
The Sikh Dilemma: The Partition of Punjab 1947

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Abstract

The Partition of India 1947 resulted in the Partition of the Punjab into two, East and West. The 3rd June Plan gave a sense of uneasiness and generated the division of dilemma among the large communities of the British Punjab like Muslims, Hindus and Sikh besetting a holocaust. This situation was beneficial for the British and the Congress. The Sikh community with the support of Congress wanted the proportion of the Punjab according to their own violation by using different modules of deeds. On the other hand, for Muslims the largest populous group of the Punjab, by using the platform of Muslim League showed the resentment because they wanted the decision on the Punjab according to their requirements. Consequently the conflict caused the world's bloodiest partition and the largest migration of the history.

Introduction

The Sikhs were the third largest community of the United Punjab before India's partition. The Sikhs had the historic religious, economic and socio-political roots in the Punjab. Since the annexation of the Punjab, they were faithful with the British rulers and had an influence in the Punjabi society, even enjoying various privileges. But in the 20th century, the Muslims

Independence Movement in India was not only going to divide the Punjab but also causing the division of the Sikh community between East and West Punjab, which confused the Sikh leadership. So according to the political scenarios in different timings, Sikh leadership changed their demands and started to present different solutions of the Sikh enigma for the geographical transformation of the province. The Indian National Congress fully supported the Sikhs politically because of the socio-political motives and gains. This research will deal with the claims and the demands of the Sikhs, and the resentment by the Sikh community on the Boundary Award.

The Sikh Dilemma

The issue surfaced when on February 20, 1947, the British Prime Minister Mr. Clement Richard Attlee (1883-1967), announced in the House of Commons to grant the independence to Indians by June 1948. He also told that the King (Albert Frederick Arthur 1895-1952) had appointed his cousin Lord Mountbatten (1900-1979) as the last Viceroy of India.¹ "...by March 1947, when Mountbatten arrived to replace the Viceroy Lord Archibald Percival Wavell (1883-1950), partition was the only solution through which it was possible to secure the agreement or at least the acquiescence of both Congress and League".² After taking over, Lord Mountbatten started quickly the partition operations. He decided to bring about the partition as soon as it became achievable. Even he announced the date of August 15, 1947 than the above said date of C. R. Attlee for the Indian partition. In his report as the last Viceroy of India to HMG, Lord Mountbatten described the reasons of the early partition of India as:³

1. It seemed that an early transfer of actual power well short of the original time limit of June, 1948 would be likely to make for lasting goodwill between the United Kingdom and the successor Governments in India.

2. If the transitional Dominion status worked well, it might prove to be acceptable as a permanent arrangement.
3. It would be in accordance with the expressed desires of both parties-by Congress that there should be a transitional period of Dominion status for the new India, and by the Muslim League that Pakistan should form a part of the British Commonwealth; and the leaders expressed themselves as unanimously in favor of the date of 15th August.
4. It would place the responsibility for administration on the shoulders of the successor authorities and enable them to build up their own administrative machinery before the existing one had completely run down; a later date would have meant an even more complete lack of civil administration.
5. It seems likely, they lessening the urgency for framing new constitutions, would increase the chances of really workable and sound ones being worked out; and it would make possible, in the meanwhile, the administrative continuity within the framework of the Government of India Act, 1935, which was perhaps the greatest single legislative achievement of the British in India.

(Lord Mountbatten's 'Conclusions' Appended to His 'Report on the Last Viceroyalty' Submitted to His Majesty's Government in September 1948)

But on the other hand *H. M. Seervai* (1906-1996)⁴ also added a reason for the early partition by Lord Mountbatten "that 15 August 1947 was the second anniversary of the surrender of Japan may have had a personal and historic association for Mountbatten, as he had been the Supreme Commander for South-East Asia in the War against Japan."⁵

Historical study of the events shows that the partition of the India caused the Partition of the Punjab which was holding many communities⁶ like Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs etc and having a large territory.⁷ It was somewhat a tough job for the British to deal with such communities and take them under confidence; hence a United Punjab was a favourable proposition.⁸ The diversity in the demands of the large communities of the Punjab like partition was also creating a sense of worry and complexity in the British administration because without the solution of the internal issues of Punjab they could not have reached the partition of India. "Every argument for dividing India is an argument for dividing the Punjab, and every argument for keeping the Punjab united is an argument for retaining the unity of India".⁹

The Indian National Congress fully supported the Sikhs;¹⁰ Congress was favoring them because without Sikhs the Hindu community could not face Muslims in Punjab.¹¹ Moreover, without their compliance the British, the Muslim League and the Congress could not reach at any decision regarding the finalization of the Punjab project of partition.¹² On the other hand, the Sikhs did not believe in the support of Congress, and were ready to face the circumstances independently with the support of the British administration. The leaders of *Akali Dal* Propaganda Party like Master *Tara Singh*, *Amar Singh Dosanjh*, *Kartar Singh*, *Summer Singh* of *Lyallpur* and *Vir Singh* of *Amritsar* started the tours of various parts of Punjab. The central idea of their speeches was "British handing over power to Indians, the Sikhs can expect nothing from the Congress, which has consistently refused to give them more than paper assurances".¹³ Basically when Muslim League leadership demanded the complete Punjab, in a response Sikhs started to demand the division of the Punjab, because they had deeply sorted affiliations with the Punjab.

About the Sikh status in the Punjab Harjot S. Oberoi wrote:
 ...that many Sikhs claim Punjab as their homeland.
 Many of the Sikh Gurus were born in the villages and towns of the Punjab, and they constantly traversed across

this ancient land; historically, the Sikh Panth matured in the region; the verses in its sacred literature draw their rich imagery from the surrounding landscape; the major pilgrim centers of the community are scattered all over the Punjab; and the faithful over the past five centuries have tried to mould the land in their own corporate image.¹⁴

Sikhs were in a sense of uncertainty, they changed their demands regarding Punjab in different phases, such as in a meeting of "Panthic Prithindhi Board" at Amritsar on January 30, 1947 *Akali* Leaders *Baldev Singh* (1902-1961), *Swaran Singh* (1907-1994), Master *Tara Singh* (1885-1967), *Giani Kartar Singh* (1902-1974), *Odham Singh Nagoke* (1894-1966) discussed to form a Hindu-Sikh province¹⁵ consisting of those districts of Punjab where the Muslims were in minority. For this, to prepare a resolution a sub-committee was founded consisting of *Bawa Harikashan Singh*, Master *Tara Singh* and *Baldev Singh*.¹⁶

Gradually the political motives and religious integration brought both the Hindus and the Sikhs, the Congress and Sikh leaders¹⁷ unanimously to support the creation of Pakistan; because partition of India would be the reason of the partition of the Punjab, with this the Sikhs and Hindus could get the area of the Punjab according to their own, it reminded the Sikhs the golden era of *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (1780-1839) in the Punjab and as well as the Hindus also had their affiliation with Punjab back from Vedic period, it was a holy land for Hindus.¹⁸ *Lala Lajpat Rai* (1865-1928) leader of Indian National Congress and *Arya Samaj* also gave the idea of the partition of the Punjab into East and West in 1920.¹⁹ This shows that the Congress was working and fully involved in the partition of the Punjab.

Francis Toker shared the stances of the Hindu community as under:

The most disheartening thing that appeared just now was the vindictive attitude of the majority of Hindus. In effect they said, 'well if the Muslims want Pakistan, let

them have it and with a vengeance. We will shear every possible inch off their territory so as to make it look silly and to ensure that it is not a viable country and, when they've got what's left, we'll ensure that it can't be worked economically'.²⁰

Throughout the summer of 1940, the Sikhs in the Punjab emerged as an opposition against the Muslim League and as well as the Unionist Party. The *Akali* leaders fully propagated the events of the past and remembered them to their people to produce a sense of hate among the common Sikhs.²¹ The event of *Lahore* Resolution of March 1940 also pushed the Sikhs and they showed more aggression.²² From start the Sikhs also initiated a campaign against the *Lahore* Resolution because now the creation of Pakistan was going to remind Sikhs their uneasy past when Muslims oppressed them.²³ In February-March 1947, "The League's assault on Punjab was already in progress and would be unstoppable. The tone and tempo of the new Viceroyalty were set at its commencement: Mountbatten flew in on Saturday, 22 March, had no doubts that some kind of partition was unavoidable. It could be said, in other words, that the ever-narrowing funnel of historical causation had reached its virtual tip of inevitability".²⁴

In Viceroy's First Staff Meeting held on March 25, 1947, Viceroy of India Lord Mountbatten (1900-1979) discussed that few days back *Pandit Nehru* (1889-1964) the leader of Indian National Congress²⁵ and later the first Prime Minister of India also presented to him a formula for the temporary division of the Punjab according to which Punjab would be divided into three parts, the Muslim majority area of the Punjab, the Hindu majority area of the Punjab and the Sikh majority areas of the Punjab. These three divisions of the Punjab will work under three separate ministries and a joint Governor and this temporary partition will exist till the end of the British rule in India.²⁶ It could be an agreement between Congress and Muslim League to solve the Punjab dilemma, but the plan was not in favor of the Muslims because this joint venture of the Hindus and Sikhs could disturb

the socio-political hegemonic position of the Muslims in the Punjab. Moreover, the dilemma was still there as Mr. *Jinnah* (1876-1948) was not in favor of the partition of Punjab. On the other hand, *Giani Kartar Singh* to pressurize the Muslims, viewed that in the absence of an agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress the Sikhs will focus on the Partition of the Punjab.²⁷ So in both cases Punjab was going to be divided.²⁸

Sardar Ujjal Singh a Sikh delegate of the Second Round Table Conference (1931) to entertain the issues of the Sikh community suggested to re-draw the boundaries of the Punjab and detach the Muslim majority western districts to make balance in the communities of the Punjab and it will be more beneficial politically and economically but this scheme did not come under consideration.²⁹ Lt. General Francis Taker (1894-1967)³⁰ elaborated this view, which we were assuming and noticing that the Sikh community of India was dreaming for the revival their rule from Delhi to Peshawar but if they included in Pakistan it will be difficult and if Sikh included in India "he might make liberalism serve his opportunity".³¹

Sikhs were not initially in favor of partition of the Punjab even they were extremely against this action because it could disturb their economic, social and religious life. Later, "During the political crisis in the Punjab in March and April 1947 the Sikh finally threw in their lot with Congress".³² The Congress Working Committee adopted a Resolution in March 1947 "That Punjab should be partitioned if Pakistan was created".³³ A delegation of 11 non-Muslim MLAs of the Punjab, including *Sardar Samporan Singh* MLA, *Sardar Surjeet Singh Mathethiya* MLA, *Sir Boota Singh* MCS, *Sardar Mangal Singh* MLA and *Sardar Bahadur* Captain *Harindar Singh* MLA as important member, put a request to *Pandit Nehru* on April 2, 1947 to forward it to Viceroy, in which they clearly demanded the partition of the Punjab into two parts as solution of Punjab riddle.³⁴ On this, Lord Mountbatten was also astonished when Sikhs through Congress moved the Resolution for the partition of the Punjab because it was even going to divide their own community. Lord Mountbatten shared "I have spent a

great deal of time both out here and in England in seeking whether there was any solution which would keep the Sikh community more together... I have not found that solution".³⁵

In March 1947 *Khizar Hayat Tiwana* (1900-1975) of the Unionist Party resigned because of the enormous agitation by the Muslim League in Punjab, which caused the Governor Raj in the province. This followed key changes in Muslim politics in the province. *Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot* (1906-1969) the president of the Muslim League Punjab as the majority party leader started efforts to make the "League Ministry" in Punjab after the resignation of *Khizar Hayat Tiwana*.³⁶ *Liaqat Ali Khan* (1896-1951) leader of All India Muslim League and later the first premier of Pakistan also favored the idea as according to him the Governor *Raj* was causing the seat adjustment of other political parties and exploiting of Muslim League.³⁷ But after the violence and huge killings of non-Muslims in the West Punjab particularly in *Rawalpindi* Division by the Muslims, Sikh community turned against the formation of the Muslim Ministry of *Mamdot* in the Punjab, thus because of the Sikh reservations the British administration became reluctant to form the League ministry.³⁸

The Sikhs also started to demand a separate state for Sikhs against the demand of a separate state of Mr. Jinnah for the Muslims.³⁹ Earlier, in 1930s the Azad Punjab scheme emerged for the re-demarcation of the Punjab by the Sikhs on the lines of the scheme of *Ujjal Singh*. *Akali Dal* fully supported this scheme. "The *Akali Dal* saw 'Azad Punjab' comprising *Ambala*, *Jullunder*, *Lahore* divisions, and out of the *Multan* division, *Lyalpur* district and some portions of *Montgomery* and *Multan* districts" but this theory of *Azad Punjab* became ineffective when "in July 1944 *Rajagopalachari* had intimated to Jinnah that Gandhi and the Congress were prepared to concede Pakistan if the Muslim League would support the Congress in calling for complete independence and co-operate in the formation of a provincial government".⁴⁰

Furthermore, the Sikhs had many plans regarding the partition of the Punjab historically. Actually they remained much close and sincere with the British Administration, now they wanted to get

privileges from British to solve issues like partition of Punjab. They now proposed to give the *Rohtak*, *Gorgaon*, half *kernel* and half *Hisar* district to Hindu *Jatts*. Moreover, they believed to include the remaining part of *Kernal* and *Hisar* and *Ambala* and the district of *Simla* in the Sikh State. *Kartar Singh* made it clear that he wished the annexation of *Montgomery* for the Sikh State. He also demanded to declare *Nankana Sahib* in district *Sheikhupura* and the neighboring villages a 'Free City'. Moreover, he focused that "the British had taken the Punjab from the Sikhs, and it would be logical enough to return it to them".⁴¹

The Muslim majority districts in the Lahore division were *Gujranwala*, *Gurdaspur*, *Lahore*, *Sheikhupura* and *Sialkot*, In *Rawalpindi* division *Attock*, *Gujrat*, *Jhelum*, *Mianwali* and *Shahpur*, in *Rawalpindi* division *Dera Ghazi Khan*, *Jhang*, *Lyallpur*, *Montgomery*, *Multan* and *Mazafargarh*.⁴² In them the Sikhs were expecting the annexation of Muslim majority districts of *Multan*, *Montgomery*⁴³ with East Punjab while on the other hand the Muslims were demanding the attachment of Muslim majority *Tehsils* in *Gurdaspur*, *Hoshiarpur*, *Jullunder*, *Amritsar* and *Ferozpur* districts as part of Pakistan.⁴⁴ Later on, in the Sikh Memorandum through *Harnam Singh* Advocate to the Punjab Boundary Commission the Sikhs finally decided to demand *Ambala*, *Jullundur*, *Lahore* divisions, *Lyallpur* district; and *Montgomery* district and *Khanewal*, *Vihari* and *Mailsi* sub-districts of *Multan* division.⁴⁵

In this situation, Governor of the Punjab suggested that the non-Muslims will get *Ambala* and *Jullunder* divisions and district of *Amritsar* and Muslims will receive *Rawalpindi*, *Multan* and *Lahore* divisions and a part of *Amritsar*.⁴⁶ But in a Hindu, Sikh convention at Delhi in April 1947, the demand was the entire *Ambala* and *Jullunder*,⁴⁷ *Lahore* division and one district from colony districts of *Multan* division. The Sikhs were much confused as they first focused on minimum of one city or district of *Multan* division but on the other hand they were ready to withdraw from this demand if *Sheikhupura*⁴⁸ would be granted to them, proposing that the Muslims of the *Sheikhupura* should be shifted to *Lyallpur* or other colony district and the Sikhs of these colony districts be shifted to

Sheikhupura.⁴⁹ Later they started a demand of extending the boundary of the East Punjab till Chenab, which could cause the inclusion of the Muslim majority districts of *Sialkot, Gujranwala, Lahore, Sheikhupura, Gurdaspur, Lyallpur* and Montgomery in the Eastern Punjab because these districts had great agricultural, economic and religious importance for them.⁵⁰

Sardar Harnam Singh, Sardar Soran Singh and *Lala Bhem Sen Sachar* (1894-1978) the Sikh and Congress leaders also presented another plan of the partition of the Punjab. They divided the Punjab in three parts as under⁵¹:

1. A non-Muslim province including *Ambala* and *Jullunder* divisions.
2. A Muslim province of *Rawalpindi* and *Multan* divisions.
3. A province containing *Lahore* division including Montgomery under the joint control of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

To pressurize the British, the Sikhs also reminded their worth, importance and value to Lord Mountbatten to get the best. In this regard, *Sardar Santokh Singh* of *Shahkot* shared the weightage out of the prevailing situation of Sikh community as⁵²:

1. "The Khalsa had made the supreme sacrifice and thrown its lot with India".
2. "We have been threatened to be badly split up and reduced to a hopeless minority in the national division of Pakistan and Hindustan".
3. "We have fought and defended the country" and gave our blood".
4. "We have contributed a lot for the development of economic and agriculture fields of the country".

5. "The Sikh religion has also contributed a beautiful culture to India".

"We have not done all this to earn slavery and domination". They will only accept the plan which maintains the Sikh solidarity. On the other hand, the Muslim leaders were also becoming a bit responsive and stern, that now they will not surrender an inch of the West Punjab.⁵³ "The Muslims of the Punjab give final warning. We are loyal to our great leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah and to the word given by him on behalf of the Muslim people, and the principles and procedure of the British Plan as accepted by him. Beyond that therefore, we claim not an inch, but of that we will yield not an inch".⁵⁴

When the demands of the Sikhs were not recognized appropriately, the Sikh leaders *Ishar Singh Majhail* and *Udham Singh at Gurdaspur* in a speech while attending a Fair, declared the British guilty, as they were continuously ignoring the claims of the Sikhs community.⁵⁵ But the Sikhs were only 1.4 percent of the total population of the sub-continent⁵⁶ and 6 million in the Punjab which was the 20 percent of the population of the province.⁵⁷ They had no majority even in a single district of Punjab but they were dreaming and fighting for a purified Sikh state.⁵⁸ In this "Sikh State", they wanted to settle the Sikhs shifted from other areas and drive out the Muslims. But it was quite impossible for the administration to shift the Muslims from non-Muslim areas by force. As Jenkins said, it would be a non-Muslim State but not a Sikh state.⁵⁹ The reaction of the Earl of Listowel also representing the view of the British administration about the Sikhs demand of "Sikh State" is interesting.

Earl of Listowel⁶⁰ interjected as:

I suppose the basic fact of the situation is that the Sikhs have an exaggerated idea of their proper status in the future sep-up. No doubt this is due partly to their historical position as the rulers of the Punjab, partly to

the rather flattering treatment they have received from us as one of the great martial races of India, and partly to the fact that they consider that they have contributed out of proportion to their numbers to the economic wealth of the Punjab. On the other hand, they are a community numbering only some 6 millions out of nearly 400 millions and in the Punjab itself they number only 4 millions among 28 millions. On any democratic basis, therefore, they must definitely be regarded as a minority (and not even as a "major" minority). Owing to the fact that in no single district of the Punjab do they constitute a majority of the population, it is out of the question to meet their claims by setting up a separate Sikh State.⁶¹

The political turmoil increasingly brought the Sikhs on a cliff of trauma and they indulged in inferiority complex as "they pointed out that since the Sikh had been given the status of the third major community, they had been expressly excluded from this advantage, and that whereas a Muslim or even a Christian (since he belonged to the "General" communities) may raise an issue and vote on communal questions, and that the presence of even four Muslims of which three voted against a communal issue would prevent its being carried, the Sikhs were debarred from this since they were not one of the two major communities".⁶² At this moment Sikhs became enormously against the Muslims in the Punjab even they didn't like to live with them.⁶³

From the Administration's point of view, another suggestion to settle down and resolve the partition question, Governor of the Punjab Sir E. Jenkins (1896-1985) recommended the partition of Punjab into two parts⁶⁴ on the basis of the Muslim and the non-Muslim districts along with adjoining Muslim and non-Muslim *Tehsils* with the help of a Boundary Commission⁶⁵ consisting of a neutral Chairman, two Muslim and two non-Muslim members.⁶⁶ Moreover, he proposed the Chairman of the Boundary Commission should be a British Judge of High Court.⁶⁷ E. Jenkins who was not in favor of the partition of Punjab before now

recommended the partition because it was the only acceptable solution to the Sikhs now. He commented that in case of the partition of India, it will give birth to the partition of Punjab and in case of unified India the Punjab will remain united. With this he created a positive and a favorable stance for the Sikhs.⁶⁸

But the Sikh leadership was showing an attitude of less trust in the British Administration perhaps they were in a hurry to occupy their desired areas of Punjab by using different means. *Giani Kartar Singh* (professor of English) and particularly *Master Tara Singh*, the Sikh leaders were fully supporting the partition of Punjab into two parts and fully involved in the violence in the province.⁶⁹ They wrote a letter to *Maharaja of Faridkot Raja Hariandar Singh* in which they invited him to occupy the complete districts of *Ferozpur, Ludhiana* and some parts of district Lahore and also to get control of these areas. *Maharaja Faridkot* also shared this letter with Lord Mountbatten.⁷⁰ On this Allan Campbell Johnson also considered the rulers of some Sikh states a bit guilty because of their attitude and favoring the Sikh demands. Moreover, under the leadership of *Maharaja of Patiala* the States of Sikh Princes were willing to co-operate with India but not much enthusiastic toward the objectives of Sikh leadership.⁷¹

The status and the importance of the Sikh community was an open phenomenon. The SAD (Shiromani Akali Dal)⁷² designated a delegation and sent it to UK on August 1, 1947 to present the issues and as well as the demands of the Sikhs. The British Primer C. R. Attlee refused to see them but they had a meeting with Under Secretary Sir Paul Patrick but without any result⁷³. The Sikhs were playing an important role in the agriculture sector of Punjab and they were also a major part of the Indian army. A section of the Sikh community was not in favor of any group of triangle, British, Hindus and Muslims. The claims of the communities on the partition of the Punjab were creating disturbance for the British administration⁷⁴.

At this moment, the British administration started thinking to implement the division by force according to the British formulas

otherwise the circumstance would be crucial and out of control.⁷⁵ Because the demands of all the three involved communities regarding the partition of the Punjab were the demands of the peace times but now the circumstances were becoming much crucial and critical because of blood-shed. As such it was a tough job for the British Administration to look after the issues properly but they were dealing with these situations sensibly, while the natural obstructions, a wide-ranging and wide canal system constituted a dilemma to deal with the issues of the partition of the Punjab according to the wishes of the involved communities.

The British Administration was considering the "Unionist" attitude, division or the war in the Punjab as the substitute of Punjab dilemma.⁷⁶ Viceroy Lord Mountbatten was also in favor of dividing the Punjab on the basis of Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas. He gave the power to East Punjab to join either the legislature of Pakistan or India as per demand of the Sikh community.⁷⁷ But the preparations for the violence also created critical situations for British administration. The Sikhs started the resentment vigorously. To demonstrate their importance and to put the pressure on the British Administration, *Shiromani Akali Dal* (SAD) started preparing to violence in the Punjab. The Sikh leadership was giving a thinking to the common Sikhs "that they must therefore prepare themselves to take their homeland by force".⁷⁸

The Sikhs' aggressive activities as a response even started in March April 1947; with the signatures of 18 important Sikh leaders, a war fund of Rs. 50 lakh was announced. *Giani Kartar Singh, Master Tara Singh and Baldev Singh* were fully involved in these preparations particularly with the favors of Maharaja of Patiala. The Sikhs were not ready to accept the dominance of any party in the Punjab. The Governor of the Punjab asked *Sardar Soran Singh* the Ex-Development Minister of Punjab to eliminate this aggressive propaganda.⁷⁹ The Sikhs were only preparing for the violence in the province. Initially they had no intentions to attack the Muslims because it would result the loss of British favor to them and they were not powerful to fight on two fronts. Their

preparations were only to face the Muslims after the elimination of the British rule.⁸⁰

The Governor of the Punjab believed that they would not prefer to launch any aggressive activity before July 1948.⁸¹ But "... The Governor of Punjab gave clear and persistent warnings to Mountbatten that the Sikhs meant to make trouble if the Governments of Pakistan and India were set up before the lines of demarcation were laid down by the Award of the Boundary Commission and if that Award were not to their liking...".⁸² So Lord Mountbatten asked *Baldev Singh* the Defense Minister of India that if Sikhs showed any brutality, I will crush them by army and air force.⁸³ But the Sikh community was gradually trying to find out the solution of Muslim Sikh issues in arms, they believed the solution is extremely remote.⁸⁴ On the other hand, the British Administration continued its job regarding partition.

Lord Mountbatten after joining the Viceroyalty of India started the work on the Partition of India Plan. After the recommendations of the British Government and the local political representatives he announced the plan on June 3rd 1947. But after the announcement of the June 3rd Plan of the Indian partition⁸⁵ the Working Committee of SAD adopted a resolution in a meeting headed by *Giani Kartar Singh* on June 23, 1947, in which they rejected the plan. According to them this plan would deprive the Sikhs politically without protecting their interests. They also decided to boycott the suggested Boundary Commission.⁸⁶

In spite of all dilemmas a Boundary Commission under Sir Radcliff in July 1947 somehow continued its job and in August announced the Boundary Award. According to the Boundary Award (August 17, 1947) West Punjab got the area about 62,000 square miles with an estimated Muslim population of 15,800,000, on the other hand East Punjab received the area about 37000 square miles with the population of 12,600,000, the number of Muslim in East Punjab was about 4,375,000.⁸⁷ Pakistan was also deprived of many of her areas in this Award. About the Radcliff Award, *Sharif-ud-Din Pirzada* put to his views:

In Gurdaspur district, two contiguous Muslim majority tehsils, Gurdaspur and Batala, were given to India along with Pathankot tehsil. The Muslim majority tehsil Ajnala in the Amritsar district was also handed over to India. In the Jullunder district, the Muslim majority tehsils, Nakodar and Jullunder, were assigned to India. The Muslim majority tehsils, Zira and Ferozpur, in the Ferozpur district, which were east to the Sutlej River, were also transferred to India. All of these Muslim majority areas were contiguous to West Punjab.⁸⁸

Sikhs also became disheartened after the announcement of the Boundary Award. As per the inventive Sikh State scheme, Sikhs were demanding Montgomery, Lyallpur and *Sheikhupura* but now according to the partition schemes, these areas were going to be the part of the Western Punjab, so it was the time for the Sikhs to revise their plan. But at the same time "Sikh members of the Punjab Assembly voted with the Hindu members in opposition to the Muslim members. The voting resulted in the partition of the Punjab".⁸⁹ Moreover, the Sikh leadership decided the agitation and Direct Action to pressurize the Boundary Commission.⁹⁰ Later to make the Sikhs happy, the Boundary Awards the Boundary Award was announced on August 17, 1947 with relevant achievements.⁹¹

Moreover, after the announcement of the Boundary Award, the Muslim League was mentally prepared that the Sikh community will create the chaos in the region because this Award was not fully favoring the Sikhs. The Holy Shrines in *Sheikhupura*, the lands of Multan, Montgomery and Lyallpur of the Sikhs were becoming part of the West Punjab. Penderel Moon portrayed the issue as "here lay the crux of the Pakistan problem. According to the ideas of Jinnah and the Muslim League, the Punjab, being a Muslim-majority province, would be part of Pakistan. But if so, it would be necessary to square the Sikhs. For how could this robust and highly self-conscious community be incorporated in a Muslim State against their will? They would certainly resist by force".⁹²

But now the British were avoiding implementing the partition plan by force because it could create hurdles and difficulties. But implementation could induce the people of other provinces towards violence which therefore required more and more army to contain the situation.⁹³

Gradually the law and order situation was becoming worst in the Punjab. "It is well known that in Punjab, the Sikhs, assisted by the Hindus, are preparing for a communal war. The *Maharaja* of *Patiala* is supplying arms, ammunition and explosives and has also sent some of his troops in mufti to Amritsar. The *Maharaja* of *Faridkot* has also joined in. He has promised the district of *Ferozpur*. *Nabha* is supplying arms, while *Kapurthala* provides the funds. Even *Alwar*, *Dholpur*, *Bikaner* and *Bharatpur* have supplied arms".⁹⁴ *Liaqat Ali Khan* suggested to the Viceroy to give permission to the Muslims to hold weapons with them for security purposes as the Sikhs had got such permission in 1924 but the Viceroy did not agree because it could cause more violence. It is worth noting that only in one police station at Rawalpindi, there were 500 murder cases of the riots under investigation⁹⁵ and more than 20,000 Sikhs migrated from the disturbed areas of the West Punjab only to *Patiala* State till the end of April 1947.⁹⁶

The curtain was raised and the real scene came in front of him, for example when in May 1947 Lord Mountbatten with his wife and the Governor of the Punjab visited *Kahuta* 25 miles away from Rawalpindi, containing a population of 2000 Sikhs and Hindus and 1500 Muslim which were living in mutual, calm and harmony but on March 7, 1947 the village was burnt completely and destruction was everywhere. Particularly the area where Hindus and the Sikhs used to live together was totally destroyed, women took their lives rather than becoming rapped.⁹⁷ The same situation was there in the East Punjab. These circumstances changed the Punjab completely. Before the partition of Punjab of 1947 by Radcliff, Punjab was a single province but now in the history for the first time it was divided into two Punjabs, the Indian Punjab (Eastern) and the Pakistani Punjab (Western). It was a disheartening feeling for the Sikhs particularly because now

it was not like the Punjab of *Guru Nanak, Ranjit Singh* and the British.⁹⁸

Conclusion

The scattered 20 percent Sikh population of the Punjab endeavored to consolidate the Sikh community, holy shrines and the fertile canal colonies of the Punjab into their part. To fulfill this, the Sikhs also received support from the Indian National Congress. The political support of the Congress was helpful for the Sikhs in the Punjab and on the other hand, the Sikhs' support of the Congress was valuable for the Hindu community to survive in the Punjab. Particularly from February 1947 to August 1947, the Sikhs raised many socio-political demands regarding the partition of the Punjab. They also tried to pressurize the British Administration of Britain and India to obtain the best terms. But as the Administration was dealing with all three communities the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs so it was quite impossible to show their leaning towards single side. Later through the Radcliff's Boundary Award on August 17, 1947 the British Administration justified the geographical division of the Punjab into the East and the West. This division was not wholly acceptable for to Sikhs as well as the Muslims. This caused a huge blood-shed in both parts of the Punjab and the minorities of both the parts suffered a lot. The partition of the Punjab also brought many socio-political changes in both the parts.

Notes and References

- 1 Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah Creator of Pakistan*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 157.158.
- 2 W. H. Morris-Jones, *Thirty-Six Years Later: The Mixed Legacies of Mountbatten's Transfer of Power, International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), Vol. 59, No. 4 (Autumn 1983), 622.

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- 3 H. V. Hodson, *The Great Divide, Britain, India, Pakistan*, 8th Impression, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 551-552.
 - 4 H. M. Seervai was a lawyer and also remained the Advocate General of Maharashtra India.
 - 5 H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India Legend and Reality*, 2nd Edt., (Bombay: N. M. Tripathi Private Ltd., 1994), 138.
 - 6 According to the Census Report of 1941 India, there were 57.06% Muslims, 26.56% Hindus, 13.22 % Sikhs, 1.77% Christians, 0.13% Jains and 1.26% others in Punjab. Census Report of India 1941, 65.
 - 7 The partition of the Punjab was a sensitive and critical phenomenon then the partition of the India. In the process of the partition of India, British were entertaining only two groups largely Hindus and Muslims but in the partition of the there were three groups Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. It was a quite difficult job for the British administration to face three groups and fulfill the desires of all groups.
 - 8 Note by Sir E. Jenkins (Extract) R 3/1/176: ff 63-5, 29/3/47, TOP, Vol., X, 45.
 - 9 H. V. Hodson, *The Great Divide, Britain, India, Pakistan*, 268-269.
 - 10 Viceroy's thirteenth miscellaneous meeting, Mountbatten Papers, 11/5/47, TOP, Vol., X, P. 759.
 - 11 Mr. Menon to Mr. Abell, R/3/1/130: f 203, 29/3/47, TOP, Vol., X. P. 44
 - 12 Note by E. Jenkins (Extract) R/3/1/176: ff 63-5, 29/3/47, TOP, Vol., X, P. 45.
 - 13 Police Abstract of Intelligence, Punjab, 15/2/47, P. 66.
 - 14 Harjot S. Oberoi, From Punjab to "Khalistan": Territoriality and Metacommentary, *Pacific Affairs*. Vol. 60, No. 1 (Spring, 1987), 27.

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- 15 "Since it is very probable that the Sikhs could not have found a permanently secure place within Pakistan-tough some explorations on those lines did take place-it follows that the main realistic future was with in India".

W. H. Morris-Jones, *Thirty-Six Years Later: The Mixed Legacies of Mountbatten's Transfer of Power, International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), Vol. 59, No. 4 (Autumn 1983), 626.

- 16 Police Abstract of Intelligence, Punjab, 8/2/47, 57.
- 17 "...their three leaders who really counted, the one who in fact influenced developments much more than the others was Baldev Singh, because by virtue of his membership of the interim Government, he frequently talked and wrote to the Viceroy. But, as already stated, his most distinguishing trait was that he was extremely anti-Muslim. The Second leader, Master Tara Singh, was very popular among the Sikhs, but he was basically emotional. Giani Kartar Singh, the third leader, as President of the Akali Dal (Sikh Party), was technically the spokesman and top most leaders of the Sikhs but not only were less known than the other two. He also lacked the capacity to make up his mind".

Latif Ahmad Sherwani, *The Partition of India and Mountbatten*, (Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies, 1986), 101.

- 18 Ian Talbot and Guru Harpal Singh, *Partition of India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 42.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Francis Toker, *While Memory Serves*, (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1950), 257.
- 21 Tai Yong Tan and Gynesh Kudasiya, *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia*, (London: Rutledge, 2000), 103.
- 22 "...The Lahore Resolution made no specific definition of the areas which were to constitute the 'autonomous and sovereign units' that were to form the Muslim state. Its

ambiguity notwithstanding, the Lahore Resolution sparked off an enormous furor amongst the Sikhs in the Punjab”.

Ibid, 102.

23 Ibid

24 W. H. Morris-Jones, *Thirty-Six Years Later: The Mixed Legacies of Mountbatten’s Transfer of Power*, 622.

25 Indian National Congress was the huge supporter of the Sikhs’ cause during the partition process.

26 Viceroy’s First Staff Meeting, Item 4, Mountbatten Papers, 25/3/47, TOP, Vol., X, P.15.

27 Ibid.

28 In a session of Joint Conference of Sikh Organizations they admired and praised the division of the Punjab and it was also said that “No partition of the province that did not preserve the solidarity and integrity of the Sikh community would be acceptable to the Sikhs”.

Muhammad Ali, *Emergence of Pakistan*, 13th Impression, (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, 2009), 156.

29 Tai Yong Tan and Gynesh Kudasiya, *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia*, P. 106.

30 Lt. General Francis Toker was the commander of 34th Indian Infantry Division and 4th Infantry Division in British India.

31 Francis Toker, *While Memory Serves*, 257.

32 Leonard Brooks, L. Dudley Stamp, C. B. Fawcett, E. S. Lindley, W. G. East, Mushtaq Ahmad Bajwa, O. H. K. Spate, *The Partition of the Punjab and the Bengal: Discussion*, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 110, No. 4/6 (Oct.-Dec., 1947), 221.

33 Ian Talbot and Guru Harpal Singh, *Partition of India*, 37.

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- 34 Certain Members of the Indian Central Legislature from Punjab to Pandit Nehru R/3/1/157: f 213, 2/4/47, TOP, Vol., X, 88.
- 35 Muhammad Ali, *Emergence of Pakistan*, 13th Impression, (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, 2009), 155.
- 36 The inter-communal politics of the Punjab reduced with the resignation of the Unionist Party. According to E. Jenkins Khizar Tiwana of Unionist Party also offered that he is ready "to lead his Unionist Muslims into the League" to form the League's Ministry in the Punjab. But Lord Mountbatten and E. Jenkins were not in this favor because according to them "a communal government would only make matters worse". So they continued the Governor Rule under section 93 of the Indian Act 1935 in the Punjab.
- H. V. Hodson, *The Great Divide Britain, India, Pakistan*, 273.
- 37 Liaqat Ali Khan to Lord Mountbatten R/3/1/90: ff 5-10, 15/4/47, TOP, Vol., X, P. 258.
- 38 Record of the Interview Mountbatten and Liaqat Ali Khan, Mountbatten Papers, Viceroy's interview No. 77, 11/4/47, TOP, Vol., X, 331.
- 39 Sir E. Jenkins (Punjab) to Lord Mountbatten, Mountbatten Papers, Official Correspondence Files: Punjab, Part I (b). 3/5/47, TOP, Vol., X. 597.
- 40 Tai Yong Tan and Gynesh Kudasiya, *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia*, P. 108.
- 41 Note by Sir E. Jenkins R/3/1/176: ff 130-4, 10/4/47, TOP, Vol., X. 184.
- 42 The British Proposals for India, Chronology of International Events and Documents, Vol. 3, No. 11 (May 26- Jun 8, 1947), 329.

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- 43 The Sikh demands were not unified regarding the annexation of the districts and areas. In a letter to Viceroy Sardar Baldev Singh demanded Lahore, Amritsar and Gurdaspur. He also focused that now the division of the Punjab is on the demand of the Sikhs so give the weightage to their demands.

Sardar Baldev Singh to Lord Mountbatten, R/3/1/178: ff 47-8, 1/5/47, TOP, Vol., X, PP. 520.521.

- 44 Police Abstract of Intelligence, Punjab, 23/8/47, 419.
- 45 Sikh Memorandum in the Boundary Commission, The Partition of the Punjab 1947, (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel, 1993), 378.
- 46 E. Jenkins to Lord Mountbatten, Mountbatten Papers, Official Correspondence Files, Punjab, Security, Arrangements for Partition of Punjab, 1/5/47, TOP, Vol., X. 529.
- 47 Sikhs were completely demanding the Ambala and Jullunder divisions and had no controversy over these divisions but the Muslim community of these two divisions was not agreed on this because they were not willing to accept the Sikh rule and hegemony over them.
- Sir E. Jenkins (Punjab) to Lord Mountbatten, Mountbatten Papers, Official Correspondence Files: Punjab, Part I (b). 3/5/47, TOP, Vol., X, 596.
- 48 The rulers of the Sikh states like Raja Har Indar Singh of Faridkot and Maharaja Partap Singh of Nabha State also wrote to Viscount Mountbatten to use his influence on Boundary Commission for the annexation of the Nankana Sahib in the District Sheikhupura because of Sikh' holy shrines with East Punjab. But he refused to influence the Boundary Commission.
- Lord Mountbatten to Raja Har Indar Singh of Faridkot, IOR R/3/1/157, 10/8/47 & Lord Mountbatten to Mahraja Partap Singh of Nabha, IOR R/3/1/157,

11/8/47, *The Partition of the Punjab 1947*, (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel, 1993), 256-257.

Moreover, Maharaja Yadvindar Singh of Patiala also tried to influence Mountbatten to do so but Lord Mountbatten refused.

Lord Mountbatten to Maharaja Yadvindar Singh of Patiala, IOR R/3/1/157, 12/8/47, *The Partition of the Punjab 1947*, (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel, 1993), 259.

- 49 Sir E. Jenkins (Punjab) to Lord Mountbatten, Mountbatten Papers, and Official Correspondence Files: Punjab, Part I (b). 3/5/47, TOP, Vol., X, 596.
- 50 Muhammad Ali, *Emergence of Pakistan*, 13th Impression, 210.
- 51 Sir E. Jenkins (Punjab) to Lord Mountbatten, Mountbatten Papers, Official Correspondence Files: Punjab, Part I (b). 3/5/47, TOP, Vol., X, 597.
- 52 Sardar Santokh Singh to Sir George Abell IOR R/1/157, 23/6/47, *The Partition of the Punjab 1947*, (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel, 1993), 52.
- 53 Muslim leaders like Khan of Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Doltana, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Malik Feroz Khan Noon, Sheikh Karamat Ali, Begam Shahnawaz and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din to press in a statement characterize their stance towards Punjab Boundary Commission, as they have accepted mechanism of India and Punjab partition under June 3rd Plan without reservations and reluctance. Now they will not give up an inch of their part.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel to Viscount Mountbatten, IOR R/3/1/157, 21/7/47, clipping from Daily Dawn 21/7/47, *The Partition of the Punjab 1947*, (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel, 1993), 197-199.
- 54 Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel to Viscount Mountbatten, IOR R/3/1/157, 21/7/47, clipping from Daily Dawn 21/7/47, *The Partition of the Punjab 1947*, 199.

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- 55 Police Abstract of Intelligence, Punjab, 26/1/47, 42.
 - 56 Latif Ahmad Sherwani, *The Partition of India and Mountbatten*, 100.
 - 57 Pendral Moon, *Divide and Quit*, 3rd Impression, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 29.
 - 58 According to the plan, they were wanted to gather the Sikh community in the East Punjab for the claim of the Sikh State with the inclusion of Sikh States of the Punjab.
UK High Commissioner, New Delhi, to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Telegram, IOR, L/P&J/10/119, 12/9/47, JP, Vol. V, 227.
Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah, 23/9/47, F. 675 /55-61, JP., Vol., V. 276.
 - 59 E. Jenkins (Punjab) to Lord Mountbatten, Mountbatten Papers, Official Correspondence Files: Part I (b) 7/5/47, TOP, Vol., X. 643.
 - 60 William Francis Hare (1906-1997) his title was Earl of Listowel, he was the Secretary of State for India and Burma from April 17, 1947 to August 14, 1947.
 - 61 The Earl of Listowel to Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma, Mountbatten Papers. Letters to and from the Secretary of State, 9/5/47, TOP, Vol., X, 710-711.
 - 62 Record of Interview between Lord Mountbatten and Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh, Sardar Baldev Singh, Mountbatten Papers, Viceroy's Interview No. 76, 18/4/47, TOP, Vol., X, 323.
 - 63 In a meeting with Viceroy Lord Mountbatten Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh and Sardar Baldev Singh the Sikh leaders admitted that their hate with Muslims they do not want to make collaboration with Muslim community in Punjab even they were ready to form a joint province with the Hindus.

Record of Interview between Lord Mountbatten and Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh, Sardar Baldev Singh, Mountbatten Papers, Viceroy's Interview No. 76, 18/4/47, TOP, Vol., X, 321.

- 64 According to the census of the 1941 the area of the British Punjab was 99,089 SM and population was 28,418,819 and moreover the Muslim ratio in the Punjab was 57.06% and by including the Punjab states this ratio reached at 53.22%.

Sikh Memorandum in Boundary Commission, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, 4-6.

- 65 According to the June 3rd Plan a Boundary Commission was decided for the partition of the Punjab and the Bengal. Sir Cyril Radcliff was the head of said Boundary Commission and he joined the Commission on July 8, 1947. Lord Mountbatten gave the 5 weeks time to Sir Cyril Radcliff to demarcate the Boundaries of Punjab and Bengal.

H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India, Legend and Reality*, 127.

- 66 Note by Sir E. Jenkins, Mountbatten Papers, Official Correspondence Files: Punjab, situation in Part (a) 16/4/47, TOP, Vol., X, 266-267.

- 67 Minutes of second day of first Governors' Conference L/PO/6/123: ff 398-408 16/4/47, TOP, Vol., X, 271.

- 68 Minutes of second day of first Governors' Conference L/PO/6/123: ff 398-408 16/4/47, TOP, Vol., X, P. 271.

- 69 Master Tara Singh fully indulged himself into anti Muslim activities. Sirdar Shaukat Hayat Khan presented its two causes, first he was an Arora Sikh and secondly "his mother had been unfortunately killed during the riots in his village near Gujar Khan". Moreover, the Sikhs were the tools in the hands of Hindus and they were penetrating the aggressive and warlike ideas in the Sikhs during the partition process.

Sirdar Shaukat Hayat Khan, *The Nation that Lost Its Soul*, (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1995), 161.162.

70 Viceroy's Personal Report No. 4 L/PO/6/123: ff 51-9, 24/4/47, TOP, Vol., X, 406.

71 Allan Campbell Johnson, *Mission With Mountbatten*, (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. INC, 1953), P205.

72 Shiromani Akali Dal was established in 1920 and it was considered as the core representative party of the Sikhs in India. It played a vital role during the partition process.

73 Master Tara Singh to Mr. Attlee L/P&J/7/12465: 75, 25/7/47, T. O. P., Vol. XI, 340.341.

74 During the meeting with Jenkins the Governor of the Punjab Sardar Ujal Singh and Giani Kartar Singh the Sikh leaders, Ujal Singh was bit confused on the circumstances regarding the partition process and agreed that he is not in the favor of the partition of the Punjab but Giani Kartar Singh came in and said that there is no other solution. The partition of Punjab was going to disturb 25 lakh non-Muslims in West Punjab and 30 lakh Muslims in East Punjab but Sikh were not considering the difficulty.

Note by Sir E. Jenkins, Mountbatten Papers, Official Correspondence Files: Punjab, Part I (b) 7/5/47, TOP, Vol., X, 650.

75 Sir E. Jenkins (Punjab) to Lord Mountbatten, Mountbatten Papers, Official Correspondence Files: Punjab, Part I (b). 3/5/47, TOP, Vol., X, 593.

76 Record of Meeting between Lord Ismay and Sir O. Caroe, Sir E. Jenkins, Sir E Mieville, Mr. Weightman, Mr. Abell and Captain Lascelles on 14/4/47, Mountbatten Papers, Viceroy's miscellaneous meetings, TOP, Vol., X, 232.

77 Lord Mountbatten to Sardar Baldev Singh R/3/1/178: f 49, TOP, Vol., X, P. 620.

78 Police Abstract of Intelligence, Punjab, 1/3/47, 91.

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- 79 Sir E. Jenkins to Lord Mountbatten R/3/1/176: ff 100-7, 9/4/47, TOP, Vol., X, 172-173.
- 80 Note by Sir E. Jenkins R/3/1/176: ff 130-4, 10/4/47, TOP, Vol., X, 185.
- 81 In the end of the April 1947 Sir E. Jenkins the Governor of the Punjab reported to the Viceroy that "the Sikhs were preparing for an offensive. I believe that the leaders would prefer not to launch it until July 1948 or later; but they will find it difficult to control their followers. There are strong rumors of a retaliatory attack by Sikhs on a suburb of Amritsar or some other place with a strong Muslim element. The Sikhs have committed themselves so deeply to the partition of the Punjab that it will be difficult, and perhaps impossible, for them to take a different line".
- Sir E. Jenkins to Lord Mountbatten (Extract), R/3/1/178: ff 42-3, 30/4/47, TOP, Vol., X, P. 506.
- 82 H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India, Legend and Reality*, 139.
- 83 Record of Interview between Lord Mountbatten and Sardar Baldev Singh (Extract), Mountbatten Papers, Viceroy's Interview No. 133, 6/5/47, TOP, Vol., X, 632.
- 84 Police Abstract of Intelligence, Punjab, 23/4/47, 199.
- 85 The eminent features of 3rd June Plan were, "1. Division of the Subcontinent into India and Pakistan. 2. Pakistan is to be truncated-on the basis of 'contiguous areas' of population. 3. Referendum in North-West Frontier Province and Assam. 4. Establishment of two constituent Assemblies if the existing one is not accepted. 5. Division of Armed Forces and Assets. 6. Establishment of a Boundary Commission in Punjab and Bengal to demarcate the boundaries on the basis of the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims which will also take into account 'the other factors' 7. Anticipated date for handing over to be some date in 1947. 8. Independence for the Indian States, but these were advised to accede to

one or the other Dominion. 9. Grant of Dominion status to India and Pakistan”.

Shahid Hamid, *Disastrous Twilight*, (London: Leo Cooper in association with Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd, 1986), 176.

- 86 Police Abstract of Intelligence, Punjab, 28/6/47, 339.
- 87 O. H. K. Spate, The Partition of the Punjab and Bengal, The Geographical Journal, Vol. 110, No. 4/6 (Oct.-Dec., 1947), 212.
- 88 SharifulDin Pirzada, *Evolution of Pakistan*, 2nd Edt., (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1995), P. 318.
- 89 Latif Ahmad Sherwani, P. 115
- 90 Police Abstract of Intelligence, Punjab, 19/7/47, 375.
- 91 “As a result of the Award of the Punjab Boundary Commission, the Province of the West Punjab will include the whole of the Multan and Rawalpindi Division, and the Districts of Gujranwala, Sheikhpura and Sialkot of Lahore Division. The Province of the East Punjab will include the whole of the Jullundur and Amblal Divisions, and the Amritsar District of Lahore Division. Gurdaspur and Lahore Districts of Lahore Division have been divided between the two new Provinces. In the case of Gurdaspur District, the Shakargarh tehsil, which lies west of the Ravi River becomes part of the West Punjab, while Pathankot, Gurdaspur and Batala tehsils, which lies east of the Ravi, become part of the East Punjab. In Lahore District the whole of the Chunian and Lahore tehsils have been included in the West Punjab. the Kasur Tehsil has however been divided between the two new Provinces, the line of demarcation following village boundaries south from the point just west of Khem Karan railway station, and then turning east to reach the river Sutlej at village Masteke”.

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- Viscount Mountbatten to the Earl of Listowel, IOR L/P&J/16/117, 14/8/47, *The Partition of the Punjab 1947*, Vol.1, 267-268.
- 92 Penderel Moon, *Divide and Quit*, 3rd Impression, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), P. 29.
- 93 Minutes of second day of first Governors' Conference L/PO/6/123: ff 398-408 16/4/47, TOP, Vol., X, 271.
- 94 Shahid Hamid, *Disastrous Twilight*, 169.
- 95 Note by Sir E. Jenkins R/3/1/90: ff 12-16, 16/4/47, TOP, Vol., X, 282-283.
- 96 Record of Interview between Lord Mountbatten and Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh, Sardar Baldev Singh, Mountbatten Papers, Viceroy's Interview No. 76, TOP, Vol., X, 321.
- 97 Viceroy's Personal Report No. 5 L/PO/6/123: ff 71-89, 1/5/47, TOP, Vol., X, 537.
- 98 Harjot S. Oberoi, From Punjab to "Khalistan": Territoriality and Metacommentary, 30.