backdrop of political transformations, and the impending formation of Pakistan and Hindustan, several regions in Punjab, including Lahore, Multan, and Rawalpindi, experienced outbreaks of communal violence. The nature of these riots bore historical parallels to conflicts that had surfaced during the 1920s and 1930s. Key to understanding these disturbances was the opposition of Hindus and Sikhs to the establishment of a Muslim League regime in Punjab.

An article published in the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) raised significant concerns about the resurgence of communal tensions in Punjab. This unsettling development was

⁸¹² *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 10, 1947.

⁸¹³ *Ibid.*

symbolically termed as "Shaitanistan," signifying the potential failure in achieving the envisioned Pakistan and Hindustan and the looming specter of persistent disorder.⁸¹⁴ Despite the broader acceptance of Lord Mountbatten's Plan by major political parties, communal issues in Punjab resurfaced as a formidable threat. The newspaper explored the underlying factors contributing to the communal discord and underscores the need for a united response. It emphasized the imperative for individuals, regardless of their religious affiliations, to stand together, asserting the primacy of humanity and unity over divisive forces.⁸¹⁵

Tension began resurging in April and escalated significantly by the second week of May. The Intelligence Agencies meticulously documented these concerning developments, which Punjab's Governor promptly communicated to Delhi through telegrams and extensive reports. Oddly, Mountbatten seemed unconcerned about these reports. Despite the various administrative measures undertaken, such as the formation of a Punjab Boundary Force, they ultimately proved woefully inadequate in addressing the mounting crisis. The assumption that the partition of Punjab wouldn't entail the large-scale migration of populations was entirely unrealistic. Punjab's Governors had cautioned against the likelihood of violence. It is worth noting that during this timeframe, the progression of violence extended from Lahore and Amritsar to other urban centers, eventually reaching the rural regions.⁸¹⁶

The Punjab housed a significant Muslim population in the West and Sikh and Hindu populations in the East. Following the June Plan's announcement, the British Government established a Commission to delineate the boundaries of Pakistan. This decision led to widespread violence, riots, and communal clashes between Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. The situation escalated as the partition approached, with devastating consequences. As of 1946,

⁸¹⁴ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 01, 1947.

⁸¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸¹⁶ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (2012), 218.

Nehru believed that once the British left, the communal issues in India would be resolved. However, this turned out to be wrong, and he wasn't the only one who thought this way. Many other important leaders at that time shared a similar view.⁸¹⁷

Jinnah also didn't seriously consider the possibility of violence during partition. Even when a League activist tried to convince him in November 1946 that the Muslim League should gather armed Muslims to protect the community in case of communal violence, Jinnah wasn't convinced and turned down the idea. Instead, he told the Punjab Muslims to focus on restoring peace and order. He believed that once stability was regained, they could work again towards setting up a popular administration in the province. Jinnah hoped that the positive actions of the Punjab Muslims would encourage cooperation from Hindus and Sikhs.⁸¹⁸

But the situation turned out to be different as expected by Jinnah and other leaders. There were mass riots and killings. During these riots, countless individuals were forced to flee their homes, resulting in a tragic loss of life. The gravity of the situation became apparent when, despite the anticipation of freedom following the announcement of the 3rd June plan, the entire week surrounding this declaration was marred by violence and preemptive measures taken by the authorities both before and after the announcement.⁸¹⁹ In fact, the cycle of violence did not stop throughout this period. To address the violent unrest, Punjab was divided into three military zones. Police and troops were instructed to shoot lawbreakers on sight, even without prior warning. This directive applied to areas including Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundhur, Ferozepur, Lyallpur, and Delhi.⁸²⁰

⁸¹⁷ Nehru, Jawaharlal, and Sarvepalli Gopal. *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography*. (Oxford University Press, 1989), 175.

⁸¹⁸ Farooq Ahmad Dar, *Communal Riots in the Punjab, 1947* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2003), 67.

⁸¹⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), May 30, 1947.

⁸²⁰ "Stringent Measures to Ensure Peace", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 1, 1947.

Moreover, the use of heavy vehicles, armored vans, and similar means of transportation was prohibited. Additional troops were deployed in Lahore and other major cities to quell the unruly mobs, as there were grave concerns about potential damage to the railway system and trains. Despite all these stringent measures, violent mobs persisted, resulting in numerous casualties, the burning of houses, and even the stabbing of some citizens. Consequently, curfews were imposed in these cities at various times to maintain order.⁸²¹

The press was filled with numerous reports of violence, mobs, houses on fire, killings, robberies, and other related incidents. Lahore experienced intense communal clashes, while a similar situation unfolded in Amritsar, where curfews were imposed intermittently for over 36 hours. Numerous shops and houses were set ablaze, and the postal system came to a halt. However, reports of fires and fire brigades dominated the news. The prevailing fear reached such heights that only a few government employees dared to show up for work. The fires also disrupted the electricity system, leading to scorching days and darker nights.⁸²²

To address the escalating violence and disorder, specific regions of Punjab were placed under curfew during the initial week of July. The impact of those curfew measures and the resulting state of tranquility in the affected areas were extensively reported by the press. According to the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), in an effort to quell violence and disorderly crowds, specific areas of Lahore were placed under curfew. This measure led to a state of tranquility.⁸²³

The *Hindustan Times*, (Delhi) reported about the eruption of violence on July 8, in Amritsar, Rawalpindi, and Lahore, resulting in the imposition of curfews in Amritsar and Rawalpindi. Other regions of Punjab also witnessed numerous instances of violence. For

⁸²¹ "More Precautions to Check Disturbances", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), June 2, 1947.

⁸²² *Ranjit* (Lahore), June 04, 1947.

⁸²³ "Rawalpindi Isolated from the World", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 19, 1947.

example, in Ballabhgarh, [a district in Haryana], there were reports of Jat attacks on 13 villages. A report mentioned a gathering in Tigaon on June 30th, where Jats from 300 villages had assembled. This village was notable for its high number of ex-servicemen.⁸²⁴ In nearby Gurgaon, even though the primary instigators of the riots were from the Jats of the region and from Bharatpur [in Rajasthan] and Alwar, the Muslims in the vicinity still depended on these same Jats for their security.⁸²⁵

On July 13, another significant outbreak of violence transpired in Lahore with 15 instances of severe arson and looting, along with 22 incidents of serious fires reported in a single day. In the Garhshankar area of Hoshiarpur, a substantial communal clash erupted on July 19, leading to 20 fatalities. This conflict was triggered by the abduction of a woman from one community, which prompted retaliation from the other side.⁸²⁶

The occurrence of such violence and disturbances persisted even following the declaration of independence. Punjab experienced numerous and strict curfews, bringing all movement to a standstill. The *Civil & Military Gazette* reported regarding Rawalpindi that the city had been entirely isolated from the outside world.

No trains have made their way here from the Lahore direction since Thursday night. However, train services between Rawalpindi and Lala Musa and Rawalpindi and Peshawar continue to operate without disruption. Furthermore, no mail or newspapers have been received in the city for the past two days.⁸²⁷

During these troubled times, it was not just the official actions and the presence of important figures that made a difference. Local communities also played a crucial role in calming tensions and promoting unity. In Gurdaspur, they organized a week dedicated to communal harmony. Similarly, different neighborhoods in Amritsar formed their own

⁸²⁴ *Hindustan Times*, (Delhi), July 9, 1947.

⁸²⁵ *Dawn*, (Karachi), June 19, 1947.

⁸²⁶ *Hindustan Times*, (Delhi), July 20, 1947.

⁸²⁷ "Lahore Continues Quiet", *Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore)*, July 01, 1947.

community peace committees. These grassroots efforts were vital in trying to bring back normalcy and reduce tensions in the affected areas. A joint committee composed of Nawab Iftikhar Mamdot, Iftikharudin, Bhim Sen Sachar, Gopichand Bhargava, Lehri Singh, and Jaswant Singh Duggal journeyed to Gujranwala on July 12th to make a plea for peace. Another committee with Governor Jenkins as Chairman had already been established. At the grassroots level, numerous smaller organizations endeavored to restore normalcy.⁸²⁸

The Government, in its efforts, tried to establish a strong position by enforcing collective fines and recovering them as land revenue, a method applied in Multan. Nevertheless, this approach was swiftly invalidated by the court. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), published:

Sheikh Mohammad Akbar, Sub-Judge of Multan, issued an interim injunction suspending the collection of the collective fine imposed on the Muslims of Multan in connection with the [...] disturbances. The injunction was issued on a civil suit filed by the Muslim League, Multan, on behalf of the Muslims of Multan, who alleged that the fine was being realized without proper notice.⁸²⁹

August Turmoil: Curfews and Military Mobilization in Punjab

In August, as Punjab approached closer to partition, it started experiencing an escalation in violent riots and disturbances. Key areas such as Lahore, Amritsar, Lyallpur, and Gujranwala were hotspots for these riots. Concurrently, the government was taking significant measures to quell the violence and restore peace. On August 6th, Amritsar and Lyallpur authorities took decisive action to restore order and tranquility in the city by imposing a strict 24 and 36-hour curfew respectively. This decision in Lyallpur was prompted by the recent occurrence of two alarming bomb attacks and eight violent stabbings, events that had sent shockwaves throughout the city. The primary objectives of the curfew were to prevent further violence and to guarantee

⁸²⁸ *Tribune* (Lahore), July 1, 1947.

⁸²⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 24, 1947.

the safety of the city's residents. Local law enforcement agencies enforced the curfew with rigor, and citizens were earnestly advised to remain indoors and cooperate fully with the authorities during this crucial period. Additionally, the military was mobilized to help maintain peace and order.⁸³⁰

During the turmoil in Lahore, the Governor responded decisively to the increasing communal tensions by creating a dedicated tribunal. This newly formed tribunal operated under the legal framework of the Punjab Special Tribunal Act and had the specific mandate of accelerating the trials related to the district's riots.⁸³¹

According to the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), in Jullundur, a significant number of lives were lost as armed gangs conducted raids, resulting in a devastating toll of 18 fatalities and 14 injuries. In response to the escalating unrest, authorities imposed a curfew, yet tensions persisted. While in Amritsar, in contrast, experienced a relatively calm situation, but Kathu Chak faced a tragic raid that claimed the lives of eight individuals. The region also witnessed additional casualties due to shootings, stabbings, and arson incidents. Meanwhile, Calcutta reported three casualties and a series of distressing events, including shop looting and bomb attacks, leading to several arrests. Although there were some assaults and attacks, fortunately, no casualties were reported in these instances. But Howrah had seven reported incidents, including kidnappings, shootings, and cases of arson. During investigations, authorities recovered weapons, and multiple arrests were made in connection with these incidents.⁸³²

Likewise, there were several instances of rioting and arson in various regions of India. In the state of Rampur, a violent mob set fire to the high court, tragically resulting in the loss of several lives. Reports indicate that these disturbances were primarily attributed to Muslim

⁸³⁰ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 7, 1947.

⁸³¹ *Ibid.*

⁸³² "Armed Gangs Raid", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 5, 1947.

communities in the state who had been engaged in such protests ever since the state officially joined the Indian Constituent Assembly.

Since the first week of June, 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. C. 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 organizing meetings and processions. Meetings and 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 August which led to the arrest of some of the office-bearers of the Muslim Conference.⁸³³

The Communal unrest in Lahore persisted without respite. Lahore had consistently posed challenges for law enforcement authorities. As partition approached, Lahore experienced significant incidents of arson and violence, leading to extended city-wide curfews. Specifically, on August 11, within a 24-hour period, there were 48 reported stabbing cases, resulting in 11 fatalities. Additionally, several other crimes occurred during this period. In contrast, Amritsar remained relatively calm and peaceful, while the Governor of Punjab found it necessary to designate the Gurdaspur district as a dangerously disturbed area.

By midday on Monday, the communal situation in Lahore had worsened, prompting the district authorities to have issued orders for a 14-hour curfew in the entire walled city from 1 p.m. As the day had progressed, the situation had further deteriorated, and the district magistrate had placed the whole city, except for the Civil Lines and Mughalpura police stations under curfew from 8 p.m. until 6 a.m. on Tuesday morning. According to reports received up to 7 p.m. on Monday, 48 cases of stabbing had already been recorded, with 11 of these having proved fatal. Additionally, seven fires had occurred throughout the city up to 7 p.m.⁸³⁴

Sialkot, a city renowned for its surgical instruments and E.P.N.S. (Electro-Plated Nickel Silver) products, also fell victim to the unrest. Until August 12, 1947, the city enjoyed prosperity and its residents lived contented lives. However, on August 13, serious communal riots erupted in the city, meticulously orchestrated by mobs numbering in the thousands. Since then, both life and property remained in jeopardy. The 13th, 14th, and 15th witnessed complete

⁸³³ "Rioting and Arson in Rampur", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 6, 1947.

⁸³⁴ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 12, 1947.

chaos and widespread destruction, reducing this once-thriving city to ruins. From August 16 to the 24th, things were a bit calmer, but starting on the 25th, there were more cases of fires and people being attacked with knives. The city has been under a curfew for 24 hours a day since the 27th.⁸³⁵

Punjab Railway Routes Plagued by Communal Unrest and Looting

The severity of the situation was evident through the extensive destruction inflicted upon the railway network. Reports of mobs causing disruptions, especially on train journeys between Delhi and Lahore, pointed to a deeply troubling scenario. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), described the journey between Lahore and Delhi as wholly Insecure, emphasizing the risky nature of train travel in the area.

A press release from the Director of Public Relations in West Punjab highlighted the insecure nature of train travel in those areas due to communal attacks involving murder and looting. The situation did not show any signs of improvement, and railway passengers, especially Muslims, were at risk. Consequently, the railway service connecting Delhi and Bhatinda was temporarily halted due to the recurring disruptions.⁸³⁶

Noteworthy among these incidents is one in which a mob intercepted a train traveling between Lahore and Badamibagh railway stations, resulting in the unfortunate fatalities of three passengers and incurring some injuries among the assailants. Furthermore, the *Punjab Mail* enroute to Lahore encountered two separate episodes of hold-ups, one transpiring in Faridkot and the other conducted by members of a distinct community during the course of its journey, thereby engendering a substantial number of casualties.⁸³⁷

In another report, the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), highlighted even a worse situation in Sialkot, where since August 13th, train services were not operating smoothly, and there was a high level of tension, as evident from the significant losses incurred:

⁸³⁵ "Harrowing Tales of Mass Murder in Sialkot", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 31, 1947.

⁸³⁶ Ibid.

⁸³⁷ "Delhi-Lahore Journeys 'Wholly Insecure'", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 24, 1947.

1. The train which was coming from Wazirabad to Sialkot was stopped in the way, and general slaughter and looting took place. All Hindus and Sikhs were killed, except about 50 persons who were seriously injured.
2. On August 15 and on the 25, the trains leaving Sialkot for Jammu carrying Hindu and Sikh refugees was derailed, causing some casualties.
3. Two more trains coming from Wazirabad on the 15th and 18th were received at Sialkot with several dead bodies of Hindus and Sikhs, and still several bodies had been disposed of in the way in the Upper Chenab Canal by *Goondas*.
4. There were more than 15,000 Hindus and Sikhs in the city, but now hardly 10,000, including men in the Cantonment and in refugee camps, remain. ⁸³⁸

Subsequently, there were several instances of widespread destruction of equipment and factories. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), provided a detailed account:

- (a) Destruction of more than 12 factories in which several thousand workers were employed. Rubber Mills, the National Rubber Mills, Messrs. Munshi Ram Giani Chand's Mills, Northern India Rubber Mills, Messrs. Balwant Singh Grain Merchants (worth about Rs. 3 lakhs) were burnt to ashes.
 - (b) About 300 shops, including the Delhi Cloth Mills, Bhabra Bazar, and many houses in all picked localities were similarly destroyed.
- Now the trouble has spread from Wazirabad to all rural areas, and there is complete chaos. ⁸³⁹

Mass Migrations

Another challenge was the mass migrations. People were very conscious about this, and they knew that this would result in disastrous situations. This wave of violence was further compounded by the phenomenon of mass migrations, where millions of people from various religious communities were forced to leave their homes and seek refuge in safer regions due to the escalating communal tensions and violence. Mass migrations became a dire consequence of these conflicts, uprooting countless individuals and families and exacerbating the already devastating human suffering in the region. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) reported that:

Communal tensions had led ordinary working individuals, businesses, and others to seek refuge across the border. Many in Pakistan had looked towards Hindustan as a place of sanctuary, mirroring the movement of Muslims towards Pakistan. Despite assurances from the authorities [...] to protect minority communities, significant population movements had already occurred. It was unrealistic to expect these refugees to seamlessly integrate into their new environments without causing some inconvenience to the existing population. The concern then was that this two-way migration between the Dominions might persist beyond August 15, leading to continued instability, which could have had detrimental effects on trade and industry. Already, conditions in some Punjab cities were unsatisfactory, affecting land values and trade prospects. ⁸⁴⁰

⁸³⁸ "Harrowing Tales of Mass Murder in Sialkot", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 31, 1947.

⁸³⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁰ "The Exodus drama", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 07, 1947.

Furthermore, the situation continued to deteriorate, with the ominous clouds of fear growing darker by the day. The predominant fear was the potential for large-scale violence, abductions, or other crimes, reminiscent of past incidents.

The ongoing exodus also fanned the flames of communal tensions. To ensure peace and prosperity for the people, steps had to be taken to address the growing threat of mass migration. In the years to come, individuals who found conditions unfavorable might have sought new homes or occupations in either Dominion. The ongoing panic-driven exodus had already created dire economic conditions for those ill-equipped to deal with them, and it was debatable whether many relief organizations, both past and present, exacerbated the problem rather than alleviating it.⁸⁴¹

In addressing the topic of migration, the *Civil & Military Gazette* documented instances of sudden disappearance and distress experienced by families. Specifically, it reported on the unanticipated departure of a Hindu librarian from the Punjab Public Library in Lahore. Remarkably, the librarian left without prior notice, taking with them the keys to the library, and their whereabouts remained unknown for an extended period.⁸⁴²

The persistent fears of mass migrations did not disappear even once; instead, they intensified following the announcement of independence. By that time, the refugee crisis had escalated significantly in both Punjabs. Had the two Governments not managed to restore confidence promptly, they could have faced the challenge of mass migration of minorities from one region to another. There were also accounts of significant population shifts in Lahore, with reports indicating that the city experienced substantial mass migrations, leading to a drastic reduction in its usual population from 300,000 to a mere 10,000.⁸⁴³

In fact, it had been conveyed to Pandit Nehru that it would have been inadvisable to promote the evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs from Lahore, as this action would have led to the closure of businesses. The West Punjab Government also encountered difficulties in managing

⁸⁴¹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 07, 1947.

⁸⁴² *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 20, 1947.

⁸⁴³ "Exchange of Refugees", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 20, 1947.

the growing influx of evacuees from Amritsar. Subsequently, a decision was made by Liaquat and Nehru to exchange the Deputy High Commissioners. A joint board of Ministers from both provinces was established to address and combat crime within their respective territories.⁸⁴⁴

Likewise, while addressing serious concerns regarding mass migration, Nehru exclaimed:

We have attempted to discourage mass migrations due to the significant problems and suffering they entail. However, given the circumstances, there is a need to consider a substantial exchange of populations. This issue will be discussed, and it is preferable to conduct such exchanges in an organized manner with government support rather than the current chaotic approach. Acknowledging this could provide relief for those seeking to migrate. We are prepared to offer assistance and facilities, despite the formidable nature of the challenge.⁸⁴⁵

It was also decided to withdraw the non-Muslim units of the Punjab Boundary Force from Lahore.

The Boundary Force will largely operate in the countryside, especially on the border of the two provinces [...] Additionally, two liaison officers, one representing each province, were designated to work in Lahore and Amritsar. Their role was to facilitate the coordination of relief, rehabilitation efforts, and, if required, the evacuation of individuals determined to migrate.⁸⁴⁶

The Pakistan Army took on the task of evacuating refugees from East Punjab and managed the transportation required for their relocation to various districts, as well as for the movement of food supplies and other essentials needed in refugee camps. An office was established at the Residency Building, located near the Canal Bridge on the Mall in Lahore. The army officers collaborated with officials from the West Punjab Government to plan the movement of convoys. To complement the army's vehicles and the private trucks requisitioned by the West Punjab Government, the Frontier and Sindh Provinces, along with Bahawalpur State, agreed to provide motor lorries. The *Civil & Military Gazette* reported:

According to plans formulated at a conference of officials on Saturday, each convoy going to East Punjab will carry one official and one representative of the Muslim League from the locality where evacuation is to be conducted. This will assist the Army in its evacuation work in East Punjab. The West Punjab Government has already appointed chief liaison officers, one each in Batala, Amritsar, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepur, and Jullundur.⁸⁴⁷

⁸⁴⁴ "To Restore Peace in the Two Punjabs", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 19, 1947.

⁸⁴⁵ "Pandit Nehru Pleads for Restraint", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 30, 1947.

⁸⁴⁶ "To Restore Peace in the Two Punjabs", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 19, 1947.

⁸⁴⁷ "Pakistan Army Takes Over Evacuation", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 1, 1947.

Emphasizing the Protection of Human Rights

A resolute commitment to safeguarding minority interests and a dedicated advocacy for equal citizenship rights in Pakistan were articulated by Swami Krishnanand, an esteemed Member of the Legislative Assembly (M.L.A.) and President of the Karachi District Congress Committee. This declaration was made during a well-attended public gathering held on the evening of August 4, as part of the observance of the Tilak anniversary.⁸⁴⁸

Mr. Abdul Rehman Changez, President of the Muslim League Legal Defense Committee, issued an appeal to the Muslims of Rawalpindi Division, urging them to recognize their responsibilities after August 15. He called upon them to formulate measures aimed at restoring the confidence of minority communities and convincing them that they would be willing to make sacrifices to safeguard their rights in this region.⁸⁴⁹

In specific areas of West Punjab, including the districts of Gujrat, Sialkot, and Gujranwala, as reported by Mr. Karamat Ali, a Minister in the West Punjab Government, non-Muslim refugees conveyed their readiness to go back to their residences. However, they had a stipulation for their return, which was a request for assurances of safety. It's worth highlighting that these refugees did not harbor any grievances concerning their treatment by the Muslim Administration.⁸⁵⁰

An Indian Christian urged his fellow believers to remain steadfast in the Pakistan Plan and not turn against it. In a letter to the editor of the *Civil & Military Gazette* newspaper from Lahore, he stated:

For several Hindus and Sikhs who have left Pakistan, some Indian Christians are also feeling uncertain about their situation in this new Dominion. It is regrettable that even their supposed leaders have not deemed it necessary to alleviate their concerns. The assurance that Indian

⁸⁴⁸ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 05, 1947.

⁸⁴⁹ "Rawalpindi Muslims Asked to Safeguard Minority Rights", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 19, 1947.

⁸⁵⁰ "Non-Muslim Refugees Prepared to Return", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 24, 1947.

Christians will be treated fairly in Pakistan is undeniable, given the clear commitment provided to minority communities by the head of the Pakistan Dominion. Therefore, I earnestly implore my Christian brethren not to follow the path of those who have departed. The time is not distant when they may recognize their significant mistake and regret their hasty decisions. They should return to their homes and not succumb to malicious propaganda against Pakistan.⁸⁵¹

In a letter to the editor of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, the author proposed the creation of a dedicated organization for Christians, akin to the Muslim League for Muslims and the Congress for Hindus. They recommended that the Indian Christian Association, previously centered on spiritual matters, should transition into the realm of politics and establish branches in towns and small cities across the country. Failing to organize effectively could leave Indian Christians susceptible to being manipulated by the Indian and Pakistani governments.⁸⁵²

Amid the challenges posed by the influx of approximately 200,000 refugees from the Punjab and the crucial responsibility of maintaining peace within the province, the West Punjab Government swiftly responded by initiating the recruitment of Home Guards to assist the overwhelmed police force. This recruitment process was set into motion promptly to alleviate the pressure on law enforcement.⁸⁵³

In a broader context, this period also witnessed significant military coordination. Major General Gane was entrusted with representing the Pakistan Army in West Punjab, overseeing various districts, while Major General Rees assumed command of the Union of India's Army in East Punjab. His role involved managing the Fourth Indian Division and supervising the newly established East Punjab Area, which covered several districts. These arrangements also required deploying Muslim or non-Muslim troops as needed to ensure the safety of refugee concentrations and convoys in the other Dominion. To facilitate effective coordination and a seamless transition between these military roles, General Rees maintained his headquarters in

⁸⁵¹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 8, 1947.

⁸⁵² "Readers Views", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 9, 1947.

⁸⁵³ "Home Guards for West Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 24, 1947.

close proximity to General Gane's, thereby ensuring secure and unobstructed movement for personnel and vehicles.⁸⁵⁴

Previously, there were erroneous press reports suggesting that the army would supply food to civilian refugees. In response, the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), covered Nehru's statement, clarifying that the army was unable to provide food and depended on civilian resources themselves:

While the army will do all that it can to help tackle the refugee problem and is, indeed, doing so in very many respects, as well as the provision of escorts and general protection up to its limits, the army, to its great regret, is not in a position to feed the refugees. In the first place, such stocks as the army holds would be totally inadequate to feed the hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children now caught up in the flow of refugees east and west. In the second place, the army itself relies on civil resources for its food supplies. Meanwhile, the Punjab Boundary Force, subject to the many operational calls made upon it, will be only too glad to continue to go flat out in its efforts to help the civil authorities tackle the refugee problem.⁸⁵⁵

Challenges and Concerns Surrounding Punjab's Partition

There was a consistent fear that the Partition could cause lasting damage to the province and its people. Even though Punjabis were separated by religion, they had common language, culture, and traditions, and were proud of their Punjabi identity. Their economy also needed them to stay together. Most importantly, there was no way to draw a line that wouldn't cut the Muslim and Sikh communities in half, leaving many stuck in between. No matter where they drew the line, it would be really bad for millions of people. The only way that made sense was a massive exchange of population, which might not happen peacefully.⁸⁵⁶

Many people also believed that if the separation happened, almost every town, village, cotton field, and wheat farm from the top of Punjab to Delhi would be affected in some way.⁸⁵⁷

⁸⁵⁴ "Pakistan Army Takes Over Evacuation", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), September 2, 1947.

⁸⁵⁵ "Incorrect Report", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 26, 1947.

⁸⁵⁶ Farooq Ahmad Dar, *Communal Riots in the Punjab, 1947* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2003), 81.

⁸⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 268.

The partition dramatically changed the demographics and politics of the region, leaving long-lasting scars on India and Pakistan. Among other issues, the defense system was becoming increasingly weak, and even the British press predicted that the division will lead to the Indian Army's downfall. The events around the partition of Punjab highlight the challenges posed by communal divisions and their lasting impact. Interestingly, all of this happened as expected. From the very beginning, Radcliffe knew that, no matter what he decided, there would be terrible violence when his report would be made public.⁸⁵⁸

The former Leader of the Muslim League in East Punjab, Chaudhry Mohd. Hassan, made accusations against the East Punjab Administration, alleging that they were neglecting their government duties. He expressed his concerns about the worsening situation in East Punjab, where a growing wave of lawlessness and open defiance of the law was observed. These concerns were reported in the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore);

The Administration is neglectful of its duty. The situation in East Punjab was deteriorating every minute; defiance of the law was committed. Those responsible for the maintenance of law and order were lukewarm. Real and genuine efforts were needed immediately. I appealed to the Governor of East Punjab to cut down disorder and lawlessness with a strong hand.⁸⁵⁹

The city of Delhi witnessed a massive influx of refugees, with more than 120,000 having arrived by August 3. The District Magistrate of Delhi noted that while some refugees found accommodations with friends and relatives, many others were left without any place to stay. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), reported that refugee camps were filled to their capacity, leaving no further room for newcomers. Moreover, the increasing number of refugees had already strained the food supply situation, and the Director of Civil Supplies expressed an inability to provide rations for additional arrivals. In the light of this, authorities advised

⁸⁵⁸ Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight* (Vikaas Publishing House, 1999), 268.

⁸⁵⁹ "Government Neglectful of its Duty", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 22, 1947.

refugees who intended to come to Delhi to reconsider their choice and explore other towns in Eastern Punjab for residence.⁸⁶⁰

The report further elaborated the situation that conditions in Delhi mirrored the same pattern as was seen in Lahore, where Muslim refugees occupied houses and shops in response to their displacement from the eastern districts. On August 27, due to the critical conditions created by the massive inflow of refugees, Delhi authorities announced that no more refugees would be allowed into the city, given that it had already received 120,000 people.⁸⁶¹

Rampant Daylight Looting

The cooperation between the Punjab Boundary Forces, Police, and Army successfully reduced the violence, leading to a decline in homicide rates. Nonetheless, a new challenge arose in the form of daylight looting, primarily due to the abundance of unoccupied houses left behind by migrating individuals. In response to this situation, the Deputy Commissioner Lahore issued a statement indicating that those vacant houses were temporarily allocated to refugees from East Punjab. He provided assurance that the rightful owners would eventually regain possession of their homes, intending to discourage further looting.

The official exhibited a noteworthy level of concern for both Pakistani property and the welfare of its people, as evident from the report in the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), which stated:

The Deputy Commissioner has been touring the district to caution the people that he would not tolerate any crimes against Pakistani citizens and would certainly not permit Pakistani property to be destroyed or looted [...] He informed Muslim villagers that he would provide them with arms for self-defense against hostile attacks. However, if he discovered that they used their arms for aggression, he would revoke their licenses.⁸⁶²

⁸⁶⁰ "Delhi to Take in No more Refugees", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 29, 1947.

⁸⁶¹ "People Advised to go to Other Punjab Towns", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 29, 1947.

⁸⁶² "Lahore's New Problem", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 26, 1947.

Approximately one million individuals lost their lives in the localized conflicts, particularly in the western Punjab region. Both sides of the divide experienced an alarming degree of brutality. With women constituting nearly half of the population, their plight was deeply affected by the partition. They emerged as the primary victims of the ruthless acts committed during this period. Women faced violence not only from opposing groups but also from their own husbands and fathers, who tragically took their lives to prevent them from falling into the hands of other communities. A distressing number of women chose to end their lives by jumping into wells, valuing their dignity above all else. Even Mahatma Gandhi acknowledged, that 'Women must learn how to die before a hair of their head is injured.'⁸⁶³

This pervasive violence extended beyond class boundaries, impacting not just the lower and middle classes but also the elite. Every woman endured some form of suffering amidst the chaos of the partition.⁸⁶⁴

The enduring impact of severe violence persisted for decades among the women and children who experienced the trauma. Women encountered various manifestations of violence during the partition. Some became victims of rape and murder at the hands of members from other communities, while others fell prey to familial violence, driven by the apprehension of potential rape and death. Numerous women were commodified in the market, with some being subjected to this dehumanizing trade without cost, while others were sold for nominal amounts, ranging from 10 to 20 rupees. Certain women entered into marriages with their assailants, embracing a conversion to the perpetrator's religion, severing ties with their original families indefinitely. Physical abuse manifested as women's bodies were marked with religious symbols

⁸⁶³ Trishanjit Kaur, Nirmal Singh, and Simran Kaur, *Collection and Preservation of Painful Memories of Refugee Women Survived during Partition: An Overview* (2017), 8.

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid.

associated with different communities. Some women, as an act of self-preservation against men from other communities, resorted to suicide, proclaiming themselves as martyrs.⁸⁶⁵

Children suffered egregious fates, with some being literally roasted and killed during the partition. Pregnant women, in particular, bore the brunt of unimaginable terror. A significant number of women found themselves isolated due to the tumultuous conditions of the partition, compelling them to marry men from other communities and undergo religious conversions. The women endured both physical and mental anguish throughout this tumultuous period.⁸⁶⁶

Communal Virus infiltrates the Armed Forces

In the wake of the Punjab disturbances, the Indian Health Minister Rajkumari Amrit Kaur expressed grave concerns, particularly regarding the safety of minority communities. She emphasized the difficulty in ensuring safe convoys for minorities, as the communal tension had infiltrated the army, making it challenging to protect them during their journey. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), while reporting her press conference, published:

You cannot expect a safe convoy for the minorities of either area with troops of the other community. It is not possible to expect Hindu and Sikh refugees to come through from West Punjab without their own troops conveying them. The communal virus has definitely entered the army, not as much as it has in the common man, but it is there. Muslim troops are not going to fire on their own people, and it follows that the Hindus and Sikhs will not fire on theirs [...] I am convinced that the refugee problem is our major concern today, and the evacuation of minorities from both sides must take place at once under safe escort. Unless we do that, the trouble is not going to cease, and the whole administration will break down, so we might be faced with the most terrible outbreaks of disease everywhere.⁸⁶⁷

Continuing with her press conference, she went on to criticize the West Punjab administration by referring to the incident of assaults. She hoped that there would be no more

⁸⁶⁵ Andrew J. Major, "The Chief Sufferers': Abduction of Women during the Partition of the Punjab," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 18, no. 1 (1995): 59.

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁷ "Refugee Problem Our Major Concern Today", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 31, 1947.

attacks like the attack on the convoy coming from Sialkot, in which 15 refugees were killed near the river Ravi [...] the strong Muslim guard escorting the convoy did nothing more than fire two shots in the air when they were attacked.⁸⁶⁸ This press conference was important because, for the first time perhaps, a senior functionary of the Government of India went on record with the view that the communal virus has entered the army.⁸⁶⁹

Regional Variations in Minority Policy Implementation

As the political landscape was being transformed and boundaries were redrawn, communal tensions erupted, resulting in widespread violence and displacement. Amidst this turbulence, some distinct narratives emerged from the region, shedding light on the varying experiences of minority communities during this pivotal period.

Gurpreet Singh's work, *Violence, Migration, and Partition of Punjab*, provides valuable insight into the city of Malerkotla, situated at the heart of Punjab. This city defied the prevailing atmosphere of chaos and bloodshed. Despite being home to a significant Muslim population, it remained an enclave of peace, a testament to the enduring legacy of Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Sikh Guru. This tranquility found its roots not only in the spiritual blessings bestowed upon the city but also in the courageous stance of Nawab Sher Mohammad Khan, a figure who played a crucial role in preserving harmony amidst the communal strife.⁸⁷⁰

In stark contrast, a significant illustration from September 25th to October 24th in the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), provides insight into the security situation and the measures taken in the town of Qadian, renowned as the epicenter of the Ahmadiyya Community. This

⁸⁶⁸ "Refugee Problem Our Major Concern Today", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 31, 1947.

⁸⁶⁹ Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Reporting the Partition of Punjab 1947: Press, Public and Other Opinions* (2006), 355.

⁸⁷⁰ Gurpreet Singh, *Violence Migration and Partition of Punjab: An Historical Analysis of Select English Novels of India and Pakistan, 1947 to 2000*, 217.

specific case serves as a compelling example, shedding light on how India handled its minority communities and, unfortunately, where it fell short in ensuring their safety. It was a curfew in Qadian since September 21st. The Ahmadiyya Anjuman Secretary shown some concerns regarding military interference affecting the evacuation efforts. (See Annex 25). Despite the East Punjab Govt's repeated assurances that it had no intention of displacing Muslims, the situation in Qadian raised concerns. He expressed worries that Muslims had been effectively displaced, with Sikhs taking their homes. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), published:

The East Punjab Government had repeatedly made clear in its declarations that it was not at all its policy to drive out Muslim citizens but the way in which that policy is being implemented is made amply clear by what has happened in Qadirabad, which is part of Qadian and inhabited by tenants of the ancient Mughal family of this place [...] In response to the worsening situation, women and children were evacuated from a small village, while male residents were forced to leave by local authorities.⁸⁷¹

On October 15th, 1947, the *Civil & Military Gazette* reported that the claims made by Qadian were contradicted by the All India Radio in its broadcast, which stated that there had been no attacks on Qadian. However, the Qadian spokesperson A.R. Dard refuted the information in a Press statement and provided detailed accounts of the attacks and casualties that occurred in the area.

Ahmadiyya representatives at Qadian told the visiting party that the casualties numbered about 200 and that they could show the party as many as 40 bodies dumped into a single pit, and that there are several other pits into which bodies are placed. The party was also told that there had been widespread looting and that many thousands of cattle had been forcibly taken away by Sikh *Jathas*, who were helped by the police. The party was further informed that many Muslim *mohallas* had been deserted for fear of the police and the military, and several Ahmadi public buildings had been forcibly taken possession of by them.⁸⁷²

On October 24th, the *Civil & Military Gazette* highlighted this small town as a "Test Case" in its editorial, scrutinizing the position of the Indian Government. According to it, the Ahmadiyya community, deeply embedded in Qadian, displayed unwavering loyalty to the government. However, the division of Punjab and the subsequent surge of religious tensions exposed them to a harsh and challenging reality.⁸⁷³

⁸⁷¹ "Qadian Muslims Aeing Scared Away", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), Sept 25, 1947.

⁸⁷² "Recent attacks on Qadian", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), Oct 15, 1947.

⁸⁷³ "Test Case", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), October 23, 1947. (See Annex 25)

Qadian has become, in the eyes of the world, a living test of India's intentions towards the minorities in her territory. The Ahmadiyya community [...] are close-knit, hard-working, and highly distinguished. [...] Had Qadian, in the division of Punjab, become part of Pakistan, and had Pakistan developed into a theocratic state, Ahmadis might well have apprehended bitter persecution in the name of religious orthodoxy. As the division was in fact made, they had less reason for apprehension and had reasonable grounds for expecting a continuance of their peaceful existence. Events have proved the fallacy of such hopes [...] Only when self-defense became impossible was evacuation thought of, and most of the women, children, and old men of the community resident in Qadian have been rescued under military escort. [...] What is needed now from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are not disclaimers but positive, constructive action that will prove to the world that the declarations of India's spokesmen are not mere words and that the writ of the Government of India runs throughout the Dominion, even in the east Punjab.⁸⁷⁴

It is noteworthy to consider why did the *Civil & Military Gazette* single out a remote village of Qadian in Batala, Gurdaspur to showcase its situation. This question gains clarity while examining the official secret reports documenting the disturbances in East Punjab, which essentially depict similar accounts of violence in the region. According to these reports, Qadian played a pivotal role as the gathering point for refugees from its vicinity, forming caravans that embarked on migration. This is precisely why it garnered exclusive and repeated coverage in the press.

On August 26, 1947, Muslim refugees from village Beri, Gurdaspur, en route to Qadian, were attacked by Sikh forces near Harchowal, leading to looting. The *Civil & Military Gazette* reported that:

The Muslims of village Beri, P.S. Kahnanun, District Gurdaspur, after loading their household belongings onto carts, set out for Qadian. Due to heavy rain and the narrow Katcha road, a few men were left to watch over the loaded carts, while the villagers, along with their women and children, embarked on foot for Qadian. A Sikh Jatha from Har[c]howal attacked the Muslims guarding the carts and looted everything. Those who reached Qadian sought refuge in Ch. Fateh Mohd Syal's bungalow, M.L.A. (now under police custody), but were forcibly evicted by the military. Later, they relocated to Mirza Gul Mohd's bungalow. Here, all young men were made to line up and were executed by a firing squad composed of Dogra troops. Only a few managed to survive. Eventually, the refugee Muslims, numbering around 20,000, departed from Qadian.⁸⁷⁵

The *Hindustan Times* also reported about an incident that exemplified the incredible bravery of a train driver who rescued a train facing the threat of communal challenge and potential attack along the Qadian and Batala railway tracks.⁸⁷⁶ The report goes on to provide

⁸⁷⁴ "Test Case", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), October 23, 1947.

⁸⁷⁵ *Disturbances in East Punjab and Contiguous areas during and after August 1947 (Secret), Part 1* (Karachi: Governor General's Press, 1948), 49.

⁸⁷⁶ *Hindustan Times* (Lahore), July 27, 1947.

additional insights into the regional situation, elaborating on the fact that similar distressing incidents unfolded on August 25, promptly after the Boundary Commission's decisions were announced. Muslim villages surrounding Qadian experienced widespread looting, with Muslims subjected to large-scale violence and murder. Consequently, Muslims from several villages sought refuge in camps established at Faiz Ullah Chak, Sathiala, Keeri Afghana, and Pheru Cheechi. Shockingly, these refugee camps faced continuous attacks by non-Muslim assailants. In a disheartening turn of events, the Qadianis who were assisting the refugees were prevented from doing so by individuals such as Capt. Magh Singh and Sardar Hazara Singh, both prominent figures in Qadian.⁸⁷⁷ Interestingly, a resolution was adopted about Ahmadiyya refugees, who were advised to return to East Punjab, particularly Qadian, and resettle in their villages as a group, leaving women and children in West Punjab temporarily.⁸⁷⁸

The Role of the Punjab Boundary Force

The cities of Lahore and Amritsar, which set the tone for the rest of Punjab, were engulfed in violence in the early days of August. The Sikhs, who had been increasingly inclined toward violent resistance due to unfavorable boundary decisions, sought retribution for the Rawalpindi massacres. Their plans were put into action, leading to the mass killing of Muslims in the Amritsar District and its subsequent spread to the west and east. Muslims, in turn, began retaliating, and soon the entire Central Punjab was in turmoil. Widespread incidents of looting, sexual violence, village destruction, and the brutal slaughter of men, women, and children by both communities became distressingly common.

The political upheavals in India had resulted in a cleavage and bitter enmity between Muslims and Non-Muslims in the Punjab, exacerbated by the March massacres of Sikhs by Muslims in Rawalpindi and the North-West Punjab. The announcement regarding the 15th August and Partition accentuated the Sikh-Muslim split, the Sikhs having opted for India. During May, June, and July, there was a recrudescence of turbulence and serious deterioration in the situation, at which time the already weakened civil administration declined still further as the date of departure of Europeans approached rapidly.⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁷⁷ *Disturbances in East Punjab and Contiguous areas during and after August 1947 (Secret), Part 1* (Karachi: Governor General's Press, 1948), 49.

⁸⁷⁸ "Ahmadiyya Refugees to Return to E. Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), Sept 11, 1947.

⁸⁷⁹ IOR, L/WS/1134.

Anticipating potential challenges arising from the Punjab Boundary Commission's decisions in July 1947, the Partition Council made a formal request to Field-Marshal Auchinlock. The request was for the establishment of a neutral force that could assist civil authorities in maintaining law and order in the disputed region. In response to this request, Field-Marshal Auchinlock officially created the Punjab Boundary Force, often referred to as the Punjab Boundary Force, commencing its operations on the August 1, 1947. This force operated under his direct command and held responsibility to the Joint Defense Council, representing both Dominions.⁸⁸⁰

In July 1947, anticipating a certain amount of trouble over the award of the Punjab Boundary Commission, the Partition Council requested Field-Marshal Auchinlock to set up a neutral force to act in aid of Civil Power in the maintenance of Law and Order in the disputed area. Accordingly, the Field Marshal set up the Punjab Boundary Force (The P.B.F.) as from 1st August 1947, working directly under him, responsible to the Joint Defence Council on behalf of both Dominions.⁸⁸¹

On July 30, Evans Jenkins corresponded with the Viceroy, presenting what could arguably be regarded as the most comprehensive assessment of the prevailing circumstances within Punjab during July of 1947. His initial observations highlighted the profoundly deteriorated state of law and order in the rural regions of Punjab, especially Amritsar, Jullundur, Gurdaspur, and Hoshiarpur. Notably, the instigators in these locales appeared to be Sikh. He conveyed an impression that they have undertaken certain preparations, a portion of which is presently surfacing prematurely.⁸⁸² He continued:

Partition work is going very slowly and I am now clear that a considerable muddle on 15 August cannot be avoided [...] the Muslims are naturally pleased at the establishment of Pakistan but as Punjabis they want the whole of Punjab, the Hindus and Sikhs on the other hand are apprehensive and most reluctant to leave Lahore. It would be difficult enough to partition within six weeks a country of 30 million people which has been governed as a unit for 93 years even if all concerned were friendly and anxious to make progress [...] there is a background of fear and suspicion and much time is wasted in trivialities. We have so far been unable to reach an agreement on the principles on which assets should be divided.⁸⁸³

⁸⁸⁰ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 25, 1947.

⁸⁸¹ IOR, L/WS/11134.

⁸⁸² Nicholas Mansergh, ed., *India - The Transfer of Power 1942-7*, Vol. XI (London: H.M.S.O., 1982), 292.

⁸⁸³ *Ibid.*

The Punjab Boundary Force commenced its deployment on August 1, encompassing 12 districts. On the August 4, General Rees, the Commander of the Punjab Boundary Force, in his initial press conference in Lahore, emphasized that the Punjab Boundary Force was composed of Indian troops from diverse social backgrounds, underscoring its impartiality and its intended support for civil and judicial administration.⁸⁸⁴ He also reassured the public of the force's commitment to cooperation and security, noting their substantial resources.⁸⁸⁵

Amritsar encountered a significant and forceful reaction from the Punjab Boundary Force in the wake of escalating tensions. On the fateful day of August 13th, the city and its outlying areas bore witness to a series of grave casualties and fatalities. In response to these distressing events, the Punjab Boundary Forces took the decisive step of resorting to open fire. This tumultuous period was marked by the alarming occurrence of bombs being hurled and multiple incidents of arson that engulfed different parts of the city.⁸⁸⁶

On the 15th of August, Central Punjab experienced a tragic day, marked by devastating events in both Lahore and Amritsar. In Lahore, a significant outbreak of violence occurred, characterized by gunfire, arson, and looting. During the night, a large Muslim mob set ablaze a Gurdwara, where between thirteen to twenty-two individuals, either guards or occupants, met a grim fate. The exact number of victims remained indiscernible amidst the chaotic scene of rubble and corpses. Remarkably, the Gurdwara was located within eighty yards of heavily fortified police and military posts. Notably, the composition of the Muslim military contingent guarding the area remained unchanged, as per the explicit request of the newly established civil authorities of Lahore, who assured safety.⁸⁸⁷

⁸⁸⁴ "To Safeguard Peace in the Punjab", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 25, 1947.

⁸⁸⁵ Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (2012), 218.

⁸⁸⁶ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 13, 1947.

⁸⁸⁷ IOR, L/WS/I/1134.

Meanwhile, in Amritsar, a different grim narrative unfolded as the Sikh community became the perpetrators of violence. During the afternoon, Sikhs paraded through the Muslim areas, leading to disturbing incidents of rape and the loss of ten lives in the streets. The Sikh community faced the wrath of the enraged mob, resulting in further chaos and loss of life within the city of Amritsar. Regrettably, the Punjab Boundary Force and the Sikh Superintendent of Police arrived on the scene only after the damage had been done, unable to prevent the culmination of the tragic events.⁸⁸⁸

On contrary, the *Civil & Military Gazette*, while labelling the incident in favor of the Punjab Boundary Force published details that:

Amritsar witnessed a troubled night as bombs were thrown, and fires were set in various parts of the city. The police and military fired multiple rounds during the night. Fifty-two incidents were reported on Wednesday, with up to 30 cases of arson in different parts of the town, including Katra Parja, Bara Phollanwal, Kanak Manili, Katra Suid, Bazar Klonisa, Kucha Kasurian, Patlighar, Chowk Chintpurni, Chowk Ghala Hus, and Kucha Acharjan [...] Major General Rees, Commander of the Punjab Boundary Force, visited Amritsar [...] where he met with the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police, and later, he visited the injured individuals in the hospital.⁸⁸⁹

After some days, each Dominion Government established the Military Evacuation Organization (M.E.O.) to manage the protection and relocation of refugees. However, in the initial days of the crisis in August, apart from the provision of essential food supplies, nearly all the arrangements for refugees had to be initiated by the Punjab Evacuation Force. Over time, dedicated officials and volunteer helpers, despite facing considerable challenges, worked diligently to establish refugee centers in various institutions and city military buildings. During this period, the Punjab Boundary Force organized the collection and transportation of refugees, utilizing various means such as motor transport (civil and military), rail transport, and convoys on foot, often accompanied by bullock-carts and cattle. Throughout these efforts, the military played a crucial role in the process.⁸⁹⁰

⁸⁸⁸ IOR, L/WS//1134.

⁸⁸⁹ "Armed Band in Amritsar Shot Dead", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 15, 1947.

⁸⁹⁰ IOR, L/WS//1134.

In the second week of August, a gathering took place at the Punjab Boundary Forces headquarters, where it engaged with political parties. This meeting was graced by the presence of political leaders. Major General T. W. Rees shared comprehensive insights into the force's objectives and composition. The primary focus of the discussions revolved around the imperative task of addressing security concerns in districts situated near the expected demarcation line, in line with the Viceroy's announcement made on June 3. General Rees placed a significant emphasis on the force's commitment to impartiality and its dedication to upholding law and order, even in situations where magistrates or police might be absent. In response, political leaders expressed their unwavering support and delved into potential avenues for collaboration with the Punjab Boundary Force in order to effectively tackle the challenges at hand.⁸⁹¹

Gradual Reduction of the Punjab Boundary Force's Area of Operation

It was emphasized that the Punjab Boundary Force bore no responsibility for civil administration, despite occasional criticisms directed at it in this regard. On the contrary, it was noted that the force consistently offered assistance to the civil authorities in various matters, such as facilitating communication between East and West Punjab. A consensus was reached regarding the need to gradually reduce the area of operation for the Punjab Boundary Force by sequentially withdrawing from areas where a joint force was no longer deemed essential. This process followed the outlined procedure discussed in the communique resulting from the Prime Ministers' meeting held in Ambala on August 17.⁸⁹²

According to the India Office Record, the history of the Punjab Boundary Force in August and September 1947 recounted stories of immense challenges and unwavering

⁸⁹¹ "Punjab Boundary Force", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 10, 1947.

⁸⁹² "Area Covered by Boundary Force Reduced", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 10, 1947.

determination. As violence and communal unrest reached their peak, the Punjab Boundary Force remained a steady presence in the midst of chaos, playing a crucial role in maintaining some order in the region. The officers and troops of the Punjab Boundary Force demonstrated great commitment and fairness, even when faced with communal conflicts. For instance, a Sikh Major, despite being injured, defended a Muslim Refugee Train, showing remarkable dedication to humanity in those trying times.⁸⁹³

Decision to Disband the Punjab Boundary Force

There had been certain reports highlighting the escalation of disturbances in the Punjab Boundary Force area. While some towns showed signs of improvement as well, the situation in rural regions within the Force's jurisdiction remained consistently unstable. Disturbances also extended beyond the force's area, making it difficult for the Commander to exert control, with a significant portion of major attacks occurring outside the force's jurisdiction. As a response to these challenges, a key decision emerged in a meeting of the Joint Defense Council that:

[...] As the Punjab Boundary Force's responsibilities for maintaining law and order in disputed areas have grown beyond the initial scope, this force should be disbanded, effective from midnight on August 31 to September 1[...] The regions previously overseen by the Force were then transferred to the direct and individual control of the respective Dominion Governments, as opposed to the joint control that was previously in place. Furthermore, it was decided that both Control and both Provincial Governments would work closely together to restore peaceful conditions.⁸⁹⁴

Leaders' Response

The gravity of the situation in Punjab necessitated appeals from prominent leaders for a peaceful approach and the maintenance of orderly conduct among their respective followers.

⁸⁹³ Major General T. W. Rees, *The Punjab Boundary Force 1947* (1947), National Documentation Wing, File No. 4142, 32.

⁸⁹⁴ "Abolition of the Boundary Force", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 31, 1947.

Notably, both sides of the conflict made appeals for peace, alongside affirmations of the government's resolute stance in managing the situation. Master Tara Singh's call for peace garnered widespread approval within the League. This sentiment was reciprocated by Nawab Iftikhar Mamdot, and Jinnah, through a fervent address broadcast via Radio Pakistan, emphasized the importance of leaving a positive impression on the minorities through words, actions, and thoughts.⁸⁹⁵

While addressing a gathering in Delhi, Mahatma Gandhi made an earnest endeavor to calm those immersed in communal violence. He appealed to the affected communities as well, urging them to exercise self-control:

I am prepared to understand the anger of the refugees whom fate has driven from Western Punjab. But anger is a short madness. It can only make matters worse in every way. Retaliation is no remedy. It makes the original disease much worse. I, therefore, ask all those who are engaged in the senseless murder, arson, loot to stay their hands.⁸⁹⁶

A few months earlier, Gandhi even contemplated spending the remainder of his life in Pakistan. During his address to the Congress workers regarding communal tensions and the mass migration from Lahore, he remarked, that "the rest of my life is going to be spent in Pakistan, maybe it is in East Bengal or the Western Punjab or perhaps the North-West Frontier Province."⁸⁹⁷ He expressed concern about people leaving West Punjab and the evacuation of Lahore by non-Muslims. Gandhi believed that leaving Lahore when it faced challenges was not the right approach. He urged people to stay and face the difficulties rather than fleeing from what they perceived as the declining Lahore.

I am aggrieved 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, do not run away from it but die with what you think is the dying Lahore.⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁹⁵ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 14, 1947.

⁸⁹⁶ *The Statesman*, (Calcutta), September 10, 1947.

⁸⁹⁷ "Gandhi's Call to People to be Brave", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 8, 1947.

⁸⁹⁸ "Die with Dying Lahore", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 8, 1947.

In his first broadcast as Prime Minister of the Indian Union, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru emphasized the need to end internal strife and violence, which he believed harmed the cause of freedom. He expressed confidence in India's newfound sovereignty and its positive outlook on the world and the future. He added:

Our first and immediate objective must be to put an end to all internal strife and violence, which disfigure and degrade us and injure the cause of freedom. They come in the way of the consideration of the great economic problems of the masses of the people, which so urgently demand attention.⁸⁹⁹

Another such leader was Lala Bhima Sen Sachar, a congressman, who strongly called for peace and an end to violence. His words highlighted the need for a different approach. In his appeal broadcast from Lahore, the emphasis was on violence's inability to serve any party's political objectives. The people of Punjab were called upon to restore tranquility, ending lawlessness. The province's strength was hindered by ongoing internal conflicts, making it hard to demonstrate power to the world. The purpose of this violence and lawlessness was questioned; if it aimed to impose one party's will on another or eliminate it, the methods were flawed. Assurances were given that such tactics couldn't lead to political success, especially without a current political conflict. He regretfully added that:

After the British Government's announcement on June 3, disturbances should have ceased. Regrettably, this statement had the opposite effect on irresponsible elements. The decision to divide India and partition Punjab is already made and supported by leaders you trust. Why then act against your dear leaders' wishes? If you truly care for them, it's your duty to prevent lawlessness and restore mutual trust. Your leaders are occupied with vital matters related to the country's division. If you sincerely strive to prevent disorder and bloodshed, you'll aid their work. The key to preventing lawlessness is realizing that these disruptions lead nowhere and won't solve our problems.⁹⁰⁰

In a broadcast talk on August 16, Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President, urged Indians not to rest content with the liberty they had achieved but to bend all their energies toward the unification of the land. He said:

If we, in our portion of India are able to evolve a new order in society based on democracy and social justice, where all power and profit belong to where they should - to the workers in the field

⁸⁹⁹ "Eyes of the World are Upon Us", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 17, 1947.

⁹⁰⁰ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 21, 1947.

and in the factory - we would provide the greatest inducement to our seceding countrymen to rejoin us and work with us. This is also the way to preserve our newfound liberty [...] We wanted a free and United India. What we have got is a free India - divided and distracted. The result is that many of our countrymen whose hearts are lacerated at the division of the Motherland are mourning today. Today our joy cannot, therefore, be as complete as it would have been if India on this historic day remained one and undivided. Maybe that our suffering and sacrifice were not great enough for the double task of unity and freedom.⁹⁰¹

In an effort to foster Hindu-Muslim unity, Malik Firoz Khan Noon called upon the people of Punjab to arrange parades aimed at fostering harmony. He encouraged them to draw inspiration from the cities of Delhi, Calcutta, and Bombay. Highlighting the peaceful coexistence of Hindus and Muslims in Punjab and the mutual respect that prevailed between the two communities, Firoz Khan Noon urged them to unite and participate in these processions to revive a sense of normality and prosperity, as observed in the past in cities such as Bombay and Calcutta.⁹⁰²

High level meetings

During a high-level meeting held in Ambala on August 17, leaders from both India and Pakistan came together to address critical issues. This meeting resulted in a significant decision to establish a committee comprising two ministers from the West Punjab government and two ministers from the East Punjab government. The primary objective of this committee was to convene regular meetings and facilitate the coordination of administrative measures in both territories. Prominent figures present at the meeting included Jawaharlal Nehru, Liaquat Ali Khan, Baldev Singh, Trivedi, and Francis Muddie. The Governors of East and West Punjab, as well as the Premiers of the two Punjabs, Bhargava and Mamdot, were also in attendance.⁹⁰³

The meeting was not only attended by political leaders but also featured the participation of senior police and government officials, including T.W. Rees, who served as

⁹⁰¹ "Unification of this Land of Ours", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 17, 1947.

⁹⁰² "Hindu-Muslim Unity Processions", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 31, 1947.

⁹⁰³ "High Level Meeting in Ambala", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 19, 1947.

the Commander of the Punjab Boundary Force. This gathering was crucial in addressing the challenges and complexities arising from the partition of India and Pakistan and sought to establish mechanisms for effective administrative coordination between the two Punjabs.⁹⁰⁴

Later on, the Punjab Boundary Force issued a communique stating that meetings were held on August 17 in Ambala and on August 18 in Amritsar. The *Civil & Military Gazette* stated:

The leaders reiterated their determination to bring all their influence to bear through officials and civilians from the highest downwards to put an end to the present terror and violence against life and property. The leaders also stressed that, until order is restored, civil and military forces should use impartiality, complete sternness, and all necessary force against those breaking the law. It is hoped that the press and all influential men will help to their utmost to disseminate the leaders' messages of cessation of hostilities right down to the masses in towns and villages.⁹⁰⁵

During these meetings, leaders such as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Khan of Mamdot, Master Tara Singh, and Giani Kartar Singh, among others, were present. These leaders emphasized their commitment to using their influence to end the ongoing violence and terror affecting life and property. They also stressed the need for civil and military forces to act with impartiality, sternness, and necessary force to maintain order. The communique expressed the hope that the press and influential individuals would help disseminate the leaders' messages of ceasing hostilities to the general population in towns and villages.⁹⁰⁶

On the night of August 19, Prime Minister Nehru addressed the nation via All India Radio. He discussed the decisions made during the Ambala conference and assured that the widespread violence would be brought under control. Notably, he mentioned that the government would assist those wishing to migrate but would not actively encourage people to move to East Punjab. He described the distressing scenes witnessed in Amritsar and Lahore,

⁹⁰⁴ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 19, 1947.

⁹⁰⁵ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 20, 1947.

⁹⁰⁶ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 19, 1947.

where thousands of refugees from various religious backgrounds had suffered, and some areas were still marred by fires and recent incidents of violence. He concluded:

All of us who were present, whether we belonged to the two Central or the two provincial Governments or whether we were leading members of the various communities," said Pandit Nehru, "pledged ourselves to do our utmost to put an end to this orgy of murder, and we have taken effective steps to this end, effective not only from the administrative and military point of view.⁹⁰⁷

Sardar Baldev Singh's Narrow Escape in East Punjab

An incident nearly became a symbol of the prevailing anarchy. Sardar Baldev Singh, the Defence Minister, along with Brigadiers Thorat and Thimayya, was touring the highly disturbed rural areas of Amritsar. During their journey, a patrol of the East Punjab Additional Police mistakenly identified them as raiders and opened fire on their party. Fortunately, the members of the party managed to save themselves by taking cover on the ground. This incident occurred near the village of Pulkanjan, situated approximately 20 miles from their location. Sardar Baldev Singh safely returned to Delhi the following day.⁹⁰⁸

Blame Shifting

Despite the critical hours that had passed, severe allegations were leveled against both East and West Punjab. Pandit Nehru, in his condemnation of the West Punjab Government for the violence and attacks, pointed out:

Since the issuance of the Boundary Commission Award, there had been numerous incursions from Western Punjab into Eastern Punjab, mainly in the region between Amritsar and Lahore. Some of these raiding parties inflicted damage on villages on this side of the frontier. The management of this situation was within the purview of the Boundary Force. The configuration of the Boundary Force's future framework, irrespective of who was responsible for overseeing these matters, was under urgent consideration. Given the circumstances encountered thus far, it posed a complex challenge. Nonetheless, our objective was for each Dominion to assume responsibility.⁹⁰⁹

⁹⁰⁷ "Pandit Nehru's Broadcast to Indian Nation", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 21, 1947.

⁹⁰⁸ "Narrow Escape", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 26, 1947.

⁹⁰⁹ "Pandit Nehru Pleads for Restraint", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 30, 1947.

When discussing the rationality and the roles played by the Governments of East and West Punjab in exploiting the situations, Nehru expressed that what was required was a balance of mind and a cool approach to the problem. He further continued blaming the West Punjab Government, as stated by the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore):

While statements made on behalf of our [east Punjab] government had been very few, he deplored those accounts had been appearing from Karachi, Lahore, and elsewhere where high officers of Government had not shown that sense of responsibility which should govern utterances at the present moment [...] it was difficult to form any estimate of the killings in the East and West Punjab but admitted that they had been on a large scale. The present position was that the East Punjab situation was more under control than the West Punjab situation.⁹¹⁰

Concluding his plead to the Press correspondents, the Premier suggested that:

Quite apart from who is the guilty party, we have our views about that, therefore, becomes essential that we should have peace and order in our own territories so that we can then exercise our full strength to protect others who may not be in our territories and who require protection. Otherwise, if there is this competition in retaliation, the very persons we seek to protect cannot be protected. This is a very simple matter which anybody ought to understand. Some people seem to think that to protect a person far away, you should kill some person near you. That is not even the way of war between nations. The Press can help greatly in making this clear. No matter what happens, the punishment ought to be thought of in Governmental terms and not in Private terms.⁹¹¹

The *Pakistan Times* published a strong response to Nehru's assertion that the violence in Punjab during July and August could be traced back to the disturbances in Rawalpindi and Multan in March. The newspaper's reaction was pointed, asking whether Nehru had forgotten the significant sword-brandishing ceremony and the 'do or die' orders that marked the commencement of the bloodiest chapter in Punjab's history. It further questioned Nehru's perspective on the train attacks, particularly his claim that many of them were carried out by 'gangs' from princely states, suggesting that this explanation was merely an attempt to divert attention from his own party's failures.⁹¹²

⁹¹⁰ "Pandit Nehru Pleads for Restraint", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 30, 1947.

⁹¹¹ Ibid.

⁹¹² Raghuvendra Tanwar, "*Reporting the Partition of Punjab 1947: Press, Public and Other Opinions*" (2006), 352.

Approaching Independence

As Independence Day drew closer on the horizon, a sense of urgency permeated the air. It became increasingly apparent that the celebration of Pakistan Dominion independence was a pivotal moment in the nation's history. In light of this significant milestone, the Pakistan Government deemed it essential to orchestrate the meticulous relocation of its staff from the Delhi office to Karachi. The press went:

The staff from the Finance, Post and Telegraphs, and Public Health Departments have arrived today via the Pakistan Special train. This contingent comprises approximately 2,500 members of the Pakistan Government who have reached Karachi thus far. In light of the Pakistan Dominion independence celebrations, the Sind government has officially declared August 11 and 15 as public holidays.⁹¹³

In spite of these circumstances, concerns about housing shortages in Delhi persisted.

Despite widespread expectations that the partition would alleviate Delhi's housing shortage, the crisis worsened, as noted by an official from the Works, Mines, and Power Department. Approximately 5,750 officers and clerks had left for Karachi, but this exodus was overshadowed by a larger influx of over 3,055 individuals from Pakistan. These newcomers included employees from various departments who chose to stay in India. Additionally, around 150 officers and 1,500 clerks had recently arrived in Delhi from Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Quetta, and smaller stations.⁹¹⁴

As the day approached for his departure to Pakistan, Jinnah encountered a notable predicament. The influx of countless messages conveying greetings and good wishes in celebration of Pakistan's establishment became too much for him to handle individually. In light of this overwhelming situation, Jinnah humbly sought understanding, explaining that the tremendous pressure of work related to the division of India left him unable to respond personally to each message of goodwill.

I bid farewell to the citizens of Delhi amongst whom I had many friends of all communities and I earnestly appeal to everyone to live in this great and historic city with peace. The past must be buried and let us start afresh as two independent sovereign States of Hindustan and Pakistan.⁹¹⁵

The India Office closed down a week before the partition, resulting in significant changes to facilitate the transfer of power to India and Pakistan. Reporting the same, the *Civil*

⁹¹³ "Pakistan Govt's Karachi Move ", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 6, 1947.

⁹¹⁴ "Housing Shortage in Delhi to be Worse ", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 6, 1947.

⁹¹⁵ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 08, 1947.

& Military Gazette published a detailed report on the vacancy of the India Office, along with some other ministerial changes. The report stated that the current India Office would cease to operate from August 15, and the same fate would befall the Office of the Secretary of State.⁹¹⁶ The position of Indian Secretary of State was eliminated, and Mr. Arthur Henderson, formerly the Under-Secretary of State for India and Burma, was appointed as the liaison between India, Pakistan, and Britain at the Commonwealth Relations Office. During this transition, Lord Listowel temporarily retained oversight of Burma. The *Civil & Military Gazette* described these changes as "a significant reconfiguration of the Government's administrative framework."⁹¹⁷

Likewise, the India Office in England ceased its operations as Independence Day approached. The office was supposed to be allocated to one of the two dominions. Zafarullah Khan proposed that Jinnah should promptly secure one of the two soon-to-be-vacant offices to ensure timely acquisition. His letter to Jinnah stated:

[...] Pakistan will need a suitable building in London to house its offices here. At present there is only India House. But the building of India Office in Whitehall also belongs to India. In the division of assets Hindustan could be given the choice of taking India Office or India House, so as to make the other available to Pakistan (subject of course to an adjustment of values). It would be almost impossible and prohibitive to acquire any other suitable building. This should be looked after immediately, as India Office will become available from 15th August.⁹¹⁸

Independence Announcement

The independence deadline was established for midnight on August 14th, 1947. This momentous assembly session was determined to mark the commencement of India's freedom.

The complete schedule was also disseminated by the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore).

The Constituent Assembly will convene for a special session at 11:30 PM on August 11. At the stroke of midnight, the assembly will elect its leader, who will promptly convey the assembly's endorsement of the Viceroy's appointment as the Governor-General of India and the leader's choice of the cabinet members. The official ceremony will commence at 8:30 AM on August 15. During this event, the Governor General will take the oath of office administered by the Chief

⁹¹⁶ "India Office to be Closed Down Next Week", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 8, 1947.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid.

⁹¹⁸ *Jinnah Papers*, Volume 3 (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, 1993), 155.

Justice. Similarly, the Prime Minister and the cabinet ministers will be sworn in by the Governor General. Following the ceremony, non-ministerial guests attending the Constituent Assembly's event will depart. At 2:19 AM, the procession from Government House will begin from the Durbar Hall steps, with the Ministers proceeding to the Constituent Assembly through the main gate. Subsequently, at 9:50 AM, Their Excellencies will leave Government House in the State Coach, accompanied by the Governor-General's Bodyguard, arriving at the Constituent Assembly at 9:55.⁹¹⁹

The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) interestingly described this event as the 'Last Drama' and published that "Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah and Lord Mountbatten were sworn in as Governor General of the dominions of Pakistan and India in Karachi and Delhi respectively, when the last drama of the transference of power from British to Indian hands was enacted."⁹²⁰

When everything was ready to the satisfaction of Mountbatten, he asked Pakistan's Prime Minister to visit Delhi on August 16, 1947 along with one of his cabinet colleagues to discuss the Boundary Awards. The Muslim League by then had got some clue that Radcliffe was going to give Gurdaspur to India. Liaquat Ali Khan had also discussed the issue with Ismay and told him that if the rumor was correct then it would be considered as a "grave injustice" and "breach of faith on the part of the British".⁹²¹

Ismay, however, denied the charges. On the instructions of Jinnah, Chaudhri Muhammad Ali also tried, in vain as it turned out, to convince Ismay on August 10, 1947, that the decision to give Gurdaspur to India would have serious repercussions. The essence of the message conveyed was that if the boundary, as indicated by the reports, indeed centered around Gurdaspur, it would carry significant and potentially severe consequences. Chaudhri Muhammad Ali expressed the gravity of the situation in his written account.⁹²²

⁹¹⁹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 03, 1947.

⁹²⁰ "Last Drama of Transference of Power Enacted", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 17, 1947.

⁹²¹ Farooq Ahmad Dar, "Boundary Commission Award: The Muslim League Response," *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture*, vol.33, no. 1 (2012): 17-18.

⁹²² H. V. Hodson, *The Great Divide* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1969), 346.

Liaquat Ali Khan accompanied by Fazlur Rahman, Justice Din Mohammad and Chaudhri Muhammad Ali arrived at Delhi to discuss the matter in the meeting of Joint Defense Council of India. Before leaving for Delhi, Liaquat Ali Khan in a cabinet meeting gave assurance that he would not accept any modification of the Awards, which was not definitely to the advantage of Pakistan. However, in the meeting Mountbatten made it clear to Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan that they had no other option but to accept the Awards. He also told them that the Awards would be publicly announced the next day.⁹²³

The Complexity of Independence Day Celebrations

In the midst of these historical developments, as the transfer of power drew near and the dawn of India's independence became imminent, the sounds of celebration and eager anticipation echoed throughout the nation. Distinguished leaders and ordinary citizens alike voiced their optimism and dreams for a more promising future, all in readiness to witness the conclusion of a lengthy and arduous chapter in India's history. Leaders in Bihar and Bengal fervently advocated for the idea that Muslims should set aside past grievances, leave behind unhappy memories, and stand together as a unified community, transcending distinctions of caste or creed under the Union's banner.⁹²⁴ Additionally, he made a heartfelt plea to all Muslims residing in Assam proper to gather in large numbers on August 15, demonstrating their genuine devotion and respect for the Indian flag on that momentous day.⁹²⁵

Similarly, during an address to the community, Dr. Gopi, the leader of Congress, urged his followers to commemorate the day with utmost enthusiasm. He emphasized the need for grand celebrations, including decorating every house, shop, cottage, and building with flags and buntings. Dr. Gopi envisioned a future event where these celebrations would mark the

⁹²³ H. V. Hodson, *The Great Divide* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1969), 346.

⁹²⁴ "Plea to Bihar Muslims to Join in Celebrations", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 02, 1947.

⁹²⁵ "Assam Muslims to Salute Union Flag", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 02, 1947.

warm embrace of freedom. He looked forward to the August 15 as the day when a dark and disheartening chapter of India's history would draw to a close, fervently hoping for a fresh and promising beginning. In this upcoming event, he believed that India would once again progress toward freedom, peace, and prosperity, as per his aspirations.⁹²⁶

However, it is worth noting that amid these expressions of jubilation, there were also segments of society that believed the day should be commemorated with a spirit of heartfelt introspection and repentance, recognizing the profound impact of the past and the responsibility that came with a new beginning. Mr. L. B. Bhopalkar, who used to be the President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, had given advice to Hindus and Sikhs about the upcoming August 15th celebrations. He suggested that the day should be approached with more reflection and remorse instead of extravagant celebrations. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), published:

It is undeniable that on August 15, the Hindustan Union will achieve Dominion status, significantly reducing British influence. It's worth noting that this status was declined by all political parties in 1912 when it remained untainted by adverse events. Yet, curiously, the Congress accepted it in 1917. The Congress has attained independence at a tremendous cost, resulting in the disfigurement of our homeland. Furthermore, the spree of looting, arson, homicide, conversions, and the like continues with undiminished intensity.⁹²⁷

In conclusion, he urged the community to convene public gatherings, solemnly affirming their unwavering commitment to reunify the motherland. He called upon Hindus and Sikhs to boycott all forms of celebrations, whether public or private, and to persist in their struggle for complete and genuine independence, with full awareness of its profound implications and significance.⁹²⁸

The Christian community in India also urged its followers to wholeheartedly join the Independence celebrations on August 15th. Mr. M. Bothiswamy, President of the Joint Committee of the Catholic Union of India during the All-India Christian Council, stated that

⁹²⁶ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 08, 1947.

⁹²⁷ "Hindus and Sikhs urged boycott celebrations", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 01, 1947.

⁹²⁸ *Inquilaab* (Lahore), August 01, 1947.

"the acquisition of independence from foreign rule is an outstanding event in the history of the country, and every patriotic citizen should welcome the advent of independence, not merely as freedom."⁹²⁹ A few days back when inquired whether non-Christians in the Indian Dominion would enjoy the freedom to embrace Christianity, Mahatma Gandhi indicated his adherence to the regulations and laws established by the Indian Constituent Assembly to address such matters. He remarked:

Christ came into this world with a message of love and peace, yet the legacy of his followers has often been marred by tyranny and suffering. Christians, who are guided by the principle of 'Love thy neighbor as thyself,' sometimes find themselves divided within their own community.⁹³⁰

To extend his best wishes to Pakistan, Lord Louis Mountbatten, attired in his Admiral's uniform, delivered a historic fifteen-minute speech with composure and dignity. The audience comprised distinguished individuals, diplomats, international journalists, and prominent citizens. The *Civil & Military Gazette* reported:

Lord Louis Mountbatten who was in his Admiral's uniform, delivered his historic speech lasting fifteen minutes in a dignified and measured tone to a full House with galleries packed with high personages, diplomats, world Pressmen and prominent citizens. Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, president of the Constituent Assembly led the Viceroy on his arrival to the throne placed along with his Presidential chair. His Excellency Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief of India, the Hon. Pamela Mountbatten and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan occupied the front row while Lady Mountbatten and Miss Fatima Jinnah sat together in the next row near the Visceral Throne.⁹³¹

Problem of Teacher's Transfer

There had been another issue regarding the transfer and resumption of school staff specially the teachers. Most of the teachers were appointed in their native areas. But there were certain number of teachers who were appointed other than their native areas. The issue was highlighted in a letter to the editor of the *Civil & Military Gazette* that like all other civil

⁹²⁹ "Christians Urged to Hold Thanksgiving", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 03, 1947.

⁹³⁰ "Future of Indian Christians in India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 02, 1947.

⁹³¹ The *Hindu* (Lahore), August 15, 1947.

servants, an option must be given to the teachers to opt to any of the Government they would like to remain with in Punjab [Eastern or Western].⁹³²

Good Will Amongst People

Despite ongoing conflicts and violence, the majority of people on both sides desired peace and unity. Many expressed these sentiments and were published in the *Civil & Military Gazette*, revealing the public's thoughts on the division and the ongoing turmoil. One such letter, featured in the 'letters to the editor' section of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, emphasized the strong bonds between Hindus and Muslims, comparing them to two brothers who had lived together for generations. "We would not mind the separation because, in the end, brothers must part ways someday. But what hurts the most is that, with the division, mistrust and animosity go hand in hand." The letter criticized the violent and divisive departure, which had resulted in animosity, hostility, and a lack of empathy, deeming it an inappropriate path forward.⁹³³

Previously, the Indian leader also conveyed well wishes for the recently established state of Pakistan. In a Liberty Week gathering in New Delhi on August 12th, Sardar Patel conveyed India's favorable sentiments towards Pakistan, expressing aspirations for the success and prosperity of the recently formed state. Patel highlighted the importance of Pakistan's strength in nurturing cordial relations between the two nations.⁹³⁴

Name of New Dominion

In a letter to the editor of *Civil & Military Gazette*, an Indian proposed renaming Pakistan to POK, citing rejection criteria for other names and emphasizing the need for a non-communal term. The suggestion recommended calling individuals in the Pakistan area as POK

⁹³² *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 15, 1947.

⁹³³ "Goodwill", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 15, 1947.

⁹³⁴ "No Ill Will against Pakistan", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 13, 1947.

and those in India as Indian when the two dominions would come into existence. The writer acknowledged potential concerns with other names like 'The Paks' being considered communal and 'Pakistani' sounding awkward and crude.⁹³⁵

According to the *Jinnah Papers*, Zafarullah Khan, the Representative of the Muslim League in the Boundary Commission and a member of the Viceroy Executive Council, wrote a similar note to Quaid-i-Azam, seeking his opinion on the name of the Pakistan Dominion. He proposed the name 'Muslim India' in contrast to Hindu India. In his note, he wrote:

The [...] matter is that of the official name of the Pakistan Dominion. Pakistan would have been most suitable vis-a-vis Hindustan, but may be confusing to the foreigner vis-a-vis India. Also, it has connoted an ideal rather than any territory. Why not adopt for it the official designation of "Muslim India" which would emphasize the fact that whatever the Congress may choose to call the rest of India, it is in fact Hindu India? Or, you may prefer West India and East India for the two parts of Pakistan and the Union of East and West India for the whole. From the international point of view the matter merits your consideration.⁹³⁶

Refugee Rehabilitation Process

The significant exodus of both Muslim and non-Muslim refugees from Bihar, the East Punjab, the United Provinces, and the West Punjab was a result of communal disturbances. The decisions made by the Partition Council, representing India and Pakistan, aimed to address this crisis. They established separate refugee camps for Muslims in India and non-Muslims in Pakistan, with both governments taking responsibility for administration and financing. Additionally, arrangements were made for government officials to assist with relief and rehabilitation in affected areas. Recognizing property management challenges and local hostility, both governments appointed administrators to oversee refugee property, leaving a lasting legacy in addressing the refugee crisis.⁹³⁷

⁹³⁵ Letters to the Editor, *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 13, 1947.

⁹³⁶ *Jinnah Papers*, Volume 3 (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, 1993), 155.

⁹³⁷ "Steps for Refugee Rehabilitation", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 7, 1947.

According to the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), in order to expedite the evacuation process between Amritsar and Lahore, the West Punjab Government increased the pace of evacuating refugees from the riot-affected regions of East Punjab. This effort pushed the available transport resources to their limits, as stated in a press release issued by the Director of Public Relations, West Punjab:

Two special trains were running every day, bringing refugees from Amritsar to Lahore, and five convoys of motor lorries were visiting various centers in the East Punjab daily for evacuation work. At that time, two convoys were bringing them from Amritsar town and rural areas, Gurdaspur district, and one from Jullundur district [...] It was estimated that on average 25,000 Muslims were being brought over from East Punjab every day. At the same time, efforts were being continued to secure proper arrangements for the stay of Muslims in safe camps under military protection at various places in the East Punjab, pending their removal to Pakistan or their return to their homes if peace and order were restored.⁹³⁸

The Congress emphasized upon the refugee issue, proposing the continued operation of the Government Refugee Camp at Wagah beyond August 11, 1947, until proper rehabilitation arrangements were in place. During their stay, the government should ensure refugees' protection and dignity, providing essential amenities.⁹³⁹

The detailed plan encompassed housing or cash compensation for property loss, compensating for movable assets, interest-free loans for fresh starts, land acquisition for residential purposes, land exchanges, appointing a non-Muslim Rehabilitation Commissioner, expediting compensation applications, and returning abducted women and children to restore refugee confidence.⁹⁴⁰

Some local residents had also been suggesting similar ideas for past some weeks. One such idea can be found in a letter to the editor of the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), where it was proposed setting up a government run 'Property and Population Exchange Office'.⁹⁴¹ The

⁹³⁸ "Refugee Evacuation Stepped up", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 26, 1947.

⁹³⁹ "West Punjab and refugees", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 7, 1947.

⁹⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁴¹ *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 01, 1947.

office would address challenges related to people moving, finding jobs, and managing money, while also pointing out the problems with unofficial agencies. Additionally, the text highlighted the unfair nature of forceful practices and how they could lead to the conflicts.⁹⁴²

In response to these suggestions, the editorial board of the *Civil & Military Gazette* newspaper issued the following statement:

The successful implementation of these recommendations largely depends on how the governments carry them out, and it is crucial for both administrations to work in the spirit of sympathetic understanding. This cooperation is vital to ensure that the important task of restoring confidence among minority communities and effectively addressing the refugee crisis is undertaken with speed and empathy.⁹⁴³

The primary challenge for the Punjab Boundary Force, as described earlier, was to balance maintaining law and order with handling the refugee crisis. Initially, there was uncertainty regarding task prioritization, but it became evident that upholding law and order was crucial to prevent chaos. The P.B.F. had to manage both aspects simultaneously, as protecting and relocating refugees and maintaining law and order were closely connected.⁹⁴⁴

Nehru's Residence as Refugees Haven

The residence of the former Prime Minister in New Delhi, No. 17 York Road, had also become a refuge for hundreds of displaced individuals from the Punjab. They flocked there throughout the day, extending into the late hours of the night, eager to personally share their tales of suffering and hardship with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. As reported in the *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), the Prime Minister personally devoted his time to lend an ear to their narratives. The publication adds:

Early in the morning, as he descended for breakfast, Pandit Nehru greeted the first group of refugees. Then, until it was time for him to depart for his office, a continuous stream of men, women, and children from the affected areas of the Punjab recounted their stories. They described

⁹⁴² *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), July 01, 1947.

⁹⁴³ "Editorial", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 8, 1947.

⁹⁴⁴ IOR, L/WS//1134.

the relatives they had been separated from or lost, the properties they had to abandon, often looted or burned, and the personal hardships and indignities they endured.⁹⁴⁵

The Prime Minister's Secretary compiled the names and details, which were later forwarded to the Indian Deputy High Commissioner in Pakistan stationed in the Punjab. A member of his household mentioned that the Prime Minister's primary concern during those days had been the predicament of the refugees.⁹⁴⁶

Amenities for the Refugees

The *Civil & Military Gazette* frequently highlighted the refugee issue in its several publications. (See Annex:24). With the aim of gaining a direct insight into the situation in the affected areas and devising strategies to manage the post-riot scenario, Dominion Premiers Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, accompanied by their Ministers, embarked on a comprehensive tour to assess the conditions in regions impacted by the Punjab riots. Their tour encompassed visits to Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Batala, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Lyallpur, Sheikhpura, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepur, and Jullundur.⁹⁴⁷

Amid the challenging circumstances of the refugee camps, efforts were made to ensure the well-being of the displaced individuals. Medical facilities were extended to address their health concerns, and regular check-ups were conducted to monitor their overall health.

Notably, special arrangements have been made for the dietary requirements of the infirm, injured, nursing mothers, expectant mothers, young children, and elderly individuals. They are currently receiving *khichri* rice and *moong dal* twice a day, supplemented with morning milk and tea served three times daily [...] Weaned and ailing individuals are being supplied with cots, mattresses, and two blankets each, and they are housed in separate blocks. Nursing and expectant mothers have been provided with quilts for their comfort. Additionally, the camp authorities have arranged for the distribution of dupattas, which are crafted from mosquito nets, to female refugees. For this purpose, five hundred nets have been acquired, and [...] more than 250 dupattas were distributed.⁹⁴⁸

⁹⁴⁵ "Evacuee's Problem Premier's Preoccupation", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 30, 1947.

⁹⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁷ "Dominion Premier's Tour of Riot Areas", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 31, 1947.

⁹⁴⁸ "Amenities for refugees in Walton Camps", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), October 24, 1947.

Ban on Singing 'God Save the King'

The both dominions were now in transitioning phase. Getting rid of many of their previous belongings. One such change was in the anthem. Earlier it was only "God Save the King", but the closer they had been to their independence, it was made prohibited to play or sing God Save the King. The *Civil & Military Gazette* published that the Government of Bombay informed all its offices that anthem God save the King must not be played on the independence celebrations, instead Vande Mataram could be played if desired.⁹⁴⁹

The Flag Issue

There had been several debated revolving around the kind of flag, its contents and when should it be hoisted. In a meeting at Ludhiana, it was clearly stated by the authorities that there would be no flag until the Boundaries are well defined. The *Civil & Military Gazette* reported that the cause was due to the presence of Ludhiana in 12 disputed areas, which is why this stance was taken.⁹⁵⁰

Emphasizing the significance of the proposed Pakistani flag, earlier, Jinnah asserted its symbolic representation, signifying freedom, impartiality, and equality for all inhabitants of the Pakistan State, while concurrently embodying the integrity and sovereignty of the Pakistan Dominions. The *Comrade* (Calcutta) published his statement, stating:

As I visualize, the state of Pakistan will be a state where there will be no special privileges, no special rights for any one particular community or individual. It will be a State where every citizen will have equal rights, equal opportunity and equal privileges and they will share equally all the obligations that lie on the citizens of Pakistan. It is not a mere piece of cloth. It is not the coloring that matters, it is what it stands for. I can assure you that it will stand for freedom, liberty and equality of all citizens of the Pakistan State and the integrity and independence of Pakistan Dominions.⁹⁵¹

Regarding the Indian Flag, an intriguing article was published in the Independence Supplement of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, which stated that the new flag of India, bestowed

⁹⁴⁹ "God Save the King Banned in Bombay", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 14, 1947.

⁹⁵⁰ "No Flag until Boundary Defined", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 3, 1947.

⁹⁵¹ *Comrade* (Calcutta), August 17, 1947.

by Mahatma Gandhi, bore his cherished *Charkha*, symbolizing truth and non-violence. The *Charkha* on the flag was not only a familiar emblem but also represented the wheel of the Dharmachakra of Ashoka, the saint-emperor who founded India. This symbol was a living testament to India's journey from the rule of great conquerors to the pursuit of freedom through Dharma, spanning 2,900 years of fateful history, foreign conquests, struggles, and triumphs. The flag embodied a continuity of influence, connecting the *Charkha* of Gandhi to the *Dharmachakra* of Asoka and the *Sudarshan Chakra* of Shri Krishna.⁹⁵²

Message of the Indian High Commissioner

M. Sri Prakasa, the High Commissioner for the Government of India, presented his credentials to Pakistan's Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. During their meeting, they discussed their hopes for improved relations between Hindus and Muslims in both India and Pakistan. Mr. Liaquat Ali expressed a desire to end communal animosity and create an atmosphere of goodwill. Sri Prakasa pledged to work towards these goals in his new role as High Commissioner. He also indicated his intention to resign from the Indian Constituent Assembly due to his appointment.

M. Sri Prakasa, B High Commissioner for the Government of India, presented his credentials to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Minister of External Affairs, Pakistan Government, yesterday. During an interview with the United Press of India, M. Sri Prakasa said: "I had a very cordial reception from Mr. Liaquat Ali. I was glad to meet him and present my credentials. We talked for a long time about old days and our hopes for the future. He was certainly determined that the minorities in Sindh have no concerns about the intentions of the Pakistan Government, and he assured us that the minorities have no reason to entertain any doubts about their intentions. He assured me of their determination to be fair and generous to them. Mr. Liaquat Ali expressed the hope," Mr. Sri Prakasa said, "that I was with him in praying that the long communal animosity would now end and Hindus and Muslims in both Dominions would stay where they are, for, he said, quoting the Quran, politically we are neither Hindus nor Muslims," Religion, according to him, is a personal matter. Continuing, M. Sri Prakasa said: "Mr. Liaquat Ali rightly said that it would be a pity if the two states were to become purely Hindu-Muslim nations. Personally, I am assured that both the Quaid-i-Azam and Mr. Liaquat Ali are sincere that communal antagonism should be a thing of the past, and citizens of both states should work for the well-being of their respective states, regardless of their creed, in a spirit of loyalty and goodwill. Needless to say, Mr. Sri Prakasa concluded, it will be my earnest endeavor to work for the continuation of these hopes and the attainment of this objective." It is understood that Mr. Sri Prakasa will resign from the Indian Constituent Assembly in view of his appointment as High Commissioner.⁹⁵³

⁹⁵² "Indian Dominion Flag", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 15, 1947. (See Annex 35)

⁹⁵³ "We are neither Hindus nor Muslims", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 15, 1947.

The *Civil & Military Gazette*: Chronicles of the Indian Freedom Struggle

The *Civil & Military Gazette* devoted an entire publication to Independence, labeling it the Independence Supplement. This edition included several compelling accounts of public opinion. Furthermore, the editorial emphasized the pivotal role played by the *Civil & Military Gazette* throughout the Indian struggle since its establishment.

The *Military Gazette* was 5 years old when Queen Victoria assumed the title Empress of India. It celebrated its 13th birthday before the All-India Congress came into being in 1885. Its majority was three years past when the Muslim League was formed. Therefore, it witnessed the whole of India's progress, halting at times and painful at others, towards the goal of unqualified independence, a goal reached today. Many who strove in the past half-century and subjected the attainment of India's freedom would participate sadly in today's celebrations, as the reality fell short of their ideal. But we cling to the belief that August 15, 1947, will go down in Indian history as marking an end but a beginning—the beginning of the realization of those hopes whose frustration turned many of Indian and greatest sons into revolutionaries. Indians today remember with heartfelt gratitude those who sacrificed so that Independence Day should come. Indians today, in both Dominions, look with faith and hope towards whose hands lie the destinies of this vast land. For these, the pitifully few among the pitiful many, all men of will, will pray that with Heaven's help, they may rise equal to their great opportunities and their even greater remember with heartfelt gratitude those who sacrificed sincerely joined.⁹⁵⁴

The supplement also published the sentiments of the public by stating that " a *Civil Military Gazette* reporter conducted interviews with the "man-in-the-street" to gauge reactions to Independence.⁹⁵⁵

Bread is our first concern in life. We are not concerned with who rules until we get enough to fill our bellies. Independence for us means just a change of masters and, we dare say, a change for the worse," expressed one individual. When a sweeper was asked how he planned to celebrate Independence Day, he replied, "I shall spend the day in mourning and praying for God's mercy." When questioned about why he wasn't joining the festivities like others, he responded, "Do you call it freedom? If this is freedom, I would rather go without it. With lakhs of people homeless, hundreds dying every day, and many living under the shadow of death, how can one think of festivities? A Tonga driver shared his thoughts on Independence, stating, "I do not believe that India is attaining independence. I know this alone, that the British Government is leaving after entrusting our destinies to the care of merciless capitalists. Freedom will bring nothing but starvation to us poor. Similarly, a salesman expressed, "The shop I was working in has closed for good. The proprietor, who has enough to spend and waste, has gone to Simla to have a fine time there. I am left behind without money and without a job. I think my boss has got independence, but what I have got is the sack. A policeman revealed that independence had created fresh problems for him, unsure of where he stood regarding his service. "The Government has asked superior officers to choose their place of service, but we are being treated otherwise."⁹⁵⁶

⁹⁵⁴ "Indian Dominion Flag", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 15, 1947. (See Annex 35)

⁹⁵⁵ Ibid. (See Annex 36)

⁹⁵⁶ "Indian Dominion Flag", *Independence Day Supplement, Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 15, 1947.

The Last Message from Evan Jenkins

The Governor of Punjab, Sir Evan Jenkins wished for the prosperity of the new provinces and a heartfelt farewell, expressing hope for a positive future. The *Independence Supplement of the Civil & Military Gazette* published his message:

As the last Governor of the Punjab, I convey a farewell message and extend good wishes to all Punjabis. Today marks the conclusion of the story of Punjab as we have known it. It is not an ignorable tale. Over nearly a century, we have, on the whole, maintained peace. We have constructed the largest irrigation system globally and roads comparable to any in Asia. Our agricultural practices have improved, laying the foundations for significant social services. Punjabi soldiers have participated in numerous frontier campaigns and two world wars, showcasing the valor and enterprise of Punjabis globally. We have achieved much, and both the people of Punjab and the Britons associated with them can take pride in these accomplishments. In the past six months, we have undergone a revolution. This has been an impactful experience for all, especially for those who had hoped that Punjab, whether united or divided in an independent India, could retain its unity and build its future on its past. We have endured significant losses in life and property, witnessed a loss of confidence among us, and seen friends of generations turn into adversaries. It would be unwise to ignore these unpleasant realities, but it would be equally unwise to dwell on them. The issues that communities have contested are now settled, aligning with the desires of the Punjabi people. Tomorrow, the two new provinces, West Punjab and East Punjab, will come into existence. It is the duty of all Punjabis to make the most of this fresh start, promptly becoming zealous and loyal citizens of the new provinces and the Dominions they are part of. The minorities in both provinces have received ample assurances from the leaders of major political parties that they will be protected. In the new order, there will be equality before the law and equal opportunities for all. It is imperative for them to accept these assurances and face the future with confidence. May the two new provinces flourish under their respective governments as good friends and neighbors. Goodbye and good luck to you all.⁹⁵⁷

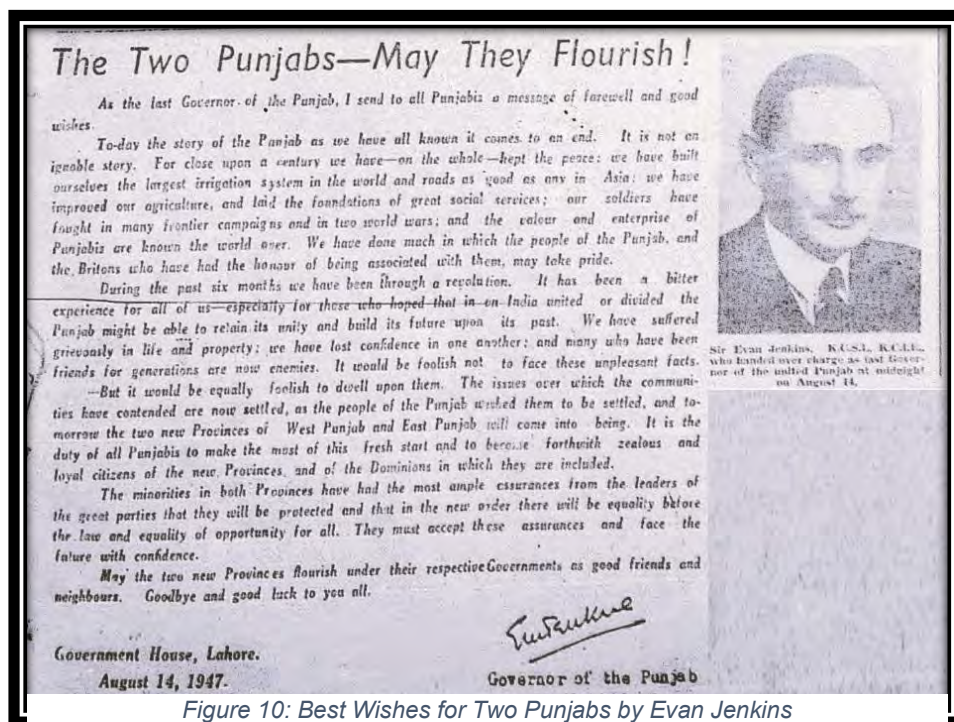


Figure 10: Best Wishes for Two Punjab by Evan Jenkins

⁹⁵⁷ "The Two Punjab, May they Flourish", *Independence Day Supplement, Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), August 15, 1947.

CONCLUSION

The partition of India stands as one of the most painful episodes in human history. This tragic event happened because the idea of freedom in India was not handled well on August 15, 1947. Before that, there were communal conflicts and later, even more brutal massacres. People were forced to move across new borders, and this period was marked by extreme brutality. Jasbir Jain rightly describes it as an event whose shame has lasted beyond just the loss of life and values.

The struggle for India's freedom was like a big, complicated puzzle with a lot of discussions, arguments, and people playing both good and bad roles. Smart people made decisions they thought were right, and when things went wrong, it did not seem like a big deal to them. The fighting and suffering seemed like extra problems. Even though the facts were shared, how people saw things did not really change much.

For many people connected to or affected by the splitting of Punjab during India's Independence, it was more than just a historical event. It turned into a disaster with lots of people losing their lives, economies getting messed up, and relationships breaking. More importantly, it marked the end of a way of life and a shared history that people had. The story of the partition unfolded as a complex and multifaceted episode, mixing extreme joy and liberation for millions with the harsh reality of many lives lost.

Approaches to social science research have shown that careful readings and analysis of texts can reveal hidden meanings and shed light on individuals' inner thoughts and motivations. Studies conducted between the First and Second World Wars have demonstrated the significant role newspapers played in shaping public opinion and behavior. The media's impact is often seen as filtering down through opinion leaders. In fact, newspapers are considered a valuable

tool for examining situations similar to those in Punjab in 1947, as noted by Max Weber nearly a century ago.

It is noteworthy that the press often follows a predictable pattern in their coverage of crises. They transform significant moments into symbols, simplifying them into familiar references that may be remembered without much thought. The inherent issue with newspapers as sources lies in the predetermined agendas that influence their coverage. Therefore, while factual statements and objective reports can provide valuable insights into events, it is the editorial decisions about emphasis, understatement, and editing that often result in only a partial truth reaching the unsuspecting reader.

While newspapers are essential for shaping public opinion, it is important to note that they might not provide the complete picture until checked with other sources. Depending only on newspapers can be risky because they might hide more than they reveal. In societies with lower literacy, like in rural areas of India, false information can spread quickly through word of mouth or traditional communication channels, especially within religious networks.

Considering these pros and cons, it is always suggested that while newspapers are a primary source, it's essential to validate information with other contemporary sources. This is because press reporting faces challenges from societal trends and the fast spread of rumors.

The newspaper's publication, whether in the form of a news report, a letter, or a photograph, is merely one version and representation of an incident deemed essential for recording. This reality poses a challenge to any student of history, emphasizing that the image that should have been recorded might have been overlooked or intentionally omitted. Hence, the news printed in newspapers result from a series of selections enabling a newspaper to elicit responses from its readers. This element empowers newspapers to shape public opinion, with contemporary perceptions defining the prevailing sentiment.

Newspapers were really important in shaping how people saw politics, social changes, and the government's policies during the time of the Raj. Even though they weren't always seen as the super reliable "fourth estate," they played a big part in connecting politicians with the general public, especially before broadcastings.

When we look back at the history of politics during the Raj, newspapers are like a treasure trove. They help us understand how people back then saw things without being influenced by what happened later. Newspapers show us how folks reacted to different events as they happened. But it's important to remember that each newspaper had its own way of showing what was happening. This depended on things like what they thought was important, how much it cost to get the information, and what their readers liked. The people in charge of the newspapers, like the editors and owners, also had their own opinions, and that could show in what they wrote.

Governments tried to control what newspapers said about India. They used official channels like Blue Books and debates in Parliament. But we are more interested in how the people in power tried to share their views and convince the newspapers to see things their way. This process is now called news or information management. Back then, people sometimes called both formal and informal ways of managing information 'propaganda'. Before 1914, this word did not have a bad meaning. It just meant how governments (or the people against them) communicated with the public. Publicity, another word, was about releasing factual information to let the public form their own opinions and make decisions based on what they thought was right.

News in the newspapers, both in how they got it and talked about it, was all happening in the context of the British Empire and its policy towards the Indians. The *Civil & Military Gazette*, where many newspapers were biased, was like a free press right in the middle of other

contemporaries. So, the news in the papers often reflected what the people in charge wanted to show – that things were in order, and the rulers were powerful.

A significant issue with the regional language press in Lahore and Amritsar was its strong alignment with either the Muslim League or the *Akalis*, leading to a substantial portion of their efforts and limited space being dedicated to promoting or countering charges against each other. For instance, the *Zamindar* (Urdu) championed Muslim interests by criticizing prominent Hindu newspapers, while The *Khalsa* focused on safeguarding *Sikh Panthic* interests, albeit with less popularity compared to the *Zamindar*.

However, a more pressing concern contributing to the reliance on English press was the widespread destruction of Punjabi and Hindi publications based in Lahore before August 1947. During the chaos in Amritsar and Lahore in August and September 1947, virtually all papers, along with their machines, paper, and records, were burnt down or destroyed. The anarchy led to the evacuation of Hindu and Sikh papers from Lahore, leaving a void that was filled by the influx of non-Muslim papers into Pakistan, contributing to the dependence on English press for crucial information during that period.

Big newspapers like *Hindustan Times* and the *Civil & Military Gazette* had a strong influence, showing a mix of perspectives. The *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore) became fairer and more unbiased in its opinions about Muslim, Sikh, and Hindu issues by 1947. It had reduced its strong support for the government and official positions. The newspaper used pictures a lot to tell stories and was the main source of European news in this area. It was quite modern for its time. People admired how it could express ideas in just a few words compared to other papers like *Pakistan Times* and *Dawn*. Even though fewer people read it, the *Civil & Military Gazette* had a big impact on the government and shaping opinions. Despite the troubles

in 1947, the *Civil & Military Gazette* continued reporting, and many important stories about the chaotic time in Punjab came from its reporting in Urdu, English, or Punjabi.

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Newspapers/ Periodical

Al Hakam (London)

Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore)

Comrade (Calcutta)

Dawn (Karachi)

Deccan Times (Madras)

Eastern Times (Lahore)

Guardian (New York)

Harijan (Ahmedabad)

Hindu (Lahore)

Hindustan Times (Delhi)

Inquilaab (Lahore)

Indian Public Opinion (Lahore)

Mofussilite (Calcutta)

New Statesman (Manchester)

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore)

Pakistan Times (Delhi)

Ranjit (Lahore)

Statesman (Calcutta)

Tarjuman ul Quran (Lahore)

Times of India (Delhi)

Tribune (Lahore)

Zamindar (Lahore)

ANNEXTURES

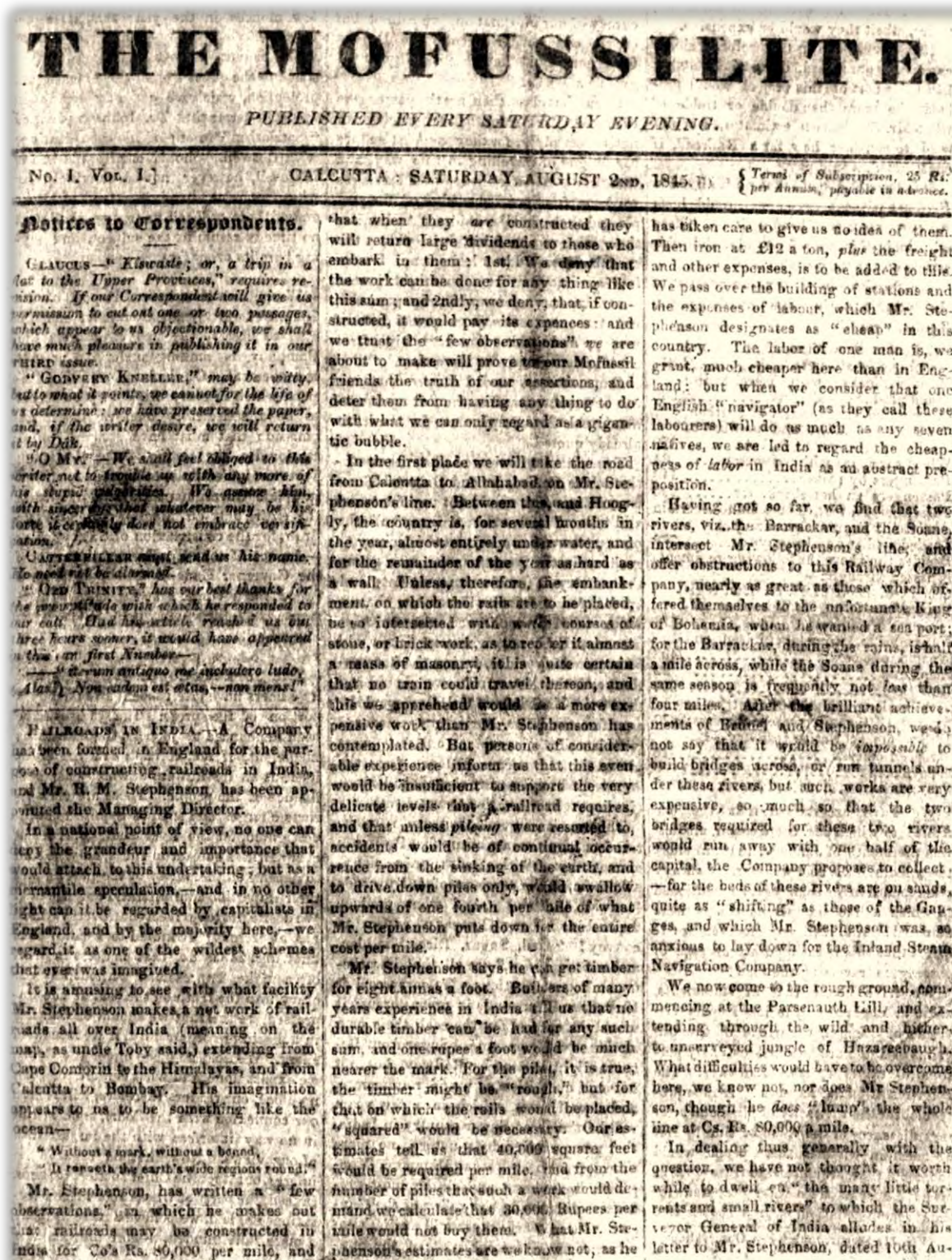
Annex 1a: The First Publication of the *Mofussilite* from Calcutta

Figure 11: The Mofussilite (Calcutta), August 02, 1845.

Annex 1b: Title of the *Indian Public Opinion* showing Incorporation

REGISTERED No. 1 PANJAB.

THE Indian Public Opinion

AND
PANJAB TIMES,
IN WHICH IS INCORPORATED THE "LAHORE CHRONICLE."
PUBLISHED DAILY.

Vol. XII.] LAHORE.—THURSDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 1, 1877. No. 28.

<p style="text-align: center;">TABLE OF CONTENTS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ADVERTISEMENTS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">TELEGRAMS.</p> <p>EDITORIAL : The Famine Policy of Government.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">EDITORIAL NOTES.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">LOCAL.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">To-day's DAK.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Revelations of the Frontier.</p> <p>NEWS : Simla-in-Calcutta.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Meteorological Observations taken at Mayo Hospital, Lahore.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CORRESPONDENCE.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">BUDGET OF NEWS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">EXTRACTS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ADVERTISEMENTS.</p>
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<p style="text-align: center;">BANK NOTICES.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AGRA BANK, "LTD."</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—</p> <p>₹1,000,000. Capital one crore Rupees ₹20,000. Reserve Fund Rs 8,00,000. HEAD OFFICE: LONDON.</p> <p>BRANCHES AT EDINBURGH, CALCUTTA, BOMBAY MADRAS, KURRACHEE, AGRA AND SHANGHAI</p> <p style="text-align: center;">EXCHANGE ON LONDON :</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td>Six months sight</td><td>@ 1 10 ½</td></tr> <tr><td>Four " "</td><td>@ 1 10</td></tr> <tr><td>Three " "</td><td>@ 1 9 ½</td></tr> <tr><td>Two " "</td><td>@ 1 9 ¼</td></tr> <tr><td>One " "</td><td>@ 1 9 ¼</td></tr> <tr><td>On Demand</td><td>@ 1 9 ¼</td></tr> <tr><td>On Scotland and Ireland</td><td>@ 1 9 ¼</td></tr> <tr><td>Circular Notes</td><td>@ 1 9 ¼</td></tr> </table> <p>When requested and the address is given, the Bank will forward the First of Exchange direct.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">INTEREST DEPOSITS RECEIVED</p> <p>Subject to 12 months' notice of withdrawal @ 4½ p. c. per annum.</p> <p>" 6 do. @ 3½ do. do.</p> <p>" 3 do. @ 2½ do. do.</p> <p>Floating accounts kept free of charge. Loans and advances made on approved Security, and all other Banking business transacted.</p> <p>Hours of business ... 10 A. M. to 3 P. M. Saturdays, ... 10 A. M. to 1 P. M.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">C. H. CHETHAM,</p> <p>AGRA BANK, LTD., } Manager, Lahore, Jany. 30, 1877. } Lahore Branch. 21-11 (912—t. f. o.)</p>	Six months sight	@ 1 10 ½	Four " "	@ 1 10	Three " "	@ 1 9 ½	Two " "	@ 1 9 ¼	One " "	@ 1 9 ¼	On Demand	@ 1 9 ¼	On Scotland and Ireland	@ 1 9 ¼	Circular Notes	@ 1 9 ¼	<p style="text-align: center;">Alliance Bank of Simla.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">LIMITED.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Registered under Act X of 1866.</p> <p>CAPITAL Rs. 500,000</p> <p>CAPITAL ISSUED... .. " 250,000</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—</p> <p>CURRENT ACCOUNTS opened and kept without charge.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FIXED DEPOSITS received at the following rates of interest:—</p> <p>On Deposits repayable after 12 M.s' notice, 6 p.c.p.a</p> <p>On do. do. do. 6 M.s' do. 4 p.c.p.a.</p> <p>On do. do. do. 3 M.s' do 3 p.c.p.a.</p> <p>BILLS ON LONDON granted at the Exchange of the day, and sent <i>post free</i> to the instructions of the buyer.</p> <p>FAMILY REMITTANCES to England, payable monthly or quarterly, arranged for.</p> <p>DRAFTS granted and purchased on Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and on the principal Stations in Upper India.</p> <p>PURCHASE and SALE of GOVERNMENT PAPER, RAILWAY and JOINT STOCK SHARES, custody of the same, and realization of interest thereon, undertaken at a moderate charge.</p> <p>ARMY and CIVIL PAY and PENSIONS realized.</p> <p>LOANS and CASH CREDITS granted on approved security.</p> <p>Further particulars obtainable on application.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">JAMES WALKER, Manager.</p> <p>Simla, 15th July 1876. (46—)A.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">The Punjab Bank "Limited."</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—</p> <p style="text-align: center;">HEAD OFFICE:—RAWUL PINDEE.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Branches at Lahore, Mooltan and Murree.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—</p> <p style="text-align: center;">EXCHANGE ON LONDON :—</p> <p>Six months' sight @ 1 10 ¼ per Rupee.</p> <p>Demand @ 1 9 ¼ do.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—</p> <p>These Rates apply only to Lahore Branch.</p> <p>The Bank's bills are drawn on the Oriental Bank Corporation, London.</p> <p>Current Accounts opened and deposits received payable at call free of charge.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* INTEREST DEPOSITS RECEIVED</p> <p>Subject to 12 M.s' notice of withdrawal @ 4½ p.c.p.a</p> <p>do. 9 do. do. @ 3 do.</p> <p>Do. 6 do. do. @ 2 do.</p> <p>Advances made upon approved Security, and the general business of Bankers transacted.</p> <p>The Punjab Bank, Ltd. } D. P. MARSON, Lahore, 29th Jany. 1877. } Manager.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">18-5 (864—t. f. o.)A</p>
Six months sight	@ 1 10 ½																	
Four " "	@ 1 10																	
Three " "	@ 1 9 ½																	
Two " "	@ 1 9 ¼																	
One " "	@ 1 9 ¼																	
On Demand	@ 1 9 ¼																	
On Scotland and Ireland	@ 1 9 ¼																	
Circular Notes	@ 1 9 ¼																	

FOR SALE.

THE following may be obtained at this Press:—

Forms of Special and General Powers of Attorney.—Price 1 Re. per copy.

Bank Mortgage Bond.—Price 8 annas a copy.

Figure 12: The *Indian Public Opinion* (Lahore), February 01, 1877.

Annex 2(a): The Civil & Military Gazette s' Advance

THE CIVIL & MILITARY GAZETTE.

Sunday, January 1, 1928.

THE "C. and M. G.'s" ADVANCE—1872 TO 1928:

FIFTY-SIX YEARS OF JOURNALISTIC SUCCESS.

THE EARLY DAYS OF NEWSPAPERS IN NORTHERN INDIA.

SCHEMES OF PROPRIETORIAL PIONEERS.

SIR JAMES WALKER, SIR WILLIAM RATTIGAN AND SIR DAVID MASSON.

AN OFFICE OF KIPLING MEMORIES AND TRADITIONS.

THE history of newspapers is but the history of many other things worth while—a small beginning which developed into a power in the land. The beginning in India, however, was not so unattractive or dangerous as the beginning in England, for there it goes back to the days of the pamphleteers, when a journalist of forcible ideas might be deprived of his ears or spend unpleasant hours in a pillory or stocks, suffering both the missiles and the mockery of the mob. Articles were then written in coffee-houses and clubs, in attics or even in jails, and news was gathered by the same method, through word of mouth, through letters, through rumours and hearsay.

Distribution throughout the land was possible only through mail coaches and the power of the Government was such that the continuity of publication could hardly be guaranteed. Newspapers followed the Town Crier. Will the day come when wireless will follow the newspaper? Perhaps.

It was not until the General Strike of 1926 that the value of the newspaper was realised by the general public, with the cessation of their publication, every person in every walk of life awoke to the fact that there was something missing from the general routine which, though it had previously seemed little enough, became conspicuous and most important in its absence.

MODERN JOURNALISM.

Trains and telegraphs, modern machinery, modern educational organisation and the hardly attained liberty of the press may be said to have been the coming-of-age of the newspaper and altered the whole aspect of journalism. The penny and anna paper of England and India, though it may not contain the fine rhetorical prose and the exquisite essay of its shilling or rupee forerunners is undoubtedly of more value to the general reader. Incidentally the standard of its English is high, crisp and forcible.

The history of journalism in India presents many features similar to the history of newspaper work in England but the changes have been condensed, necessarily, into a somewhat shorter period of little over one hundred years.

Journalism in northern India boasts of a history of almost eighty years. The *Mofussilite* claims priority since it appears to have first been published in Agra in 1845 and subsequently in Ambala, Cawnpore and Meerut. The first newspaper in that area called northern, a journal found its way into the hands of the public there at an earlier date for in 1824 a printing press was opened in that town by Mr. Samuel Greenway and it was from this press that the *Cawnpore Advertiser* first appeared.

THE MOFUSSILITE.

A branch of this press was opened in Meerut in 1830 and in the following year it began publishing the *Meerut Observer*, whose editor or chief contributor, Captain E. Tuckett, fell under the Government's displeasure. This perhaps inspired Rudyard Kipling, in "The Man Who Could Write," in the verse: "Certainly he scored it, bold, and black, and firm, In the Indian papers—made his seniors squirm. Quoted office scandals, wrote the tactless truth— Was there ever known a more misguided youth."

To our readers, however, the *Mofussilite* has the strongest claim of interest, for it was upon the ashes of that journal that the *Civil and Military Gazette* rose. By some it is claimed that it came into being in Calcutta as a weekly, and gained considerable favour with the public as a journal of great merit and capacity before it was transferred to the north.

There it began its career just previous to a time of great excitement and interest, when the existing journals of the North West Provinces—since lost sight of—were clutched at with avidity by all classes of readers in consequence of the important intelligence they contained regarding Afghanistan, Persia and Sind, and, particularly the Punjab.

This last-mentioned portion of India was then on the eve of revolution and the ability and vivacity which were displayed in the writings of the editor—Mr. John Lamb, a well-known figure in the journalistic world of those days—soon placed his journal high in the scale of mofussil journalism.

A volume of this publication for the year 1855, the earliest volume available, is in the library of the *Civil and Military Gazette* and is dated Agra, New Series Vol. 10, No. 2127. It was published twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays, and consisted of eight pages and was sold at one rupee per copy.

But this flourishing journal was not without its rival, for the *Lahore Chronicle*, which has left its mark on the province, started soon after the First Sikh War in 1846, its promoters being high officials whose object was to strengthen what might be termed patriarchal rule.

Unfortunately the library of the *Civil and Military Gazette* does not contain a copy of this journal, nor does history state at what price it was originally published. It is, however, on record that it was first edited by Mr. Henry Cope, who lived in the building near the railway station known as the Dai Anga Mosque afterwards occupied for many years by the Traffic Manager's Office; and there is some reason to believe that the press was also in the same building.

When the Press Act of 1857 came into force it became necessary for the *Lahore Chronicle* to take out a license and records show that this was granted on December 3, 1857, on an application signed by Mr. Oswald Welby, manager, and Mr. McCarthy, printer.

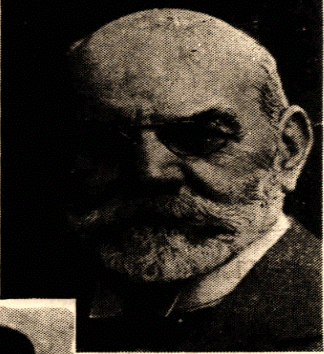
INDIAN SHAREHOLDERS.

So far as can be gathered the *Lahore Chronicle* was not a financial success. There is in existence a printed list of registered shareholders, from which it appears that the stock consisted of 283 shares, held by 57 individuals of whom 43 were Indians.


The largest shareholders were, however, Europeans. It was proved at a later date that at least five of the proprietors of the journal had taken part in the Mutiny and their shares were accordingly confiscated; and we learn that the Nawab of Jhajjar—later executed for treason—held eight shares which he purchased for Rs. 2,000, but from which he never received a dividend. From this it can be gathered that the concern was not a success in the hands of Mr. Cope.

It has already been mentioned that the *Lahore Chronicle* was promoted by high officials, and we find that the younger Civil Servants were not to be outdone for they launched *Indian Public Opinion* on November 16, 1866, and a year later, after a sharp struggle, purchased and absorbed the *Lahore Chronicle* incidentally accepting the policy of the latter as regards interference by the Government of India with the rights of the Punjab.

The first volume of *Indian Public Opinion* exists, though sadly ravaged by age and rough handling. It was published bi-weekly at nine annas per single copy, or



SIR JAMES WALKER.
On December 19, 1876, the *Civil and Military Gazette* came out in a new form, with the subtitle "in which the *Mofussilite* is incorporated" and that issue was published for the first time from Lahore and is numbered New Series, No. 1, Vol. 1.



COLONEL CORY.
M." was founded in 1873 and as a daily in 1876, on the ashes of the *Mofussilite*. The paper was originally published in Simla, and in February of the following year it published an announcement headed "To Our Readers" which stated that the *Civil and Military Gazette*, had passed into new hands and that its object was to make it a faithful and conscientious advocate of the true interests of the services, civil and military, in India; watching all that affects those interests for good or evil.

IDEALS.

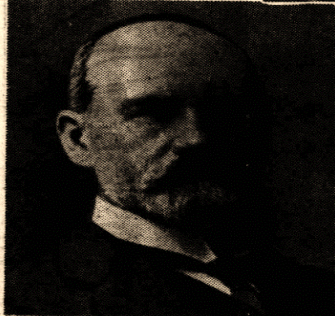
It was hoped that it would find many readers and supporters in the ranks of the Civil who whether designated "covenanted" or "uncovenanted" had done so much to build up the glory of the Indian Empire by work and sacrifice in time of peace and danger; also that it would gain many friends among soldiers of the three presidencies, taking the word soldier in the widest and noblest meaning, as embracing all ranks "from that of the commander to the sentinel."

The proprietor pointed out that the *Civil and Military Gazette*, under their management, while representing authority would not descend to the organ of any clique. Its columns would be open to all representations and claims which demanded a full and impartial consideration and its aims would be to represent in the best sense that honourable spirit which had made the English Fourth Estate the power it was.

It can be safely claimed that during its existence the *Civil and Military Gazette* has lived up to these ideals with amazing success.

A managerial notice announced that the "proprietors wished it to be understood that the *Civil and Military Gazette* is not intended to be a political organ of Simla. It will be published at that station during the season, that the Government headquarters are there and in the winter months at Calcutta or wherever the seat of Government is fixed for the time. This arrangement is made in order to give the subscribers the earliest authentic news."

At this time the paper consisted of eighteen pages, carried the Royal Coat of Arms on the first page and the news was printed in two columns to the page. The paper carried on until 1890 as a bi-weekly of the same format but increased in number of pages and number of advertisements.



SIR DAVID MASSON.
The editor took advantage of the occasion to issue a fresh statement of the policy of the paper which practically repeats the sentiments already expressed. The paper still continued to carry the Royal Coat of Arms.

FIRST LONDON LETTER.

By the following year the *Civil and Military Gazette* appeared to have made its weight felt in Lahore for on February 28, 1877, after fifty issues, an announcement appeared stating that the paper was pleased to announce to its constituents and the public in general that it had purchased the name, business and goodwill of the local contemporary the *Indian Public Opinion*.

The demands of the public on a newspaper in those days seem to have been very small and "red hot" news was not to be found on every page, as is the case to-day. In the first issue, after announcement of the purchase of the *Indian Public Opinion*, Reuter telegrams occupied half a column while Indian telegrams only took up about an eighth of a column.

Notes and the leader appeared on the front page and turned over to page two. There were also extracts from the *Gazette*. The forerunner of our present London letter made its appearance at this stage in the history of the paper, and, written in a light vein, took as its title "Babylonian Bubbles."

Other features were a Lahore column and a summary of Indian news gleaned from the newspapers of three main Presidencies and extracts were also published from Far Eastern papers.

The sporting news, which is now an important feature of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, was only allowed one column and contained the results of Punjab sweeps on the Derby, but commerce was not lost sight of and stocks and shares were quoted in detail. The total number of pages was ten.

The title was changed the following month and resembles the title of any country paper of the present day. The front page was headed: "*Civil and Military Gazette* and *Indian Public Opinion* (in which the 'The Punjab Times,' 'The Mofussilite' and 'Lahore Chronicle' are incorporated.)"

From this date onward steady progress was maintained and as the years passed by the news features lengthened and the quotations from other journals of India and also England became less. But throughout, display, as in the case of many other newspapers of this period and well into the present century, played no part in its production.

No uniformity was kept with readings, no display type was used and interesting stories were left to be found among the duller features of the paper.

It is only in recent years that all newspapers began to pick their news, to thrust it before the public and to eliminate as far as possible all features likely to tire the reader or call upon him to settle down in an easy chair for the evening before unfolding his copy.

The oldest resident of Lahore can no longer see the place where the

Figure 14: Journey of the Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), January 01, 1928.

Annex 2(b): The Civil & Military Gazette Journey

Sunday, January 1, 1928.

THE CIVIL & MILITARY GAZETTE.

FROM ONE RUPEE A COPY TO ONE ANNA.

Civil and Military Gazette, first appeared before them as their own journal, for Court Street, Anarikal, saw its first presses in Lahore. The bungalow is no longer in existence but was on the site now occupied by the building of the Arya Samaj.

Neither can the new corner to the station see the paper's better known home, for the bungalow on the Mall has now been destroyed to make room for the large building which has risen next to the present offices.

KIPLING'S OFFICE.

It was with considerable pride that, up to about eighteen months ago, the present members of the staff pointed out to the many visitors who came to the office that the bungalow in the next compound was where Rudyard Kipling worked and embarked on a literary career which has since become world famous.

To commemorate this historic connection a tablet was placed by the Government of the Punjab on the old bungalow, pointing out to all that entered it that "Rudyard Kipling worked here 1882-1887" but after the sale of the bungalow in 1910 it was removed and placed upon the present editorial office, which is in the court yard, and behind the present building facing the Mall.

This has led to a considerable amount of deception for frequently the office is visited by people of other lands, out to see the sights of Lahore. On entering the editorial office they are confronted with the copper tablet and at once enquire in which room the "Poet of the Empire" worked.

If a certain member of the present staff is present, the visitor, and Kipling worshipper, is handed on to him and he with what little knowledge he has of the poet, tries to explain away the position of the tablet and answer what questions are put regarding the editor and his early days in journalism. Good friends of the paper, however, and good old friends of Lahore, such as Colonel H. R. Goulding have come to the rescue of the modern staff and placed in their hands information regarding Rudyard Kipling which is not to be found outside India.

This information does not fail to interest most visitors who are enthusiastic regarding the author's life. Up to quite recently the office possessed Kipling's desk—at least it was said so though the only person who swore, so, was a very aged Sikh who was in the employ of the firm when Kipling used scissoring and turned contributions into passable English.

ROMANCE.

This, however, was taken away to London and no doubt by now occupies some better place than the corner of an editorial office. Romance naturally flourished round this desk and it could hold its own with the tablet and the bungalow next door.

The carpenter who designed it, had the world known, would most certainly have been famous inasmuch as it was of unique design.

It was the ugliest piece of furniture ever made, the melior bureau no desk but served the purpose of both and had it not the claim to be closely associated with Mr. Kipling it would even then have stood out prominently to the visitor's eye.

Among the many other "gadgets" it possessed, was a shelf high up in the structure while at the back was a railing. An American visitor, full of enthusiasm and a thirst for original information, admired this desk one day, and spoke fondly of it and to it. His guide left him to resume his work; when he returned from his labours he was surprised to find that his American friend had gone, and with him part of the back of the shelf. For some time it remained in dispute whether the loss had improved or spoiled this wonderful example of the Indian carpenter's craft.

Colonel Goulding has given in the pages of "Old Lahore," an admirable guide to the town which should be read by all who are at all interested in the town they live in or visit.

Colonel Goulding says that he was told by the late Sir David Masson, then Managing Proprietor of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, that he gave the youthful Kipling his first appointment as the request of his father, Mr. Lockwood Kipling, then Principal of the Lahore School of Art.

The latter, Sir David said, came to him and explained that as young Rudyard was disqualified for any of the public services by reason of his defective eyesight it was necessary to find other employment for him and, as he seemed to have a taste for journalism, Mr. Lockwood Kipling asked if room could be found for his son on the staff of the *Civil and Military Gazette*. "If I am not mistaken" says Colonel Goulding, "Mr. Lockwood Kipling was himself

a frequent contributor to the columns of that journal. The recent revival of the Christmas number of the *Gazette* recalls to mind the unique Christmas number issued many years ago in pamphlet form.

"It was called *The Quartette* and contained four short stories, one written by each member of the Kipling family—father, mother, son and daughter. A year or two ago a first edition of this publication was sold at Sotheby's for quite a large sum.

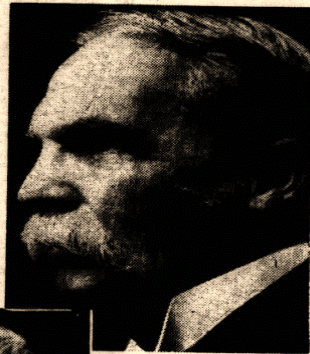
"No doubt the youthful journalist's anticipations were fulfilled and that he began by filling in telegrams and cutting things out of papers with scissors," but he had attained to the dignity of a fully fledged 'special correspondent' by the time the Amir of Afghanistan visited India in 1885. Kipling joined the party at Peshawar, and accompanied them to Rawalpindi, where I heard him give a racy account of some of his experiences."

AVIATION OFFICE.

This expedition, it would appear, gave Mr. Kipling ideas for at least one story and that is contained in "Wee Willie Winkie" and is called "The Man who would be King," which is sometimes referred to as an original plot. But the most interesting part of this story is the description of *Civil and Military* office. In one of the opening chapters he writes—

"Then I became respectable, and returned to an office where there were no Kings and no incidents outside the daily manufacture of a newspaper. A newspaper office seems to attract every conceivable sort of person, to the prejudice of discipline. Zenana-mission ladies arrive, and beg that the Editor will instantly

up to the top of the glass, and the office is darkened just over reading light, and the press machines are red-hot of touch, and nobody writes anything but accounts of amusements in the Hill-stations or obituary notices. Then the telephone becomes a tinkling terror because it tells you of the sudden death of men and women you know intimately, and the prickly-heat covers you with a garment, and you sit down and write. A slight increase of sickness is reported from the Khuda Janja Khan District. The outbreak is surely apocalyptic in its nature, and, thanks to the energetic efforts of the District authorities, is now almost at an end. It is however,



SIR WILLIAM RATTIGAN.

church, but this journal also did not carry with it a serial number so that the date of its birth and death are most doubtful.

The front page was headed by a table giving the reference for the lessons for the days of the week at both the morning and evening services, and the letter press was confined to religious discussions and questions of the day and the movements of the clergy about the province and appeals.

On January 13, 1885, this Supplement pointed out that "The Coffee Palace which is so needed in Lahore, . . . not for want of funds but from our inability to secure a building in a suitable quarter" had not come into being. "It is essential that we should establish it near the museum, as it is to this point that nearly everyone goes some time or other in the day. It is especially unfortunate to have begun the new year without such an institution, for New Year's Day is one generally chosen by soldiers, as that on which a new leaf is turned over. . . ."

The paper itself of that day would not do for the 1928 reader, for its appearance alone would frighten the busy business man. To look at it was dull and nothing was "splashed" as is the case today.

It was impossible to gather from a glance at the headings what was agitating the world at the time, for the Afghan Boundary Commission possessed headings just as unattractive as those for local entertainments.

There was undoubtedly good reading matter within the covers but a search was necessary before it could be found, and the only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the newspaper reader of the day made it his business to read the paper more or less from end to end; a lengthy business.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

The familiar feature of all newspapers usually headed Births, Marriages and Deaths appears under the non-committal title of "Domestic Occurrences."

But whereas the advertisements of the "Overland Edition" were nothing, and those of the Church Supplement confined to one by the Punjab Religious Book Society and another for Bishop Cotton's School, Simla, announcing a reduction of fees, the *Civil and Military Gazette* itself abounded with them and some of the firms advertising then are still advertising to-day.

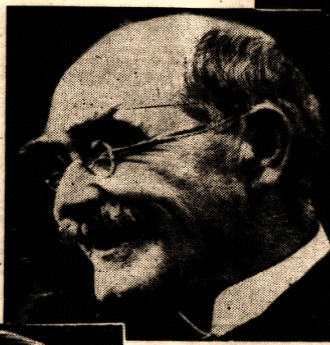
Advertisements were confined to the back pages and contained very much more letter press than the modern advertiser uses. The presentation of the advertisement and the matter they contained strike the modern eye as a little quaint, for instead of the present day advertisement telling the reader of the advantages to be gained by the purchase of a particular make of car, we read of the latest thing in Tricycles.

"No. 1 Best Country make, with front steering, 50 inch wheels, patent double drive, ball bearings, patent hand brake, burrished spokes adjustable handles and seat, nickel plated hubs and parts, complete patent double bell, nickel plated lamps, screw spanner, oil can and valve. . . . Rs. 200."

"No. 2 Tricycle, same as above, but extra plated and finished with nutted spokes and electric bell, complete. . . . Rs. 275."

Sewing machines were to be bought at Rs. 45—and a Singer at that—while a treadle machine cost Rs. 65. An advertisement also appeared for a portable typewriter, of only eight pounds in weight which could be used

(Continued on Page 20.)



RUDYARD KIPLING.

with deep regret we record the death, etc.

"The sickness really breaks out, and the less recorded and reported the better for the peace of mind of the subscribers. But the Empires and Kings continue to divert themselves selfishly as before, and the Foreman thinks that a daily newspaper really ought to come out once in twenty-four hours, and all the people at the Hill-stations in the middle of their amusements say "Good gracious! Why can't the paper be more sparkling, I'm sure there's plenty going on up here."

THE PIONEER.

Kipling worked for the *Civil and Military Gazette* from 1882 to 1887, but his association with the paper extended to 1890, when he left the *Pioneer*, the sister paper. During this period he wrote some of his best known stories and poetry; for the list contain Departmental Disties, 1886; Plain Tales from the Hills, 1887; Soldiers Three, in Black and White, The Story of the Gadsbys, Under the Deodara, the Phantom Rickshaw, Wee Willie Winkie 1888-89, and Life's Handicap, 1890.

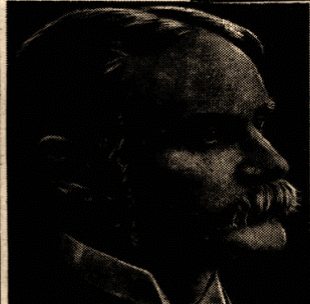
In 1879 the *Civil and Military Gazette* published an "Overland Edition" every week. Advertisements played no part in this publication except one on the paper itself which stated that it was published on the night of the despatch of the overland mail via Bombay and Brindisi and that the twelve months' subscription in advance was Rs. 16 and in arrears Rs. 24, indicating that the resident of India even in those days possessed qualities which some times prove embarrassing to a business man.

The first issue appeared on January 29, 1879, to which was attached a blue slip explaining that so numerous were the requests of the subscribers leaving India, asking that the paper should form some kind of weekly budget of news, that they had ventured on this weekly experiment.

The files in the office only contain the issues for 79, '80, '81, '82 and '83 through which a serial number was maintained until October 20, 1882. The "Overland Edition" continued to the end of that year but there is no indication as to whether it ceased to appear after that. Anyhow no more files can be discovered.

CHURCH SUPPLEMENT.

During this same period a Weekly Church Supplement was published with the ordinary paper which told the public of the activity of the



SIR GEORGE ALLEN.

abandon all his duties to describe a Christian prize-giving in a back slum of a perfectly inaccessible village; Colonels who have been overpowered for command sit down and sketch the outline of a series of ten, twelve or twenty-four leading articles on Seniority versus Selection; Missionaries wish to know why they have not been permitted to escape from their regular vehicles of abuse and swear at a brother missionary under special patronage of the editorial We; stranded theatrical companies troop up to explain that they cannot pay for their advertisement but on their return from New Zealand or Tahiti will do so with interest; vendors of patent punker-pulling machines, carriage couplings, and unbreakable swords and axe-heads, call with specifications in their pockets and hours at their disposal; tea companies enter and elaborate their prospectuses with the office pens; secretaries of ball committees clamour to have the glories of their dance fully described; strange ladies rustle in and say, 'I want a hundred ladies' cards printed at once, please,' which is manifestly part of the editor's duty; and every dissolute ruffian that ever tramped the Grand Trunk Road makes it his business to ask for employment as a proof-reader. And, all the time, the telephone bell is ringing madly, and Kings are being killed on the Continent, and Empires are saying, 'You're another,' and Mister Gladstone is calling down brimstone upon the British Dominions, and the little black copy boys are whining 'ka-pi chayyahyeh' (copy wanted) like tired bees, and most of the paper is as blank as Modred's shield.

RED HOT.

"But that is the amusing part of the year. There are six other months when no one ever comes to call, and the therm meter walks inch by inch

Annex 2(c): The Civil & Military Gazette's Advance

AIMS AND AMBITIONS OF THE FIRST PROPRIETORS

In a long chart, railway train or in camp. The illustration conveys the idea of a troupe of press rather than a typewriter and by no means recognizable as the useful and convenient development of modern times.

The paper was not without its surprises, and the readers found little complaint to make regarding the mixing up of news. A consistent feature of any newspaper is the weather reported under that heading in 1885 we find "Hills—Fever still prevalent; Khairi being gathered, Rawalpindi, etc. and Khairi prospects good, prices stationary." It is true that both these conditions are very much affected by climatic conditions but at the same time much is left to the imagination.

Towards the close of the last century we find that the front page of the paper contained news, but was devoted to shipping, banking and insurance advertisements, a feature which was maintained until quite recently.

In 1899 headlines appeared which have been repeated very much of late such as the "Situation in China." Much space was devoted to the London Gazette but foreign and Indian telegrams only took up one page between them, while nine out of the eighteen pages were devoted to advertisements and Rangens, Watts, Elgin Millard and other familiar names were among them.

Illustrations of fountain pens began to appear in these columns at the low price of one rupee four annas, and fold glasses by Lawrence and Mayo were to be purchased at twenty-five rupees.

MASONS. In the news it to be found a report, on December 30, the special Masonic service held at the Cathedral of the District Grand Lodge of the Punjab being headed by Sir A. Power Palmer, K.C.B. and on this particular occasion Rs. 212 were collected for the Cathedral Orphanage.

Much was said about the Boer war, as it only to be expected and under the heading "Health of the Ladysmith Garrison" we read that "sickness among the troops was normal, considering the season."

The leading article on the first day of the new century was headed "A Century of Literature" and referred to the outstanding writers of the period. "Our London Letter" also makes its appearance and is headed "A Gloomy Week" but stated that the tide had turned after the Modder River and would now carry our arms without check to Bloemfontein and Pretoria.

Christmas week found the public of Lahore enthusiastic regarding the Punjab Polo Tournament in which the Q.O. Corps of Guides met Patalia's set team, the cup being secured by the latter and was presented to the Maharaja by the Lieut.-Governor.

"The War in South Africa" was the interesting heading over some very exciting news about continental developments and messages pointing out that the garrison continued to be cheerful and were preparing for a long siege at Mafeking.

BY THE WAY.

In 1905 the paper began to brighten up a little and showed signs of the changing ideas which were creeping into journalism and sowing the seed of the present day paper. The layout was very much the same as was maintained up to 1921 and there seemed bright headings were still absent, for it did not rise above "British Sailors in Japan," "The Fall of M. Delcassé" while a column headed "By The Way" contained much interesting matter.

The year 1916 saw a little improvement in brightness but it was not until 1919 that double column headings began to appear.

The year 1922 was the jubilee of the Civil and Military Gazette, under that title. Fifty years before it had sold at one rupee per copy, but this was reduced later to four annas by gradual stages and on May 1, 1923,

this affair came down to two annas. From that period much progress has been made, though perhaps the most appreciated feature of modern times has been the introduction of pictures and the extensive news regarding sport which is now published journalism has undoubtedly come to stay in India.

Such an opportunity as this cannot be passed over without reference to the man who built up this newspaper and placed it on so sound a footing and in a position to command the confidence of the public: James Lewis Walker's rise to fortune in one of those romances which are unlikely to be repeated in modern India. He is the last of a little group of men, for he died in April last year, who, by sheer astuteness and grasp of the business requirements of the North of India, established flourishing enterprises and prospered exceedingly.

There was Sir George Allen, who made Cawnpore the first centre of activities which afterwards spread to Allahabad and Simla.

Sir William Rattigan stuck to Lahore (afterwards he set to Parliament) as did Sir David Mason, the founder of the Punjab Banking Company and Manager of the Civil and Military Gazette in Kipling's time.

But in many ways the most remarkable of them all was Sir James Walker. His father was John Walker of the Punjab Police formerly in the ranks of the British Army and he himself was educated at the Royal Military Schools at Sandhurst.

BANKING.

After leaving school he entered what was then known as Peterson's Bank as an assistant. The Bank was not then in a good state but young James Walker built up what eventually became, one of the big banking institutions in India—the Alliance Bank of Simla, associated with him in this enterprise were Ker and Henry both destined to become general Managers of the Bank and rewarded for their ser-

VICES to India with Knighthoods.

But banking did not entirely satisfy James Walker. He was in close touch with Mr. Meakin, a brewer of Poona, and Mr. Dyer and Mr. W. Hogan. They were able to make arrangements for the supply of Indian brewed beer for the British troops in India from a chain of breweries stretching right across India.

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PERSONALITY.

Allen said, but it was soon perceived by the purchasers that so much of the Pioneer's success depended on his personality that his association with the paper was essential. An arrangement was made whereby Mr. Allen rejoined as Manager and as partner in the concern which ran The Pioneer as an All India paper and The Civil and Military Gazette for the Punjab and the North.

In the papers Sir James Walker ever took the keenest interest, and later, on retirement when he used to make his periodical visits to India, he spent a good deal of his time in Allahabad and Lahore.

During his career in India Sir James Walker mainly lived in Simla. His beautiful house at Woodville was the centre of hospitality and he and Lady Walker, whom he married in 1861, were uniting in their contribution to the social attractions of the Hill Capital.

He was an ardent volunteer and raised the Simla Rifles as the Punjab Volunteer Corps in 1861 eventually commanding it with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. In recognition of this he was in 1911 given the V.D. as a special award, his length of service not being sufficient to justify the decoration.

Some say that he was more pleased with this award than with the C.I.E. and the Knighthood of 1903. His name in Simla will, of course, be kept green by the Walker Hospital.

He originally intended to give for the construction of that institution the ground on which Gordon Castle now stands. But the Government wanted that site for the new offices of the Secretariat, so the committee sold the land to the Government and acquired the site on which the Hospital now stands.

Sir James made it one of the conditions of his gift that the Hospital should provide accommodation for Europeans in impoverished circumstances.

A shrewd business man, Sir James Walker had a great belief in the value of keeping in close personal touch with his staff and his concerns. Up to the last—81 years old at his death—he took an active interest in all going on in India.

He naturally failed to follow all the complexities of the political changes of the last 10 years but his affection for India and for its people was unabated. His charming country seat at Worpleston, Surrey, and his house in Grosvenor Street were used to continue the hospitality which had been so generously bestowed on his friends at Simla.

In reviewing the progress of the Civil and Military Gazette the temptation to linger over personalities is great. For the editorial chair and its satellites were filled from time to time by men who, in one way or another, are still recalled by the mysterious gossip, who manage to keep their memories active for the benefit and dejection of newcomers.

So dim recollections persist of Colonel Cory, who afterwards foundered behind the Ganges and was the father of "Victoria Cross"—a novelist of the Edwardian era with a special reputation.

Then there was Maitland Park who went in the end from the Pioneer to make a name for himself in Cape Town, where he became one of the most noted of Empire journalists.

E. K. Robinson was Editor in the last decade of the 19th Century and, a close friend of Sir George Allen, was the father of Sir Perry Robinson most of the Times and one of the "Big Five" of the War Correspondents of the World War.

Lipsett, the only Editor known to have played polo and Stevenson, whose untimely death in 1908 was widely regretted, who came from the tea-planting industry to the newspaper office, were others of note.

Finally there was F. E. Wilkins who for nine years controlled editorial policy with much distinction and sage discernment. His record was notable, for from the humble beginning of a seaside weekly paper in England he went through all the stages of newspaper production and by his capable handling of Punjab problems created a tradition which is warmly cherished.

Of the lesser lights Rudyard Kipling has been mentioned—his salary was raised from Rs. 150 a month in 1883 to Rs. 200 and four years later he was receiving Rs. 400.

W. L. DALLAS.

Then there was Sawtell who left the Press to become a Chaplain in Bombay and died only a few months ago. And omission of the name of W. L. Dallas would not be pardoned in Simla.

Formerly an assistant in the Weather Office, Dallas was one of the most charming of men and gained the confidence of official lights in the most remarkable degree. If he had a fault it was a pleasant one—he could not be brought to speak or write ill of anyone.

Donald Swan, although of the modern school, must have his place in a tributary niche. Gallantest of riders in the Light Horse on the parade of which huge casters used to bolt with him on involuntary dashes across country, he pulled his full weight and more—for he was one of the lightest of men—on the staff of the paper.

The Staff of a newspaper invariably entreating in some pretence or another characters to whose exploits reference in anonymous guise were most happily made. Thus there was the famous feud between two subeditors over the privilege of escorting the wife of a member of the staff to a dance. It culminated in an amusing "razzang" on the steps of the Montgomery Hall in which a basket of eggs played a prominent part. Then a recruit from theatrical circles found the uncertainty of courtship too trying for his volatile temperament with tragic results.

And another, who eventually became an Empire builder in West Africa, fell asleep in Court at the Fort during the hearing on a horse-trainer's day of a case in which the theft of enormous quantities of commissariat rum was under enquiry.

LADY WALKER.

To conclude a note must be made of the names of the present Proprietors. There is first the Rattigan Estate bequeathed by the late Sir William Rattigan, Q.C. who was killed in one of the earliest motor car accidents in England on the new Harrow road for which place he sat as M.P.

Lady Walker now stands where, recently Sir James stood, and to her always keen interest in the welfare of the paper and staff adds a solicitude promptly and pluckily assumed when her great sorrow came.

Mr. C. T. Allen—so much a personality of modern India that detailed reference to him is almost superfluous—fills the place of his father and his late brothers.

Mrs. Chesney, the widow of The Pioneer's greatest Editor, completes the link of the present with the past while Sir Thomas Smith, a leading figure in Cawnpore's business world and one who has rendered notable political service to India, has joined the Proprietary body in recent years.

Of the Managers Sir David Mason has already been mentioned. There was that cautious and methodical worker Mr. J. P. Wilson—for over a quarter of a century he reigned. He was punctuality personified, and clocks were set to his coming and going.

Tradition has it that never did he enter the press, so firmly did he disbelieve in the practice of keeping dogs to bark and still have their heads. Many of the present staff cherish the memory of "Sammy Weston" at one time one of Lahore's "Lodge and Crusted Bachelors" and a member of the famous and now defunct "Tro of Clubs."

So in embarking on its newest adventure the Civil and Military Gazette has behind it traditions and experience which should surely inspire those immediately responsible for its destinies.

DODGE BROTHERS MOTOR CARS



Style—With Comfort and Economy

Dodge Brothers new Four perfectly exemplifies today's trend in body design and finish. Bright, pastel laquer colors, as enduring and weather-proof as they are modish.

Bodies so expertly designed that lowness does not sacrifice head-room, nor compact dimensions impair comfort.

And an engine as notable for its economy of fuel and oil as for its power and acceleration.

Dealership Cycle and Motor Agency, Ltd., Bombay and Lahore. French Motor Car Co., Ltd., Calcutta. Addition & Co., Ltd., Madras. Rowe & Co., Ltd., Bangalore. Fryer & Co., Ranchi.

Annex 3: Gate Keepers of India

Every Sikh is the Sword Arm of India

ONE COUNTRY, ONE RACE, ONE NATION!

SIKHS AND THE WAR

(By Sir Jogendra Singh)

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA, the All-Parties Conference called by the Akali Dal, the Chief Khalsa Dewan and numerous Sikhs made it abundantly clear that the community is resolved not only to maintain its high traditions but to enter the field unhesitatingly to win fresh laurels. The Punjabis have given ample evidence that they are determined to maintain and strengthen their position as the "Gate Keepers of India." Every Sikh carries the emblem of the kirpan as the mark of the distinction of being the Sword Arm of India." Sikhs, men and the women, would rather than allow the brightness of their blades to tarnish. The Khalsa is as eager to-day as it was in the days of yore to make the name of Khalsa resplendent.

The resolutions passed by the Chief Khalsa Dewan and the All-Parties Conference reveal that the community is labouring under a sense of neglect. It can be asserted without any fear of contradiction that the position of the Khalsa suffered an eclipse. The responsibility lies both with the Government and the Sikh leaders. The Khalsa had come to believe that it was destined to realise its high destiny under the guidance of British. With the coming of reforms the British leadership failed; the Khalsa community did not receive the same consideration as the Muslim community, which had not proved the truth of their swords or the power of their rifles. The Sikh leaders failed also to give the right advice. They did not follow the first article of faith, "to be free both from fear and hate." It is said that fearless minds climb soonest into

of our men, including a reminder of the past services of the community in the far-flung battlefields of the Empire. In extending its support to the national demand and in condemning the Muslim proposals for a partition of India, it has made its object clear. It is good to declare before entering the battlefield what men are ready to die for. It does not imply any bargaining spirit; it merely repeats what British statesmen have so solemnly said on all possible occasions. It is in the fitness of things that we should know what is the necessity and objective of this war. Since the necessity of war and its objective have been made clear, it would be a crime to shrink from marching into the battlefields.

Some people have cavilled at the reference in the Akali Party's resolution about the Premier. Government undoubtedly could speak for all the people of the Punjab. The Premier, unfortunately, has to speak with two voices and it is difficult to draw a distinction between the two. The Khalsa had no option but to disown communal leadership, to preserve its special position, and to declare its resolve to march under its own standard-bearers. The Chief Khalsa Dewan in its resolution left no manner of doubt that it did not look to the Premier but looked upon His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala to give the lead. The Khalsa is proud of the share it has taken in the defence of the Punjab and the contribution that it has made to the development of agriculture and industry. On the social side it has banished superstition from the minds of men, awakened new hopes, strengthened the moral fibre and quickened the tempo of progress,

thus stimulating the flowering of genius. Indeed in these vital matters the contribution of the Khalsa is unparalleled in the history of India. In spite of the Communal Award, which effectively divides the communities, the Khalsa stands for unity. It was not without long and patient endeavour to sink its own interests in the larger interests of all the communities of the Punjab that it has unfurled the standard of revolt against the transformation of the Punjab into a Pakistan.

The Final Test

War is the final test of men, of their professions and their practice, their fidelity to the principles that stir their hearts. The Khalsa will enter the field to uphold the traditions for which our forefathers suffered martyrdom that India might enjoy freedom and independence. To-day again it is the freedom of the world for which we are called upon to fight. If France and England, the homes of freedom, suffer, what hope can there be for the freedom of India? Then again the Khalsa must enter the field for its own sake to cleanse itself of the vices of civil life—selfishness, sensuality and cowardice—and in the cleansing fire of war re-temper the true temper of the Khalsa to recapture the highest sanctities and the virtues of humanity which endowed a single Sikh to be ready to encounter a thousand enemies, without flinching or faltering. The memory of the heroes of Saragarhi is calling to us again. It is a call to the spirit and the heart, which no Sikh of the great Gurus can refuse. In the words of Ruskin, "Hearts unstirred are like the tombs in which a God lies barred."

Figure 15: "The Sword Arm of India", *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), October 15, 1939.

Annex 4: Pamphlet dropped from Planes for War Plane Funds

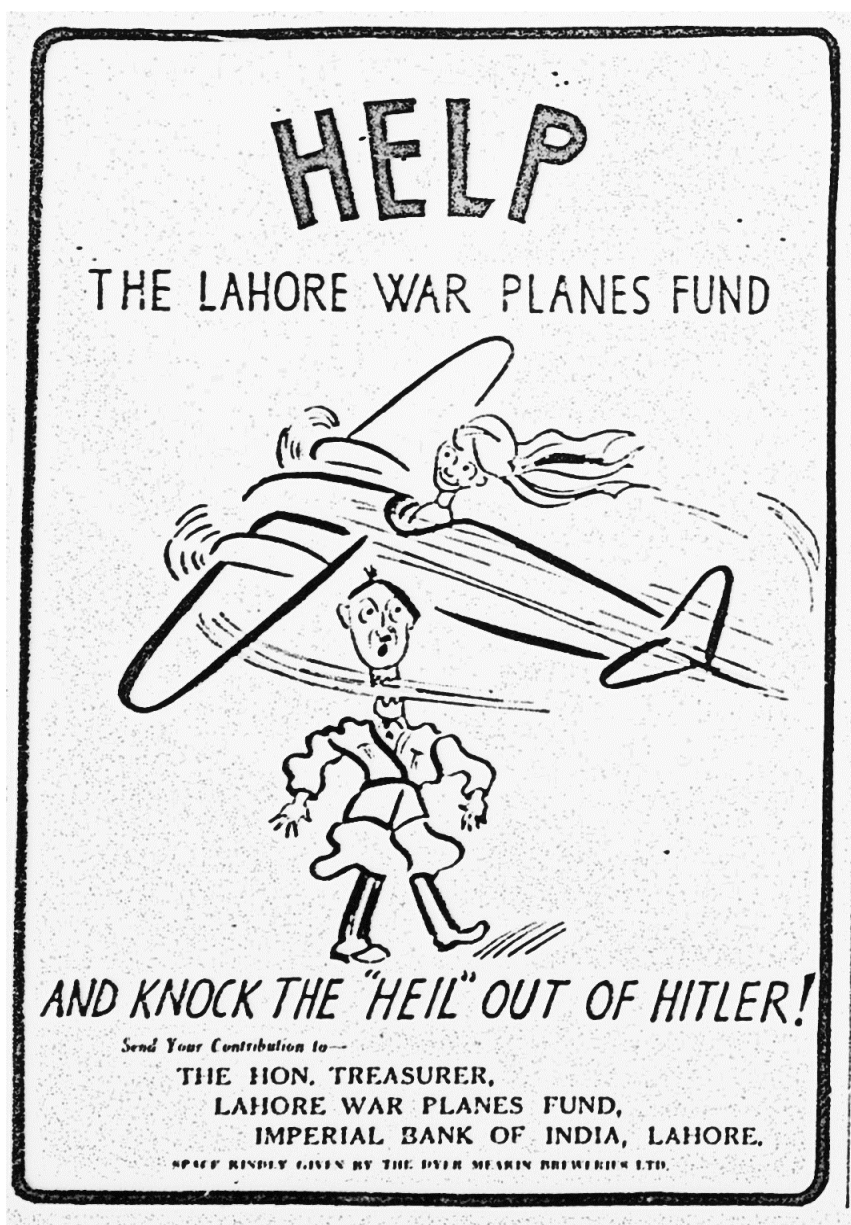


Figure 16: War Planes Pamphlets, the Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), August 1, 1940.

Annex 5: Independence by June 1948

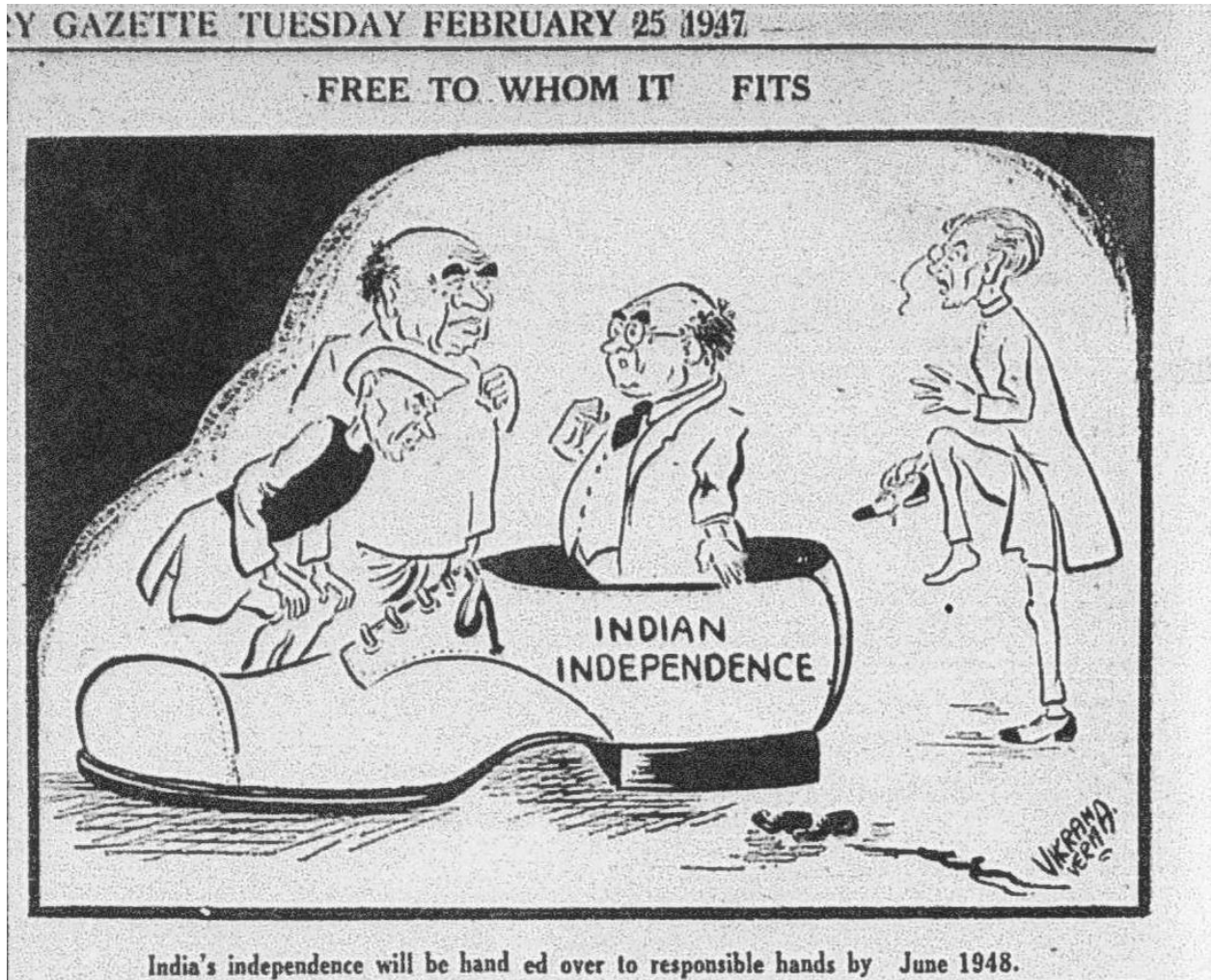


Figure 17: Independence by June 1948, Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), February 25, 1947.

Annex 6: The Famous August Offer for the Indians

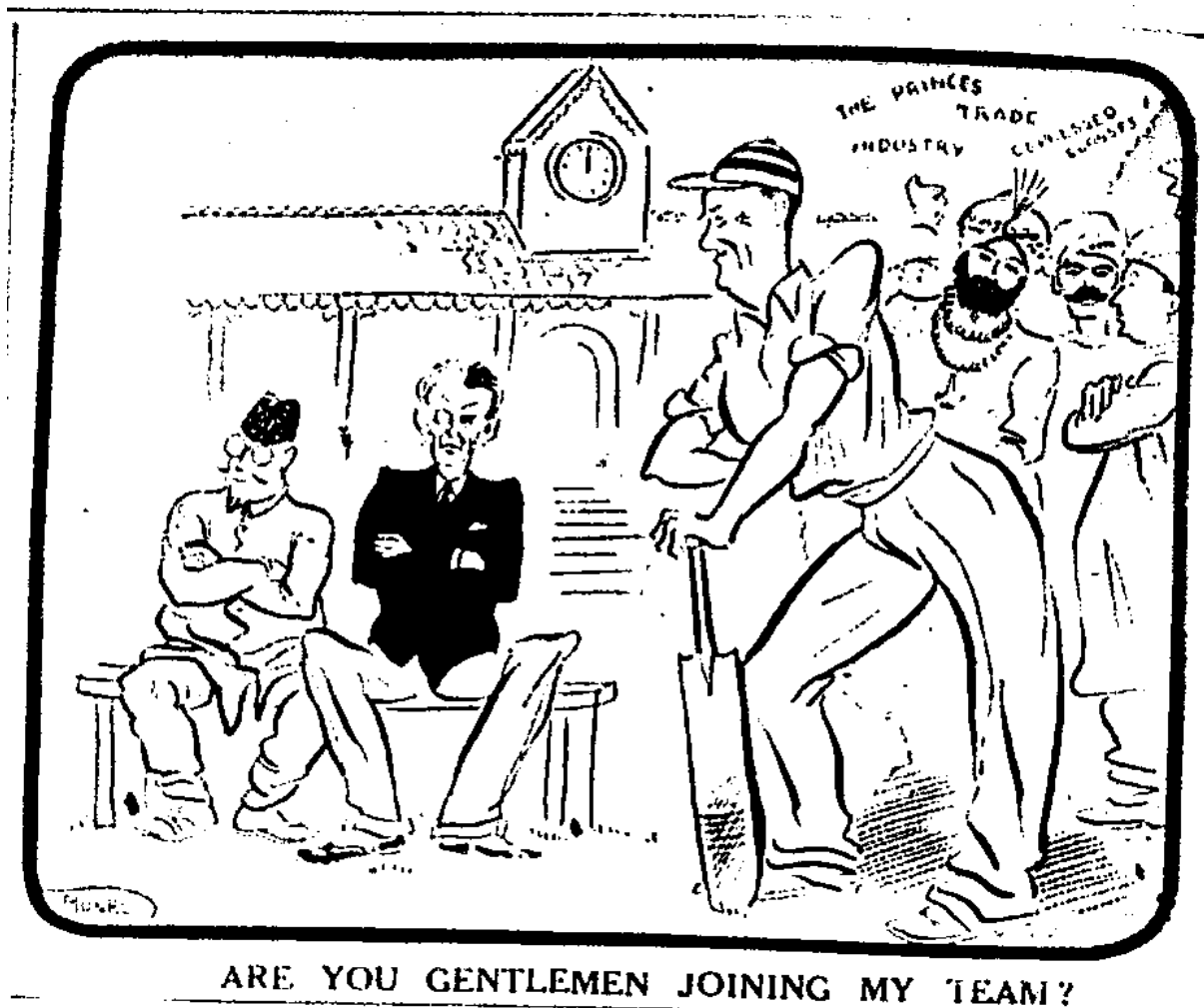


Figure 18: August Offer, *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), Aug 9, 1940.

Annex 7a: Offer to India

Page No. 1044, THE CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE, Vol. 4, No. 15, 1945

SEE THE MARK FOR GENUINE CINEMA SLIDES

PRINCE

312 DILLI, 4 Meland Road, Lahore

The
Civil & Military Gazette

LOCAL EDITION

ESTABLISHED 1857



VOL. LXV, No. 152.

FRIDAY, JUNE 15, 1945

PRICE: 500 (PAK) & 1000 (IND)

BRITAIN'S OFFER TO INDIA

Reconstitution of Viceroy's Executive Council

An Interim Advance

Immediate Future in Indian Hands

NEW DELHI, JUNE 15.—THE MAIN CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION REMAINS AS IT WAS, THE OFFER OF MARCH, 1942 STANDS IN ITS ENTIRETY UNCHANGED OR QUALIFIED.

It was announced by Mr. L. S. Amery in the House of Commons today for the first time the substance of the British Government's proposal for 1945.

The statement, inter alia, contains:

The Executive Council should be reconstituted and the Viceroy should be empowered to make his selection for nomination to the Council from amongst the Indian political leaders of the highest calibre and standing. In preference to such a change a national representative body should be constituted. It would have powers of appointment and removal of Ministers.

In order to ensure this object the Viceroy will call into conference a number of leading Indian politicians who are likely to be the most important parties or will have had recent experience as Prime Ministers of constituent States.

The members of the Executive Council to be formed, with the exception of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, will work under the Viceroy as War Ministers.

General Amery, before this, had announced in a speech in the House of Commons that the Government would be prepared to consider a proposal for a new Executive Council to be formed by the Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The proposal is a preliminary step to a long-expected re-constitution of the Executive Council.

TEXT OF STATEMENT

The following is the text of the statement made in Parliament today by the Secretary of State for India:

I bring the recent visit to Delhi by Mr. Winston Churchill in the company of Mr. Mahatma Gandhi, and would like to say a number of things which I think are particularly of the present political situation in India.

Members will be aware that since the offer by His Majesty's Government in India in March 1942, there has been a steady process towards the solution of the Indian constitutional problem.

It was then stated that the British Government would consider a proposal for a new Executive Council to be formed by the Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

While His Majesty's Government have all times expressed their sympathy for the Indian people, it is the wish of the British Government to see the Indian people in the possession of a new constitution which would be a step towards the attainment of the goal of self-government. It is the wish of the British Government to see the Indian people in the possession of a new constitution which would be a step towards the attainment of the goal of self-government.



Mr. L. S. Amery

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE

Immediate Release Ordered

ALL MEMBERS TO MEET IN BOMBAY ON WEDNESDAY!

NEW DELHI, June 15.—Orders for the immediate release of members of the All-India Congress Working Committee have been issued by the Government. The members are to meet in Bombay on Wednesday.

The Government have also issued orders for the release of the members of the Congress Working Committee who are currently in custody. The members are to meet in Bombay on Wednesday.

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Invitations to Simla Talks

Release of Congress Leaders

NEW DELHI, JUNE 15.—THE OFFER TODAY ANNOUNCED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSAL TO INVITE INDIAN LEADERS TO FORM A NEW EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—MORE KNOWLEDGE OF ORGANISED OPINION.

The British Government's proposal to invite Indian leaders to form a new Executive Council is a significant step towards the solution of the Indian constitutional problem. It is a step towards the attainment of the goal of self-government.

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The Editor

THE INTENTION

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Figure 19: British Offer to India. Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), June 15, 1945.

Annex 7b: Offer to India from the Ranjit (Lahore)



Figure 20: Ranjit (Lahore), June 15, 1947.

Annex 8: Simla Conference of Indian Leaders

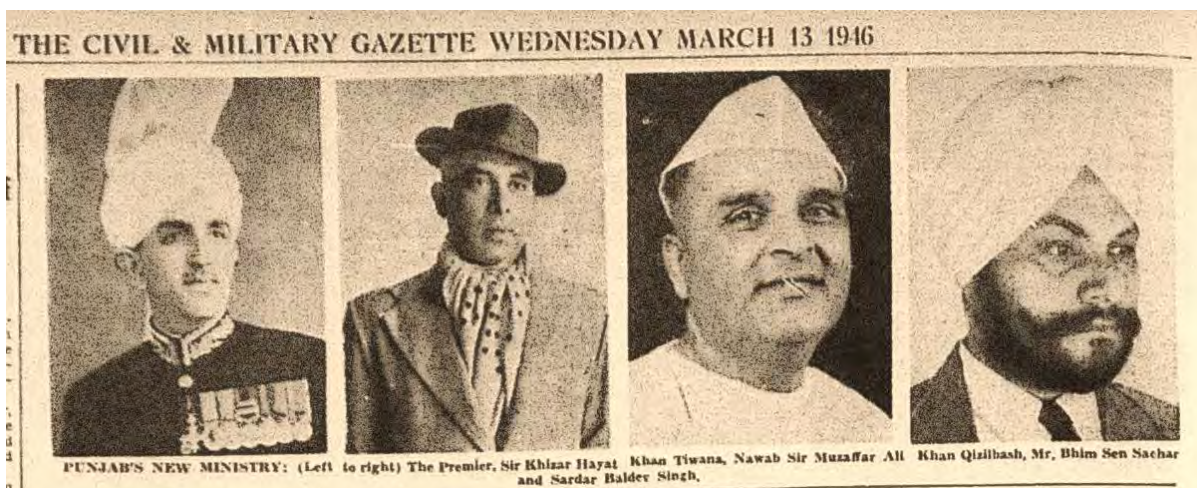


Figure 21: Simla Conference, Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), July 01, 1945.

Annex 10: Gandhi meeting with Governor Bengal, Mr. Casey

Figure 23: Gandhi-Casey meeting, *Civil & Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 08, 1945.

Annex 11: New Ministers in Punjab

Figure 24: News Ministers in, *Civil & Military Gazette*, March 13, 1946.

Annex 12: Governor's Meeting Cabinet Mission

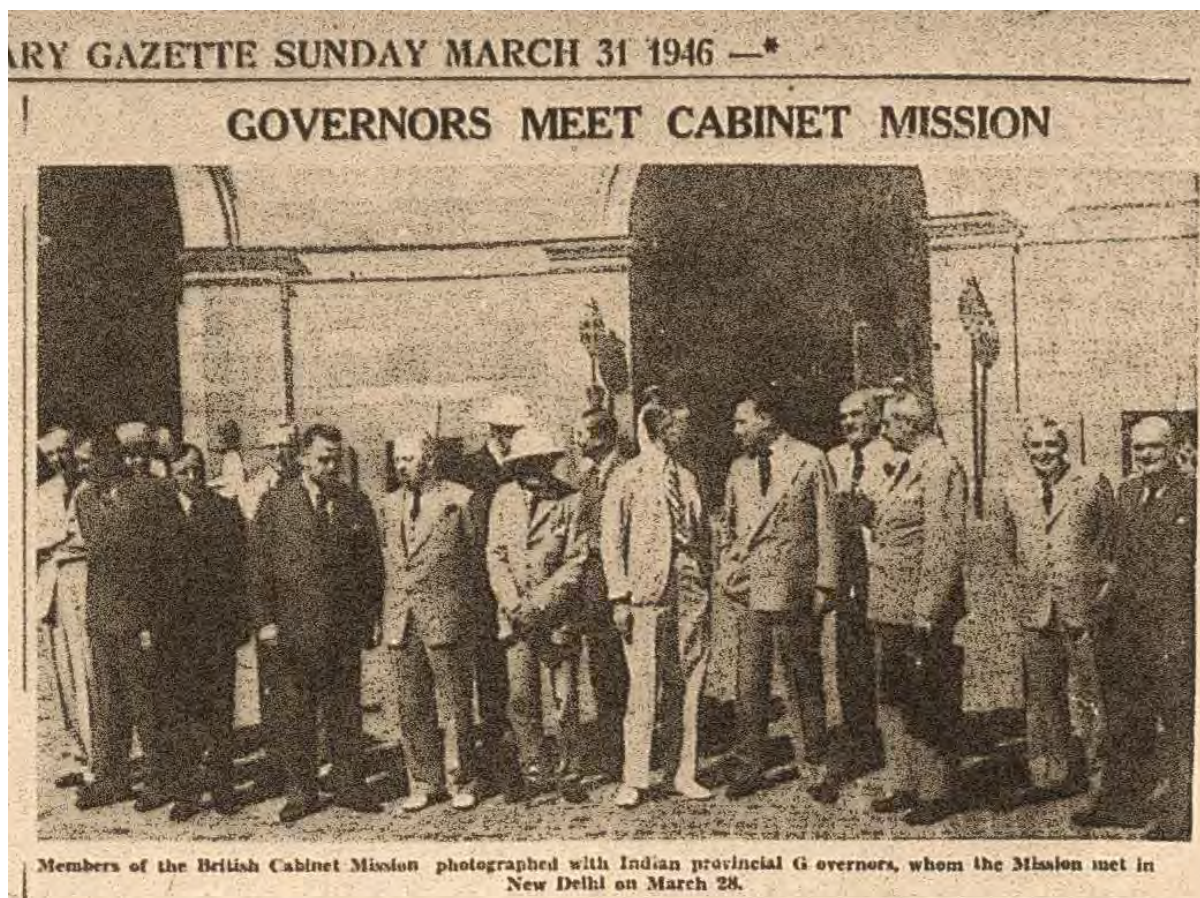


Figure 25: Governors meeting Cabinet Mission, Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), March 31, 1946.

Annex 13: Philosophy of Gandhis' Quit India



Figure 26: Quit India. Civil & Military Gazette, April 05, 1946.

Annex 14: Wecoming the New Governor



Figure 27: Sir Evan Jenkins welcomed, *Civil & Military Gazette*, April 09, 1946.

Annex 15: Political Horizon during Cabinet Mission Visit

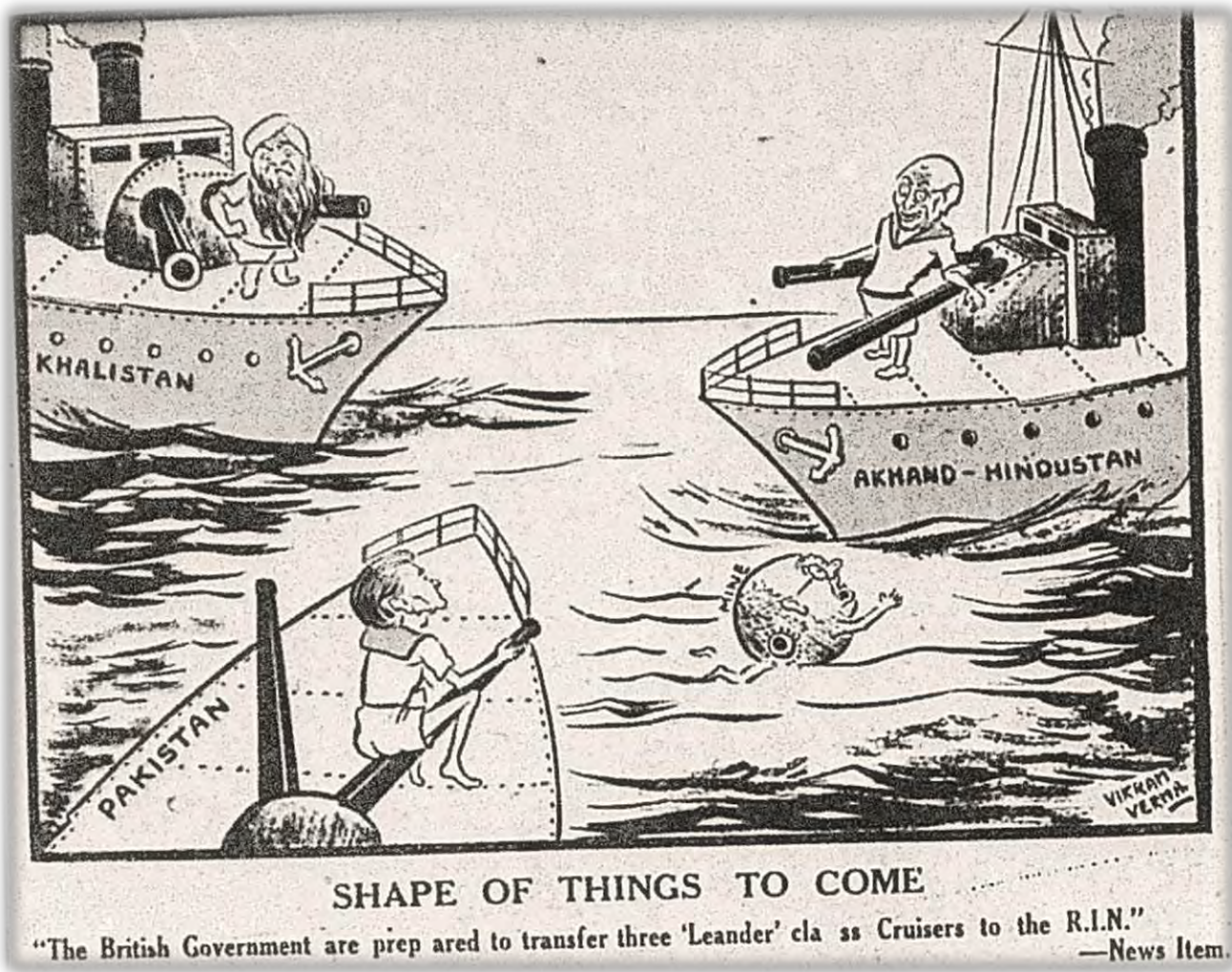


Figure 28: Political Horizon and the Mission, Civil & Military Gazette, April 09, 1946.

Annex 16: Cabinet Mission Meetings with the Indian Leaders



Figure 29: Meetings of the Cabinet Mission, Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), April 07, 1946.

Annex 17: Cabinet Mission depiction in the Press



Figure 30: Cabinet Mission and the Press, Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), April-May, 1946

Annex 18: Jinnah's Luggage Misplaced

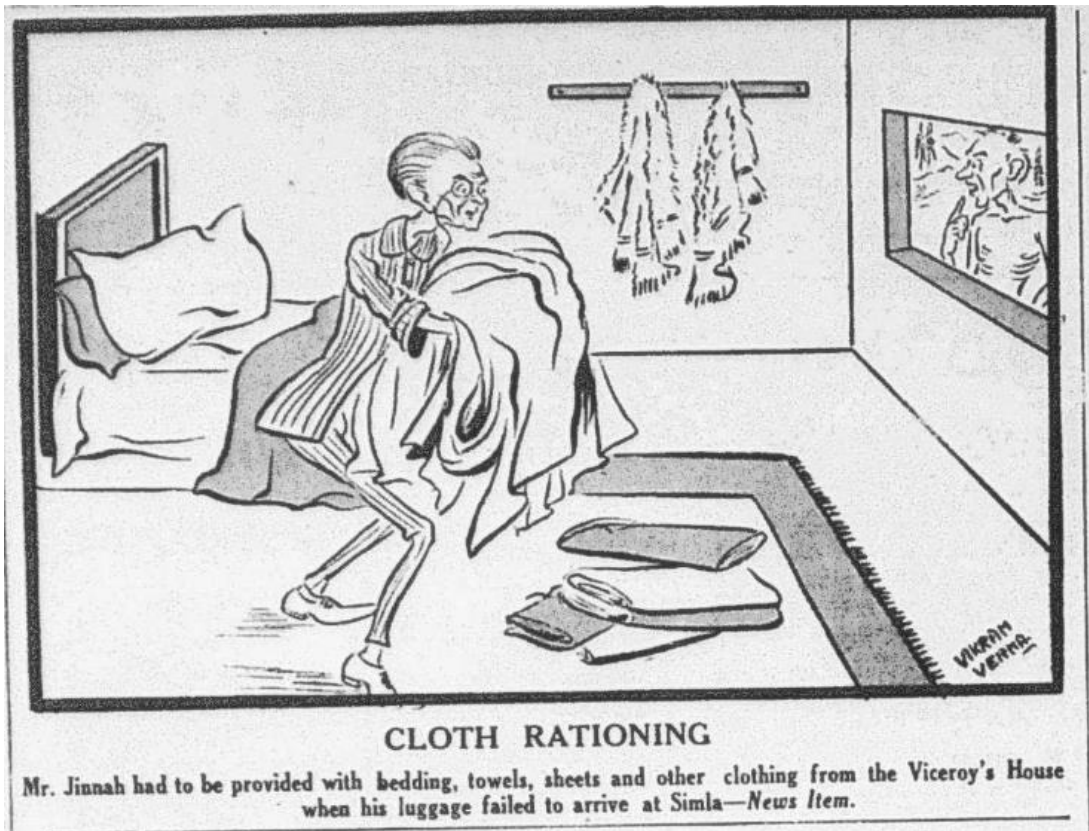


Figure 31: Jinnah Lost his Luggage, Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), May1 09,1946.

Annex 19: Simla's Parley 1946

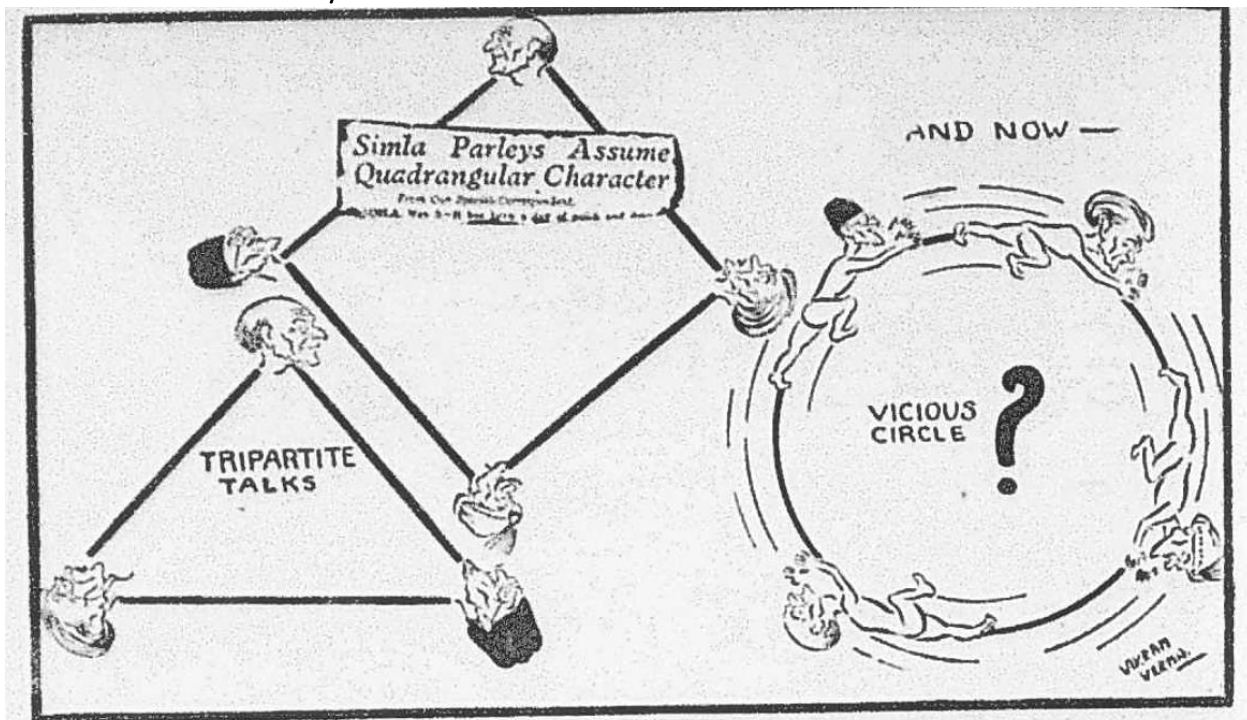


Figure 32: Simla Parley. Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), May1 10,1946.

Annex 20: Punjab, a land of Five Nations

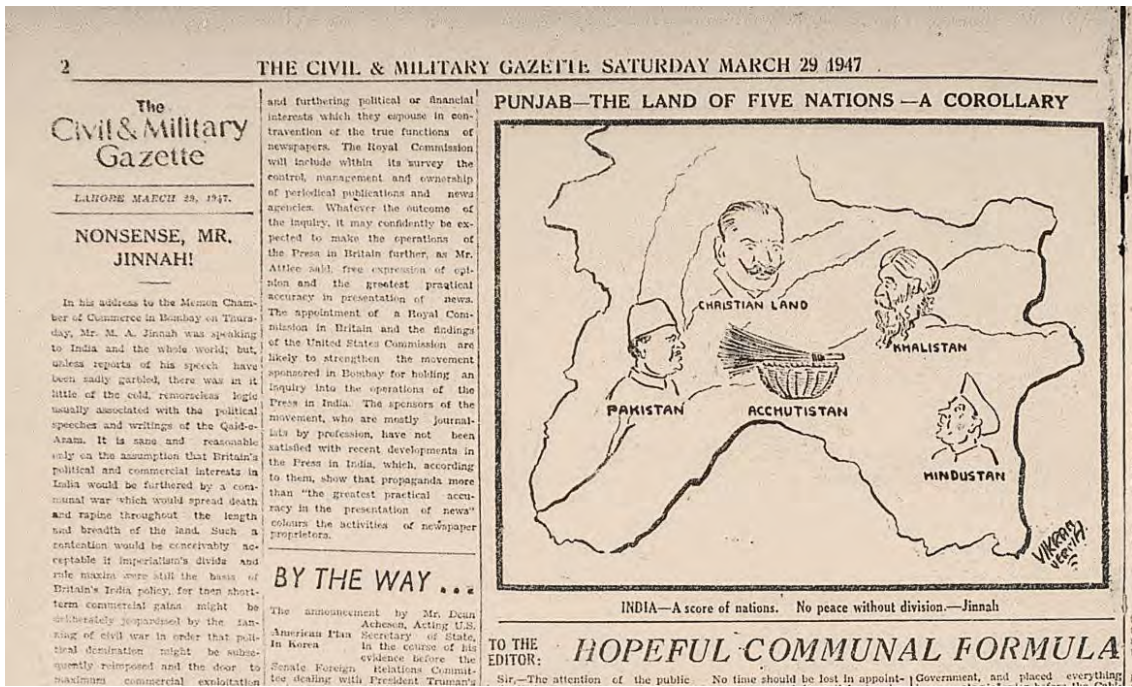


Figure 33: Punjab, the Land of 5 Nations, Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), March 29, 1947.

Annex 21: Difficulties for Mountbatten

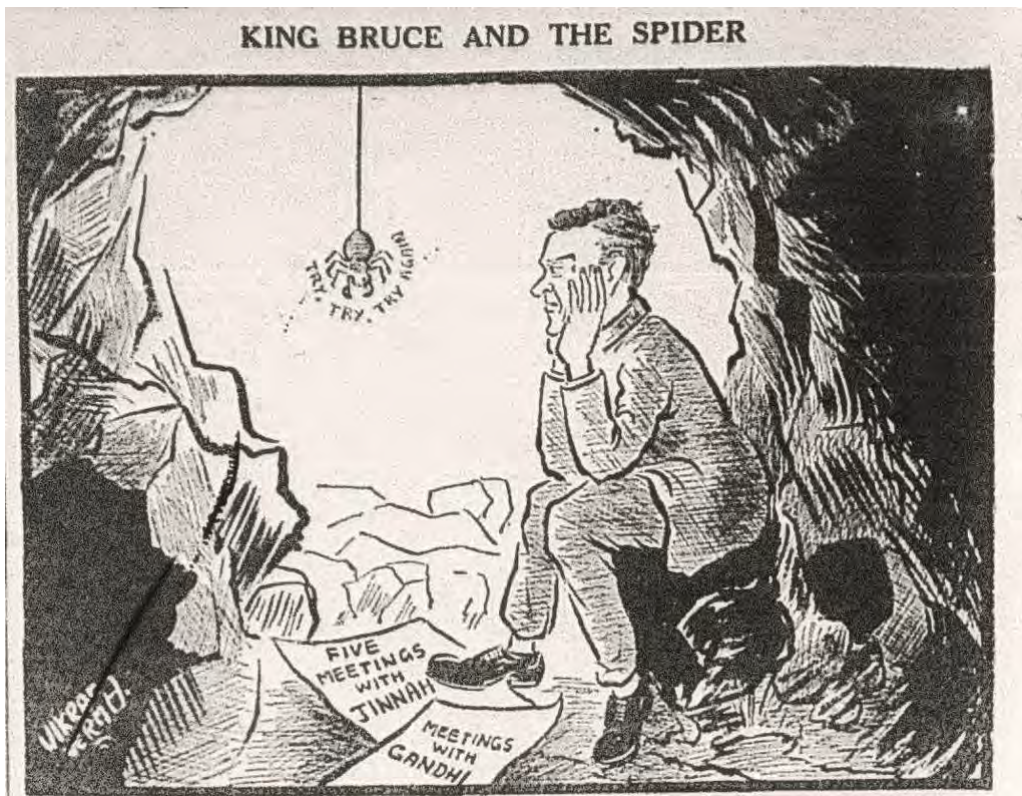


Figure 34: Worries of Mountbatten, Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), April 11, 1947

Annex 23: Jinnah-Gandhi Meetings

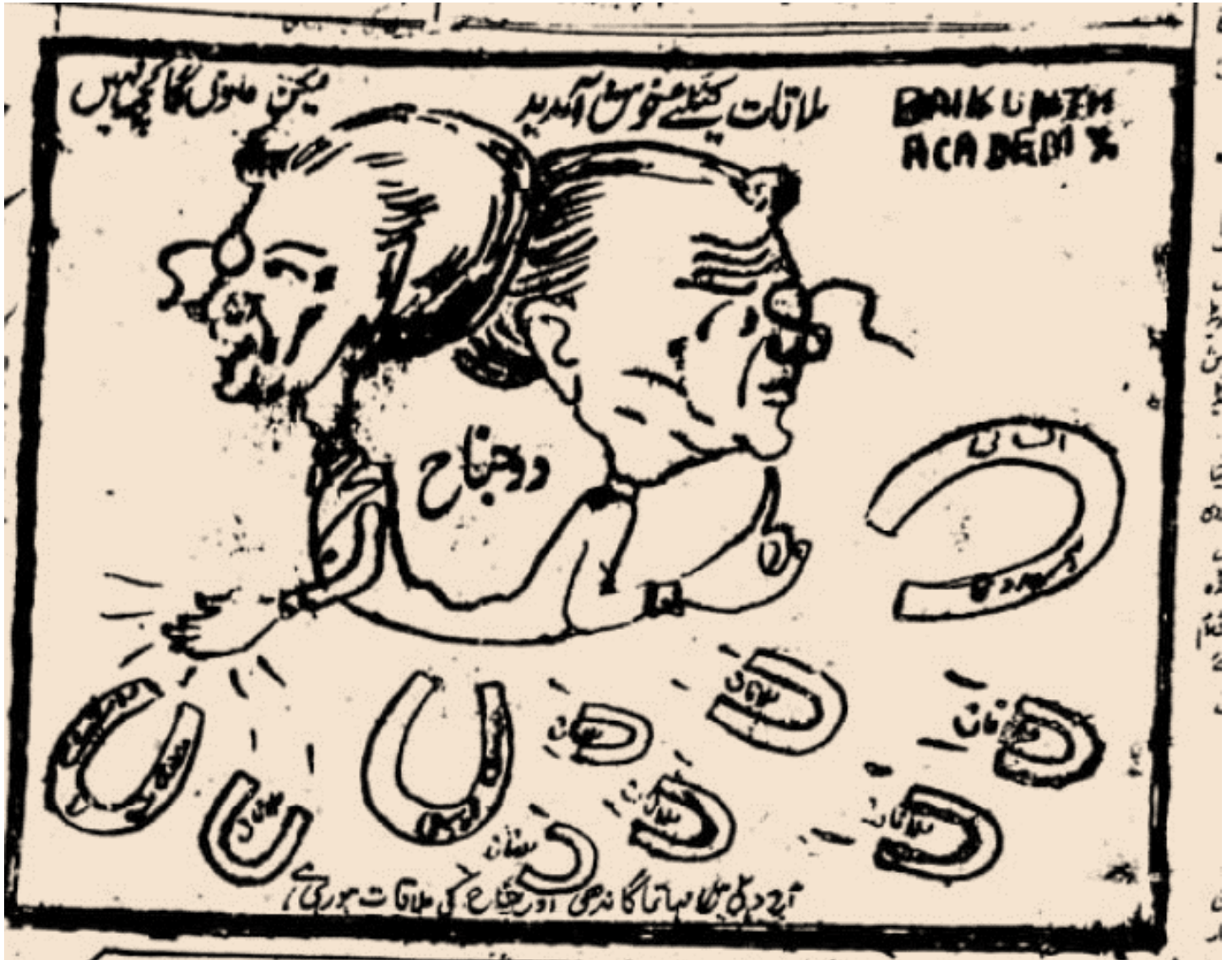


Figure 35: Futile Meetings with Jinnah, Ranjit (Lahore), May 7, 1947.

Annex 24: Free Pathanistan



Figure 37: Free Pathanistan, Pakistan Times (Lahore), June 29, 1947.

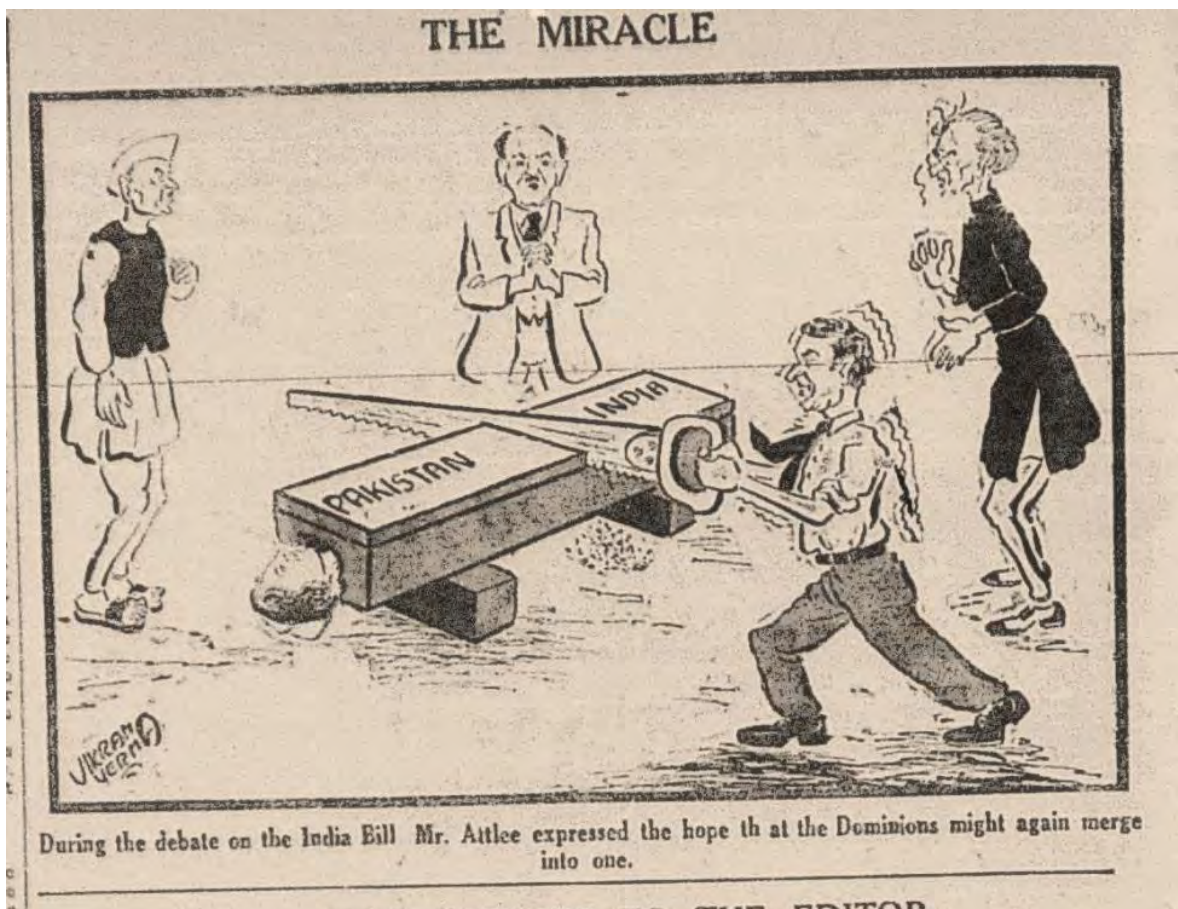


Figure 36: United India back, Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), July 22, 1947.

Annex 25: Shrines and Religious Places



Counting the Shrines (*Pakistan Times*, 19 July 1947).



LOST SHEEP: Found two stray sheep on Chah Miran Road. Owner can claim on identification. A reference to Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh (*Pakistan Times*, 24 July 1947).

Figure 38: *Sikhs and the Shrine Issue*, *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), July 22-24, 1947.

Annex 26: Punjab Boundary Commission



Figure 39: Boundary Commission members, Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), Aug 20, 1947.



Annex 27: Radcliffe Award

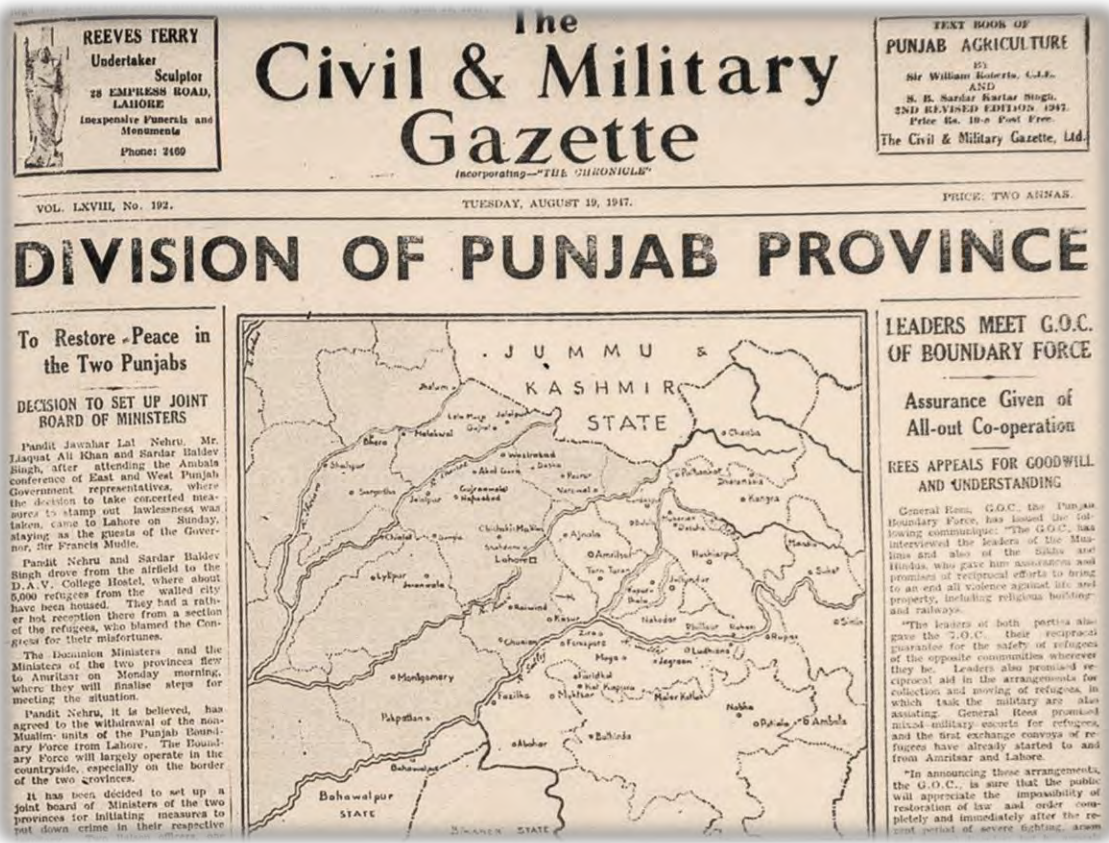


Figure 40: Division of Punjab, Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), Aug 19, 1947.



Annex 28: Punjab Boundary Award Report

Radcliffe Award
LIP&JI10/117: ff30-39

NEW DELHI, 12 August 1947.

To: -

His Excellency the Governor-General.

1. I have the honor to present the decision and award of the Punjab Boundary Commission which, by virtue of section 4 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, is represent by my decision as Chairman of that Commission.

2. The Punjab Boundary Commission was constituted by the announcement of the Governor-General dated the 30th of June 1947, Reference No. D50/7/47R. The members of the Commission thereby appointed were

Mr. Justice Din Muhammad,
Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir,
Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan, and
Mr. Justice Teja Singh

I was subsequently appointed Chairman of this Commission.

3. The terms of reference of the Commission, as set out in the announcement, were 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." We were desired to arrive at a decision as soon as possible before the 15th of August.

4. After preliminary meetings, the Commission invited the submission of memoranda and representations by interested parties. Numbers memoranda and representations were received.

5. The public sittings of the Commission took place at Lahore, and extended from Monday the 21st of July 1947, to Thursday the 31st of July 1947, inclusive, with the exception of Sunday, the 27th of July. The main arguments were conducted by counsel on behalf of the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly: but a number of other interested parties appeared and argued before the Commission. In view of the fact that I was acting also as Chairman of the Bengal Boundary Commission, whose proceedings were taking place simultaneously with the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary Commission, I did not attend the public sittings in person, but made arrangements to study daily the record of the proceedings and of all material submitted for our consideration.

6. After the close of the public sittings, the Commission adjourned to Simla where I joined my colleagues, and we entered upon discussions in the hope of being able to present an agreed decision as to the demarcation of the boundaries. I am greatly indebted to my colleagues for indispensable assistance in the clarification of the issues and the marshalling of the arguments for different views, but it became evident in the course of our discussions that the divergence of opinion between my colleagues was so wide that an agreed solution of the boundary problem was not to be obtained. I do not intend to convey by this that there were not large areas of the Punjab on the west and on the east respectively which provoked no controversy as to which State they should be assigned to; but when it came to the extensive but disputed areas in which the boundary must be drawn, differences of opinion as to the significance of the term "other factors", which we were directed by our terms of reference to take into account, and as to the weight and value to be attached to those factors, made it impossible to arrive at any agreed line. In those circumstances my colleagues, at the close of our discussions, assented to the conclusion that I must proceed to give my own decision.

7. This I now proceed to do. The demarcation of the boundary line is described in detail in the schedule which forms Annexure A to this award, and in the map attached thereto, Annexure B. The map is annexed for purposes of illustration, and if there should be any divergence between the boundary as described in Annexure A and as delineated on the map in Annexure B, the description in Annexure A is to prevail.

8. Certain representations were addressed to the Commission on behalf of the States of Bikaner and Bahawalpur, both of which States were interested in canals whose head works were situate in the Punjab Province. I have taken the view that an interest of this sort cannot weight directly in the question before us as to the division of the Punjab between the Indian Union and Pakistan since the territorial division of the provinces does not affect rights of private property, and I think that I am entitled to assume with confidence that any agreements that either of those State has made with the Provincial Government as to the sharing of water from these canals or otherwise will be respected by whatever Government hereafter assumes jurisdiction over the headworks concerned. I wish also to make it plain that no decision that is made by this Commission is intended to affect whatever territorial claim the State Bahawalpur may have in respect of a number of villages lying between Sulemanke Weir and Gurka Ferry.

9. The task of delimiting a boundary in the Punjab is a difficult one. The claims of the respective parties ranged over a wide field of territory, but in my judgment the truly debatable ground in the end proved to lie in and around the area between the Beas and Sutlej rivers on the one hand, and the river Ravi on the other. The fixing of a boundary in this area was further complicated by the existence of canal systems, so vital to the life of the Punjab but developed only under the conception of a single administration, and of systems of road and rail communication, which have been planned in the same way. There was also the stubborn geographical fact of the respective situations of Lahore and Amritsar, and the claims to each or both of those cities which each side vigorously maintained. After weighing to the best of my ability such other factors as appeared to be relevant as affecting the fundamental basis of contiguous majority areas, I have come to the decision set out in the Schedule which thus becomes the award of the Commission. I am conscious that there are legitimate criticisms to be mad of it: as there are, I think, of any other line that might be chosen.

10. I have hesitated long over those not inconsiderable areas east of the Sutlej River and in

the angle of the Beas and Sutlej Rivers in which Muslim majorities are found. But on the whole, I have come to the conclusion that it would be in the true interests of neither State to extend the territories of the West Punjab to a strip on the far side of the Sutlej and that there are factors such as the disruption of railway communications and water systems that ought in this instance to displace the primary claims of contiguous majorities. But I must call attention to the fact that the Dipalpur Canal, which serves areas in the West Punjab, takes off from the Ferozepore headworks and I find it difficult to envisage a satisfactory demarcation of boundary at this point that is not accompanied by some arrangement for joint control of the intake of the different canals dependent on these headworks.

11. I have not found it possible to preserve undivided the irrigation system of the Upper Bari Doab Canal, which extends from Madhopur in the Pathankot Tahsil to the western border of the district of Lahore, although I have made small adjustments of the Lahore-Amritsar district boundary to mitigate some of the consequences of this severance; nor can I see any means of preserving under one territorial jurisdiction the Mandi Hydro-electric Scheme which supplies power in the districts of Kangra, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Sheikhupura, and Lyallpur. I think it only right to express the hope that, where the drawing of a boundary line cannot avoid disrupting such unitary services as canal irrigation, railways and electric power transmission, a solution may be found by agreement between the two States for some joint control of what has hitherto been a valuable common service.
12. I am conscious too that the award cannot go far towards satisfying sentiments and aspirations deeply held on either side but directly in conflict as to their bearing on the placing of the boundary. If means are to be found to gratify to the full those sentiments and aspirations, I think that they must be found in political arrangements with which I am not concerned, and not in the decision of a boundary line drawn under the terms of reference of this Commission.⁹⁵⁸

CYRIL RADCLIFFE

⁹⁵⁸ Nicholas Mansergh and Penderel Moon, eds., *Constitutional Relations Between Britain and India, The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol. 12, *Princes, Partition and Independence, 8 July- 15 August 1947* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1983), 744-757

Annex 29: The Civil & Military Gazette and the Refugee Issues:

THE CIVIL & MILITARY GAZETTE WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 17, 1947

BIETH. SHUTE: On August 20th at the Charlton Nursing Home, Plymouth, to Marjorie, wife of J. K. Shute—a son.

The Civil & Military Gazette

LAHORE, SEPTEMBER 17, 1947.

HALLUCINATION

In our last issue appeared a report from our Amritsar correspondent giving a full and circumstantial account of a pitched battle between Muslims and non-Muslims in the village of Bhaller, on the Gujran-wala-Lyallpur border of Sheikhpura district. To-day we publish a categorical denial, based on first-hand inquiries made from officials in the district and in the village itself, that any such incidents took place. We welcome the opportunity thus afforded of formally denying the occurrence of horrible happenings described in such detail in the original dispatch, and are indeed happy that the story has proved to be a complete invention. The correspondent concerned is one of the most experienced newspaper-men in Northern India and no blame attaches to him (in view of present difficulties in communication) for trusting the authenticity of an account related by the leader of the non-Muslim villagers in the presence of the Ahal leader, Master Tara Singh. Moreover, although our columns are closed to the riot experiences of individuals, the events described as the "battle of Bhaller," in which well over 10,000 people were alleged to have been involved, can scarcely come within the category of individual experiences. As for the narrator of the original story, he must be, according to the D.P.I.'s statement, a fit subject of study by a psychiatrist. He is obviously the victim of self-delusion to a degree at which his sanity is in danger. Unfortunately, there are many in the two Punjabes at the moment who are suffering from a similar disease. It would appear that the terrible things that have undoubtedly happened on both sides of the border have so preyed on the minds of those of doubtful mental stability that they are suffering from hallucinations which make of them either the victims of outrages or the gallant defenders of others threatened with outrage. Every day are being told throughout the length and breadth of the Punjab (and even further afield) stories of massacre and rapine which contain no slightest vestige of truth. Unfortunately, these stories are implicitly believed, with the consequent stirring-up of hatred, resentment and desire for revenge. Still more unfortunately, some of these stories appear in print as hard news—and their evil effect is increased tenfold.

Conspiracy Against Pakistan?

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, has brought a very serious charge against those responsible for the maintenance of law and order in East Punjab. He has told the Punjab Muslim League Council of a sinister conspiracy in East Punjab against Muslims which, according to him, was intended to wreck Pakistan. What makes Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's statement very serious is the assertion that the forces in East Punjab whose duty it was to maintain law and order used their rifles and bayonets to terrorise Muslims. Those who earnestly desire to see an end to the tragedy of carnage which has been staged in East and West Punjab will now expect the Prime Minister of Pakistan completely to unveil the conspirators who cannot be absolved from responsibility for undermining the foundations of good government in both Dominions, whatever their motives or intentions. If, as Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan says, they have made the military and the police in East Punjab forget their duty, it is difficult to resist the suspicion that the conspiracy against Muslims had supporters in high places, and this is very disconcerting for the ministry in East Punjab as well as for the Government of the Dominion of India, which cannot ignore the implication of the statement of the Prime Minister of Pakistan. If what Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has said of the dereliction of their duty by the military and the police in East Punjab is true, neither the East Punjab Government nor the Government of the Dominion of India can afford to dismiss off-hand the serious charge brought by the Prime Minister of Pakistan against those who, according to him, conspired to sabotage the Dominion of Pakistan. Indeed, all in both Dominions who believe in the maintenance of law and order as the foundation of civilised life will realise the seriousness of the conspiracy which Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan says is the main cause of the movements of hordes of refugees in both India and Pakistan imperilling their economic life.

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BY THE WAY...

The East Punjab Government is experimenting with a modified system of collective farming in an attempt to solve its refugee problem. There are some 200,000 acres formerly held by Muslim agriculturists which are to be provided these collective farms for re-settling families from West Punjab, where their place will be taken by Muslim refugees from East Punjab. The Government is rightly trying to overcome the difficulties which small holdings have always created for the cultivator of the soil.

How the East Punjab Government proposes to deal with one of the main difficulties of small-holders, namely, the partition of the holdings, when the joint family system of the Hindus has failed to function, remains to be seen. The experiment in collective farming is, however, to be of short duration. It will decide how far the system can be adopted with profit in India.

Each refugee family is to have land allotted to it, which will be of equal production value, but it is not known if the Government will be asked to adopt modern methods of cultivation. The experiment is, however, to be of short duration. It will decide how far the system can be adopted with profit in India.

An educational problem which Pakistan seems likely to call upon to solve is the future of the Muslim University of India at Aligarh. The College is the only educational institution of its kind, and its founder, the late Sir Syed Ahmad, intended it to be a college for Muslims of the lines of Oxford or Cambridge colleges. Members of other communities were admitted, but it was to be essentially a college for Muslims.

With Aligarh outside Pakistan, it is an open question if the sister Dominion of India can reasonably be expected to maintain the characteristic feature of either the Muslim University or the M.A.O. College as the centre of learning for Muslims.

The Premier of Bombay, Mr. B. G. Khan, has frankly made a statement refusing to support a Muslim project for a school exclusively for Muslim girls. The Government of the United Provinces may also find it difficult to maintain the tradition of the M.A.O. College as a centre of education primarily for Muslims.

Probably the most poignant incident in the Hejira of Muslims from the Dominion of India, to Pakistan is the migration of Meos from Alwar, with Bharatpur, their ancestral home for centuries. The Meos claim descent from the Rajput clans of Jodha, Kachwa and Tunwar, and they gave their name to the historical province of Mewar, which in Moghul times was part of the Subah of Agra. The original Meos, together with other castes, embraced Islam in the 13th century at the time of the invasion of India by Mahmud Ghaznavi. Now the Meos are leaving Mewar and migrating to Pakistan.

New chemical compounds known as "quaternaries" which clean and sterilise without irritating or poisoning are sold in the United States where hospitals, restaurants, bakeries, posternum plants, farms, homes and factories are making wide use of them. Quarternaries attack bacteria in a manner unlike other germicide-by dissolving their chemical. One quaternary is a paraffin-like water-insoluble which acts as soap. The new chemical compounds are sold in a wide variety of forms. Most are odourless, colourless and non-irritating. They can be used commercially on fabrics.

A LAUGH A DAY Saddler (to customer who has asked for a single spur).—"What use is one of the horse to go on the one side will

WOULD BE REFUGEE HELPERS WHO ONLY AWAIT TRANSPORT

(To The Editor, "C. and M. G.")

Sir,—In one of the few editions of the Civil and Military Gazette that has reached us here, we saw an appeal from Dr. Manary of the Presbyterian Mission, for missionaries to return to their stations from the hills to help with refugee work and to make themselves useful. His appeal sounds as if he thought the missionaries now in the hills, were remaining there from fear and with the object of avoiding all danger and unpleasantness and of shirking their duties as missionaries. I would like to reply to Dr. Manary that the 100 or so missionaries up here whom I know have been very impatient to get back to their stations and have been consistently making every effort to do so, but without avail. They have gone to Saharanpur and Dehra Dun to try and get a train and found only one train going northwards and they have to wait until it was quite impossible to get a train, and were also told that the train would go only as far as Ambala.

CONTINUED EFFORT

They have tried to get passage by air from Delhi. They have appealed to Army officers for a place in their trucks. There seems to be no way for the missionaries here to reach the Punjab. We will continue to try. If Dr. Manary or any one else, who feels that the missionaries would be a help and not a hindrance, could persuade the civil and military authorities of our usefulness and get them to arrange means of transportation for us, we would be eternally grateful. We have here doctors, nurses, school teachers and workers. All would gladly be used to help the Government deal with the refugee problem and help with all their might to bring peace to our land. We will continue to try and get our own people as we will succeed in time, but the military could help greatly or if the railway would attach a reserved body on to the Frontier Mail we could all come down very easily.

WILLIAM SUTHERLAND, Landour, Mussoorie.

Helpless

Sir,—We refugee students of the Punjab University Institute of Chemistry would like to bring our state of helplessness with regard to the annual examination of the B.Sc. Honours School Chemistry and the arrangements for the admission of the fourth year M.Sc. class to the notice of the University authorities in East Punjab. Our class consists of 40 students, of which about 35 are non-Muslims. All of us left Lahore during the disturbances. Some have left our books behind or have had them burned. Some of us are still in refugee camps with no other place to live. Our examination was announced to be held on September 6, but in these circumstances no non-Muslim dare enter Lahore. The arrangements for our examination must be made in Amritsar by the E. Punjab authorities, hold it either in the latter part of October or first week of November. If the examinations cannot be held in due time the degrees could be awarded on the past record, as done last year by Calcutta University.

REFUGEE STUDENTS. Simla.

It was announced in "The Civil and Military Gazette" of September 10 that the examination for B.Sc. Honours School Chemistry and M.Sc. Tech. would be held by Punjab University on November 14.—Ed.

Heartfelt

Sir,—Heartfelt thanks are due to a Major of the 1st Dogra Regiment, Infantry Brigade, Amritsar, for his efforts in rescuing about 20 Muslim girls of Chamary (Ajnala Tehsil) who were left there when the place was attacked. Through this gallant officer's help, these girls reached Lahore quite safely on September 10. If the officers in charge in both Dominions perform their duties in just such a spirit the day need not be far when Hindustan and Pakistan might live as good neighbours for all time to come. T. SHAIKH, Ahmadiya Buildings, Lahore.

Disaster

Sir,—I hope the authorities take more than passing notice of the lead you have given in your leader of the issue of September 11. Exchange of population between Pakistan and Hindustan can never lead to prosperity in either Dominion. It is but the financial and economic disaster for both—apart from the fact that it will for ever break even the smallest of a bond between the two people of the same sub-continent. To my mind, it is time that the exodus of Muslims from Pakistan and of Muslims from Hindustan was stopped by law. If the Governments of the two Dominions are not capable of safeguarding the lives and properties of the minority communities within their respective domains they are not worthy of holding office any longer. Why should Muslims who have lived in Hindustan, for centuries, be removed to

leave their homes? Likewise, cannot the Hindus be allowed to continue to live as subjects of Pakistan? I suggest that the authorities of each Dominion now take up their primary duty of looking after the minority (and hence the weaker) community in their areas, in spite of and even at the expense of (if need be) their own community—and help each individual to return to his original home. A DREAMER OF PEACE. Lahore.

Samaritans

Sir,—On the advice of Col. Ibbi Box, of Mayo Hospital, an Anti-Cholera Group, consisting of girls from Bhati Gate, Lahore has been formed which daily goes to Kasur to service cholera-stricken people. As the number of such victims is very great it is necessary not only to have more volunteers in this group but also to form as many groups as possible. Therefore I appeal to all the women and girls of Lahore to come forward and help at this critical time.

All interested are requested to see me at the following address between 8 and 10 a.m. MAHMOUDA KHANAM, House No. 1,992 Mohalla Jalloitan, inside Bhati Gate, Lahore.

Conversion

Sir,—Muslims in the Kangra District have seen things which would tear asunder the hearts of the toughest. Those who were fortunate enough to save themselves have now found shelter in the old Italian prison camp at Yoh, near Dharamsala. It is known on reliable authority that the only two Muslim officers have been transferred thus producing additional meetings in the mind of these miserable people. Food shortage is serious. Starvation has led to mass-conversion to Buddhism. No League representative is present to allay the worries of the refugees. It is feared that if the authorities fail to look to the needs of these refugees, and do not provide them with adequate requirements, it may lead to terrible suffering by the 9,000 people gathered there. G. M. ILIAS, Lahore.

Ransacked

Sir,—Despite repeated assurances of the protection of minorities in Pakistan, undaunted and forcible looting is still going on. I own a house in one of the residential localities of Lahore. I lived in the house up to September 6 and came away for a few days, leaving behind a couple of guardians for the place. In East Punjab. This is a mischief created and circulated by interested parties. There is nothing to fear on this score. KANHAYA LAL, Amritsar.



2 1/2-TON G.M.C. CIVILIAN TYPE CHASSIS AND CARGO CARRIER. AVAILABLE FROM STOCK IN INDIA. The 4-wheeler, 2-axle chassis is ideal for passenger or load-carrying bodies and we supply them with wood or steel bodies. Patrol consumption: 11 miles per gallon approx. Wheel base 16' Tyre size: 750x20 heavy duty. Our stocks also include G.M.C. Dump Trucks 10-wheeler, 2-axle capable of carrying 3 tons of sand, road-metal, coal, etc. LARGE STOCKS OF NEW TYRES, TUBES AND SPARES AVAILABLE AT CONTROLLED PRICES TO ENSURE SUPPLIES FOR YEARS-AHEAD. allen berry & COMPANY LIMITED 62, BAZAAR, CALCUTTA

READER-OPINION

house has been requisitioned by the D.C. The occupants finally scared the squatters away. It seems that I returned to the place on the 9th and found all the locks broken open. The entire house was ransacked. All the valuables—radio, table fans, crockery, stoneware, all the trunks, suitcases, bedding, woollen clothing and numerous odd and ends were missing, there was no one in the house. Will the authorities please investigate these happenings and restore real and practical confidence among the minorities? The extent of my loss alone is not short of Rs. 25,000. KABINDRANATH, Amritsar.

Dilemma

Sir,—Your leader under the heading "Clean up the Police," on September 9, was certainly to the point. On Sept. 6 I had my business premises broken into and articles removed. On discovery of the damage, I called at the Civil Lines Police Station, Queser's Road, with a written report. I was first kept waiting for 15 minutes while the official I had to see was in conversation with five others seated round his table, smoking and laughing. On my pressing him to kindly give my attention he intimated that a Sub-Inspector would be sent to my office to investigate. To date September 10 no one has called.

On September 7 and 9 the business premises alongside mine were broken into, and an eye-witness living alongside states that on both these nights men in khaki with loaded rifles took up positions at various points while a couple did the breaking of locks and glass doors. I understand there is no senior police official at present in charge of the Civil Lines Police Station and as complaints are not attended to one wonders what we should do to protect property. A BRITISHER, Lahore.

Strange

Sir,—The condition of the Head Post Office here is very strange. We got the reply that the man who was selling stamps is absent and has taken the key of the box with him. Cannot there be any other arrangement such as getting another man? The doors of the H.P.O. are open but otherwise it is vacant. D. F. D. Montgomery.

Malicious

Sir,—Some malicious propaganda has been carried on that Indian Christians will be done to death, especially in East Punjab, by Hindus and Sikhs. This is a mischief created and circulated by interested parties. There is nothing to fear on this score. KANHAYA LAL, Amritsar.

Figure 41: Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), September 17, 1947.

Annex 30: H.M.Gs' Best Wishes for Pakistan

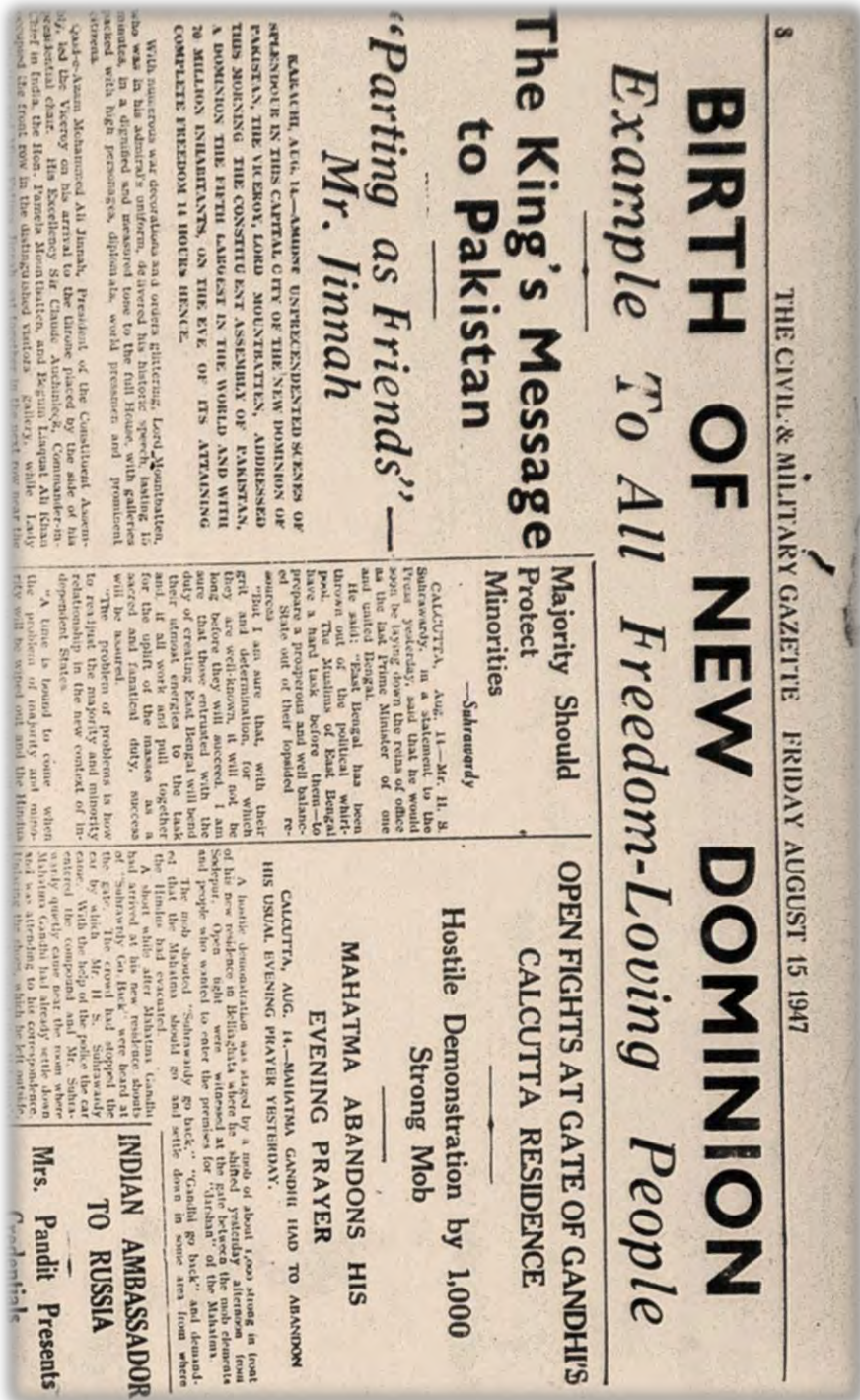


Figure 42: Birth of two Dominions, Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), August 15, 1947.

Annex 31 (a): India's Treatment of Minorities

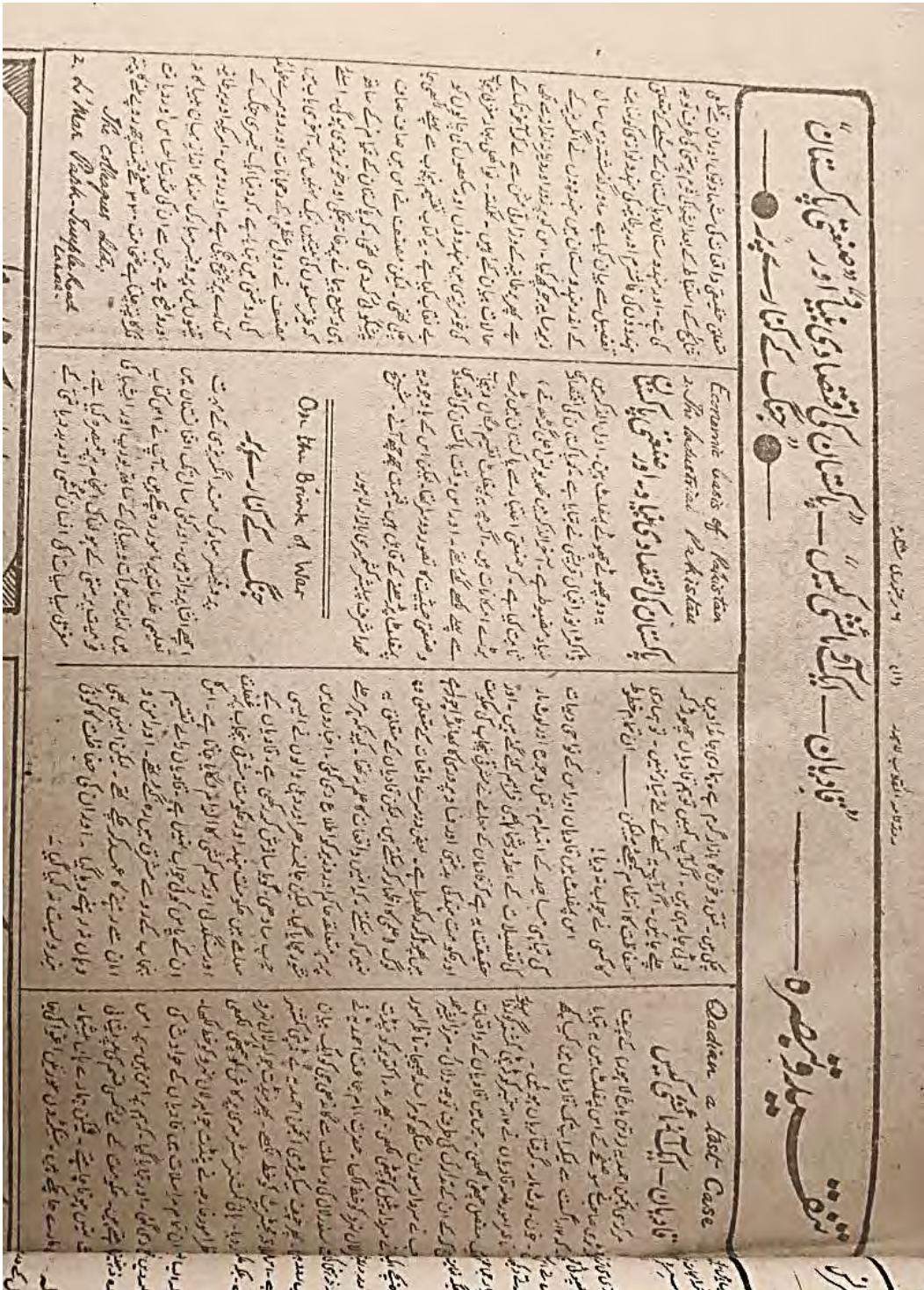
Qadian Story; a Test Case*Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), Oct 24, 1947.*

Qadian has become, in the eyes of the world, a living test of India's intentions towards the minorities in her territory. The Ahmadiyya community, for whom the town of Qadian is far more than a headquarters, are close-knit, hard-working, and highly distinguished. Scrupulous loyalty to the Government under which they live is with them almost an article of religious faith. Had Qadian, in the division of Punjab, become part of Pakistan, and had Pakistan developed into a theocratic state, Ahmadis might well have apprehended bitter persecution in the name of religious orthodoxy. As the division was in fact made, they had less reason for apprehension and had reasonable grounds for expecting a continuance of their peaceful existence. Events have proved the fallacy of such hopes. The fact that they were Muslims drew upon them the wrath and hatred of members of minority communities who had been forced to flee from the West Punjab and who sought to assuage their own wounds by inflicting similar suffering on Qadianis. Measures taken for self-protection seem to have been regarded as evidence of aggressive intentions, and steps were taken by the East Punjab Government, in total disregard of Ahmadiyya traditions and past behavior, which largely left them at the mercy of their enemies. Only when self-defense became impossible was evacuation thought of, and most of the women, children, and old men of the community resident in Qadian have been rescued under military escort. The remainder, nearly two thousand in number are confined to the old town (village would be a better word), where conditions are almost insupportable. They are little better than prisoners. Their school and hospital have been taken over, and many of their residential bungalows looted. The Government of India may declare, with what truth thorough investigation alone can reveal, that all its actions in connection with Qadian were taken with a view to its protection against soothing hostility throughout the countryside. But its denial of allegations of arrest and harassment is contrary to facts well established by independent observers. What is needed now from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are not disclaimers but positive, constructive action that will prove to the world that the declarations of India's spokesmen are not mere words and that the writ of the Government of India runs throughout the Dominion, even in the east Punjab.

Annex 31(b): Urdu Press about Qadian Case

Qadian; a Test Case

Daily Inquilaab (Lahore), January 06, 1947.



Annex 32: Dual Perspectives;

1). Qadian Situation escalated

2). Sikhs stand as Defenders of Muslim Neighbors

SIKH VILLAGERS PROTECT THEIR MUSLIM NEIGHBOURS

Successful Resistance to Armed Gangs

From Our Own Representative

AMRITSAR, Sept. 25.—Two examples of Sikh villagers having successfully resisted attacks by armed gangs of Sikhs made on Muslim villagers have been received at the police headquarters here from the villages of Bhail in Nairowal police station and Rupowali, in Kathunangal police station of this district.

A gang of 15 armed Sikhs raided the village of Chaid where 200 Muslims were being protected by the local Sikhs, who offered stout resistance to the gang, killing eight of its members, injuring one and arresting another. The remaining five escaped. None of Muslim villagers was injured, and although some Muslims have been successfully evacuated, the others have decided to stay in their homes.

In Rupowali, the local Sikhs resisted an attack on Muslims by Sikh raiders, one of whom was killed. Only one Muslim was injured. Sikh villagers assisted the military in the successful evacuation of Muslims without any incident.

Three big convoys of Muslim refugees, numbering about 50,000 each, are passing through Amritsar district without any incident. One of these, which has moved from the Cattle Fair grounds, is well on its way to Pakistan; another has left Beas and reached Khilchian, in Amritsar district, while the third is marching from Khilchian to Amritsar city.

MUSLIM GENEROSITY

It is reliably learned that refugees arriving here in two special trains from the Jhelum and Rawalpindi side on Tuesday evening told local relief workers that they were generously treated at Lahore and some other railway stations, where Muslims served them with cold drinks. They said that they had entered the Indian border without any incident.

This news has made a favourable impression on Hindu and Sikh leaders and they are all striving for peaceful evacuation of Muslim refugees.

Master Tara Singh and other prominent Akali leaders have appealed to Sikhs to stop attacking refugees, whether proceeding by train or in foot convoys. They are urging the people to give up retaliation.

A prominent police official yesterday said that peaceful passing of Muslim convoys and refugees special could be ensured provided there was no attack on non-Muslim refugees in West Punjab.

AHMADIYYAS ANXIOUS OVER QADIAN SITUATION

"It is suspected that the military stationed at Qadian interfere with military trucks that go to Qadian to evacuate the relatives and friends of military personnel because they insist that these trucks carry some other people chosen by them," said the Secretary, Central Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyya, Pakistan, Lahore, on Wednesday.

Three military trucks bringing relatives of military personnel from Qadian, which started from Qadian at about 9 a.m. on September 23, had not reached Lahore even till the 24th.—O.P.I.

Figure 43: Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), September 26, 1947.

Annex 33:

- 1). India Seeks Peace
- 2). Curfew in Qadian:

CURFEW IN QADIAN

Ahmadiyya Community's Fear

The Secretary of the Central Anjuman Ahmediyya, Pakistan, in a statement to the Press referring to the imposition of the curfew on Qadian between 6 p.m. and 5 a.m. since September 21, says:

"If the measure proves conducive to the re-establishment of settled conditions and peace, Muslims will have reason to be thankful for it; but if in practice it only leads to an intensification of lawlessness directed against the Muslims of Qadian, the conclusion would be inevitable that the curfew was imposed only to cripple the little defence the Muslims might have been in a position to put up when attacked.

"According to an unofficial report, the police are carrying out searches and confiscating even licensed fire-arms and ammunition. The residence of the head of the Ahmadiyya community has been searched and fire-arms and ammunition, which were duly covered by arms licenses, have been carried away by the police."—A.P.I.

"INDIA SEEKS PEACE, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE"

Mrs. Pandit's Plea to Imperialists to Relinquish Power in Asia

FLUSHING MEADOWS (New York), Sept. 23.—Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, leader of the Indian delegation to the United Nations, last night declared: "Though the world is daily reminded of the starvation that threatens Europe, comparatively little thought is directed towards the misery of millions in Asia, who are slowly dying of hunger, disease and malnutrition."

In a broadcast talk to the Far East, she asserted that India sought peace, freedom and justice "far more ardently than any other country of the world can possibly do, because we know what it is to live in a world without these principles."

"We must do everything in our power to strengthen the United Nations," Mrs. Pandit said. "But we can only do it by getting into the organisation and into all its subordinate branches and by stressing steadily and patiently, but forcibly, the needs of millions. Until the countries of Asia are free and self-governing, they are not entitled to become members of the United Nations.

"We in India have felt the division to be a grievous blow. It is our hope that through our work inside the United Nations and outside, India and Pakistan may come to realise in a very short time that territorial division need not and should not mean division in outlook or interests between the peoples of these two States."

Declaring that India's constitution was fast approaching completion, Mrs. Pandit said: "We shall then emerge as the independent Socialist Republic of India, but even to-day and for the next year or two as a Dominion of the British Commonwealth, India will strive with all her influence to see that the area over which imperialism has hitherto exercised unqualified control is reduced as rapidly as possible.

RELINQUISHING POWER

"It is essential for the maintenance of world peace that Holland should realise in time that the British way of relinquishing power and authority is in accord with the principles of the United Nations.

"Whether the imperial Powers concerned see the wisdom of removing without delay the shackles which bind the peoples of Asia to political subjection and social degradation or they do not, we do. We must utilise every opportunity for reminding these imperial Powers of their political and moral obligation."

Mrs. Pandit deplored "this unfortunate talk of war at the present moment" and said: "It may be lose talk and mere propaganda for other purposes. It is dangerous talk and, if continued long enough, may lead to actual war.

"There is fear among many Powers that the so-called empty spaces of Asia may be filled through the expansionist policy of one Power or another. What empty spaces? We know of no empty spaces in Asia. If there is emptiness, only peace, freedom and justice can remove it.

"War cannot be eliminated by physical force, even if it be of the atomic bomb. Causes of war must be eliminated. We cannot afford to allow a third and more catastrophic world war to engulf us with

'THREAT OF EXTINCTION HANGS OVER WORLD'

—Professor Einstein

UNO Only Body That Can Avert Catastrophe

NEW YORK, Sept. 23.—Professor Albert Einstein yesterday warned the chiefs of delegations to the United Nations that "threat of extinction hangs over humanity."

The peace-loving countries had a potential instrument to prevent a war of extinction provided the General Assembly of the United Nations became a world parlia-

Figure 44: Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), September 26, 1947.

Annex 34: British Puppet Show in India

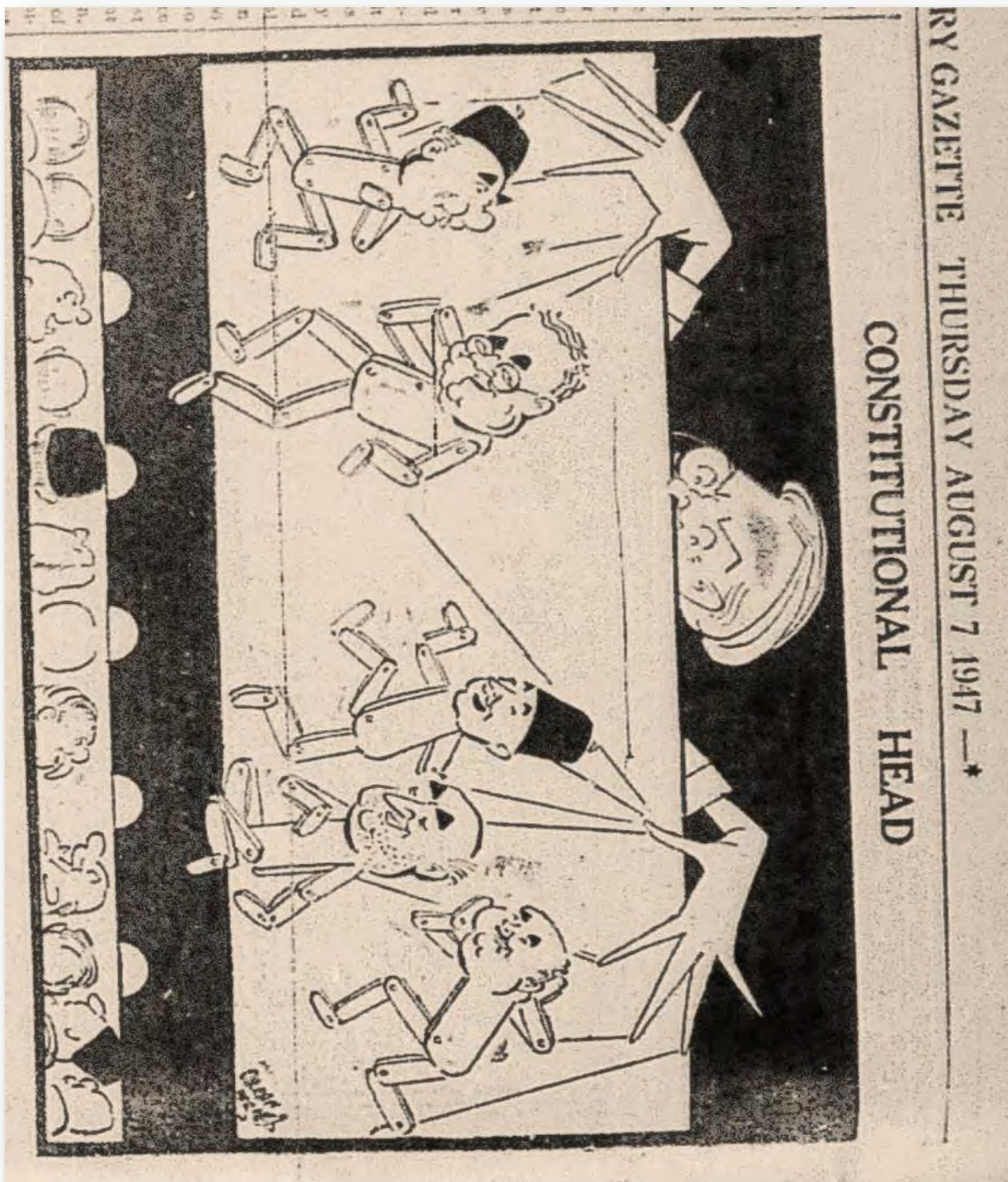


Figure 45: A Puppet Show, Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), August 07, 1947.

Annex 35: Appointment of Governor Generals

INDIA & PAKISTAN GOVERNORS-GENERAL

The King Approves Appointment of Mountbatten and Jinnah

THE KING HAS FORMALLY APPROVED THE APPOINTMENT OF REAR-ADMIRAL VISCOUNT MOUNTBATTEN AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE DOMINION OF INDIA AND MR. MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE DOMINION OF PAKISTAN WITH EFFECT FROM AUGUST 15. THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE ON SUNDAY NIGHT SIMULTANEOUSLY FROM LONDON AND NEW DELHI.

The India Office statement, announcing the appointments, states further that the following Governors of provinces which after August 15 will form part of the Dominion of India have been invited and have agreed to continue to serve as Governors in the same provinces: Lieut-General Sir Archibald Edward Nye, Governor of Madras; Colonel Sir David John Cawde, Governor of Bombay; and Sir Mohamad Saleh Akbar Hydari, Governor of Assam.



Governor-General of India



Governor-General of Pakistan

The King has approved the appointments of the following as Governors of other provinces with effect from August 15:

Dominion of India:

- West Bengal—Mr. Chakravarty Rajagopalchari.
- East Punjab: Sir Chandulal Madhavlal Trivedi.
- Central Provinces and Berar: Mr. Mangaldas Patwara.
- Bihar: Mr. Jankamlal Daulatram.
- Orissa: Dr. Kallash Nath Katju.

Dominion of Pakistan:

- West Punjab: Sir Robert Francis Muir.
- Sind: Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah.
- North-West Frontier Province: Sir George Cunningham.

The statement continues that the King has also intimated that he will in due course formally approve the appointment as Governor of the United Provinces of Dr. B. C. Roy. Dr. Roy is at present in the United States and an acting appointment, about which a separate announcement will be made, will be necessary.

A further announcement will be made about the Governorship of the province of East Bengal, the India Office stated. It is understood that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has agreed to serve as Governor of the United Provinces pending the return of Dr. B. C. Roy from the United States.

C.I.G.S RETURNING TO U.K. FOR PERSONAL REASONS

SINGAPORE, Aug 4.—Field-Marshal Lord Montgomerie, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, told reporters here yesterday

18 PEOPLE KILLED, 14 INJURED

Armed Gangs Rife in Jullundur

JULLUNDUR, Aug. 4.—Sixteen others were injured yesterday when a train was attacked near Phyllaur tehsil.

The village of Manant was also riddled.

The district authorities have taken and troops have been posted at strategic points. The situation is officially described as "serious."

There was no change in the communal situation in Lahore on Monday, the Associated Press of India was officially informed.

A bomb is reported to have been thrown from a running train on Sunday night near Sheranwala Gate, resulting in a sweeper being killed.

Another bomb was thrown on a

Figure 46: Governor Generals of two Dominion, Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), Aug 08, 1947

Annex 36: Jinnah Leaving for Karachi

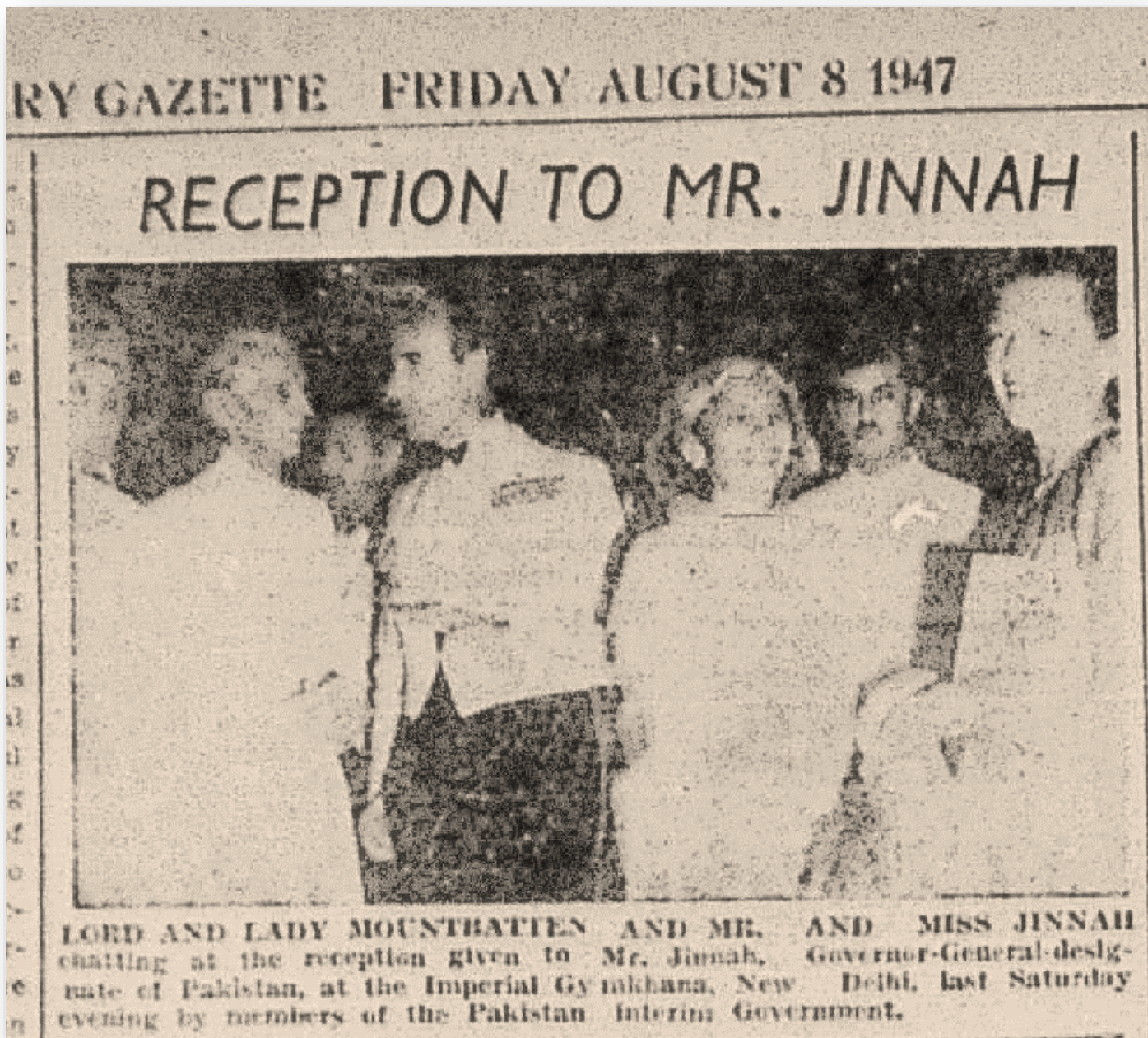


Figure 47: Reception to Mr. Jinnah. Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), Aug 08, 1947.

Annex 37: Khan Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot welcomed



Figure 48: Welcome to Khan Iftikhar Mamdot, *Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore)*, Aug 08, 1947.

Annex 38: Map of the Partition of Punjab from the report on Boundary Force

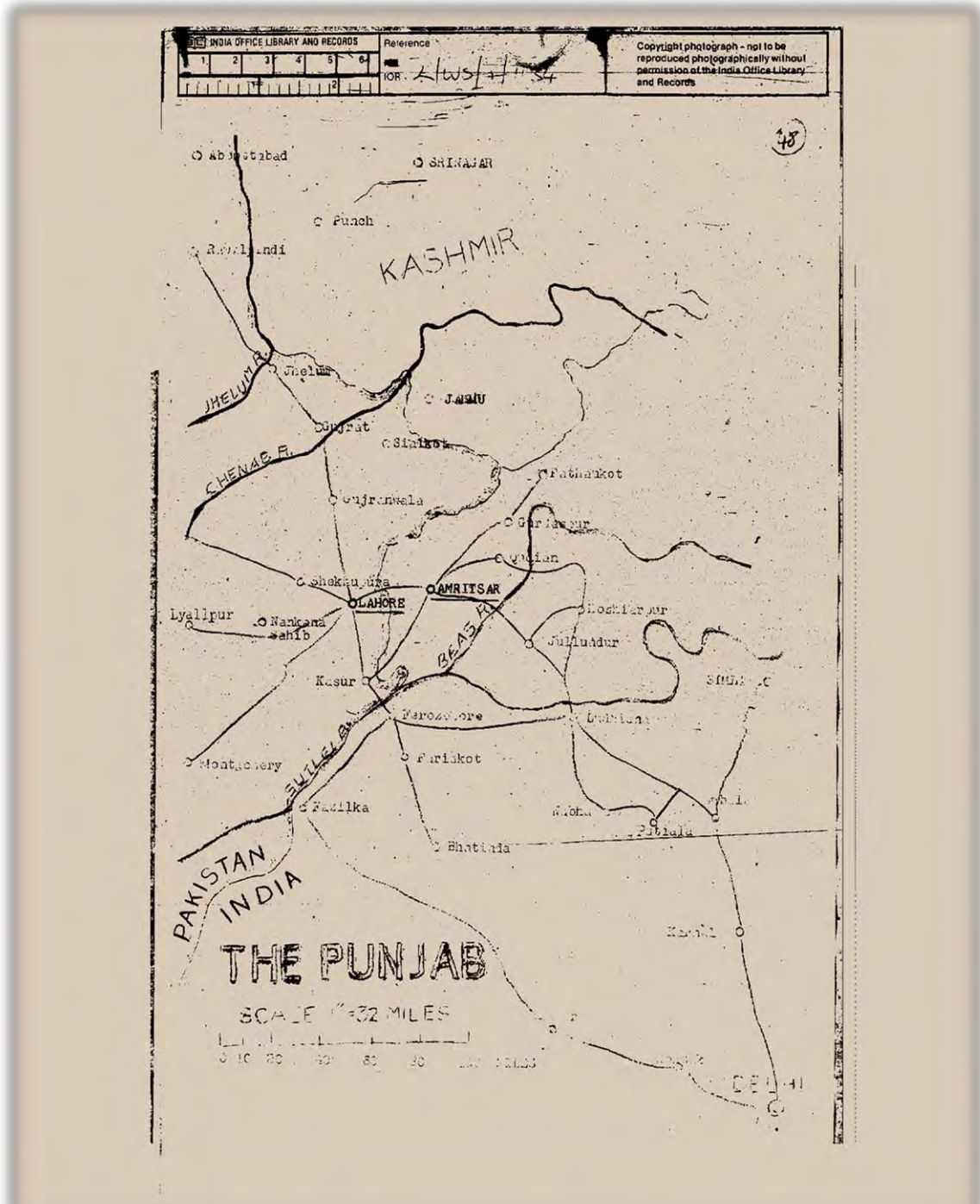


Figure 49: Map of Partition of Punjab (source: IOR, LWS/1134)

Annex: 39 Termination of the Punjab Boundary Force

Note from the India Office Records

The Punjab Boundary Force had a life of one month. It had come into being when internecine strife had already been going on in the Punjab for four or five months. After the violence of the March-April Massacres, the trouble had simmered down to a state of widespread tension all over the province, with occasional outbursts of varying severity. As the 15th August and Partition approached, the tempo increased, especially in Lahore and Amritsar. There, for the first fortnight of August, while remaining British officials were finally handing over control, bitter communal rigging had developed, and massacres had started in the rural areas. About this time occurred the split in the Punjab Police, and for the rest of August, there was little effective government administration for the P.B.F. to cooperate with. The trouble spread; the degree of savagery and terror has been described; and the leaders of the people, for a time, were not in control of the masses. At this period, certain leaders undoubtedly had no wish to call a halt; others could not have done so, even had they so wished. But as the slaughter and persecution went on day after day, there gradually came both to leaders and the masses a realization not only of the folly and the evil of the existing state of affairs but also a realization of the immediate danger of retaliation and, in addition, the long-term danger of the spread of anarchy and chaos to the rest of the subcontinent. Meanwhile, however, both communities were temporarily maddened. There were a few notable cases of humanity and kindness shown to the other community, but these were very exceptional, and throughout the Punjab, there were many millions of embittered men and women fanatically involved in communal fighting over causes for which men have always been prepared to fight—religion and the use of troops alone, even in prohibited numbers, was not characteristic of this problem. Clearly, the psychological approach had to be achieved, and the people brought to reason by their own leaders. But the psychological moment had not been reached during August 1947. It was not to be reached for many weeks until there had been a further long orgy of killing and retaliation by both sides, culminating during the last ten days of September in several savage train attacks (in one alone, over a thousand men, women, and children were butchered). From March up to the 4th of August, the casualties in the Punjab were reported as 4,500 killed and 2,500 wounded, mostly non-Muslims, and of these, the majority were Sikhs. Casualty figures, even in organized warfare, are notoriously difficult to assess accurately, and statistics obtained in conditions such as pertained in the Punjab are even more open to dispute. During August, in the P.B.F. area of the Punjab, the estimate of Muslim and non-Muslim casualties reported by military sources was approximately fifteen thousand killed (it was never possible to find out the number of wounded); but these are figures of those casualties reported by the troops. The actual totals of killed and wounded in the fields and ravines and out of the Jay places of the huge area involved may well have been two or three times the number. (In September, the tragic loss of life was to be even greater in the area, and it spread throughout the Punjab and even beyond. In Delhi during the disturbances of September, the killed were estimated to have totaled approximately a thousand). Then, leaders spurred on by their affairs again made appeals to the people, notably to the Sikh communities in Amritsar and

Patiala, where the Deputy Prime Minister's appeals met with success. Even so, it was not until well into November, when many more troops had been drafted into the area and most of the refugees had been cleared to their own side of the border, that there was any real cessation of terror. During July 1947, however, when the mechanics of Partition were being discussed, trouble of such a degree was not anticipated by the Government of India, or of the Punjab, or by the Ministers designated for the future governments which were to assume responsibility on the 15th of August. The Governor of the Punjab had indeed foretold that the Sikhs were well-nigh certain to give trouble. But, as has been said, there were no previous reports that the upheaval would be cataclysmic, as it turned out to be. And the rapid deterioration of the government's intelligence services, with the added factor of the communal nature of the struggle after Partition, were vital factors prejudicing the chances of obtaining adequate and timely information. So, the P.B.F. took post on the 1st of August, designed to deal with an expectedly modest amount of civil disturbance, but not to withstand a civil war of such widespread and savage violence. During the first furious impact of the struggle, the P.B.F. stood firm, rock-like, in a welter of confusion and anarchy. Indeed, during the second half of August 1947, the Civil Administration, for the time being, having broken down, the only effective organization in the Punjab was the Army, and to carry on, it had to muster every officer and man that it could; even cooks and less orderlies, etc., were sent on escort duty, and the strain on Commanders and staff was very heavy. A prodigious amount of work fell on all ranks who accepted it with commendable cheerfulness and willingness. The troops were out day and night, often with very little rest in the notoriously trying Punjab hot-weather of 1947, and at various headquarters, several staff officers were so overworked that the doctors had to enforce rest to avoid complete breakdowns in the case of some British officers. Extra officers and experienced officers would have been welcome, but with demobilization in progress, they were hard to find. There was ample evidence of the courage, steadfastness, and impartiality of the troops. Only one case will be mentioned, that of a Sikh Major, the Officer Commanding of a Train Escort on a Muslim Refugee Train. He himself suffered nine wounds (three gunshot wounds and six sword wounds) in repelling attacks on the train by people of his own religion. The casualties of the Army numbered forty-four killed and wounded in August, and about the same number during the first half of September. It was the P.B.F. alone that prevented the slaughter from getting completely out of hand, that enabled the new governments of the newly created Provinces gradually to get into the saddle, however precariously, and that saved the refugees of both communities from extermination, and started to cope with the problems of their movement and administration. These three big achievements stand to the credit of the Force, also one less likely to be appreciated by the public. Between the governments of the two new Provinces, the P.B.F. was the only satisfactory go-between, and as the day-to-day administration of both Provinces was, to start with, still closely interlocked, it would undoubtedly have broken down without this service of liaison. And, when tempers have cooled, and men are able to get affairs into their right perspective, it is reasonably certain that credit for these very real achievements will be given to the Punjab Boundary Force, who, held together by their officers, carried out the task, with relatively few exceptions, in a manner worthy of the great traditions of the old Indian Army.⁹⁵⁹

⁹⁵⁹ *The Punjab Boundary Force*, accessed from the National Documentation Wing file #4176, 42

Annex 40: Jinnah Condemns Violence

Nothing on this Earth can Harm Pakistan Now

Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), Aug 26, 1947.

His Excellency, Quaid-e-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah expressed deep sorrow and concern regarding the violent incidents in Eastern Punjab, which have resulted in significant loss of Muslim lives and immense suffering for hundreds of thousands of Muslims. He acknowledged that mere words could not alleviate the suffering of their brethren on the Pakistan border. He also recognized the unrest these violent acts had naturally provoked among the people of Pakistan, testing their patience. "I acknowledge the profound sorrow and concern that I feel, and it is my duty to implore Muslims to temper their emotions with reason. We must be cautious of the perils that could engulf our newly established State if we let our immediate feelings dominate our actions," the statement continues. "I want to emphasize that we are not mere spectators of the events in Eastern Punjab. Both the Central Pakistan Government and the West Punjab Government have made it their top priority to provide aid and relief to those affected by the disturbances. We are organizing measures for the evacuation of those still in danger or wishing to leave the troubled areas and find safety and shelter in Pakistan. We are committed to offering them every assistance and the necessary resources for their evacuation, maintenance, and rehabilitation. "We maintain continuous communication with the Indian Dominion Government, and the West Punjab Ministry is collaborating with the East Punjab Ministry to expedite the cessation of violence and bloodshed. I issue a grave warning that any further escalation of violence will undermine our nascent nation's foundations and cause irreversible damage. Muslims must be wary of their adversaries who do not have Pakistan's best interests at heart and seek to see it weakened or destroyed. Pakistan must remain free from disorder, as any outbreak of lawlessness at this early stage would be detrimental to our nation's future. We must not allow widespread disorder to disrupt our administration and hinder our national regeneration and reconstruction efforts." "Let us not fall into their trap by succumbing to the desire for retaliation. Such actions will not truly aid the victims in Eastern Punjab and other affected areas. Instead, it will lead to more loss of innocent lives and increased suffering for vast numbers of people. I want to make it clear that those who believe they can undermine Pakistan are gravely mistaken. Nothing on this earth can harm Pakistan now; its roots are deeply and securely embedded. Any ambitions or sentiments that lead individuals to engage in violence will only result in more innocent lives lost, tarnishing the reputation of their communities. The civilized world will view their inhuman behavior with abhorrence. Therefore, I call upon every Muslim in Pakistan to strengthen themselves against their current sorrows. It is time for them to construct their national State, for which they have already endured significant suffering and made considerable sacrifices. Pakistan is now their responsibility, and they must build it up into the largest Islamic State in the world, earning a proud place among the family of nations. This is the best way to avenge the deaths and destruction suffered by our people elsewhere—not by acting on immediate impulses and engaging in physical revenge and retaliation. I pray that God, who has bestowed upon us the great gift of a sovereign State, grants our people the courage to bear their grief, strengthen their patience, and enable them, despite all provocation, to preserve the peace of Pakistan for the sake of Pakistan.

Annex 41: Mystery Behind the Government



This cartoon explains to a considerable extent the grounds for the anarchical conditions that prevailed in the days leading to and following the transfer of power (*Shankar's Weekly*, 1 August 1947).

Figure 50: Who's running the Government "Reporting the Partition of Punjab 1947: Press, Public and Other Opinions" by Raghuvendra Tanwar.

Annex 42: The Story of a Lion; a Pictorial Glimpse of the journey towards 'Jai Hind'

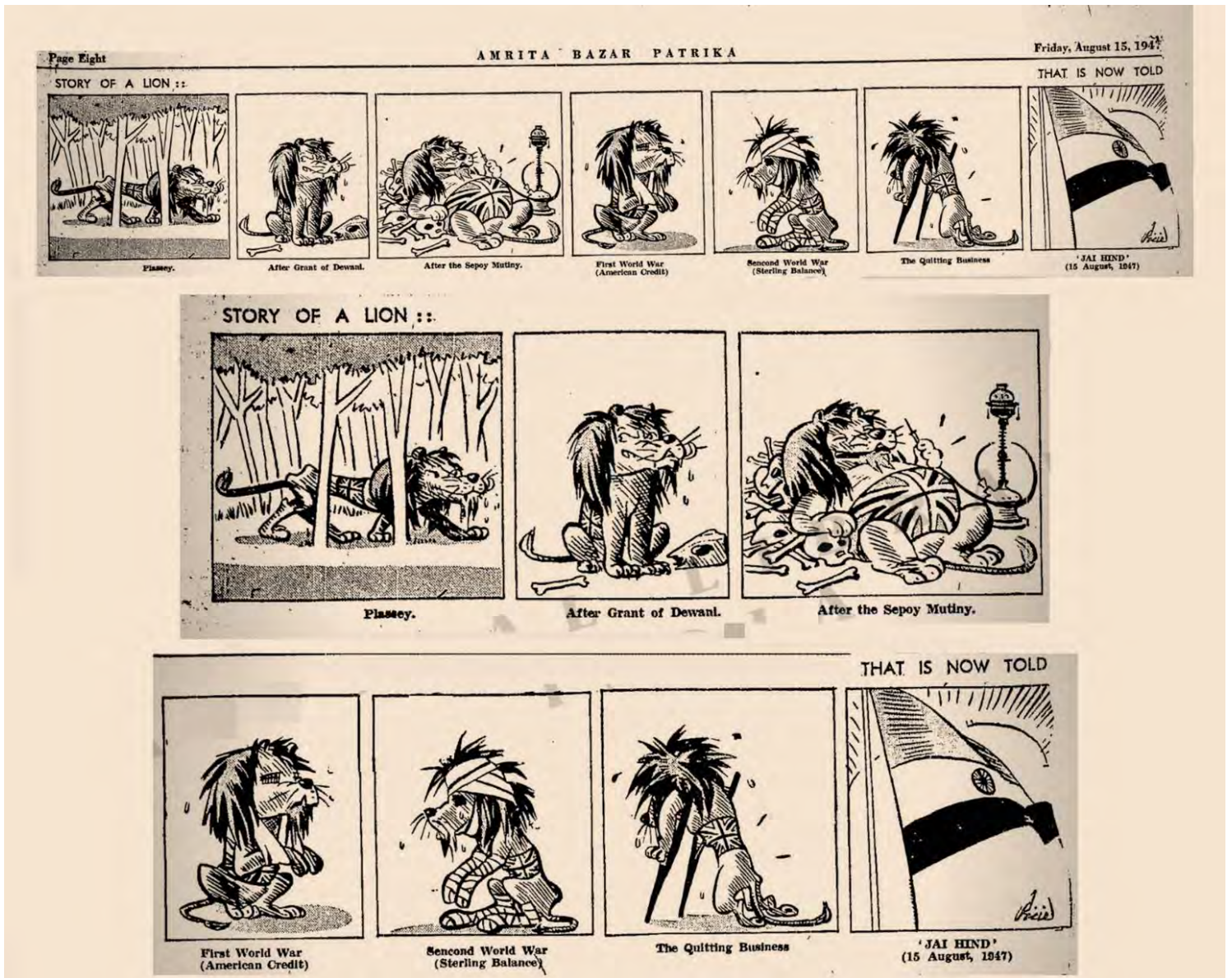


Figure 51: The Story of a Lion, Amrita Bazar Patrika (Calcutta), August 15, 1947.

Annex 44: Complete Independence Day Supplement

LAHORE



Civil & Military
Gazette

AUG. 15, 1947

New Era Souvenir

THE MAKING OF TWO DOMINIONS

(By Our Special Representative)

INDIA has been divided and two "independent dominions" are born exactly 15 months after the historic statement of May 18, 1946, in which the Cabinet Mission expressed its inability "to advise the British Government that the power which it will have to hand over to two entirely separate sovereign States."

The sovereignty of the two dominions is limited only by their membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations, a membership which can be terminated whenever they acquire self-confidence. Nevertheless, they will have complete independence from any control by Whitehall or by the British Parliament for as the Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee, explained in the House of Commons, "there is nothing in the wording of the Indian Independence Bill to modify the complete independence and autonomy of the dominions of India and Pakistan."

Thus, what seemed impossible or at least unfeasible 15 months ago has become an accomplished fact. This constitutes an undoubted triumph for Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who exploited Congress opposition to grouping as a justification for taking up an uncompromising stand on Pakistan.

PANDIT Jawahar Lal Nehru said the other day that the Congress had to agree to the division of India because there was no alternative. He assigned two special reasons: firstly, influential men from the Punjab and Bengal had urged the Congress to accept or rather demand partition because of the tragic happenings in these provinces; and, secondly, the Congress had to face the fact that "a certain section of the people did not want to remain with the rest of India." The Pandit regretted that division had taken place in the hearts of the people of India.

When exactly this "division of hearts" germinated is a debatable point. Dr. Ambedkar traces it as far back as the Muslim invasion of India "The methods adopted by the invaders," he says, "have left behind them their aftermath—the bitterness between Hindus and Muslims. This bitterness between the two is so deep-seated that a century of political life has neither succeeded in assuaging it nor making people forget it. As the invasions were accompanied with destruction of temples and forced conversions, with slaughter, enslavement and abasement of men, women and children, what wonder if the memory of these invasions has ever remained green, as a source of pride to the Muslims and as a source of shame to the Hindus."

Some of these experiences have renewed themselves in the last 15 months, no matter who cut the first stone. If the Congress had not refused to recognise the Muslim League

as the sole representative body of the Muslims or to form coalition Ministries in the so-called Congress provinces the division, some think, could have been averted because the League would thereby have had its thunder stolen. In 1937 the prestige of the League was so low consequent upon its debacle in the general elections, especially in the Muslim-majority provinces, that the Congress could afford to ignore it. Moreover, the Congress decided to contact the Muslim masses. This annoyed the Muslim League which began actively to work up Muslims against the Congress. It appointed two committees to investigate and report on the alleged oppression of Muslims in Congress provinces. The Pirpur Report contained innumerable allegations which, although they were rebutted by the Congress Ministers, citing the Governors in support of their defence, gained wide belief.

ON February 19, 1946, the Secretary for India, Lord Pethick-Lawrence and the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, simultaneously announced in the Lords and Commons respectively the decision of H.M.G. to send out a Cabinet delegation to India. It was stated that the delegation, of the mission as it was called, would carry the authority of the Cabinet and have power to negotiate and settle, within the broad framework of the Government's policy, with the option to refer back on points that might require Cabinet sanction.

The mission, comprising Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and Mr. A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty, arrived in Delhi on March 23, 1946. During the first week of its stay, in Delhi, the members consulted the Viceroy, provincial Governors, members of the Executive Council and officials. They also met leaders of all shades of opinion and all political, communal and sectional parties included leaders of the ministerial and opposition groups in the various provincial legislatures. These discussions were preliminary to the setting-up of machinery whereby the form under which India could realise her full independent status could be determined by Indians themselves.

The mission's first attempt at securing agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League failed because these parties were divided on the character of the future constitutional structure of India. That division of opinion prevented them from agreeing on any constitution-making body, while the Muslim League insisted on two separate bodies, one for Hindustan and the other for Pakistan. After prolonged discussions with the leaders, the mission decided to invite the Congress and the Muslim League to send four representatives each to meet them in Simla and to consider a pro-

posal to frame a constitution on a three-tier basis. This the leaders agreed to do, reserving to themselves complete freedom of action.

The Simla talks were marked by a spirit of accommodation on both sides and, though final agreement was not reached, sufficient progress had been made to enable the mission to announce its plan in the statement of May 16. After asserting that "we have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India," the mission declared that "since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom."

THE mission accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians might decide the future constitution of India, and an Interim Government might be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new constitution should take the following basic form:

1. There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States which should deal with the following subjects: foreign affairs, defence and communications and have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.
2. The Union to have an executive and a legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the legislature require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.
3. All subjects other than the Union subject and all residuary powers to vest in the provinces.
4. The States to retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.
5. Provinces to be free to form groups with executive and legislative powers, and each group to determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common.
6. The constitutions of the Union and of the groups to contain a provision whereby any province could by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly call for reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten-yearly intervals thereafter.

Having ruled out Pakistan as un-

feasible the mission decided to accommodate the Muslim League by providing for compulsory grouping of the provinces, with Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Orissa forming section A; the Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Sind section B; and Bengal and Assam section C. The Indian Constituent Assembly after a preliminary meeting was to sit in sections to settle provincial constitutions and to decide whether any group constitution should be set up for those provinces.

HAVING laid down the procedure for constitution-making the mission made known, the second part of the May 16 plan. This was the setting-up at once of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties. Among the "main communities" the mission had listed the Sikhs.

These proposals were considered by the Congress, Muslim League and Sikhs and each reacted differently. The Congress interpretation of the grouping provision evoked a clarification from the mission which stated: "The interpretation put by the Congress resolution on paragraph 15 of the statement to the effect that the provinces can in the first instance make the choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed, does not accord with the delegation's intention. The reasons for the grouping of the provinces are well known and this is an essential feature of the scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the parties. The right to opt out of the groups after constitution-making has been completed will be exercised by the people themselves, since at the time of the setting up of the provincial constitution this question of opting out will obviously be a major issue for all those entitled to vote under the new franchise will be able to take their share in a truly democratic election."

The mission thereafter left for home. On July 22, the Viceroy communicated to the Presidents of the Congress and the League his decision to form Interim Government consisting of 14 members, six representing the Congress, five the Muslim League and the remainder the minorities including a Sikh. Mr. Jinnah replied that the League could not join the Interim Government on these conditions. Among his reasons were that the Government on these conditions presented on the Executive Council would be in the proportion of five Congress; five League and two minority representatives, which ratio was later changed to 5: 5: 3, again altered to 5: 5: 4 and revised a fourth time to 6: 5: 3. This, he maintained, broke the principle of Congress-League parity.

The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha in the last week of August and ratified their earlier decision to accept the long-term plan "in its entirety." This meant that the Congress agreed to compulsory group Congress provinces. Soon after, the Viceroy invited Pandit Nehru, the Congress President, to make proposals for the formation of an Interim Government. Pandit Nehru accepted the invitation and vainly saved the cooperation of the Muslim League.

The Two Punjabs—May They Flourish!

As the last Governor of the Panjab, I send to all Panjabis a message of farewell and good wishes

To-day the story of the Panjab as we have all known it comes to an end. It is not an ignoble story. For close upon a century we have—on the whole—kept the peace; we have built ourselves the largest irrigation system in the world and roads as good as any in Asia; we have improved our agriculture, and laid the foundations of great social services; our soldiers have fought in many frontier campaigns and in two world wars; and the valour and enterprise of Panjabis are known the world over. We have done much in which the people of the Panjab, and the Britons who have had the honour of being associated with them, may take pride.

During the past six months we have been through a revolution. It has been a bitter experience for all of us—especially for those who hoped that in an India united or divided the Panjab might be able to retain its unity and build its future upon its past. We have suffered grievously in life and property; we have lost confidence in one another; and many who have been friends for generations are now enemies. It would be foolish not to face these unpleasant facts.

But it would be equally foolish to dwell upon them. The issues over which the communities have contended are now settled, as the people of the Panjab wished them to be settled, and tomorrow the two new Provinces of West Panjab and East Panjab will come into being. It is the duty of all Panjabis to make the most of this fresh start and to become forthwith zealous and loyal citizens of the new Provinces, and of the Dominions in which they are included.

The minorities in both Provinces have had the most ample assurances from the leaders of the great parties that they will be protected and that in the new order there will be equality before the law and equality of opportunity for all. They must accept these assurances and face the future with confidence.

May the two new Provinces flourish under their respective Governments as good friends and neighbours. Goodbye and good luck to you all.

Government House, Lahore.

August 14, 1947.

T. Asoomal

Governor of the Panjab

HEARTY GREETINGS

TO

ALL OUR CUSTOMERS

ON THIS DAY OF

NATIONAL FREEDOM.

T. ASOOMAL AND CO.

Figure 53: Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), August 15, 1947.

THE MAKING OF TWO DOMINIONS

Continued from page 1.

the communal tension in the country came to the decision that the time was not opportune for the Constituent Assembly to meet on December 9, the scheduled date. On the Congress insisting on carrying out the schedule Mr. Jinnah announced that the League would not participate in the Constituent Assembly. The Congress reply was that the League entered the Interim Government on an undertaking to participate in the Constituent Assembly and that if they went back on that word they had no place in the Interim Government. The League replied that Congress acceptance of the State Paper of May 16 was only conditional and that the League had the same right to stay in the Government as the Congress.

Correspondence on the subject of League's entry, released later, revealed that Mr. Jinnah did not accept the basis on which the Viceroy sought to reconstruct the Interim Government with the League, but that nevertheless the League wished to enter the Government because it did not want to leave the field entirely to the Congress. The correspondence also revealed that the Congress asked for specific assurance from the League and the Viceroy wrote to Pandit Nehru: "Mr. Jinnah has assured me that the Muslim League would come into the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly with the intention of co-operating."

Pandit Nehru made allegations against Lord Wavell at the annual session of the Indian National Con-

gress held in Meerut in November. He also charged League members with having formed themselves into a "King's Party" in the Interim Government. Immediately after the League decision not to participate in the Constituent Assembly, the Viceroy contacted the British Government and announced his decision to fly to London. Three members of the Interim Government—Pandit Nehru, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Baldev Singh—and Mr. Jinnah accompanied him.

THE British Government in their statement on the London talks urged the Congress to accept the view of the Cabinet mission regarding compulsory grouping of the provinces and declared that the decisions of the sections should, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives in the sections.

At any rate H.M.G. made it clear that "there has never been any prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly except upon the basis of the agreed procedure. Should a constitution come to be framed by the Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population has not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not, of course, contemplate—as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country."

The Constituent Assembly met as scheduled on December 9 with the Muslim League and the Princes boycotting it. Soon Lord Wavell was recalled and Lord Mountbatten appointed Viceroy and Governor-General. Lord Mountbatten's negotiations with Indian leaders, which formed the basis of his conclusions which he personally has not been represented. His Majesty's Government are too green in public memory to need recapitulation.

WHO'S WHO..

India

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of the Dominion of India, is a dynamic personality. Although of late he has been ageing fast, he is extraordinarily agile bodily and mentally at 58. Highly educated and widely read, he is a Pandit in the true sense of the word. He is a prolific writer in English. His works—"Autobiography," "Glimpses of World History," "Soviet Russia," "Discovery of India" and "Collection of Essays"—are eminently readable not merely from the point of view of their literary excellence but for the objectivity and original approach with which he has dealt with their subject-matter. Politically, Pandit Nehru is much too blunt, honest and straightforward to be tactful. Yet he is greatly liked, his only asset. Many fellow-Indians criticise him for what they call his Western outlook, imbued at Harrow and Cambridge.

Four times President of the Indian National Congress, he has earned this honour by suffering and sacrifice. He spent the best years of his life in prison, having been jailed nine times for long terms. This did not embitter him but created psychological barriers between him and the British authorities in India. He was still a sceptic when he took over as Vice-President of the Interim Government on September 2, 1946. His international outlook and wide knowledge will stand him in good stead as head of the new State in charge of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, unlike his great 'uru, Mahatma Gandhi, is no believer in non-violence as an instrument of statecraft. He is the strong man of the Congress, utterly ruthless in dealing with his opponents. Mr. Nariman and Dr. N. B. Khare are living examples of leaders translated into nonentities for disobeying the Sardar. Although he is feared even by friends, Sardar Patel stands by those who pass his loyalty test through thick and thin. A great organiser himself, the Sardar appreciates executive ability and loyalty. He first shot into prominence as a satyagrahi leader at Kaira. The Gandhi non-cooperation campaign further raised his political stock. By 1931 he was big enough to be elected President of the 46th session of the Indian National Congress held at Karachi. John Gunther in "Inside Asia" says: "His (Sardar Patel's) only culture is agriculture." A sejon of a Zamindar family, the Deputy Prime Minister is a Middle Temple lawyer. He practised at Godhra before entering public life in 1918 as an associate of Mahatma Gandhi. Imprisoned many times for his political activities, Sardar Patel has chosen to head the Home, Information and Broadcasting department. He will be 73 in October.

Sir Shanmukham Chetty, Finance Minister, was Chief Whip of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly in 1926. He understands finance so well that he was appointed a member of the Central Banking Inquiry Committee. He was India's delegate to the World Monetary Conference held at Bretton Woods. He filled many high offices such as that of the President of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1953. He was Dewan of Cochin from 1935 to '41; head of the Government of India Purchasing Mission to America in 1941-42 and Constitutional Adviser to the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. He was till recently Chairman of the Indian Tariff Board. A polished speaker, Sir Shanmukham is a con-

Pakistan

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, M.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, Prime Minister of the Pakistan Dominion, is Mr. Jinnah's righthand man and political heir. Although he is not so well-known abroad as his opposite number, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, he has the ability and drive to make a successful statesman. His first and last Budget for the Government of India is his best contribution to his reputation for clear thinking. An experienced parliamentarian, he can hold his own in any debate. He started his political career in the United Provinces in 1926 when he was elected member of the U.P. Legislative Council and its Deputy President in 1930. He was again elected to the U.P. Legislative Assembly in 1937 and to the Central Assembly in 1941, when he became Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party. He was re-elected to the Central Assembly in 1946 and became the virtual leader of the Muslim League Party although Mr. Jinnah remained its nominal head. He owns considerable property in the U.P. and in Karnal. He is 52.

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar is a lawyer and was Finance Minister of the North-West Frontier Province in the Muslim League Government headed by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan. Although he was defeated in the 1946 general election to the Frontier Legislative Assembly by a Congress candidate, Mr. Jinnah nominated him to the Simla Conference of India leaders convened by Lord Wavell in June, 1945. His inclusion was intended to be a counter-balance to the nomination by the Congress of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan as one of its representatives at that conference. And it was perhaps to spite the Khan Brothers that Mr. Jinnah nominated Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar for membership of the Interim Government in October last. Mr. Nishtar is 48.

Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan has considerable parliamentary experience having been a member of both the Central Assembly and the Punjab Legislative Assembly. He was a Parliamentary Secretary in the Unionist Government headed by the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan. He broke away from the Unionist Party in 1944 when Malik Khuda Hyat Khan Tiwana, as the new leader of the party, refused to liquidate it at the bidding of Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan played an important part in the rout of the Unionist Party in the general election of 1946. He renounced the title "Tajdar" in response to the Muslim League decision for the renouncing of British titles as a protest against the installation of Congress as the Interim Government in September, 1946.

summate parliamentarian. He is only 56 years of age.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, M.A., M.L.L.D., Minister for Food and Agriculture, and President of the Indian Constituent Assembly, is a profound scholar. As Food Minister in the Interim Government he made his mark as an able administrator. Of quiet disposition he is exceedingly amiable, differing in this respect from many other Congress leaders. His popularity can be gauged by the fact that he was twice elected President of the Indian National Congress. He is very tall for an average Bihar but is bent due to chronic asthma. His "India Divided" was a best seller in recent months. Dr. Prasad is 63.

Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister for Defence, has only a moderate academic career in view of the enormous wealth of his father, Sir Indar Singh, a business magnate of Talanagar. He is, however, endowed with abundant commonsense and executive ability acquired in the hard school of business. His entry into politics in 1937, backed as it was by his vast financial resources, enabled him soon to achieve prominence. From a mere back-bencher in the Congress Akali Opposition in the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1942 he became a Minister in the Unionist Government by means of a pact he concluded on behalf of the Sikhs with Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the then Prime Minister of the Punjab. The acceptance of a Ministership by Sardar Baldev Singh at a time when the Congress was about to launch its "Quit India" movement estranged the Akalis from the Congress, an estrangement which was accentuated in 1946 by the Congress decision to contest Sikh seats in the Central and Punjab legislatures. The selection of Sardar Baldev Singh as Defence Member in the Interim Government brought the Congress and Akalis together again, a partnership which has been cemented by communal disturbances in the Punjab.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education, is a star of considerable magnitude on the literary firmament. Born in Mecca, he passed his childhood in Arabia. He took

(Continued on page 11)

GLAMOUR

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all over the Country on
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FREEDOM FOR ALL ALL FOR FREEDOM Indian Constituent Assembly At Work

It was the 9th December, 1946. Inside the Constitution Hall 205 of the country's chosen and trusted representatives gathered to frame the Constitution of Free India. In this chamber, where history was being made, there was no melancholy. 362 bulbs dispelled all traces of gloom. A blazing constellation of domed lamps pendant from the ceiling lit up the semi-circular chamber with mellow light.

The nation's daily quest for freedom was said, solemnly without being sentimental, well-staged without being theatrical—the proceedings did justice to the moment. It was in this setting that Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's words rang out: "Where there is no vision the people perish." The people of India have had a glorious vision of freedom and the dedicated life and that is why through these dismal centuries of oppression and degradation they have survived to see the dawn of liberty. These men and women had been charged to incarnate India's glorious vision in a Constitution, "a Constitution based on immortality," as Dr. Sinha said in his Inaugural Address.

After the routine business of setting up Committees to frame rules of procedure and for other preliminary work, the house took up the matter of electing its permanent President. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the beloved leader of Bihar, Sachchidananda Sinha and writer and a man of action, was unanimously elected the President of the Constituent Assembly. All sections of the House joined in offering him their warm felicitations.

Aims and Objects

On December 12, Pandit Jawaharlal moved his Resolution on the Aims and Objects of the Constitution of the Free Indian Union. He said "It is a Resolution and yet, it is something much more than a resolution. It is a Declaration. It is a firm resolve. It is a pledge and an undertaking and it is for all

real freedom in turn will bring food to our starving peoples, clothing for their housing for them and all manner of opportunities of progress. Amid applause from the House and amid rejoicing in all parts of the country India's Charter of Freedom was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on January 21, 1947.

Initially an Advisory Committee of 59 members was set up and the President of the Constituent Assembly was empowered to nominate up to 22 further members. The Advisory Committee was the wisest terms of reference of all the Committees set up and is meant to advise the Constituent Assembly on the Fundamental Rights of citizens of the Union; free India the protection of minorities and the administration of backward and tribal areas.

The various Committees have faithfully carried on the work entrusted to them and, thus, enabled the Constituent Assembly to function rapidly and effectively.

States Representatives

After two and a half months of storm and stress, India's Constituent-makers re-assembled, on April 26, 1947, in Constitution Hall, New Delhi. The routine of representing credentials and signing the register was enlivened this time by the presence of the Prime Ministers and elected representatives of Baroda, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Patiala, Bikaner, Cochin and Erewa. The then Dewan of Udaipur eloquently expressed what every one present felt. "Anyone," said he, "who is not moved by this historic occasion of the meeting of India's Constituent-makers must have a heart as old as the cold winds that blow in Simla in winter and as hard as the parched rocks one sees in flying over arid Baluchistan."

In his presidential opening speech, the Hon. E. B. Rajendra Prasad, made it clear that they eagerly desired co-operation but would not falter, come what may. "Let us not," he said "be daunted by the immensity of the task or diverted

so as to obviate the police constable and save India for democracy! We must try and understand the significance of Fundamental Rights before we can appreciate how credible it was for the Committee that framed these justiciable rights which could not be substantially amended although many vehement attempts to do so were made.

Free State is known by the rights that it maintains and every citizen of a free State has a natural and lawful claim. Society has the conditions necessary for a good life. Prof. Iqbal acknowledged modern authority on the subject, saying, "Rights are the groundwork of the State. They are the quality which gives to the exercise of its power a moral character. And they are the natural rights of man that they are essential for the good life."

Fundamental Rights

There was no conception of fundamental rights in ancient Greece where there were the free citizens or "patres" and the slaves or the "haves-nots." The legal mind of the Romans conceived the idea of Roman Citizenship. The English Magna Carta and Bill of Rights gave a worthy fuller formulation of the civic rights of the people. The French Revolution and the American Declaration of Independence were further milestones on the march of man to secure for himself those conditions without which life has no grand moral content. No great nation since then has framed its Constitution without incorporating these fundamental rights in one form or another.

From the point of view of the States' responsibility with regard to them, these rights can be called justiciable or those which can be enforced by law and those which cannot. Unlike the fundamental rights incorporated in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and the German Reich which are not enforceable by law, and more like the Fundamental Rights of the Irish Constitution ours too shall be justiciable. Indeed, the Fundamental Rights adopted during the April-May Session of the Constituent Assembly are a vision of free India at once majestic and free. When these justiciable fundamental rights become the law of the land the people will have the first taste of freedom and will find that far-reaching and staggering changes become necessary in their old outlook, scale of values and mode of behaviour.

Equality of All

The 'Rights of Equality' guarantee equal rights to every citizen of the Union of free India. A person of any religion, race, caste or sex will have access to trading establishments, places of public entertainment, and will be free to use wells, tanks, roads, conveyances, and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of public funds or owned or controlled by the State. It is a great vision as nobly conceived as the one dedicated to the use of the general public. Equality of opportunity will be given to all citizens in matters of public employment and carrying on any business, trade, occupation or profession. The State of 'untouchability' will no longer exist to mar the fair name of India. Untouchability in any form is abolished and the imposition of any disability on that account shall be an offence under a single clause inspired British and American to applaud the work of our Constituent-makers in a chorus of praise, and to pay high tribute to the tireless efforts of Gandhiji to get rid of untouchability.

It was only fitting that when untouchability was abolished at one end, at the other end titles should be abandoned. The Government of the Free Indian Union will not confer any titles, although it was recognised that no law could prevent the people from bestowing a title on an honoured and beloved leader.

Freedoms

The Fundamental Rights guarantee freedom of speech and expression, the freedom to assemble peacefully and without arms, to form associations or unions to move through the Union without let or hindrance, and to reside and settle in any part of it. This freedom is not for an, one section or community. It is guaranteed to every law-abiding citizen whatever his name or sign. It should disarm any suspicions that might be lurking in some quarters.

But, apparently, to disarm all suspicion by a fair and square treatment of the farmers of India, that of religious communities, the wise farmers of India Fundamental Rights have kept the Right relating to Religion in a section by itself. All persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate their religion, subject of course, to public order, morality and health. With commendable foresight provision has been made for necessary legislation for social reforms. This is the utmost that any state can do for its religious communities. In fact, in the Indian Union every religious denomination will have the right to manage its own affairs in matters of religion, and, subject to the general law,

SERVICE CHIEFS: ARMY PAKISTAN INDIA



General Sir Frank Messervy, C-in-C, Land Forces, Pakistan.



General Sir Rob Lockhart, C-in-C, Land Forces, India.

to own, acquire and administer property and to establish and maintain institutions for religious or charitable purposes. Further no person may be compelled to pay taxes the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated to promote or maintain any particular religion or denomination.

Assurance to Minorities

The assurance given to minorities is unequivocal and heartening to say the least and ought to challenge the sister Constituent Assembly to toe the mark. Minorities in every Unit of the free Indian Union shall be protected by law in respect of their language, script and culture and no laws or regulations may be enacted, which may operate oppressively or prejudicially in this respect. They can have their own schools and run them as they choose nor will the State discriminate against such schools in the matter of State aid. And these rights are all justiciable. They can be enforced by law.

The vision of free India that is conjured up before our mind in these fundamental Rights is beyond all shadow of doubt a glorious one, worthy of India's best traditions. It remains for the millions that constitute the Union to make up the Union of free India to live up to the high standard set before them.

In response to the general demand that the Constitution of the free Indian Union be translated into Hindi, the Hon. Mr. Prasad promised to arrange for a befitting translation. Accordingly, a comprehensive Hindi version of some 2000 legal and constitutional terms is being prepared with feverish haste to facilitate the work of rendering the Constitution into Hindi from the original English.

Enter the League

The July Session of the Constituent Assembly was markedly different from the first three sessions. Not only did the representatives of the Indian States attend in all but full strength but the Muslim League members from India were also present.

The various Committees, formed by the Constituent Assembly, notably the Union Constitution Committee, the Provincial Constitution Committee, and the Advisory Committee have laboured faithfully and indefatigably during the two months between the April and the July sessions. It must be remembered that the April session closed at a time when the country was in the twilight of suspense. It was not known whether India would win her wager with Fate and remain as she has been for ages and ages, one united and strong nation, or whether she would lose her wager and have to submit unhappily to division and partition. The uncertainty naturally affected the work of some Committees. But when the Mountbatten Plan of division was announced on June 3, the dawn of certainty, albeit not the glorious dawn India had kept vigil for, nonetheless, this dawn of certainty did bring a stern determination for completing the great task in hand. Contrary to general surmise, in spite of all the phenomenal happenings since June 3, it was in an atmosphere of remarkable goodwill and cordiality that

the Constituent Assembly re-assembled on July 14. A few desultory attempts were made by over-zealous members to demand an assurance of patriotic loyalty from those who subscribed to the two Nations theory and who had so long boycotted the Constituent Assembly. But with characteristic and spontaneous good grace the Hon. Mr. Prasad put his foot down on these attempts. He said that the fact that these members were present showed that they desired to participate in making a good Constitution for the free Indian Union, and being duly elected they had a right to be there. He welcomed them in words which left no room for any misunderstanding. Indeed, his cordial welcome reflected the splendid traditions and unbiased spirit that have been associated with the Congress for three score years and more. It was equally refreshing to witness the salutations of Choudhari Khalik-uz-Zaman as he passed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on his way to sign the register as also the greetings exchanged by Begam Azam Razi and Panditji.

In moving the adoption of the Report of the Steering Committee Mr. K. M. Munshi expressed the hope that League members present would regard themselves as loyal and law-abiding citizens and assured them that as a minority they would have an honourable place. Mr. Nazrudin Ahmad was heartily cheered by the House when in reply to Mr. Munshi he declared that the presence of the League members itself showed that they would be loyal and law-abiding citizens of the Indian Union.

In the Provinces

From the second day the House settled down to business in real earnest. Sardar Patel, Chairman of the Provincial Constitution Committee, presented the Report which was taken up clause by clause for full and free discussion. Normally, the Provincial Legislature will be unicameral, elected on the basis of adult franchise and territorial constituencies with one seat for every lakh of voters but subject to a minimum of sixty and a maximum of three hundred members. The Executive will consist of Ministers elected on adult franchise and a cabinet consisting of a prime minister and other ministers.

Clearly, the Congress favoured a democratic parliamentary system in which the Governor's Ministers are appointed by him on the Prime Minister's recommendation and hold office during his pleasure, while the League wanted the election of Ministers on the basis of proportional representation on the Swiss Model. The amendments did not prove convincing enough and were lost.

It was pointed out by Sardar Patel that he was afraid of Governors simply because he had unpleasant memories of Governors under the British regime would be unreasonable. The Governor was to be elected by the people of the Province and there were to be checks and counterchecks, and as such there was nothing to fear. When the House accepted the idea of having Governors, it went the whole hog and wanted Deputy Governors also.

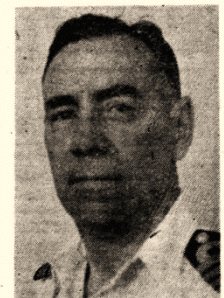
Any Province that desired to have a Second Chamber could elect it on the basis of the Irish model. As the Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher explained in his

(Continued in Page 10)

SERVICE CHIEFS: NAVAL PAKISTAN INDIA



Rear-Admiral J. W. Jefford, C-in-C, Pakistan Naval Forces.



Rear-Admiral J. T. S. Hall, C-in-C, India Naval Forces.

of us, I hope, a dedication". The great Objectives Resolution has since become India's Charter of Freedom. Pandit Nehru's speech was characterized by the Press as "magnificent in its range of vision, and in its high idealism, at once Catholic and unbending". This resolution was eloquently supported by Sri Parasuramdas Tandon, the grand old man of the United Provinces.

For four days the discussions were continued until the Hon. Mr. Prasad decided that further discussions of the Objectives Resolution be postponed to January Session. Thereafter various important Committees were set up, the most important one being the Negotiating Committee for the purpose of fixing the distribution of seats, not exceeding 50 in number, reserved for Indian States at one for every million of population; and also of determining the method by which they should be returned to the Constituent Assembly.

Real Freedom

On January 20 the Constituent Assembly re-assembled. After the necessary preliminary work the debate on the Objectives Resolution was resumed. Dr. Radhakrishnan, Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit, Dr. H. C. Mukerjee and others participated in the debate. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was so eloquent in his reply to the debate as he had been six weeks before in moving the Fundamental Rights Resolution. He aptly emphasised the significance of freedom for the common, neglected man when he said, "I hope that this Resolution will lead to a Constitution on the lines suggested by this Resolution. I trust that the Constitution itself will lead us to the real freedom that we have endeavoured for and that

from our purpose by developments which may take place, but go ahead, with faith in ourselves and in the country which has sent us here". Verily, he had expressed the unending resolve of the whole House to push on with the work instead of waiting without end.

In replying to the President's cordial welcome the Dvans and representatives spoke with glad enthusiasm of the integral unity of India and of the fact that an isolated existence would be untenable for any State. Sardar Panikkar said, "We are here by voluntary association. There has been no coercion. No pressure has been brought to bear on us. Anyone who says that we were coerced insults our 'intelligence'".

No Coercion

Pandit Nehru moved the resolution to record the Report of the Negotiating Committee set up by the Constituent Assembly and the States' Negotiating Committee. He too reiterated that there had been no coercion in bringing the States in except the compulsion of events. As Rajkumari Amrit Kaur said in her broadcast review of this session, "It was interesting to hear from his lips how the Negotiating Committee came to an agreed conclusion within two hours. This just shows that no problem is insoluble if the will to solve it is there."

The most important achievement of this brief 5-day session was the adoption of the Fundamental Rights as proposed by Sardar Patel on behalf of the Advisory Committee. There were interesting sallies during the debate on various clauses of the Report. Some one suggested that the Fundamental Rights had been framed from the Police Constables' point of view. Some one retorted that they had been formulated

SERVICE CHIEFS: AIR PAKISTAN INDIA



Air Vice-Marshal A. L. A. Kerridge, C-in-C, Air Forces, Pakistan.



Air-Marshal Sir Thomas Ellmhirst, C-in-C, Air Forces, India.

SALENT FEATURES OF THE UNION PLAN

(By Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Prime Minister of United Provinces)

I AM glad to have this opportunity of speaking to you. These are propitious times. Every minute is full of promise and pregnant with possibilities. Our freedom is taking a concrete shape. The old order is changing and a new State is being brought into existence in spite of all turmoil and tribulations. After centuries of foreign domination this ancient land of ours is going to breathe the refreshing and invigorating air of genuine freedom.

I wish to tell you something about the Union. I can give you but a bare outline of the salient features of the plan which the Union Constitution Committee has outlined. According to this scheme the Union of India will embrace almost the whole of India, including the Indian States, except the territories included in Pakistan. We all wish that the whole of India, the country had been maintained intact. It is a matter of deep distress and sorrow to all of us that the areas in the North-West and the East are not joining the Federation of India. Let us hope that this

breach will be healed and those who are keeping out will voluntarily come back to the Union and restore its integrity.

But let us not forget that the seceding areas form but a fraction of the entire whole and even if these are left out the Union of India will be almost the biggest state in the world. Out of about 400,000,000 living in India the citizens of the Indian Federation will not be less than 300,000,000 in any case, and are likely to be greatly in excess of this figure. No other State can claim such a huge population.

This Federation will include the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, West Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar, East Bengal, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Orissa, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg and Andaman Nicobar Islands and all the Indian States. The representatives of the Indian States having a population of more than 50,000 will be members of the Constituent Assembly.

This Union of India has vast possibilities. It has a mighty future be-

fore it and we can be sure that very soon it will come to occupy a very conspicuous place in the comity of nations and in the international world.

You will naturally like to know what this Federation is going to be like. I should first of all refer you to the Objectives Resolution which was passed by the Constituent Assembly in December last. The Constituent Assembly then declared its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an independent sovereign republic wherein all power and authority shall vest in the people, wherein justice, social, economic and political; equality of status, of opportunity; and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith worship, vocation, association and action shall be guaranteed to all the people and wherein adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities and depressed and other backward classes so that this ancient land may attain rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.

As you are doubtless aware, to begin with the powers of the Centre

were strictly limited. According to the scheme of the Cabinet Mission of May, 1946, besides Defence, External Affairs and Communications, no other subject was to be included within the ambit of the Federal Centre, the residuary powers were to vest in the Provinces and no major communal issue was to be decided except with the consent of the majority of each of the two major communities.

Momentous changes have occurred since, with the result that the Constituent Assembly has in law as well as in fact become a sovereign body. It is no longer subject to any limitations or restrictions. Its jurisdiction as well as its powers are supreme and unlimited.

Strong Centre

Being no longer fettered by the conditions of the May 16 plan it has now been decided by the Union Constitution Committee that the Federation will have a strong Centre. All subjects necessary for maintaining the might, authority and efficiency of the Federation have been included in the Federal list. Accordingly, as many as 87 items have been already entered in it. Besides, there will be a concurrent list and residuary powers shall also remain with the Centre.

In order, however, to facilitate the entry of the States into the Union and to remove any possibility of any misapprehension on their part the residuary powers in the case of the States will vest in them and they will not be required except with their own free will to cede wider powers to the Centre than those contemplated in the May, 1946, statement.

The representatives of the Council of State shall be elected by the Members of the popular House of each unit. The House of People shall consist of the representatives of the people of the territories of the Federation in the proportion roughly of one representative for every million of the population.

The elections to the House of the People shall be on the basis of adult suffrage. The elections for the said House will ordinarily be held once every four years, and the maximum strength of the House of the people shall be between 500 to 400. The Council of State shall be a permanent body, not subject to dissolution and there shall be an election for filling one-third of the vacancies in the House every second year.

It must inevitably take some time even after the passage of the Constitution Act to set up the machinery prescribed therein. The preparation of the electoral rolls must precede the election of the Members. But proceeding very speedily. All British authority is going to be withdrawn from August 15 and from that date the Constituent Assembly will be the supreme Legislature, with full power not only with regard to the framing of the Constitution but also about all matters of legislation and administration.

Constitutional Head

The President will, however, be only a constitutional head and the real administration of the country will be conducted by the Council of Ministers under the leadership of the Prime Minister. The Army, Navy, Air Force and all other Departments will be maintained and controlled by the people through their Ministers, and until both the Houses of the National Assembly have been duly constituted, the Constituent Assembly shall exercise all the powers of both the Houses, and until the President of the Federation has been elected in the manner prescribed the Constituent Assembly shall be competent to elect a provisional President of the Federation.

In order to meet any unforeseen difficulties the Federal Parliament shall have power to make necessary adaptations and modifications in the Constitution for three years from its commencement.

My task has been prosaic and matter-of-fact but had only to give an outline of the provisions contained in the report of the Union Constitution Committee. But we have to take note of the fact that for all practical purposes, our country is going to be independent on August 15, from which date no vestige of British authority will remain here and full power to order things as they like will be vested in the Members of the Cabinet of an independent Federation of India. Long live this sovereign, independent Republic of India!

Secret of the Commons' Success

(By Quintin Hogg, M.P.)

ON this unique occasion of the creating of two new and vast Dominions it might allow the curiosity of many to explain simply the function of Britain's House of Commons, upon which not a few of the Commonwealth countries have thought fit to model their own administrations.

The House of Commons is the dominant partner in the business of Parliament and the focal point in the British Constitution. The powers of the King are exercised by the Ministers and these in turn derive their authority from the support of their majority in the House of Commons. To the same majority—at least so long as it is fresh from its contact with the elections—the House of Lords, no equal partner, must in general bow. And the same majority, predominant over the Peers, and led by the Committee of its leaders we call the Cabinet, determines not merely policy but also the general trend of legislation.

Have you ever thought how unusual—not to say unique—is the collocation of powers and privileges which the House of Commons enjoys? Even among free institutions, few possess anything like the same authority.

The technical problem of subverting Governments—the House of Commons is not easy. Many models were tried and failed before anything like success was achieved.

Ancient Athenians

The primitive assembly of the ancient Athenians was nothing more than a mass meeting of such citizens as could, and would, attend. Such a fluctuating body was only effective when dominated by some outstanding personality capable of giving to its shifting composition a temporary coherence. With the disappearance of its presiding genius Athenian democracy became as feeble, cruel and as incapable of coherent policy as any other mob the world over.

The Roman Senate was an assembly of ex-magistrates. It was not popularly elected from time to time, and therefore was not representative. Its members held office for life and so the Senate had some general coherence of purpose—but the characteristic device of a representative Cabinet, pursuing a line of policy over a series of years and maintaining control over the organs of executive government, was beyond the achievement of Roman genius.

The French Revolution produced its own assembly—unconstitutional, but for a time powerful, ruthless, and cruel. This, at least nominally, was popularly elected, and a strong party caucus eventually gave coherence and purpose to its deliberations. But the inadequacy of its control over the executive organs of Government made it, in a warlike age, the easy prey of the dictator.

At Mercy of Intrigue

The later Continental democracies developed Cabinets in control of the executive, and responsible to Parliaments. But the multiplicity of parties robbed these Cabinets of authority, and the absence of any power of appeal to the electorate left them at the mercy of the shifting tides of intrigue.

After the House of Commons, the most successful legislature on record is the American Congress. But compared with those of our own Parliament, the powers of Congress are extremely limited. Unlike Parliament, Congress is limited to all policies by the President, who enjoys his own democratic mandate, appoints his own Cabinet, and is not a member of either House, by the States, who possess distinct powers and separate legislatures under the Constitution; by the Supreme Court, which can declare Acts of Congress unconstitutional; and by the different and equivalent powers of the two Houses

which, unlike our own Lords and Commons, are equal partners, each with its own sphere of influences.

Thus the House of Commons is unique. The only assemblies which resemble it closely are the assemblies in the Dominions, which derive their inspiration from it. What, then, are its main characteristics? What is the secret of its success? What are the limitations of its powers?

The House of Commons as we know it is based upon the two-party system, the members gathered 600 men and women together, each elected by his fellow citizens as the most worthy person to represent the district. In respect of policy or political opinions, you would, no doubt, get an assembly very representative of the nation in the sense that the objects of the things they are there to exemplify. But you would not get a House of Commons nor any body capable of conducting national business of any kind.

But the House of Commons is not elected in any such haphazard system. It is the result of a deliberate choice, based on a system of election calculated if not designed to give the largest organized minority in the country a decisive voice in its affairs. At by-elections freak candidates have, not infrequently, a chance of success. But at a General Election the sense of the British people, coupled with an electoral system based on single-member right, deal not with ideal possibilities but practical alternatives, and that because a General Election occurs only once every few years they must guide their choice on the broadest possible lines.

Cabinet Government

The second dominating feature of the House of Commons is Cabinet Government, based on the two-party system, with its strange corollary, an official Opposition led by a "Shadow Cabinet." This is the factor which gives coherence to policy, and even to criticism, and enables the business of the nation to go forward along the lines of an orderly and coherent policy, at the same time subjected to a line of criticism which is as little less than a constant check on the Government itself, and almost as responsible as the utterances of Cabinet Ministers.

These two opposing armies—each popularly elected—have a discipline and internal hierarchy which is not purely democratic in its character. The Cabinet is not elected by the Labour party; it is chosen by the Prime Minister, who advises the Crown by whom it is theoretically appointed. The Shadow Cabinet is the creation of the leader of the Opposition. Both, however, depend for their continued existence upon the support of the back benches so that the principle of popular control is not really violated.

The Whips

Between the leaders on the two front benches, and their supporters, and acting as the official channels of negotiation between the parties, are the Whips, functionaries who seldom speak, but whose business it is to see that parties, as a whole, compose of highly self-assertive individuals (if my colleagues in the House will forgive this description of them), do not degenerate into a rabble.

Two further factors, outside the House of Commons, play an indispensable part in enabling it to govern—the Civil Service and the Press.

Free Government is essentially a Government by amateurs. A Minister finds himself appointed overnight to an important office without previous experience of the job—or even without a description of it.

Not infrequently he makes a success of this new responsibility. Often he fails, but he seldom fails simply because he has no previous experience. Why? Because there exists at his command in his new post a

body of men, highly expert in administration, completely loyal, uncompromisingly honest, intellectually, self-consciously non-political, the administrative grade of the Civil Service, whose business it is to translate into practice the amateur aspirations of the man who is their master, to warn him of pitfalls, to smooth out difficulties, to take care of details.

Such a body of men, were they incompetent, could wreck the reputation of the best of Ministers, were they disloyal could make a weak Minister a puppet and govern in his name like the Mayors of the Palace of a Marovingian monarch. It is to their honour that they never do so. The Cabinet is really responsible for our good or evil fortune. The Civil Service seldom fails to make the best of a bad policy, and make it a point of honour not to substitute their own ideas for that of a Minister, however weak. Only so can democracy be preserved.

The second factor which makes the House of Commons work is publicly. Everything that is said and done is done under the arc lamps of a corps of brilliant writers and broadcasters. If a Minister slips, if a Government takes advantage of its power, if an Opposition makes a telling point, it is their business to see that the episode is not passed over. Not the most brilliant of chief Whips can marshal his followers successfully in an atmosphere of disintegrating public support.

ALL THE BEST OF THE OCCASION

B. LILARAM & SONS,
SILK MERCHANTS, TAILORS AND OUTFITTERS
LAHORE - MUSSOORIE - LUCKNOW - NAINITAL

"The Civil & Military Gazette" was five years old and had celebrated its 13th birthday before the All-India was three years past when the Muslim League was formed, halting at times and painful at others, towards the goal of independence. Many who in the past half-century strove and sate sadly in to-day's celebrations, so far has the reality August 15, 1947, will go down in Indian history as manifestation of those hopes whose frustration turned many of to-day remeber with heart-felt gratitude those who sacrificed, in both Dominions, look with faith and hope towards these, the pitifully few among the pitiful many, all men, equal to their great opportunities and their even greater sincerely joined.

Lahore—August 15, 1947.

Queen Victoria assumed the title, Empress of India, Congress came into being in 1885. Its majority therefore, witnessed the whole of India's progress, reached to-day, the goal of unqualified independence the attainment of India's freedom would participate of their ideal. But we cling to the belief that an end but a beginning—the beginning of the realization of those hopes whose frustration turned many of to-day remeber with heart-felt gratitude those who sacrificed, in both Dominions, look with faith and hope towards these, the pitifully few among the pitiful many, all men, equal to their great opportunities and their even greater sincerely joined.

THE EDITOR

SPIRIT OF MACAULAY IN DEBATE

(By Wickham Steed)

WITH praiseworthy speed and unanimity the Indian Independence Bill was enacted by both Houses of the British Parliament and received the Royal Assent. The spirit of Macaulay's famous utterance in the House of Commons debate on the India Bill in 1858 appeared to animate the great majority of legislators and the Sovereign alike.

Few clearer examples of foresight are on record than might expand under the system of British rule till it would degenerate that system; that by good government the Indian subjects of the Crown might be educated into a capacity for better government; and that they might, instructed in European knowledge, demand in some future age European institutions. Whichever that day comes, Macaulay added, it will be the proudest day in English history.

It cannot be said truthfully that pride was the dominant feeling of the Ministers and Opposition speakers in the debates on the Indian Independence Bill. It can be said that the sense of duty, frisky sense, and of relief at the vindication of British sincerity, pervaded the proceedings in both Houses.

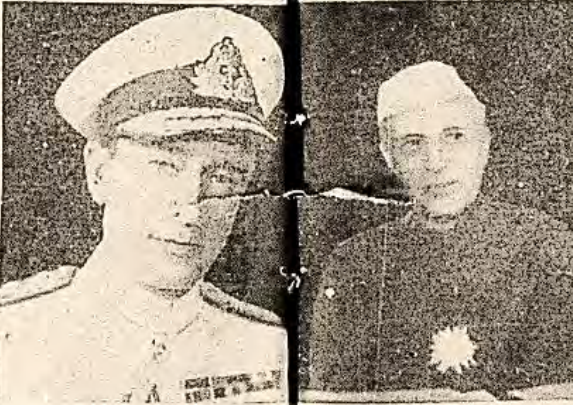
It will be remembered that the Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee) who closed the debate, said everything would depend upon the sincerity of the Indian leaders, which he believed would be forthcoming. He parted with the Bill "with the unshakable hope that these things will work out for the good of all peoples of India."

Attlee's Gladness

Mr. Attlee expressed his gladness that the House had shown it can handle a great theme on a great occasion. He paid a well-deserved tribute to the Members of the Opposition for their self-control and forbearance in helping to pass the Bill. For this self-control and forbearance an adequate reason was given by Mr. E. A. Butler, a Conservative spokesman. The Bill had been supported, he said, on account of the general sentiment of the Opposition that Britain should practice as well as preach the doctrine of self-government.

The words and behaviour of the Opposition in the Commons reminded me of the pregnant phrase once written by the late President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia for the benefit of his own people when they were about to organize in 1919, their democratic independence. It ran: "Self-government is self-control."

Other reminiscences have been awakened in my mind by a clause of the Bill which gave Parliamentary assent to the creation of the sword "Empress of India" from the Royal style and titles. One of my earliest political memories is of the hubbub caused by a certain of the Conservatives against Prime Minister Disraeli, some 20 years ago, in adding "Empress of India" to the titles of Queen Victoria. It was looked upon even by the Conservatives as a



Welfare of India

The feeling of "responsibility and

BETTER FOOD—MORE PROGRESS

(By G. N. Shivapuri, F.R.H.S. (Lond.), Superintendent, Api-Horticultural Department, Alwar)

THE new Dominions are going to be a very potent force and will wield a considerable influence in the world from now on. The present-day quarrels may undermine our prestige but we cannot stop our progress. But we cannot deny that our people are very poor and are virtually starving. Mentally weak and semi-starved people are no asset to any nation.

Those who get enough to eat are not getting the right type of food with the result that most of the food which so-called rich people consume is waste and does not produce the intellect and intelligence which we need. What we need most is balanced food sufficient for our daily needs. The highest medical and scientific authorities have declared that without number that our daily food lacks the necessary amount of vitamins, salts, sugar, minerals and so on. Lack of these things often produces a puny type of people, lacking physical, mental, intellectual and moral strength.

The unbalanced diet can be cured by keeping bees, which is a sure remedy for many of the ills of the world—you may not agree but it is a fact. The following goes to make a "dole" effective: honey, milk, fruit and vegetables.

India's lack

Unfortunately in India we lack all these three essentials and yet India was once regarded as land literally flowing with honey and milk. What is the position to-day? About 90 per cent have not seen good and genuine honey, let alone use it. 80 per cent have not eaten fruit in the real sense

THE LITTLE INDEPENDENCE

IN an effort to secure a cross-section of public opinion a "Civil and Military Gazette" reporter interviewed the "man-in-the-street" as to his reactions on independence. Our reporter chose at random, sweeper, bearer, chaprasi, bus driver, policeman, shop assistant and a clerk and the upshot of these chance interviews was disconcerting. The implications of the great changes he to be outlined to several, who were inclined to utter the wish that things had been left as they were—disclosed a regrettable timidity towards opportunities now presented.

This approach to the future seem to dominate a big section of working class thought—illustrating a strangely inherent conservatism. On the other hand, there were those who anticipated a swing of the pendulum in a direction which will benefit the personally to an extraordinary degree. However, there are those who at justifiably quietly jubilant what

THIS CIVIL & MILITARY GARIBTI INDEPENDENCE DAY SUPPLEMENT

Exploring Pakistan's archaeological resources

VAST AREA WHICH ABOUNDS IN HISTORICAL SITES

Future Centre of Islamic Culture and Scholarship

(By Lt.-Col. K.A. Rashid)

THE inauguration of Pakistan affords excellent opportunity for a genuine exploration of the archaeological resources within its boundaries. Most of the area as yet unexplored. Now that this is to be an independent State it is hoped that it will encourage its people to adopt creative thought.

In the field of historical research contributions made by Muslim scholars have been tremendous. Muslims have taught the world the art and method of writing history. Ibn Khaldun stands as an immortal—universally acknowledged—in that science for the last century or so as claimed to represent a dead past rather than giving a picture of a living past.

It is the function of a museum to build up culture and civilisation, both ancient and medieval which should significantly represent the aspirations and hopes of these people. The Pakistan State should be alive to this important work and organise itself on lines laid down by competent and experienced archaeologists.

For this purpose Muslim archaeological sites of Iraq, Turkey, Egypt and Iran might come to their help and advice on technical matters. They have been carrying on this work in their respective countries entirely independently for the past 20 years. The archaeological laboratories in the Middle East, could form an admirable training ground for Muslim archaeologists of Pakistan.

The State will have to maintain an up-to-date training centre equipped with libraries and apparatus. The means of equipping the government and public libraries which is remunerated will have to be carried out with great care.

Lahore Libraries

Books on history, both manuscript and published, exist in much greater numbers in the libraries of Lahore than anywhere else in India. This storehouse of knowledge should not be allowed to fade away nor this source of research be allowed to dry. If Pakistan takes the right step it will contribute a solid and lasting work for the benefit of civilisation and culture. It would not be long before its universities were thronged with scholars from all the world over. Intellectual relations will be the immediate demand of the Muslim people and the prior duty of the State.

Here is a brief survey of the history of archaeological research in

India and the Middle East, and of what, in my opinion, remains to be done.

India has been a playground of nations. From the period of the Dravidians to the arrival of the British many nations have poured into the heart of this sub-continent. Almost all of them have settled here, influencing, assimilating and contributing to previous cultures and civilisations. It may perhaps surprise many to know that even the Dravidians were outsiders. Yet their infiltration into India was a long time before the penetration of the Aryans.

Climate has varied and effected the features and complexion of the incoming nations; not only that, but changed their civilisation and culture to a very great extent. The climatic conditions in India today point to the Indus Valley as the most fertile part of ancient India, the glory of which has been dug up in the cities of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro.

This was the only place of attraction for the first Dravidians, who moved up to the North after their entrance into India in the South, and to the later people who landed directly there. Similarly, Babylonians and Egyptians were fertile localities which attracted early wanderers. They now lie barren and a waste, like the Indus Valley.

Rotation of Climate

This is all a result of the rotation of climate. Just as the life history of a people also so also the climatic changes. When the great Sahara was green, Europe was a desert. So it happened in India. All who came here made for the Indus Valley, and gradually, when its climate became unfavourable, people moved their centres of civilisation. Hence the first centres of civilisation have been found in these areas.

The cities of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa were discovered a long time ago but instead of interesting developments being made known complete mystery has been woven round these ancient sites, whereas, great progress has been made during the same interval in other places where simultaneous excavations were carried on.

After carefully going through a complete history of the excavations in the Middle East I feel it can safely be said that Indian archaeologists have wasted a golden opportunity. It is hoped there will be better experts in Pakistan. The Indian archaeologists also seem to be ignorant of the advances made in the Middle East; or, if he knows, he is probably sleeping over the interesting developments that have taken place because the results affect adversely the history of Hindu mythology.

The relationship of the Indus Valley culture with the culture of the Fertile Crescent which is now established in pregnant with historical interest. It has proved without doubt the extra territorial links of the Aryan civilisation, and established parallel king list of ruling dynasties beyond the frontiers of India.

What new the Indian archaeologist were present even before the Indian archaeologist took to the spade.

Where does the Indian archaeologist stand regarding the script which was discovered in the Indus Valley about 20 years ago? He has even decided what script it is? Whether it is Sumerian or Dravidian? The science of deciphering has advanced a great deal indeed but the Indian archaeologist seems to be living in the days of the Roetta Stone.

Few Excavations

The sites excavated in India are few. Besides Mohenjo Daro and Harappa there is only Majumdar, excavated at Chanhua Daro in Sind. Discoveries have been few; decipherings and interpretations still fewer.

The two great cities (Harappa and Mohenjo Daro) showed practically no changes in culture, and stratigraphical evidence; in spite of the fact that, "the basic work on these cultures was carried out by Childe, 1933-1934, but much new material from India and Iran is now available." ("Ancient India," Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. I, 1936).

How long is it since Western archaeologists put forward their theories of the relationship of the two civilisations? Have they accepted or rejected them? It is morally illegal to keep quiet over the process and progress of excavations. Whatever is dug out must be brought before the world immediately, no matter if preliminary deductions are wrong.

Both, in the last century, while digging at Chanhua Daro, thought that he had discovered Mohenjo Daro, a communication to France saying that Mohenjo Daro was later excavated at the mouth of Kayunjik, a couple of miles from Mohenjo, but well over 15 miles from where he thought he had found it. He was off the track. The matter seems quite the reverse regarding the Indus Valley. The very idea of the art of specialisation in archaeology is absent. This in spite of the Archaeological Training School at Taxila, Punjab. The art of restoration of excavated

sites is also unknown to them. I have yet to see Mohenjo Daro and Harappa restored on paper or in the museums. Restoration is the duty of the archaeologist to create a living interest in the past. Each site dug up elsewhere in the Middle East has been restored both on paper and in the museums. Any one who looks at the ruins of the famous Queen Samsirama's hanging gardens at Babylon today, or the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh, can have no idea what these places looked like in the days of their glory. But he can have a good idea if there is a proper restoration.

So much for ancient monuments where the ground plan is in most cases obliterated and the super-structure destroyed. Let us see what the Indian Archaeological Department has done regarding the restoration of the pre-Mughal and Mughal monuments, both archaeological and architectural. Architectural restorations of the pre-Mughal monuments have never been carried out, even a paper restoration to show what the place looked like when it was built does not exist.

Buried Glory

Where then are the people to get their inspiration about their glorious past? Excepting the odd descriptions that one finds in the original sources of history, which are also rare, there is no chance of building up a living past. Thus has the glory which should be the glory before the eyes of the Indian Archaeological Department.

Has anything been done about the tomb of Qutub-ud-Din Aibak? Where is the ground plan of the famous gardens of Zeb-un-Nissa which once flourished in Lahore? Where are the restorations of the tombs of so many saints that he buried at street corners today?

Some Mughal buildings have been preserved thanks to funds subscribed by Muslim princes. The British managed to repair two such monuments and the Taj at Agra.

Sir Anwar-ul-Haq has spent a great deal of time wandering over the barren hills of Baluchistan and Kirman to find out how the time-lag in the current order to aid him in finding out a date for Indian culture? Could not the date be ascertained from findings in the Indus Valley?

It is time that an honest analytical study of Indus Valley culture was made, especially so far as it is related to the ancient cultures. Inter-Asian conferences cannot solve this problem. In fact, these cultures have been brought to light right up to the frontier of India, but, unfortunately, the facts about ancient Indian culture and civilisation are as yet undeveloped.

19th Century Findings

The findings of Botta, Layard and Rawlinson in the last century were greatly developed by Sydney Smith, L.W. King and Seton Lloyd in this century. The relationship of the archaeologies has been amply clarified. L.W. Waddell has taken these researches to far-reaching conclusions. The history of the Mitanni Aryanians has been thrashed out. I uphold very strongly that after the Dravidians the Mitanni culture was the first to arrive in the Indus Valley. They were also the earliest branch of Aryans to infiltrate into the Middle East from the North Pole ("Arctic Home of the Aryan" by B.G. Tilak). They were the earliest to establish civilisation in the Fertile Crescent. They had matrimonial connections with the Pharaohs of Egypt and later formed the Empire of Akkad and Sumer, from where they penetrated into the Indus valley.

For a Muslim historian today they have still greater significance, for they are the first Samudri of the Quran (I have discussed this question in detail in an article on "The Assyrian Culture and Civilisation in the Monthly 'Dabran' of Delhi, July, 1916). These people came to India both by land and sea.

The Mitanni while in Sumer and Akkad also came to be known as the Hurris, and they were later connected with the founding of the city of Ur where the prophet Abraham was born. This word, Hurri, through the able amount of transportation and, finally, when these people arrived in India, they came to be known as the Huris, who to this day inhabit the Indus Basin.

The Pioneers

So the Huris of today are the pioneers of Indian civilisation. The Huris were praised by Plutarch for their bravery as being the most warlike and the brave people whom Alexander had to deal with during his world conquest.

The Mitanni gods, Indra, Mithra and Varuna, have even not attracted the attention of the Indian archaeologists. The discoverer of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro have dramatically proclaimed that Indian civilisation is 2500-2700 B.C. And what is this civilisation? The archaeologist does not seem to know. Was it Dravidian or Aryan? superimposed upon the Dravidians?

The Indian archaeologist is not even prepared to admit Sumerian influence on the Indus Valley. The reason for the simple reason that the people of the Fertile Crescent were Semitic Babylonians whose history is saturated with Biblical stories.

They were mostly non-Semitic Babylonians and Huris Aryanians, and it is here that the most interesting revelations are made about their religion and history. I do not deny that there was a Dravidian civilisation in India. Even a pre-Dravidian civilisation is being talked of today. That does not rule out the Sumerian influence from the Middle East.

It is even thought that the Dravidians were an early branch of the Aryans who passed from Assyria to Egypt and thence into the South of India. This was at a very early date, long before King Dushratha or King Sagar of the Hastivata (Gandhara) ruled in Assyria and Akkad respectively.

This may again surprise many. Correspondence is to-day in the British Museum which took place between Amenhotep III and King Dushratha over the marriage of their children. Amenhotep III asked for the daughter of Dushratha for his son, the famous Akhenaton. Amenhotep himself was married to a cousin of King Dushratha ("Life and times of Akhenaton," by Arthur Wehler). Does the Indian archaeologist know that this King had a son called Amarsin who is also in some places called Naram Sin ("History of Assyria," by Sydney Smith)? Do they know that his name has the same meaning as Rama Chandra varma of the Moon ("Makers of Civilization," by W. W. Waddell)? And is it not possible that metathesis has taken place in the words Rama and Amarsin?

An Imperium

Metathesis is a simple transposition of a letter or fact which history empiry proves to have taken place in ethnic philology. Does this not produce an impetus in the Indian archaeologist to probe further? "Sage the history of the Flood not attract him at all? After all it exists in Indian scriptures, too. Has any one of the Flood not been deciphered then in the Sumerian cuneiform inscriptions as the Gilgamesh tale?"

Does not the story of the Mahabharata attract them at all? Have they not heard Waddell speak of Kurukshetra in terms of Kurand? They doubted that Madhyaleka of the Mahabharata is the Medes (Mada) of the Greeks? And further, this Madhyaleka of the Mahabharata, is the real Kurukshetra, the Kurand of Waddell? It is, appropriately speaking, the Kurandian or the Kurandian of today? Do not the Kuris of today, then, because the Kuris of old? And are not the Kuris Mitanni Aryanians? And was not Dushratha a Mitanni King? Certainly they all were, and so is the Hur of today a Kuri and a Kuru of old; the pioneer of Indian civilisation.

Diction of Iqbal

I have very briefly outlined what would prove of immense social and cultural value if proved to be correct by genuine research. The principles of human limitation, such as blood relationship, "no throne-culture", have long been disapproved from this globe of ours. The principles of human unification, "no link in the blood and bones but in the mind of man." This dictum of Iqbal will become crystal clear as the curtain rises with further research and excavation.

Besides the ancient mounds and monuments, the medieval structures in Pakistan will need looking after. Repairs, as I have pointed out, have been hopefully neglected and ignored. We learn from history how these great structures were maltreated and mismanaged. These glorious pieces of art must be restored to their original glory.

Let Pakistan become a great Islamic metropolis where scholars throng in great numbers with flowing robes; let book-collecting be a mania, let art and industry flourish as with before. Finally let me remind Pakistan of their being put in the words of Winwood Read's "Martyrdom of Man", He says,

Spain's prospered
"The Arabs raised Spain to a height of prosperity which it has never since attained; they covered the land with palaces, mosques, hospitals and bridges, and with enormous aqueducts which, penetrating the sides of the mountains, or swooping on lofty arched across valleys, rivalled the monuments of Rome.... at a time when books were so rare in Europe that the man who possessed one often gave it to the church and placed it on the altar. Pro remedies of immense value, to obtain remission of his sins at a time when three or four hundred parchment scrolls were considered a magnificent endowment for a priest in England could translate Latin into his mother tongue, and when even in Italy a monk who had picked up a smattering of mathematics was looked upon as a magician...."

Here was a country where every child was taught to read and write, and in which every town possessed a public library, in which book collecting was a mania.... in which paper filled in which enormous quantities of books were carried distant cities as poets.... in which the blind were often scholars, in which men of science were making chemical experiments, using Astrobleas in the laboratories, inventing dying materials...."

Let Muslims of Pakistan raise their country to the height to which Spain rose under the Arabs.

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Major-General Mahara. Shri Rajendra Shihji, Commander of the Delhi Area, India.

LEADER'S HAIL FATEFUL DAY

(Continued from page 4)
For us, the fortunate ones who have lived to see this day, the honour is one both of pride and glory. We are proud to have brought India to its goal and to acclaim the Glorious results achieved by a long sustained peaceful and non-violent struggle under Gandhi's inspiring leadership.

Although it must be acknowledged that the goal which we have reached is not the one that we had set out for, there is not the least doubt that there is nothing now to prevent us from moulding the future of India in the manner we like. It is our glory that we are free to share the fruits of the struggle with every man, woman and child in this vast sub-continent.

Let us not forget, however, in the joy of the honour the stupendous responsibilities and obligations which freedom has brought in its wake. Our primary duty is jealously to guard our freedom against dangers from without and from within.

We have also to ensure that the humblest among us has the same stature as the tallest in the land, that labour gets the legitimate share of its product, that the toiling millions in the villages obtain just return for the sweat of their brow and that the State discharges adequately its elementary duty of feeding, clothing, housing and educating every son and daughter of the Motherland.

DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES

It has now been given to us by Providence to fashion our country's destiny according to our cherished ideals and aspirations. If we fail the Motherland, the blame will not lie at anybody else's door. Indeed, there are enormous difficulties and almost insuperable obstacles in our way, but it is for us to overcome them.

We ask all our countrymen to lend us a helping hand in this gigantic task. The duty is too sacred to be profaned by selfish scrambles, intercaste dissensions and narrow prejudices; the responsibilities are too great to be slighted by obstructive tactics or prejudiced by subversive activities.

Many a wound of this fair country remains to be healed; many an anguished soul requires to be comforted. In this humanitarian and national endeavour, none can afford either to withhold co-operation or to refuse goodwill. All of us must offer our best in this joint undertaking.

Our hearts naturally go out to those who were of us and with us so long, but who are now to be separated. Few can realise the bitterness and sorrow which partition has brought to those who cherished unity but lived to fashion the details of partition. But let not our brethren across the border feel that they are neglected or forgotten. Their welfare will claim our vigilance and we shall follow with abiding interest their future in full hope and confidence that sooner than later we shall again be united in common allegiance to our country.

It is in this spirit and faith that we must dedicate ourselves this day afresh to the service of the nation and invite all our countrymen to do the same.

NOT THE END

Dr. Rajendra Prasad's message reads:

Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi and the great national leaders who preceded him, India too has taken its share in the historic pilgrimage of human freedom.

The victory against foreign domination which we celebrate to-day is the nation's victory through its own efforts. But it is not the end of our job. Millions face privation, hunger and disease and, to conquer these, petty quarrels will need to be forgotten and sectional self-interest laid aside.

India faces a colossal task in harnessing the enthusiasm and energy of the people to the requirements of an independent nation. Given

the goodwill and co-operation of the people and the Press, we are confident of our ability to surmount these difficulties.

MEMORABLE DAY

The Congress President, Acharya Kripalani, says:

This day of August 15, 1947, is a memorable day in the history of India. On this day the dead-weight of British imperialism is lifted from this land. The sufferings and sacrifices of generations of brave fighters in the cause of independence have borne fruit.

We salute, with reverence the memory of those whose blood and sweat have watered the harvest which we gather to-day. We honour the brave and selfless patriots who are happily still with us—not only the great leaders whom the nation knows and honours, but those innumerable heroes who have laboured and suffered in obscurity, without count of sacrifice and without hope of personal reward.

This revolution, which has ushered the birth of freedom for this land, is a unique one in the history of the world. Never before was so great an event, transforming the destiny of so many millions of men and women, consummated with such little bloodshed and violence. This is a freedom not of one brute nibby over another, but of the spirit of freedom and humanity over the blinding greed of imperialism. That this has been possible is due to the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, who, if any man may be so called, is the father of our nation. He has led us in the non-violent battle for freedom and he has shown us the way to make this freedom fruitful, in the service of our people. To him we pay our homage.

We sought to achieve freedom for an India that was one and, to us, indivisible. And yet millions of our brothers and sisters, who were our countrymen yesterday, will to-day become subjects of a separate State. He accepted this separation, however painful, because freedom from foreign rule was the imperative necessity of our national existence and unity without freedom had turned into disunity. Freedom achieved, unity may return, a unity truer than we had before.

Let us not be disheartened because freedom has not come in the full glory of a united India.

Mr. C. H. Bhabha in a message says:

END OF AN ERA
"It is a day of rejoicing to-day. It is also a day of remembrance. Let us not forget those millions, nameless, unknown warriors, who sacrificed their all to make India free."

"To-day also marks the end of an era. It also marks the dawn of a new era of responsibilities and determination."

"It should be a matter of utmost concern that on this day the shadow of Bengal famine should re-emerge over South India. It should also be a matter of great concern to every one of us that production in all its spheres has declined and movement of goods should have been reduced. We shall have to gird up our loins to save human beings from starvation."

"We are told that there is no escape from starvation. Others talk of large stocks of food grains in the black markets of North India. In the name of free India and for the love of humanity, I appeal to every one wallowing in black markets, to give up his grain. I equally appeal to the public to help the authorities to track down black-marketers. An all-out effort shall have to be made to save our brethren in the South from starvation and death."

"It is said that it is sometimes easier to win freedom than to retain that freedom. Perpetual vigilance is the price men have to pay for their liberty. India shall have to be strong in every sense of the term, if India were to retain her freedom so dearly won by her. A co-operative effort is demanded to make India strong."

'Produce or perish' shall have to be our slogan.

TWO ALTERNATIVES

"I do not wish to raise acrimonious discussion on this day of our great rejoicing. I also stand for fair and equitable conditions of service for the working class. At the same time, I urge that working classes shall have to make their contribution to make this country strong, consolidated and great. 'Go slow' movements, sit-down strikes and sabotage are signs of diseased mentality. They constitute a class conflict."

"The Congress, as I understand it, is a classless organisation. It has always stood for the underdog. After years of strife, the Congress has come into its own. It is up to everyone of us to give the Congress administrators a chance to make this country great. It is up to us, and particularly the workers, to put our shoulders to the wheel and get this country out of the economic morass."

"Produce or Perish are the only two alternatives. Our freedom will be short-lived if we lay down our tools and play some one else's game. We must make the supreme effort to make a move on."

"In saying this I do not minimise the responsibility of the employers of labour. Extravagant living and higgling over a few extra copper coins do not go together. There shall have to be equality in sacrifice. I warn all those who, under cover of patriotism, have been exploiting the masses for their individual gain and greed. The Government shall deal with them with a heavy hand, if they do not play the game. 'Country above all' services before self should be the slogans of to-day."

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INDEPENDENCE GREETINGS

(Continued from page 3)

broadcast. "Men, who had risen to the heights of their profession and those representing special interests, might be deferred from seeking elections, partly because of a general election and partly on the score of expense. An upper House would act as a revising Chamber and would enable the State to make use of the mature advice of such people."

Constituencies

With reference to territorial constituencies Mrs Benika Ray made an impressive speech congratulating the House on having abolished special constituencies which had kept Indian women in bondage. Reservation of seats for women, she said, was an insult to their intelligence and she was glad it was being abolished. She was sure that as a free India women would have a chance to prove their worth and fight elections from the general constituencies and win.

UNION CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AT WORK

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presented the Report of the Union Constitution Committee. It is proposed to set up a sovereign Republic known as India, consisting of nine Governors' Provinces, five Chief Commissioners' Provinces, and such of the Indian States as decide to join the Union. Provision has been made to include new territories in the Federation by an Act of the Union Parliament. The Parliament is empowered to create new Units, increase or diminish the area of any Unit or to alter its boundaries.

Union Parliament

The Union Parliament will consist of two Houses, the Council of State, corresponding to the House of Lords, and the Lok Sabha of the House of People corresponding to the House of Commons. The Council of States will consist of ten members nominated by the President in consultation with universities and scientific bodies, plus representatives of the Units on the scale of one representative for every million of population of that Unit upto five million, plus one representative for every additional two million of the population subject to a total maximum of 25.

The House of the People will consist of representatives of the people of the territories of the Federation in the proportion of not less than one representative for every million of population and not more than one representative for every 250,000 of the population. Election to the House of the People shall be on the basis of adult suffrage. Ordinarily the life of the Lok Sabha will be limited to four years.

The head of the Indian Union will be known as Rashtrapati or President, who will be elected every five years by an electoral college. The President will be Supreme Commander of the defence forces of the Union. He will have power to exercise the right of pardon or commute or remit punishment imposed by any court exercising criminal jurisdiction. He will have the power to promulgate ordinances under exceptional circumstances when the Parliament is not in session. He can send a Bill back to the Legislature for reconsideration within six weeks.

Every citizen of the Union who has completed the age of thirty-five years and is qualified for election as a member of the House of the People shall be eligible for election as President.

A Vice-President shall be elected by both Houses of the Union Parliament in joint session by secret ballot on the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote and of the executive President of the Council of States. Also if at any time the office of the President is vacant the Vice-President will step in.

Union Cabinet

According to the Nehru Report and as accepted by the House, the Union Cabinet will be on the British model. The Leader of the majority party will be appointed Prime Minister by the President and the Council of Ministers will be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. The Council of Ministers will be collectively responsible to the House of the People.

There shall be a Supreme Court of the Indian Union which will enjoy exclusive jurisdiction in disputes between the Union and a Unit, and between Units inter se, and jurisdiction with regard to matters arising out of treaties made by the Union; and in respect of other matters within the competence of the Union as the Union Legislature may prescribe; and jurisdiction for the purpose of enforcing the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution. So far as the "British" Indian provinces are concerned the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court will be co-extensive with the present jurisdiction of the Privy Council. The Supreme Court

shall have jurisdiction to decide upon the Constitutional validity of acts and laws of the Union or any Unit thereof. This is the main structure of the Union Constitution.

The New Flag

July 22, was a special day, the Flag Day, when the Constituent Assembly stood up in solemn silence as we used to do in the past. The Union adopted the Tricolour with the Ashoka Chakra in place of the Charkha as the flag of free India. The House had assembled in full and united strength. The galleries were overflowing. The atmosphere was tense with excitement. All through the proceedings, there was not one discordant note. Unanimity had blossomed like a flower in the desert. Congressmen, League, Harijans, Christians, Anglo-Indians, Sikhs, Muslims, Parsis and all vied with one another in paying homage to the Flag of Independent India.

Amidst rousing applause Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru rose to move the resolution of the Flag. The ideal and poet moulded by destiny into a traitor and statesman could not help reflecting in his speech an exalted idealism, imbued in arresting beauty and that rich, animating courage that grips with grim facts, unimpaired, unflinching. "We tried," said he, "to find out a flag which was beautiful because the symbol of a nation must be beautiful to look at. We thought of a flag which would in its combination and in its separate parts, somehow represent the spirit of the nation, the tradition of the nation, that mixed spirit and tradition which have grown up in these thousands of years in India. So we devised this flag."

Referring to the fact that the religious close of the struggle for freedom had not been what all of us desired, but was marred by many things, he went on to say: "So in spite of everything that surrounds us it is in no spirit of downheartedness that I stand before you but in pride and thankfulness for what this nation and the people of this nation have achieved."

Chandhari Khatun-Zaman, leader of the Muslim League Party, extending his whole-hearted support to the resolution said that it was the duty of all loyal citizens to enhance the prestige and honour of the flag. "An emblem," said he, "that every Muslim and Christian who is a citizen of India will take a pride in hoisting and honouring the flag."

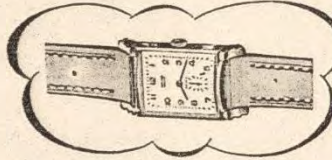
Allegiance Pledged

After some twenty-two speakers representing all sections of India, had pledged their allegiance to the National Flag of the Indian Union, Mrs Sarojini Naidu wound up the proceedings of the day in an impassioned speech. "Under this flag there is no difference between a prince and a peasant," she said, "no difference between rich and poor, between man and woman. Therefore men and women of new-born India, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis, Sikhs, Zoroastrians, you are one indivisible whole and one indivisible spirit." Raising her right hand she cried, "I bid you rise and salute the flag." And the house rose and saluted the flag.

When the Constituent Assembly re-assembled at midnight on August 14, it will be for the purpose of taking over the affairs of an independent India from British hands. A new chapter will open in India's history—a chapter of freedom, justice and equality—a chapter that can be glorious of every Indian citizen puts the country before self and does his utmost to make it glorious. As the great Tricolour flaps gloriously in every village an emblem of liberated India, may it proclaim "Freedom for all and all for Freedom." For that is India's wish—has been her wish for centuries of Hind.



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WHO'S WHO IN THE DOMINION OF INDIA

(Continued from page 2)
 early education in theology in the Al Azhar University at Cairo. After coming to India the Maulana, an eminent divine, settled in Calcutta and started the famed Urdu weekly "Al Hila" which was suppressed by the Government. This led him to sponsor another weekly "Al Balagh" which landed him in interment along with the All Brothers on the eve of World War I. On release he joined the Congress and thenceforward his interest in the national movement continuously increased. He took a leading part in the Khilafat movement and suffered imprisonment in the first non-co-operation movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1921. By 1923 he had become important enough to be elected President of the special session of the Indian National Congress held in Delhi that year. He again acted as Congress President in 1930. His third term of office from 1939 to 1946 coincided with the most crucial period in Indian history and in the history of the Congress. The Maulana is a powerful speaker and prolific writer.

The only woman Minister in the Nehru Government, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, is a social worker of many years standing. She is the only daughter of the late Raja Sir Harnam Singh of Kapurthala. One of the pioneer members of the All-India Women's Conference, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has played a prominent part in the feminist movement. As one of Mahatma Gandhi's secretaries she has been taking considerable interest in the All-India Spinners' Association as also the Harijan Sevak Sangh. She is the first woman member of the Government of India Advisory Board of Education and was a member of the Indian delegation to U.N. E.S.C.O. in November 1945. In early life she won many tennis championships in Simla and Lahore. Her selection as a Minister is at once a recognition by the Congress of the rights of women as well as those of Indian Christians. The Rajkumari, born in 1887, was educated at the Sherborne School for Girls, Dorsetshire, and London.

Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Minister for Works, Mines and Power (53) is cast in a peculiar mould. He goes underground whenever a difficult situation imposes quiet thinking. A strong man, he was a tremendous success as Home Minister in the U.P. Government. His recent firmness in dealing with the threat of civil disobedience by the Hindu Mahasabha in the United Provinces—the arrest of the leading agitators—is a measure of the influence he had with his Cabinet colleagues elected on the Hindu vote.

He gave up law studies in 1921 in response to Mahatma Gandhi's call for non-co-operation with the British authorities in India. He was a member of the Swaraj Party in the Central Assembly led by Pandit Motilal Nehru. He is one of the few Congressite zamindars.

A reputed economist, Dr. John Mathai, Minister for Railways and Transport, is believed to be author of the well-known Bombay Plan which has been described as the best blue-print on India's potentialities for economic development. Before he joined the Interim Government, Dr. Mathai had filled many offices with distinction. He was Professor of Indian Economics, University of Madras, member and president of the Indian Tariff Board and Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics. After retiring from Government service Dr. Mathai joined "Tata". His important publications include "Village Government in British India: Agricultural Co-operation in India: Excise and Liquor Control." Dr. Mathai is 61.

The 46-year old Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Minister for Industries and Civil Supplies, like most of his colleagues is a lawyer and eminent educationist. He has been more of a nationalist than a communalist as leader of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. He was Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University from 1934 to 1938 and Finance Minister of Bengal in the Fazl-ul-Huq Government in 1941-42. He was offered Ministership in the West Bengal Government but declined the invitation presumably because he, a talented Man, did not want to stagnate in a small province.

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., Bar-at-Law, was till recently an uncompromising critic of the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi and a bitter opponent of the Poona Pact, where the scheduled castes lost the right to separate electorates. He once seriously declared that the members of his community would rather embrace Islam than merge themselves with caste Hindus. Because the Cabinet mission plan did not accord the scheduled caste a separate status Dr. Ambedkar took a trip to England to persuade the British Government to undo the wrong. He mobilised Conservative opinion in favour of his demand but did not succeed in his mission. On his return some Dr. Ambedkar reconciled himself to the inevitable. The Congress went part of the way towards reconciliation by electing him to the Constituent Assembly. A brilliant scholar, he was Professor of Political Economy, Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay. He is the author of many well-written publications.

INDEPENDENCE DAY ON AIR

At midnight on August 14-15, British rule in India will come to an end. All India Radio has arranged to mark this memorable occasion with special programmes.

The Assumption of Power ceremonies at midnight between 11 p.m. and 12-15 a.m. and on the following morning between 8-30 a.m. and 10-30 a.m. will be relayed by all AIR stations together with running commentaries on these in English. In the evening, between 6-10 and 6-45 p.m., there will be a running commentary on the Flag hoisting ceremony at India Gate.

There will be a special transmission in the morning from 6-30 to 12-30 a.m. At 6-30 a.m. excerpts from Mahatma Gandhi's prayer meeting addresses, recorded earlier, will be broadcast.

In the Second and Third Transmissions there will be a number of broadcasts in English by outstanding personalities on the significance of the historic occasion. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, will broadcast at 1-40 p.m., Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru from 8-30 to 9 p.m. and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, at 9-40 p.m. On the following day, at 8-30 p.m., Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel will broadcast a talk in Hindustani. All AIR stations will relay these broadcasts.

Sardar Baldev Singh will broadcast in the Troops Programme on shortwave (41.95 metres) at 7-35 p.m.

In the Women's Programme from 4-30 to 5 p.m., messages in Hindustani will be broadcast by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, Begam Aizaz Rasul, Smt. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and Mrs. Lilavati Munshi. In the Rural Programme, Mr. Khurshid Ahmed Khan, Chief Commissioner of Delhi, will broadcast at 7-30 p.m.

MUSIC AND POEMS

Music on this day will be provided by some of the best loved voices of the land. Pt. Omkar Nath Thakur will open the morning transmission at 6-30 a.m. with Vande Mataram and later, the same evening, between 9-40 and 10-30 p.m. he will give a recital of classical music. Other prominent artists who will be heard on this day are Hira Bai Barodekar, Ustad Hunda Khan, Juthika Roy and Nandita Kripalani.

Between 8 and 8-45 p.m., specially composed poems by Maithili Sharma Gupta, Hates, Jullundur, Bakulshah Sharma 'Navis', Dinkar and Josh Malihabadi will be on the air.

At 6-45 p.m., following the Flag Hoisting ceremony AIR's Mixed Chorus will sing popular national songs.

A feature programme—"Free India"—devised and produced by Aubrey Menen will be broadcast at 10-30 p.m.

On the 16th, in addition to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's broadcast at 8-30 p.m., there will be a running commentary on the Flag Hoisting ceremony at the Red Fort from 8-30 to 9-30 a.m.

On this day of Indian Independence

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CEMENT OF QUALITY



Annex 45a: The Indian Flag*The Indian Dominion Flag**Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), Aug 15, 1947.*

INDIA'S new flag was given to us by Mahatma Gandhi; it bears his favorite charkha, the symbol of Truth and non-violence and of him, the Father of the Nation, who led us from darkness unto light. The Charkha stands on the flag, though without the spindle. The charkha, the chakra on the new flag, is not merely the symbol as we know it. It also is the wheel of the Dharmachakra of Ashoka, the mighty saint-emperor who founded India in the dawn of Indian history. For, in Ashoka's Capital at Sarnath, this chakra stands as the wheel of Dharma. This Chakra is a living testimony to the supreme fact in history that we, the India of Gandhi, have recaptured the freedom and dignity of the India of Ashoka: From the great conqueror who ruled India by Dharma to the rat conqueror seeking freedom for India by Dharma: 2,900 years. of fateful history: of foreign conquests, of struggles, of humiliation, of fiery vicissitudes of fortune. Now we have emerged successful. From the Charkha of Gandhi to the Dharmachakra of Asoka, my mind goes back to the Sudarshan Chakra of Shri Krishna—a continuity of influence unparalleled in the annals of men. India, the mother of nations, was older than Sumaria, Egypt, and Greece. They are gone; Bharat, the mother, lives, stern and triumphant, and the Chakra on the flag is the symbol of her ceaseless urge to creative efforts to uplift mankind. May the flag fly through the ages, announcing to the world the greatness and grandeur that was and that is Bharat. With it, we must go all over the world, placing Bharat high among the proud nations of the earth, for we must save the world from the disaster which materialistic values of the West have brought to humanity.

Annex 45b: New Dominion Flags in World Capitals

pg. 1

New Dominion Flags In World Capitals

THE flags of India and Pakistan flew proudly over the capitals of the world from London to Bangkok, Nanking to Paris, yesterday.

Even the weather, except at Bangkok, where it was raining, was almost universally fine, as beneath the emblems of the two new Dominions Indians solemnly pledged their faith that the new India and the new Pakistan should promote the tranquillity of Asia and the peace of the world.

In Britain, many thousands who comprise the Indian community experienced the proudest moment of their lives when the flags of the two Indian Dominions were unfurled in ceremonies in London and many provincial cities.

Most impressive was the scene in Aldwych, the great crescent on the fringe of London's business quarter, where a long stretch of the thoroughfare was closed to traffic, forming a wide amphitheatre before India House, a dignified modern building with prominent stone figures of elephants worked into the stone facade.

Similar scenes were witnessed at a later ceremony at Lancaster House, the state building loaned by the Bri-

tish Government to Pakistan for the occasion.

Every member of London's Indian community had been invited to India House, and as they passed between walls of spectators held back by the police, they caught the mood of the London crowd, always sensitive to mass emotion, which was simply expressed by one man in the roads:

"If I were an Indian, I would never forget this day."

Everyone felt the realisation that for the first time India was acting as host in her own right.

Thakin Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, broadcasting a message to the people of India over the Rangoon radio yesterday, said the success of India and Pakistan in achieving independence would be an example to other nations still struggling for the restoration of their liberty. He was confident that the two great Dominions would use this new power in the cause of freedom of Asian peoples and the peace of the world.

—Reuter.

Figure 54: Times of India (Delhi), August 15, 1947.

Annex 47: The Public Sentiments on Independence

*The Little Man and the Independence**Civil & Military Gazette (Lahore), Aug 15, 1947.*

In an effort to capture the sentiments of the public and gather diverse opinions, a "*Civil Military Gazette*" reporter conducted interviews with the "man-in-the-street" to gauge reactions to Independence. Our reporter randomly selected individuals such as a Sweeper, Bearer, *Chaprassi*, Bus driver, Policeman, Shop Assistant, and a Clerk, and the outcomes of these important interviews proved disconcerting." Some participants struggled to grasp the full implications of the significant changes, expressing a wish that things had remained unchanged, revealing a regrettable timidity towards the opportunities now unfolding. This cautious approach to the future appears to dominate a substantial portion of working-class thought, illustrating a strangely inherent conservatism. On the contrary, there were those who anticipated a shift in circumstances that would benefit them personally to an extraordinary degree. Nevertheless, some individuals are quietly jubilant, rightfully optimistic about the unfolding changes. Considering that many trials and tribulations may need to be endured before either of the new Dominions emerges as a first-class power, capable of providing all its citizens with a standard of living on par with any other nation, some of the more pessimistic perspectives are presented here as a reminder of potential hidden truths that may later come to light.

"Bread is our first concern in life. We are not concerned with who rules until we get enough to fill our bellies. Independence for us means just a change of masters and, we dare say, a change for the worse," expressed one individual.

When a sweeper was asked how he planned to celebrate Independence Day, he replied, "I shall spend the day in mourning and praying for God's mercy." When questioned about why he wasn't joining the festivities like others, he responded, "Do you call it freedom? If this is freedom, I would rather go without it. With lakhs of people homeless, hundreds dying every day, and many living under the shadow of death, how can one think of festivities?"

A *Tonga* driver shared his thoughts on Independence, stating, "I do not believe that India is attaining independence. I know this alone, that the British Government is leaving after entrusting our destinies to the care of merciless capitalists. Freedom will bring nothing but starvation to us poor."

Similarly, a salesman expressed, "The shop I was working in has closed for good. The proprietor, who has enough to spend and waste, has gone to Simla to have a fine time there. I am left behind without money and without a job. I think my boss has got independence, but what I have got is the sack."

A policeman revealed that independence had created fresh problems for him, unsure of where he stood regarding his service. "The Government has asked superior officers to choose their place of service, but we are being treated otherwise.

Annex 49: Mountbatten Greets Pakistan

LORD MOUNTBATTEN GREET'S PAKISTAN

Mr. Jinnah Re-Affirms Firm Friendship With Britain

From Our Staff Correspondent.
KARACHI, August 14.

TOMORROW two new Sovereign States will take their place in the British Commonwealth of Nations, not young nations but heirs to old and proud civilisations," said Lord Mountbatten, addressing this morning the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

This was the last act Lord Mountbatten performed a few hours before he ceases to be known as Viceroy.

Lord Mountbatten said the birth of Pakistan was a great event in history and conveyed at the outset the greetings and the warmest wishes of His Majesty the King and his own.

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, in his reply, reciprocated the good wishes of His Majesty and Lord Mountbatten and affirmed, "We are parting as friends and we shall ever remain friends." He hoped that the great preachings of Prophet Mahomed and Emperor Akbar would continue to pervade in the Dominion of Pakistan. He also reiterated his assurances to the minorities.

HIGH GLEE IN KARACHI

Karachi was in high glee since dawn today. Perennial streams of people lined the streets leading to the Constituent Assembly buildings to watch the historic drive-in-state of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Mountbatten and Quaid-e-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah.

Police pickets regulated the traffic and the surging crowds which stood gazing in spite of unusually warm weather. The premises of the Assembly was a veritable sea of humanity, predominantly Muslim.

The Viceroy and Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah arrived from Government House at 9 a. m. at the Assembly premises and inspected a guard of honour provided by the pick of the Pakistan army, in which the beret-capped men of the Second Air-borne Division were prominent.

Dressed in Admiral's uniform, Lord Mountbatten entered the hall with Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah and all rose to their feet. The Viceroy and the President sat in simple teakwood chairs with crowns on.

The speeches of both the Governors-General-designate were listened

(Continued on page 13)

STATE VISIT TO KARACHI



Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Mountbatten speaking to Service representatives at the Masripur Airport on their arrival in Karachi from Delhi on Wednesday.

Figure 56: Times of India (Delhi), August 15, 1947.

Annex 50: Rebuttal by the Leader of the Ahmadiyya Movement

Dismissal of receiving any information from Zafrullah Khan

