

Dawn

Thursday, April 24, 1947.

N. - W. F. P.

THE announcement that the Viceroy will pay a visit early next week to the capital of the misgoverned Frontier Province "to acquaint himself personally with the latest developments in the situation" is in accord with Lord Mountbatten's reputation of being a man of vigour and action. His Excellency has decided wisely in not allowing the situation to continue to drift. The public has not been taken into confidence as to the nature of the conclusions which were reached as a result of last week's conference in New Delhi, but it has now become abundantly clear from the trend of events that the mere announcement of the Frontier Government's decision to release political prisoners from its jam-packed jails cannot meet the requirements of the situation.

It is inconceivable that no other decisions of more far-reaching import should have been taken when the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor brought the Member for External Affairs and the Premier—both of whom are natural partisans of the Congress—face to face with the current realities in the land of the awakened Pathans. We have particularly in mind the necessity of holding fresh elections so that the Provincial Legislature may be made truly representative of the people. It is not enough that elections should be held but it is equally important that effective steps should also be taken to ensure

that the elections are free. As long as the present Ministry remains in office free elections are impossible. It is a foregone conclusion that the Ministry will abuse all the powers that it possesses and mobilize all its resources to gerrymander the elections in its own favour. It is, therefore, essential that simultaneously with the announcement of fresh general elections, the Ministry's removal from office should be secured either by resignation or dismissal.

Dr. Khan Saheb and his supporters in the Interim Government will naturally offer vehement opposition to this course of action, but the Viceroy cannot be oblivious of the fact that the responsibility for the maintenance of security is his personal responsibility. Besides, if the contention of Dr. Khan Saheb that he still has the support of the majority of the electorates is correct, he and his party have nothing to lose but everything to gain. In that event, the Congress will be returned to power again and what is now more than an *ex parte* claim will be established by the most convincing democratic verdict. Given determination, Lord Mountbatten should be able to persuade the Frontier Premier no longer to stand on "prestige" but to stand aside and let the forces of Democracy move past and take possession of what belongs to Democracy.

Tuesday, April 29 1947.

UNFORGOTTEN KASHMIR

B EING naturally preoccupied with grave events which have shaken the Punjab and the North-West Frontier, and lately more so with vital constitutional issues affecting the future of the nation, Muslim League leadership may seem to have forgotten the suffering Muslims of Kashmir whose leaders are still held in detention without trial and whose wrongs have multiplied manifold since the last popular agitation for their redress grew uncomfortably vocal for the Maharaja's autocratic Government. A letter addressed to this newspaper by one of the most important Kashmir Muslim leaders out of jail does make this complaint and makes it bitter. "Kashmir seems to have been declared out of bounds by the League High Command"—he writes, more in sorrow we think, than in anger; and adds: "One has to reside in Kashmir to know what we are passing through". For the technical offence of defying the ban imposed on the open session of the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference eight months ago Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas, Agha Shaikat Ali and several other leaders are still being held in detention, some of them in intolerably oppressive conditions. Even if they had been prosecuted and sentenced by a court of law they would not have been in jail for more than six months which is the maximum punishment that could have been inflicted. The unscrupulous Prime Minister, Pandit Ram Chandra Kak, having gerrymandered the elections, coerced, intimidated and victimized all who refused to accept his dictatorial regime, is now busy importing Hindus and Sikhs into the State in order to tip the balance of population in favour of those who would stand for the

perpetuation of communal tyranny. A clean sweep is being made of Muslims from the Army in which they were already meagrely represented. The Press is gagged, the platform silenced, the very whisper of agony's cry is stifled. Such is Kashmir today; such is the plight of its oppressed and impoverished people; so has the ruthless hand of a communal bigot turned that "earthly paradise" into a concentration camp. Kashmir has become a purgatory for the innocent, a paradise for the guilty. And yet, what has the All-India League High Command done about it, what are the League leaders doing?

This anguished question from oppressed Kashmir and Jammu, this cry of frustration and loneliness, this bitter complaint that Muslim India has left Muslim Kashmir to its fate, is not unnatural when one considers how remote and forlorn these suffering people must be feeling. But their complaint is unjustified, their fear unfounded. They are not forgotten, they are not forsaken. Not to speak of the Qaed-e-Azam, beneath whose unruffled and sometimes even forbidding exterior throbs a heart attuned to the heartbeats of every Musalman and which shares the heartaches of all, other leaders too cannot and have not forgotten Kashmir. They know what is going on there, they know what the people are suffering, they can see vividly in their mind's eye the travail of the unlawful prisoners of Pandit Kak; and they know where lies the salvation of Kashmir and Jammu's groaning multitudes. Their battle is being fought here in India; the weapon that will break down their prison walls is being forged even now in India's capital; the message that

will bring them hope, good cheer and liberation is receiving its finishing touches. And the name of that message is Pakistan.

This is the answer to Kashmir's complaint, this is the evidence of Muslim India and its leaders' abiding solicitude for Kashmir's people, this is where the battle of Kashmir is being fought. We would urge Kashmir's leaders not to be overwhelmed by their present sufferings, or to give way to despair because they find in their immediate surroundings little to comfort or cheer them. The Darbar's facade of despotic power only conceals the powerlessness of the despot; the seeming triumph of the tyrant is a deceptive prelude to the overthrow of tyranny. The Muslim nation's major battle is all but won, victory in Kashmir and other pockets of reaction will follow. The colossal sacrifices which men, women and even children have made are about to produce martyrdom's inevitable dividend. The sacrifices of the Muslims of Kashmir—such as they have made already or such as they may yet have to make—will not be in vain. Behind them, if not immediately with them, stands the Muslim nation whose strength will be the strength of Kashmir's long-suffering people. Let this be a message of hope, cheer and fortitude to Kashmir's fighters for freedom. Those who are behind Kashmir's prison bars today will be Kashmir's real rulers tomorrow. That tomorrow is in the making.

Dawn

Wednesday, April 30, 1947.

THE PARTITION RACKET

IF one were to go by what appears in the Hindu Press it would indeed seem as if the demand for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal had not only received the universal support of the people residing in the areas in question but that these two provinces had already been as good as partitioned. Such is the power of propaganda. The progress of this spurious agitation provides an interesting study of Congress technique, and of course the Congress can now be taken as a generic term which embraces the Hindu Mahasabha, the R.S.S. and every other Caste Hindu body whatever the label under which it plies its communal trade. We do not pretend to know what view Lord Mountbatten takes of the extent of support which this partition stunt has been able to secure, but to those who have lived with Indian political problems for any reasonable length of time this cannot but appear to be a *mala fide* communal racket.

The "partitionists" claim that their demand for the division of the Punjab and Bengal has the same basis of justification as the Muslim demand for a division of India. This is *prima facie* absurd and untenable. If one examines the two demands from the positive aspect it will appear as plain as a pikestaff that there is a radical difference between the underlying principles. The Muslims want Pakistan on the ground that as a separate nation they are entitled to a separate homeland. The Hindus of certain Western districts of Bengal and the Hindus and Sikhs of certain Eastern districts of the Punjab cannot claim the partition of

these provinces on the same principle, because their Hindustan, the homeland of the Hindu nation, is already there. If the Hindus of Western Bengal claim a separate homeland on the provincial basis the Muslims in Bihar, U.P. and other Hindu majority provinces can do the same. Viewed negatively, the difference between the two demands becomes even more apparent. If Pakistan or a separate national homeland is denied to the Muslims, then the Muslim nation will not be left with a single inch of territory in the whole of this sub-continent which they can call their own. But if the Hindus and Sikhs of Western Bengal and Eastern Punjab are denied the partition of these two provinces, the effect on the Hindu nation will not be the same. The Hindus will still have a national home far larger and far stronger than the national home of the Muslims. Those, therefore, who say that the partition of Bengal and the Punjab should follow as a matter of "ruthless logic" from the Muslim demand for the partition of India are being victims of confused thinking. What they consider good logic is in fact an obvious fallacy.

The second argument of the partitionists that if Muslims of India as a whole are unwilling to accept the rule of the Hindu majority, the Hindus and Sikhs of Bengal and the Punjab are similarly entitled to say that they will not accept the rule of the Muslim majority, is equally untenable. It is quite obvious that even when a Muslim sovereign State of Pakistan is established many millions of Muslims will continue to live in Hindustan, similarly millions of Hindus will continue to live in Pakistan.

Even if the two provinces of Bengal and the Punjab are partitioned this problem will not be solved and well over 20,000,000 Hindus will still be left in what is being described as "truncated Pakistan".

These broad aspects of the respective demands of Muslims and Hindus should convince all right-thinking persons that the two do not stand on the same footing, nor have they the same justification. The first is genuine, the second is *mala fide*, and the one does not logically follow from the other. These facts are likely to be overlooked unless an unbiased mind is brought to the study of the problem. It is, however, idle to expect spiteful and clamorous propagandists to recognize the validity of facts, because their one chance of success lies in suppressing the truth and keeping issues confused. Nevertheless, when they talk of "logic" they will do well to remember that if logic is to be carried to such lengths then the carving knife cannot stop after having sliced up Bengal and the Punjab. Of necessity, it will have to do some carving in U.P., Bihar and Madras as well; and ruthless logic must award to the Musalmans a big slice of the city of Delhi, not merely on grounds of population but also of history.

Thursday, May 15, 1947.

DIVIDE THE FORCES

THE *Statesman* has done grave disservice to whatever cause it thinks it serves, by its hasty and ill-assorted editorial entitled "Into Armed Chaos", published in its Wednesday's issue, opposing the division of the Armed Forces. It is regrettable that so vital a matter should be so lightly studied and argued in a newspaper of the *Statesman's* standing and importance. Small talk by unformed non-experts over glasses of tomato-juice is a most uncertain guide to military profundity. Should our contemporary devote greater pains to an examination of the question both in its fundamental and practical aspects we have little doubt that it will revise its opinions, unless the *Statesman* is pleading for perpetuation of imperialistic designs in Asia through a so-called united India army.

Nobody pretends that dividing the Armed Forces is going to be an easy task, but it can be done and it *must* be done. To talk of Pakistan as an independent, sovereign State and at the same time to talk of an undivided army, navy and air-force is utterly nonsensical. Either the British Government mean to be honest or they do not. If they are to be honest it follows that they must face this problem honestly. The time that remains is undoubtedly short, but if a beginning is made immediately, Pakistan and Hindustan can both have their separate Armed Forces by June, 1948, though minor adjustments may continue over a longer period. We have reasons to believe that the matter is under active consideration in the highest quarters although reluctance has not yet been fully overcome. It must therefore be made quite clear that no solution, even based on Pakistan, will be acceptable to Mus-

lims unless Pakistan is given simultaneously and from the very first day of its independence its own independent defence forces. Those who are contemplating a divided India with a united army are living in something infinitely worse than a fool's paradise. The argument that a division of the Armed Forces is not "possible" will not bear scrutiny.

The splitting up of the small air and naval forces which India possesses is easy enough; and opponents of division mainly concentrate on the question of the army. The *Statesman*, for instance, writes:

"How branches such as Ordnance, the Pay Corps, or the R.I.A.S.C. could without chaos be fragmented into Hindustani and Pakistani portions by June, 1948—or indeed by a remoter date—we cannot see. The process would create serious likelihood of large parts of the residual military organisms being unclothed, unpaid, un-fed."

This is obviously written from a wrong assumption and also from imperfect appreciation of the actual facts. Why must it be assumed that the armies of Pakistan and Hindustan must necessarily be completely Muslim or completely Hindu? There will be many millions of non-Muslims in Pakistan and many millions of Muslims in Hindustan. There will be still non-Muslim personnel in the various civilian services of the Pakistan Government, and Muslims will be employed by the Hindustan Government. The army also would naturally be a mixed army, except that there would be Muslim predominance in the Pakistan army and Hindu predominance in the Hindustan army. On the territorial basis division is immediately feasible, because the various existing army commands are self-con-

tained to a very large extent already. The Northern Command, for instance, is virtually an army in itself, complete with all its services. By exchange of battalions and companies its composition can be easily so adjusted as to fulfil the requirements of the Western Pakistan army. With certain adjustments the Eastern Command can be similarly transformed into an army suitable for Eastern Pakistan.

As regards Ordnance, the Northern Command is to all intents and purposes self-sufficient, the arsenals at Feroz-pore and Rawalpindi and Ordnance installations in every military area, such as Lahore Area and Peshawar Area, supplying its requirements. The same is true of the R.I.A.S.C. services, each Command having its own supplies of petrol, ammunition, etc., necessary to keep it equipped and ready for operations. As regards a divided army facing the possibility of being "unpaid," perhaps it will be news to the *Statesman* that both the Northern and the Eastern Commands have their separate C.M.A. (Controller of Military Accounts) establishments in Lahore and Rawalpindi, and Calcutta, respectively. The Poona establishment now centrally controls only what is known as field accounts, which concerns units and personnel doing field service, mostly overseas. It is ridiculous, therefore, to suggest that division of the army, provided it is carried out on the basis of the existing Commands with necessary adjustments, will result in chaos. The most difficult part of an army, namely, its basic framework of Headquarters, communications installations and the necessary organisation for maintenance and administration—all actually exist on the ground. All that really needs to be done, apart from modifying the class composition of all ranks, is to build on this framework and give the respective Commands their full independence from any kind of central control.

Having given facts to show that the army can be divided we would like to give an additional argument why the army must be divided. Quite apart

from the ground that Pakistan without an independent army would be like a shadow without substance, convincing Muslims that the British merely want to play on them a cruel hoax, there is another imperative reason. The *Statesman* fears that "chaos" resulting from a split-up of the defence forces might lead to mutiny and that the army might be reduced to "disorderly mobs of armed men whipped to unwonted communal hatreds, ravaging the countryside." What our contemporary dreads may well come to pass, but not because of what our contemporary pleads against. *Mutiny and disruption of the army is inevitable if the army is forcibly kept united.* Muslim officers and men are already in a state of grave mental unrest and men in authority should be aware of it. We do not wish to labour this point, except to say that if the army is not divided by those who can do so in an orderly fashion, it will divide itself—chaos or no chaos. There lies the risk, not where the *Statesman* sees it.

We would have concluded this article here but we consider it our duty to sound a grave note of warning to Lord Mountbatten and his military advisers. Are they aware that the Sikh Defence Member is almost daily taking wicked and sinister steps with the deliberate object of making the division of the army more difficult? Are they aware that the Northern Command, the foundation on which the Pakistan Army will have to be built, is being burrowed into, like rats under a granary, by the agents of Akhand Hindustan with the set object of undermining that foundation? Let us give some typical facts. Muslim officers who have been trained for staff jobs in India or abroad are being sent back to their regiments or units, when the need is to increase the Muslim personnel in the various branches of the Headquarters Staffs. If Lord Mountbatten calls for the lists maintained in the Adjutant-General's Branch and has them

scrutinized he will be staggered to find how postings have been made, and are still being made. From the biggest Ordnance installation in Secunderabad—and from other such installations also—Muslim officers are being removed. A Sikh has been appointed as Brigadier, General Staff, Northern Command—the significance of which can be gauged by those who know what the functions of such posts are.

Is all this going to stop or is it not?—that is what Muslims want to ask the Viceroy today. It is time that he intervened

and removed the communal stranglehold of anti-Pakistanists from the nerve-centres of the country's defence forces. If he continues to allow this rapid capture of strategic and key positions by opponents of Pakistan to go on, and then turns round and says he "cannot" divide the army, he will not sound sincere. And that is putting it mildly. If that excuse is really trotted out we can assure Lord Mountbatten that Muslim reactions will be very far from mild.

Dawn

MONDAY, JUNE 2, 1947.

NOTHING BUT PAKISTAN

TODAY at 10 in the morning, the Viceroy is due to communicate to the topmost leaders of India's two nations the final proposals of the British Government for the transfer of power in accordance with the declaration of February 20. Since the eleventh-hour postponement of the conference originally scheduled to be held on May 17 and the departure of Lord Mountbatten to London for personal consultations with H.M.G., rumour and speculation have flown thick and fast. Today the leaders of the Indian peoples will know for certain—although their anxious followers throughout the sub-continent may still be kept guessing a short while longer—what solution British ingenuity has devised at last for the world-baffling problem which India has so rapidly become in the last few years.

It has been suggested in various news reports during the past fortnight that the highest leaders of the Muslim League and the Congress were aware

of, if not tacitly consenting parties to, "the Plan" which Lord Mountbatten had drawn up and communicated to the British Cabinet through Lord Ismay. For all we know, this may be only very partially true. In any event, alterations in main outline or in details which appear to have been made in it in London could not have been known to them. When, therefore, the invited leaders proceed to Viceroy's House today they will not be less expectant or curious than is the common man. The question of questions is: In what frame of mind will they return? On that depends not only the peace of India but the peace of the world, as Mr. Bevin has candidly confessed at Margate.

On the eve of this momentous and fateful meeting at Viceroy's House speculation is utterly idle, but the reiteration of the fundamental facts of the situation is necessary. It is all the more so because during the past week there has been a noticeable change in the tone and

tenor of the utterances of leading Congressmen—and of Mr. Gandhi in particular. Only a few days previously they were freely and frankly visualizing the division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan, although they spoke in the same breadth of the partition of Bengal and the Punjab. Indeed, as reports from London made it more and more clear that the establishment of Pakistan as a sovereign State was not only inevitable but very near at hand, some of the Congress leaders and their satellites, such as Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Sardar Baldev Singh, became ardent champions of "complete division," including the division of the Armed Forces. Many felt gratified that at last comparative good sense was taking possession of what had long seemed to be a confused vacuum. Then came Mr. Gandhi upon the scene and very non-violently threw the Mahatmic spanner into the works.

Since Mr. Gandhi resumed in Delhi his political preachings from the so-called prayer pulpit he has daily grown more and more insufferably pugilistic. The latest Mahatmic bombast which we have before us is his declaration that he would rather see the whole of India reduced to ashes than concede a single inch of territory to Pakistan. Mr. Gandhi asks the Qaed-e-Azam not to "look to the British" but to allow the British to hand over power to the Hindu Constituent Assembly now functioning; and after the British have gone, to invite Mr. Gandhi and other Hindu leaders to a conference and "convince" them of the justice of the Pakistan demand. When last October other Congress leaders repudiated the formula which Mr. Gandhi had signed and handed over to the Nawab of Bhopal, the "Saint" announced that senility had overtaken his mental faculties and made him a sinner, in that he had signed something which he should not have. His utterances to which we have referred above conclusively prove that intellectual rot in the Gandhian

mind proceeds unchecked.

To claim seriously at this late hour, when the character and temper of the present Constituent Assembly have been so inexorably exposed before the world, that the British should leave the question of the division of India to be decided by this anti-Muslim rump, is a performance of which only Mr. Gandhi is capable. As for the offer to be "convinced" of the justice of the Pakistan, what else can it be but an attempt to commit a fraud on world opinion by seeking to make out that Mr. Gandhi and others of his political persuasion have still an open mind on the subject? The fact is that, like a sinking man catching at a straw, this apostle of Hindu revivalism is trying for the last time the ungentle art of bluster and threat to stop the caravan of Pakistan. Let us tell him that he shall not succeed.

Whatever may be content of the document handed over to the Indian leaders today, whatever may have been the "decision" of the British Government, the Muslim mind can no longer think in any other terms than full, sovereign, un mutilated Pakistan. The Muslims are not looking to the British to give it to them as a gift or a favour. They demand it because their homelands on the East and on the North-West are theirs; they belong neither to the British nor to the Hindus, nor to Mr. Gandhi as he presumably believes. The British took from the Muslims very much more than the Muslims now claim back. Logically, and by every canon of moral justice, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; Oudh; the entire dominion that was directly under the last Moghul Emperor, including historic Delhi; the greater part of the Deccan; and various other strips of territory which were ruled directly or indirectly by Muslims should also be handed over to the Muslims when the British depart. By comparison, therefore, the Muslim claim to only Assam, Bengal, the Punjab, N.-W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan is sur-

prisingly modest. Muslims cannot and will not consent to a single inch of these provinces from being awarded to the Hindus. The outcry for the partition of Bengal and the Punjab is only a spiteful Hindu counter-move for the purpose of driving a last moment, Bani-like, bargain over the question of Pakistan. If the British have taken any serious notice of it and if their Government's proposals are based on the mutilation of Pakistan, we would not care to predict what the future may hold. The Muslim nation awaits the announcement of the new proposals in that unruffled mood which the Qaed-e-Azam has inculcated in them: they "hope for the best but are prepared for the worst."

MUSLIMS HAVE RIGHT TO CLAIM 11 MORE TEHSILS IN EASTERN PUNJAB

(Ludhiana District) in addition to the two Tehsils mentioned above. 51

By 'Dawn' Special Correspondent

The Tehsils in East Punjab, in which the Muslims form an overwhelming or partial majority can be classified into three categories:

1. These Tehsils in which the Muslims are in an overwhelming majority 'vis-a-vis' the total number of all the other communities combine, and which are contiguous to the Muslim majority areas. Jullundur, Nakodar, Ferozepur, Zira and Ajnala are such Tehsils.

2. Such Tehsils as are similar to those in category 1, but which are not contiguous to any Muslim majority area. Ferozepur, Jhirka and Nuh are the only two such Tehsils.

3. The third category, comprising at least two Tehsils in which the Muslims occupy a peculiar position. Notwithstanding their number being twice or even more than that of any other community singly, they are outnumbered in the aggregate by the combined numbers of caste-Hindus, Sikhs, Scheduled Castes and/or Ad-Dharmis etc.

But for the number of the Scheduled Castes etc, Muslims in these two Tehsils, Hoshiarpur and Dasuya, are more than 1-1/3 of the combined numbers of caste-Hindus plus Sikhs. These Tehsils have a population of about a million and together cover an area of 1,010 sq. miles in the Hoshiarpur District.

In addition to the nine Tehsils mentioned above, the Muslims form the single largest majority in the five Tehsils of Ambala (Ambala District), Ludhiana (Ludhiana District), Muktsar and Fazilka (Ferozepur District) and Amritsar (Amritsar District).

POPULATIONS

Populations of all the communities in the above Tehsils as well as in all other Tehsils of the proposed East Punjab together with their areas are given in Annexure II, while the same information in regard to the nine Tehsils in mentioned in categories 1, 2 and 3 is given in Annexure I.

Out of the 52 Tehsils in the East Punjab, the caste-Hindus are in a majority in 13 Tehsils, comprising Hissar, Rohtak, Gurgaon (except two Tehsils) all situated in Ambala Division and 6 Tehsils in Kangra District and also in Una Tehsil of Hoshiarpur District.

The caste-Hindus form the single largest majority in all the 20 Tehsils mentioned above, the three Tehsils of Jagadhari, Narangarh and Simla (including Kot Khai) in the Ambala District and also in Garh Shankar in Hoshiarpur District, barring one Tehsil in Hoshiarpur District they have no majority anywhere outside Ambala Division.

SIKHS' POSITION

The Sikhs are in a majority in TWO out of the 52 Tehsils of East Punjab, viz. Taran Taran (Amritsar District) and Moga (Ferozepur District).

They form the single largest majority (vis-a-vis' Muslims, Hindus, etc., taken as single communal units) in SIX out of the 52 Tehsils. (1. Kharar; 2. Rupar (Ambala District); 3. Nawanshahr; 4. Phillaur (Jullundur District); 5. Jagraon; 6. Samrala

It is interesting to observe that in FIVE out of the total number of Tehsils the Sikhs are only a handful, for instance they are 61 in Rewari, 55 in Ballabgarh, 14 in Ferozepur-Jhirka and 12 in Nuh—all in Gurgaon District—whilst in Kot Khai (Simla) the total number of Sikhs is only 8.

In 13 Tehsils, their number runs into not more than three figures in each case.

In the Jullundur Division plus Amritsar there are 6 Districts out of which Kangra is predominantly a Hindu District, Muslims forming less than 5% of the population.

In the rest of the 5 Districts, there are 19 Tehsils. The total population of this area is 59,53,080, the Muslims being 24,31,188, or nearly 42% of the population.

If we exclude out of this area the 2 Tehsils in which the Sikhs and Hindus are in absolute majority and treat them like Indian States whose area is intermingled with British Indian Territory, the resultant population would give a majority to the Muslims 'vis-a-vis' the combined total of the caste-Hindus and the Sikhs.

Coming to Tehsils, we find, that out of the 19 Tehsils left, Muslims are in an absolute majority against all in five Tehsils and in two more against the combined total of caste-Hindus and Sikhs, they are in addition the single largest community in four more.

The Hindus and Sikhs are in a majority in only 3 Tehsils and single largest community in 5 other, so that Muslims are in majority in one way or the other in 11 out of the 19 Tehsils while the Hindus and Sikhs individually are in a majority only in 8 Tehsils. Therefore these 11 Tehsils should be included in the Pakistan State by the Boundary Commission.

ANNEXURE I

CATEGORY I. Tehsils in East Punjab where Muslims are in an Overwhelming majority contiguous to Muslim majority areas.

Tehsil with Muslims in its area in sq. miles (1).	Caste-Hindus	Sikhs	Scheduled Castes, *Adi-Dharmis, etc. (In round figures).	Total population (Cols. 2 to 5).	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	7
JULLUNDUR DISTRICT					
1. Jullundur (389).	2,26,623	64,121	68,998	17,000 *43,000	4,27,740
2. Nakodar (365).	1,35,218	20,269	52,037	13,000 *7,000	2,28,224
FEROZEPUR DISTRICT					
3. Ferozepore (850).	1,30,371	42,357	70,732	10,000	2,83,510
4. Zira (424).	1,37,538	11,873	50,209	*3,200	3,03,687
AMRITSAR DISTRICT					
5. Ajnala (418).	1,41,408	13,215	67,988	2,1000	2,24,707
Total (2,348)	8,01,904	1,31,634	3,28,010	95,700	13,77,248

CATEGORY II. Tehsils where Muslims are in an overwhelming majority, not contiguous to Muslim majority areas.

GURGAON DISTRICT					
6. Ferozepur Jhirka (314).	97,500	13,923	14	12,000	1,23,438

7. Nuh (401).	85,462	43,445	12	16,000	1,46,919
Total (715).	1,82,962	39,367	28	28,000	2,70,355
CATEGORY III. Tehsils where Muslims are in an overwhelming majority 'vis-a-vis' Caste-Hindus plus Sikhs (without Scheduled Castes, etc.) contiguous to Muslim majority areas.					
HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT					
8. Hoshiarpur (509)	1,45,983	61,443	62,517	11,000 *43,000	3,23,945
9. Dasuya (501)	1,32,105	65,684	40,509	7,000 *23,000	2,68,298
Total (1,010)	2,78,090	1,27,127	1,03,026	84,000	5,92,243
Grand Total (4,071).	12,62,956	3,18,128	4,31,062	2,07,700	22,39,846

ANNEXURE II, REGARDING JULLUNDUR DIVISION AND AMRITSAR DISTRICT

Tehsil with its area in sq. miles and Distt. in Block Capitals.	Muslims	Caste-Hindus	Sikhs	Scheduled Castes, *Adi-Dharmis, etc. (in round figures).	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
CATEGORY I					
(A) Sikhs in absolute majority over all.					
1. Taran (597). (AMRITSAR).	1,57,731	20,135	1,99,562	6,000	3,83,428
2. Moga (625) (FEROZEPUR)	66,855	24,521	1,81,454	6,000	2,78,830
(B) Hindus in absolute majority over all.					
3. KANGRA (3,881). (individually in each Tehsil).	42,249	7,25,909	4,809	1,11,000	8,83,967
4. Una (690) (HOSHIARPUR)	35,085	1,69,737	24,858	19,000 *14,000	2,68,680 282,680
CATEGORY II					
(A). Muslims single largest community.					
5. LUDHIANA (686).	1,71,482	59,423	1,68,011	34,000 *1,900	4,34,816
6. Muktsar (928) (FEROZEPUR).	1,15,350	32,583	1,06,270	13,000	2,67,203
7. Fazilka (1,338) (FEROZEPUR)	1,61,286	1,04,112	70,771	30,000 *3,400	3,69,569
8. AMRITSAR (348)	3,59,025	1,61,377	2,43,297	14,000	7,77,699
(B) Sikhs single largest community.					
9. Nawanshahr (299) (JULLUNDUR)	74,449	39,432	79,972	6,000 33,000*	2,34,859 *Adi-Dharmis.
10. Phillaur (269) (JULLUNDUR)	72,814	32,751	79,736	5,600 23,000	2,19,901 —do—
11. Jagraon (419) (LUDHIANA)	81,360	19,623	1,00,61	12,000	1,23,989
12. Samrala (291) (LUDHIANA)	49,820	27,195	63,103	14,000	1,53,913
(C) Hindus single largest community.					
13. Garh Shankar (501) (HOSHIARPUR)	67,584	96,923	70,310	18,000 *35,000	2,67,817 —do—

' Dawn '

Wednesday, June 11, 1947

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4, 1947.

PAKISTAN ZINDABAD

IN humble thanksgiving to Almighty Allah the hearts of a hundred million Muslims of India rise upwards to Heaven on this great day when throughout the world the tidings is borne of the birth of Pakistan. No longer is it a name, a dream, a goal alluring from a distance untraversable. It is a reality. An independent, sovereign Muslim State comprising a total of approximately 236,500 square miles of the Indian sub-continent, in the North-West and in the East, is to come into being in a few months' time.

The powerful resources and the ceaseless machinations of those who wanted to keep the Muslim nation of India under the perpetual subjection of a hostile and alien majority have availed them nothing. Muslim national freedom has been won; Muslim claim to separate sovereignty in their separate homelands—neither Hindu nor Briton has been able to resist. It is true that the British have cruelly, ruthlessly and unjustly parcelled out Muslim territory, particularly in the Eastern zone, and given away considerable tracts to the Hindus; but they have been compelled at last to recognize absolute Muslim sovereignty over an overwhelmingly greater part of the Muslim homelands. Never can the Muslim nation reconcile itself to the act of vandalism that has truncated Pakistan but at the same time the successful conclusion of the major battle for national freedom is an occasion for national rejoicing.

In this hour of triumph all Muslim hearts are filled anew with gratitude, love and veneration for the greatest living Muslim, the greatest of all leaders, Qaed-e-Azam

Mohammad All Jinnah whose name will go down in world history as the maker of the Indian Muslim nation, the architect of Muslim freedom and the founder of Pakistan. To him, incalculably more than to any other man, not only the Muslims of India but the whole world of Islam will be indebted for the epoch-making change in the world's map whereby the limits of the world of Islam will be considerably widened. Ever since the Lahore Resolution gave formal expression to Muslim India's aspirations seven years ago, the Qaed-e-Azam's vision of the glorious destiny of his people did not fade for a single moment. He was scoffed and derided, he was abused and threatened; throughout the world his traducers carried the malicious lie that he was "an impossible man" pursuing an impossible policy. Formidable obstacles arose in his way and at times hostile forces seemed overwhelmingly powerful. But he never faltered, lost hope, or ceased to strive to attain the objective which alone, he knew, could bring salvation to India's 100 million Musalmans. His unconquerable faith in the justice of his cause and his equally unconquerable determination to make it triumph became an abiding source of inspiration to his immediate associates as well as to the entire nation. There were times when some may have felt that their great leader had taken a wrong decision, but on every occasion events proved that he was right and the doubters wrong. It is thus that he became the Qaed-e-Azam of a hundred million Musalmans, the man whose word became law because that word was

always right; and it is thus that the voice of Jinnah became the voice of Indian Islam.

These are facts which we specially stress because of the wrench which the "truncation" of Pakistan has caused to Muslim hearts tempering their joy with grief. The nation's attitude towards this painful development will be determined when the Council of the All-India Muslim League meets on June 9, but we have little doubt that the nation's parliament will be guided by the Qaed-e-Azam to whom the Muslim World owes Pakistan and the Muslim nation owes its freedom.

Today we do not wish to deal with the details of the new Plan which has been announced, the merits and demerits of the various aspects of it, and the problems that have immediately to be faced by all concerned, except to say that the major issue having been settled, the time has now come for breathless constructive activity. All available talent that the Muslim nation can produce must now be harnessed to the tasks involved in boundary delimitation, division of the armed forces and the other assets belonging to the present Central Government and the Governments of the provinces which are to be partitioned, in constitution-making for Pakistan and economic planning for the Muslim national State. We trust that the League High Command will explore all possible means of securing without delay adequate technical man-power for the purposes of these impending tasks.

We do not also wish to say anything that may hurt those whose attempts to enslave the Muslims have so signally failed. Their dream of Akhand Hindustan is no more; and they will do well to accept the division of India with good grace as Pandit Nehru has recommended in his broadcast. Muslims do not desire that Pakistan and Hindustan should start their new careers of independence in an attitude of mutual hostility. If the Hindus can reciprocate this sentiment peace can be assured for all time. But they

must really and sincerely effect what Mr. Gandhi has often described as a change of heart.

Within the next few weeks many an opportunity will present itself when Hindus and Muslims will be called upon to show a spirit of give and take in respect of boundaries, division of assets, and various other matters which are essential preliminaries to the creation of two independent Indias. If the spirit of narrow-mindedness which prompted the Hindus to deny the Muslims everything,

now gives place to a spirit of broad-minded realism; if the Hindus take this final shattering of their ambition to dominate over all of India as an inevitable triumph of reason and historic laws; if they give up scheming and clear their mental decks for a new endeavour in constructive collaboration with the new Muslim State, the transition to independence and the subsequent relationship of the two nations can still be smooth and harmonious.

Dawn

SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1947.

ON WITH THE REFERENDUM

THE Muslim League's victory over the issue of the North-West Frontier Province has so unnerved the Congress and the traitor-Pathans whom it keeps in pay that their erstwhile bluster has now turned to wailing. For incalculable years the Congress, with the aid of capitalist financiers carried out its policy of infiltration into this heart of Muslim territory. It launched a subtle campaign to rob the Pathans of their traditional bravery and to make them forswear their natural affinity with the rest of Muslim India. The aim was to emasculate and de-Muslimise the Pathans so completely that they might willingly consent to the Congress planting itself in a Muslim stronghold where, from time immemorial, staunch warriors of Islam had been born. Thus was it sought to make the strategic north-west frontier "safe" for the Akhand Hindustan of Hindu dreams.

In this enterprise the Congress initially met with considerable success, mainly due to the expenditure of huge sums of money, the general political

backwardness of the Pathans and the negligence of the Muslim League which did not organize itself there properly. So it came about that the enemies of the Pathans gained the upper hand in the land of the Pathans, seized control of the provincial administration, and 95 per cent Muslims were virtually made subservient to the will of 5 per cent non-Muslims. Today all that is changed, although the nominal control of the Congress over the provincial administration still continues. This unnatural and immoral administration, in the shape of a Congress Ministry, which has been on its last legs for many months is still kept buttressed up by the letter of the existing constitution, although it is no better than a scare-crow among Governments. In a matter of days the referendum will be held and the Congress Ministry will disappear from the scene of its misdeeds, unmourned, unsung and unhonoured.

The scare-crows are therefore scared. They dare not face the referendum. They know what the verdict of the

overwhelming majority of the Pathans will be; and once that verdict has been proclaimed, these little Frontier mice, who thought they had dug themselves safely in and found unshakable lodgment in this outpost of Pakistan, will be dragged out and cast aside as so much political carrion. Therefore, they are now making a last desperate bid to retrieve their lost position, to keep themselves in some manner still in the Frontier's political picture. Quite naturally, Mr. Gandhi has taken up their cause. In a recent "post-prayer address" in Delhi the Mahatma has put in a plea against the referendum. "It is not proper," says he now, "to divide the Pathans by a referendum into two parties." He suggests that "Jinnah Sahab should meet the Frontier Ministers and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, as also his Khuda-i-Khidmatgars and tell them why they should be in Pakistan." Indeed, Gandhiji's heart has suddenly begun to overflow with so much love for the Pathans that he is prepared to "advise his Frontier friends to be part of Pakistan and thus avoid a conflict between a Pathan and Pathan and keep their Pathanistan intact in a federation of Muslim majority States." But of course there is a minor matter to be considered: Jinnah Sahab must offer the Frontier Ministers, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the Khuda-i-Khidmatgars "attractive terms."

From another source comes the news that at a joint meeting of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, the Congress Parliamentary Party and

Red Shirt "Commanders," held at Peshawar on Thursday, a resolution was adopted vesting Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan "with all powers to take whatever action he thought best." It has also been suggested that this tall gentleman from the North-West might stoop to seek a meeting with the Qaed-e-Azam in Delhi. He has even confided to a news agency that "he had already made two attempts to contact leaders of the Muslim League." From all this it is clear that the quislings—the men who have caused so much bloodshed already and who are credited with further designs to make Pathans fight with Pathans—are now angling for a deal with the Muslim League which will not only save them from total political extinction but also secure for them continued opportunity to exercise at least a share of power in Pakistan.

We do not know what will be the attitude of the Qaed-e-Azam if these quislings come to his door in their defeat begging for "honourable terms." But if our assessment of general Muslim feeling is right, then we have no hesitation in saying that the nation is averse to any kind of deal with them. There is no sign yet that they have seen the error of their ways and are repentant. What they now propose to do is only to change their tactics, not to change their masters, as is evident from the fact that Mr. Gandhi has taken up the brief for them. In our view, therefore, the referendum must be held and it should be finally and conclusively proved before the world what the Pathans think of these henchmen of the Congress. Thereafter they should be given no quarter nor further opportunity for mischief. Indeed, there is a section of Muslims who would like to see these quislings brought before the bar of justice and tried for high treason against the Muslim nation.

Islam, however, has its own high ideals and does not countenance vengeance or vindictiveness. If Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Dr. Khan Saheb and others who have so long been active agents of the enemies of their own nation and conspired

against the birth of the Muslim State of Pakistan can convince the national leaders that they are truly repentant, and if they are truly repentant, and if themselves to their mercy, there may yet be a chance of forgiveness for them. But, nothing short of total and unconditional surrender will mitigate their crimes and evoke the slightest response to the overtures which they are now

making. And, as a proof of good faith the Khan Saheb Ministry must forthwith tender its resignation and hand over power to where it belongs. These are, however, idle speculations, because those who have spent the better part of their lives in treachery are not so easily converted to loyalty. On with the referendum, therefore, and out with the traitors.

Dawn

FRIDAY, JUNE 27, 1947.

THE PUNJAB

"THE Muslims of Pakistan will guard and protect the honour, the dignity, the person and property of the minorities above their own",—declared the Khan of Mamdot, leader of Muslim Punjab, in a remarkable appeal to the people to cease the renewed bloodshed and lawlessness which have caused so much destruction in Lahore during the past fortnight. He called upon all Muslims "to honour with their life the word I am pledging on their behalf". These memorable words of the Punjab leader reflect not only his personal attitude and approach to the question of the minorities in Pakistan but also those of the Muslims as a nation who will be rulers of Pakistan. This is in accordance also with the spirit of Islam and the traditions of Islamic rule through the centuries. In Islamic States of the past non-Muslims were called "Zimmis", not because they were in any sense looked down upon or regarded as aliens by the ruling nation, but because their interests were the special responsibility of the rulers. The term "Zimmi" is desired from "Zimma", which means custody or responsibility, and non-Muslims were described as such because the Muslims who were in power took it upon themselves to regard the non-Muslims as objects of their respon-

sibility, they being custodians in the eyes of God of the safety of the "Zimmis" life and property, honour and dignity.

The Khan of Mamdot's declaration underlines in striking fashion something that Muslims have always taken for granted, namely, that the Hindus, Sikhs and other non-Muslims to whom will belong the glory and good fortune to be citizens of Pakistan must be treated with kindness, consideration and even generosity. In the prevailing atmosphere of distrust and suspicion this fact may not be properly appreciated by those for whom it has a special significance, and indeed Hindu propaganda unfortunately still continues to poison the fount of communal goodwill. But let us make today this confident prophecy that within a very short period of the final emergence of Pakistan as a sovereign Muslim State well on its stride, these barriers of doubt and suspicion will fall, and those who now perhaps consider it a curse that their lot has been thrown in with Pakistan will come to regard it as a blessing.

It is unfortunate that the Khan of Mamdot's historic utterance should have had to be made while much of Lahore was in flames and death in the shape of the assassin's dagger, the bomb and the kirnan were stalking the

city's streets, lanes and by-lanes. It is evident that the spirit of revenge and retaliation has been moving in a vicious circle and keeping alive the killing, the arson and the lawlessness. But whose has been the main responsibility for it? They who attempt to throw all or even the major share of the blame on the Muslims manifestly lie. We were amazed to read the other day in the editorial columns of Mr. Birla's Delhi newspaper the false and fantastic allegation that the Muslims of Lahore were "determined to destroy as much non-Muslim property as possible". This mischievous leader-writer did not apparently know that the throwing of a large number of bombs by Sikhs on the Muslim vegetable market last Saturday morning, thereby killing and seriously wounding many people, was the signal for the orgies that followed. However, now that all the three parties have combined and made a joint appeal for peace to their respective followers, and the situation has already improved in consequence, we do not wish to go into the question of responsibility, except to say that if the Hindu and Sikh leaders, particularly the latter, had reciprocated the sentiments and seconded the efforts of the leaders of Muslim Punjab at an earlier stage, that province might well have been spared much of the suffering and destruction that have lately befallen it. It may be recalled that although Master Tara Singh was invited again and again to join in peace talks, he declined to participate. On one occasion he significantly observed that the time for "talking peace was not yet". Other Sikh leaders openly preached violence and even spoke of a "continuing guerilla warfare". We are glad to note that at last Sardar Swaran Singh has associated himself with this latest appeal for peace. It is not clear, however, whether Master Tara Singh and the other advocates of violence who undoubtedly have greater weight with their community have also agreed to "the cessation of hostilities". Until they do so and make unqualified public statements to that effect the joint peace appeal of Punjab's leaders cannot be expected fully to succeed.

The demand has been made in certain quarters that Lahore and even the whole of the Punjab should be placed under martial law. This is a proposition which cannot be countenanced for a moment by either the provincial Government or by the Viceroy. There is little doubt that Governor Jenkins has proved a miserable failure at a time of crisis. His strong likes and dislikes and his anti-Muslim partisan fervour have made him thoroughly unsuited to continue as Governor of the Punjab. The remedy lies in making him quit without any further delay and without regard to any consideration of his personal prestige, which in any case is so low as to be non-existent. The replacement of Sir Evan Jenkins by a strong and impartial Governor will produce immediate effect on the present temporising and apparently disorganized civil administration. Martial law, on the other hand, will mean the strengthening of communal and partisan bias in the administration in its worst forms. As Defence Member, Sardar Baldev Singh will immediately come into the picture, and Lord Mountbatten should

know perfectly well what that will mean. We can tell him in the clearest possible terms that any such development in the Punjab will drive large sections of Punjab's people to desperation and the result will be more violence, not less. It is common knowledge how this particular Defence Member has been making postings and appointments and interfering with the deployment of troops in disturbed areas in the most reprehensible communal fashion. Martial law will mean in practice the handing over of the Muslims of the Punjab to Sikh and Hindu troops—a contingency that must and will be resisted. Lord Mountbatten need not be told that by such means as these he will not establish peace in the Punjab but plunge it into greater chaos.

Dawn

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1947.

BOUNDARY PROBLEMS—I

THE decision to appoint a non-Indian with high judicial experience as Joint Chairman of the Bengal and Punjab Boundary Commissions is a happy one. The personnel of the two Commissions has been chosen with care and consists of equal proportions of Muslim and non-Muslim Judges; it is hoped that the Chairman whose name is still to be announced, will prove equally acceptable to both sides. There has been some speculation as to the length of time which the Boundary Commissions may take in discharging their task and we have heard the view expressed that they may not be able to conclude

their labours until some months after the two Dominions have come into being on the present notional territorial basis as regards the Punjab and Bengal. The communique announcing the appointment of the Commissions and their brief terms of reference does not mention any time limit by which they are to submit their reports, but the intention is understood to be that the final territorial shapes of Pakistan and Hindustan should emerge well before August 15. We would like some authoritative information on the subject.

As expected, Hindu propaganda guns have already turned

on the Boundary Commissions and they are being asked to perform something which they are not entitled to do. It is being suggested that the Boundary Commissions should overstep the limits of their functions, which are mainly technical, and take cognizance of larger political and constitutional principles which have been already settled by the June 3 Plan and a revisor of which is not within their competence. The provision, both in the Plan and in the terms of reference to the Boundary Commissions, that they shall take into account "other factors" is being deliberately misinterpreted. The scope of these "other factors" is being so widened as to imply that the Boundary Commissions will have authority to revise the fundamental basis on which India has been divided into Hindustan and Pakistan. It would be interesting to quote in this connexion typical comments in the Congress press. One newspaper said on Wednesday:

"The Statement of June 3, it has been recognized on all hands, failed to do justice to the Sikhs and it is therefore widely hoped that the Punjab Boundary Commission will be able to rectify some of the injustices which the Sikhs have had unavoidably to suffer as a result of the partition the country and consequent partition of the Punjab. And the only manner in which the Punjab Boundary Commission can make amends is by maintaining, as far as possible, the integrity of the Sikhs who find their community cut into two as a result of the division announced on June 3."

Another Congress newspaper, writing on the same day first expresses doubt whether the Boundary Commissions can, in fact, consider issues of this kind, and admits that "these are policy decisions which could best be made at a high political level". But, it finally brushes these doubts aside and proceeds to declare:

"As politicians are not able to agree, there is no alternative but to submit them to a judicial decision. As the Boundary Commissions are directed to demarcate the boundaries, they will have to

decide all such issues without any reference to higher authority."

Accustomed to specious pleading as Hindu propagandists are, they appear to be excelling even themselves in finding justification for what it suits their political ends to advocate, namely, that the agreement arrived at between the major political parties regarding the territorial jurisdictions of Pakistan and Hindustan respectively, should be rendered null and void through the back door of the Boundary Commissions, so that Pakistan may be deprived of certain areas which have been already irrevocably assigned to it. This is perverse advocacy gone berserk.

The cardinal principle for the division of India, as laid down in the June 3 Plan is that "contiguous Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas" shall belong respectively to Pakistan and Hindustan. It is exactly in accordance with this principle that the Punjab and Bengal have been notionally divided on the basis of districts, because that was the only basis found practically and administratively possible of immediate adoption. It was agreed to by all concerned and made perfectly clear by Lord Mountbatten at his Press Conference of June 4, that this district-wise partition, although it served the immediate purpose of getting the Plan under way with the least possible delay, did not fulfil the fundamental requirement that the division shall be so effected as to include all Muslim majority areas in Pakistan and all Hindu majority areas in Hindustan. Some of the districts notionally separated from Pakistan have within them Muslim majority areas which are contiguous to Muslim majority districts already included in Pakistan, and some of the districts separated from Hindustan have within them non-Muslim majority areas contiguous to districts included in Hindustan.

The first and foremost task of the Boundary Commissions will therefore be to examine this problem in geographical and census details and to bring all contiguous Muslim areas into Pakistan, calculating areas on

the basis of Tehsils, thanas or even villages; and to bring into Hindustan all contiguous non-Muslim areas calculated on the same basis. Their watchwords will be, as expressly provided for in the official directive, "Muslim majority or non-Muslim majority" and "contiguity". Both these principles are of equal importance. It is not open to the Boundary Commissions to disregard either. If they find that certain areas in the districts of notional Eastern Punjab which are contiguous to Western Punjab have Muslim majority, their first task, to be performed almost automatically, will be to transfer such areas to Western Punjab; and vice versa. The same applies to similar contiguous Muslim and non-Muslim areas of Western and Eastern Bengal.

FRIDAY, JULY 4, 1947

BOUNDARY PROBLEMS-II

THE Boundary Commissions cannot take into account any political factor such as the desire of the Sikhs to bring more of their number or their property into Eastern Punjab. Such a process will mean that Muslim majority areas which are contiguous to the rest of Pakistan will be severed from Pakistan and brought into Hindustan—a course of action repugnant to the June 3 Plan. These questions had already been considered by the British Government, the Viceroy and the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, and after full examination of all the pros and cons they came to the conclusion that the most practical and acceptable solution was to proceed to the division of India as set forth in the Plan. If the Muslims and Hindus suffered any disadvantages, or if the Sikhs got thereby divided into two, each community and party had to take the good with the bad and reconcile itself to its lot. The Boundary Commissions cannot re-open this question and thereby sit in judgment on the June 3 Plan and revise its political implications and consequences.

It can be asked what, then, are the "other factors" which the Boundary Commissions have been directed to take into account? Those who are conversant with the problems of boundary delimitation between sovereign States should have no difficulty in understanding what these factors are. National frontiers, or to be exact, national boundary lines, have to be drawn with full regard for international relations and questions of administrative feasibility on either side of the boundaries. For instance, practical considerations of crime control, customs control and defence have also to be taken into account. Therefore, after

having first separated all Muslim and non-Muslim contiguous areas, down to the smallest unit of a village, the Boundary Commissions will have to examine what the resulting boundary lines look like, what administrative difficulties each State is likely to face, what international complications may possibly arise if thin strips of the territory of one project far into the territory of another, what difficulties each State may experience with regard to policing and defence, and so on.

It is obvious that the boundary lines first drawn will be too uneven and rugged, and it is at that stage that the boundary makers will have to take into consideration the "other factors" which we have indicated above. Having done so, they will in all probability straighten out the rugged, zig-zag boundary lines as far as possible, and here and there they may allow these lines to advance or recede a few miles in order that a particular sector should have the advantage of what is generally known as a natural frontier. This process will, quite evidently, mean cutting out corners and flattening out pockets, and thus eventually allotting to Hindustan small areas with Muslim majorities, and similarly allotting to Pakistan small Hindu majority areas. This will have to be on the basis of compensatory adjustments. What Pakistan gets at one place, it will have to give up at another place, and vice versa. A fair balance will of course be maintained between what is gained and what is lost by either State. These adjustments are of a technical, not political nature, and these are among the legitimate "other factors" which the Boundary Commissions will take into account.

Another important "other factor" which the Bengal Boundary Commission will have to consider is the fact that whereas the Commission has been directed to "demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the basis of ascertaining contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims", the notional division has split Bengal into THREE parts. The districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling, quite clearly, form at present a part by themselves, which is not contiguous to Hindu Bengal but is contiguous to Muslim Bengal. Inasmuch as the Boundary Commission is not authorised, either under the June 3 Plan or under the directive issued to it, to assign any part of Bengal to Assam or Bihar, it will have to consider to which of the two recognized parts of Bengal these districts are to be finally allotted. Here the principle of contiguity will automatically come into play, and in addition, the Boundary Commission will take into account the other factor that there is no means of contact between these two districts and the rest of Hindu Bengal.

The scope of the Bengal Boundary Commission's jurisdiction as regards Assam has been strictly defined. If the Sylhet referendum is in favour of that district joining Eastern Bengal, then the Commission will examine which other contiguous parts of Assam are Muslim majority areas having contiguity with Eastern Bengal. These areas will be automatically allotted to Eastern Pakistan. *There is no provision whatever for any part of Bengal being allotted to Assam or to any other contiguous province.*

Finally, the principle of viability, the economic needs of each State and other practical (not political) considerations will also be taken into account by the Boundary Commissions before taking their decisions. In this connexion, there is little doubt that the question of Calcutta will loom large before the Boundary Commission for Bengal. The learned Judges who have been entrusted with this great task involving the rights and well-being of two sovereign States should be given a fair chance to accomplish it in peace. The sniping that the Hindu press has started is least helpful to them.

Dawn

SUNDAY, JULY 6, 1947

"DIVIDE AND QUIT" BILL

THE Indian Independence Bill presented in the House of Commons on Friday is a momentous and unique piece of legislation, and the process of its passage through the British Parliament will constitute a glorious chapter in its hoary history. The actual text of the Bill follows the expected pattern and gives legal shape and validity to a procedure which had been agreed to by the British Government and the leaders of the Indian peoples. It contains no surprises because the manner in which the problem of transfer of power has been handled during the latest phase of the British-Congress-Muslim League negotiations inaugurated by the successor of Lord Wavell has been such as to rule out any surprise decisions by H.M.G.

For the first time, legal sanction is accorded to the names "Pakistan" and "India" by which the two countries into which this sub-continent is divided, are to be respectively known. When the drafters of the Bill came to write the word "India" into so many clauses of it, as the name of only one part of the territory which the British had so christened, they must have smiled to themselves at this pathetic passion of ultra-nationalists for this British-coined word. This discrepancy between Swadesi profession and un-Swadesi practice must have surprised them not a little. However, this is a matter of little importance because the whole world has already resounded with the news that India will no longer be the same India after August 15, 1947, whatever some people may call the territory which

they have inherited.

The provision in the bill that the same person may act as Governor-General for both the Dominions, unless the Legislature of either Dominion decides to the contrary, is obviously intended to tide over the initial period when there will have to be continuing adjustments between the affairs of the two countries. There is a strong desire on the part of many future citizens of Pakistan that their Dominion should have a separate Governor-General of its own as long as it continues to be a member of the British Commonwealth. This is natural, because a common Governor-General implies common links which do not exist, and are not at any rate consistent with the sovereignty of either State. We trust that the leaders of Pakistan will not agree to the continuance of this temporary makeshift beyond the period of absolute practical necessity. It is not clear how the Government of Pakistan is to maintain close administrative contact with a common Governor-General whose seat will obviously continue to be in Delhi.

On the eve of the independence of the peoples of India, on which this last enactment of the British Parliament sets its final seal, Great Britain is entitled to the highest praise from all the freedom-loving peoples of the world. The history of British rule in India has had its deep shadows as well as its pleasant high-lights; it has doubtless inflicted much misery on millions and impoverished a sub-continent that once was great and prosperous. On the other hand, the British brought

To the Indian peoples much that was uplifting and enlightening. On the whole, the balance has been to Britain's imperialist discredit. All that can be forgotten now. By voluntarily liquidating her power the Britain of today amply atones for the failings of the Britain of yesterday. If all goes well, both Pakistan and Hindustan (*alias* India) should be able to enter on a new chapter of friendly relation, as equals, with their erstwhile rulers. Incidentally, the British have at last found their own and the Indian peoples' salvation in the Qaede-Azams' advice to "divide and quit", and not in the strange Gandhian fiat: "Leave India to anarchy!"

Dawn

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16, 1947.

PUNJAB'S BOUNDARIES

THE Boundary Commission has announced the procedure for the submission of memoranda to it by such organizations as may wish to do so. July 18 has been fixed as the latest date for receiving such memoranda, but it has not yet been announced when the organizations concerned will be heard by the Commission either in person or through Counsel. This will presumably be very shortly afterwards because the Commission is required to submit its report well in time for the final boundaries of the province to be settled before August 15. We have little doubt that memoranda submitted by the Sikhs will regale Sir Cyril Radcliffe and his colleagues with most extravagant claims. The spokesmen of the Sikhs have been demanding all territory up to the river Chenab. Unlike them the Muslims have continued to speak as realists who are not oblivious of the fact that the terms of the Statement of June 3 have narrowed down the boundary issues, and it is now only a question of adjusting the existing notional boundaries in such a way as to secure a fairer application of the basic principle of India's division, namely, that contiguous Muslim and non-Muslim areas should form part of Pakistan and Hindustan respectively. It is not unlikely, however, that the sobriety and level-headedness which mark Muslim claims and the Muslim attitude may be mistaken for willingness to concede at least partially the fantastic claims of the Sikhs. We consider it our duty, therefore, to leave the Boundary Commission in no

doubt on this issue and we would request them to bear in mind the dangerous repercussions that will inevitably follow if they lend their ears to Panthic fairy tales.

Malik Feroz Khan Noon has said in a recent statement that the river Sutlej should be the final boundary between the two Punjab. This claim is so modest that we have already heard criticisms of it from Muslims who feel that Mr. Noon seems prepared to concede to Eastern Punjab more than its due. There are Bait areas on both sides of the Sutlej which extend right up to Ludhiana where Muslims are in contiguous majority and, therefore, they cannot agree to give them up. Similarly, there are several Tehsils of the Ferozapore and Hissar districts which cannot be separated from Muslim Punjab. As far as Kangra is concerned it contains the vital river heads and the sources of hydro-electric power and cannot, therefore, be awarded to Eastern Punjab without grave economic detriment to Western Punjab. We mention these facts only to indicate some of the problems which the Boundary Commission will have to face and in view of which they are expected to so determine the boundary of Western Punjab as to cause minimum dislocation to its economic life. We cannot see how the district of Amritsar can be awarded to Eastern Punjab merely because it contains a sacred shrine of the Sikhs. With the exception of the Tarn Taran Tehsil the district has a Muslim majority and the area containing the Sikh temple forms only a small

island. It would be grossly unfair to award it to the Sikhs and hack a "corridor" through Muslim areas in order to make it contiguous to non-Muslim areas. The Sikhs must be told that just as Ajmer, for instance, has been awarded to Hindustan although it contains a very sacred Muslim shrine, so must Amritsar be awarded to Pakistan. If the right of Muslims from all parts of the sub-continent to visit the shrine at Ajmer is freely conceded, so will be the right of Sikhs to visit and worship in their Golden Temple. There cannot be one principle for Muslim shrines and another principle for Sikh shrines.

We have reasons to believe that Sir Evan Jenkins, that notorious Englishman who still shamelessly clings to the Governorship of the Punjab although he has been told to quit is attempting to use his influence to persuade higher Authority and the Boundary Commission to recognize the impossible territorial demands of the Sikhs. There may be reasons for this reported Jenkinsian indulgence in underhand dealings, but we expect Lord Mountbatten to be above all these. As for the eminent British jurist and the Indian Judges who constitute the Boundary Commission personnel, we have every hope that they will play fair.

Dawn

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16 1947.

WORDS TO MR. GANDHI

On Saturday evening in his usual prayer meeting speech Mr. Gandhi made a grave allegation against the Muslim League and personally against the Qaed-e-Azam. He said that "in the first instance, both India and Pakistan had agreed to have Lord Mountbatten as their common Governor-General but at the last moment Mr. Jinnah had changed his mind and nominated himself". He then proceeded to declare that the Congress leaders "could have then done likewise but they did not like to go back on their plighted word". This amounted to saying that Congress had a greater sense of honour than the League. These statements of Mr. Gandhi were taken as true by certain sections of the Press including a British-edited newspaper which published Mr. Gandhi's allegation under the caption: "Jinnah Has Broken His Word".

Within 18 hours of Mr. Gandhi's speech and within less than 6 of its publication in the morning Press, the Qaed-e-Azam had occasion to address a Press Conference. He described Mr. Gandhi's allegation—although he spared Mr. Gandhi the mention of his name in this unsavoury context—as utterly false. He declared that the League had never agreed to a common Governor-General and, therefore, there was no question of change of mind or going back on any plighted word. Since this categorical denial by the Qaed-e-Azam Mr. Gandhi has spoken on two consecutive evenings from his Bhangi Colony forum. He has taken note of

certain other statements of the Qaed-e-Azam but maintained absolute silence on this point. We have so long deliberately withheld comment on this unpleasant episode because we thought that Mr. Gandhi would gracefully, apologise for making the unwarranted observations he had and the matter would end. Mr. Gandhi owed that apology as much to Qaed-e-Azam as to himself, because he claims to be an experimenter with truth but on this occasion had wandered into the shifty quicksands of untruth. But Mr. Gandhi has ignored the Qaed-e-Azam's denial and has made no amends as yet. We suggest to him that this is unworthy of him, or for that matter, of anyone who values the common decencies of public behaviour.

It is surprising that Mr. Gandhi should have cited newspaper reports as his authority for making the baseless allegations he had made. He is known to have been in close touch with Pandit Nehru, Mr. Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and other Congress members of the Interim Government who must have kept him well informed of what had been going on. Besides, Mr. Gandhi had interviews with the Viceroy also and it is inconceivable that he could have been ignorant of the attitude of the two parties on the question of Governor-General. We put it to Mr. Gandhi that he knew the truth, which was that the Muslim League had never agreed to a common Governor-General, but that he found the reports published in a section of the Press a convenient excuse for League-baiting.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1947.

A GREAT BEGINNING

AUGUST 10 is a red letter day in the history of the Muslim nation of this vast sub-continent when the sovereign constitution-making body of a new member of the society of nations—the Pakistan Constituent Assembly—began its momentous session. Seven years and five months before this date when the leaders of Muslim India had demanded the creation of a separate Muslim State in the historic Lahore resolution of 1940, few indeed would have believed that within such a surprisingly short period they would be called upon to lay down the fundamental laws of the land of their dream. With the fulfilment of the nation's aspirations, the opportunity has now presented itself to Pakistan's leaders to provide the world's fifth largest State with a constitution guaranteeing equality and social justice to all its citizens and promoting the greatest good of the greatest number. In a modern State which claims as the basis of its authority the willing consent and loyalty of the populace, the responsibility of those who lay down the basic philosophical and legal principles and constitutional structure governing the body politic is immeasurably great.

That Pakistan's constitution-makers who have among them the well-known authorities and experts on constitutional and legal problems—men who not only combine a thorough theoretical knowledge of the subject with a sense of practical idealism but who are also well-informed about the conditions of the country and of the people—will succeed in framing, in the words of Mr. J. N. Mandal, who was temporary chairman, "one of the best constitutions that any world State has produced", can hardly be doubted. All constitutions necessarily

provide mechanism for amendments at a later stage since no set of constitution-makers can claim to foresee all the situations and exigencies that might warrant a change in future, but in a liberal and democratic society the tendency is towards gradual evolution to a better type which essentially retains its fundamental features given to it at the outset. We are confident that Pakistan's constitution-makers, under the able guidance of Qaed-e-Azam Jinnah, would succeed in framing an ideal constitution which though subject to minor changes and modifications whenever necessitated would in essence retain its first impress in principle as well as in detail.

It appears to us rather premature to enter into a discussion of the principles that will underlie Pakistan's constitutional structure or the pattern or model which it will follow since what is required at this stage is a clarification of the basic political issues involved rather than a flight into the domain of details that will come up in course of time. Qaed-e-Azam Jinnah, who was the unanimous choice of all sections of the Assembly for Presidentship and who consented to guide its deliberations, very aptly defined the broad principles and objectives that the State and Government of Pakistan must embody and follow. That the architect of Pakistan will combine the two most responsible positions of the head of the State and President of the Constituent Assembly, which will also function as the federal legislature of Pakistan, will ensure that his guidance will always be available in the task of implementing these objectives.

Qaed-e-Azam Jinnah's presidential address was the most lucid exposition of the broad policy of Pakistan State towards its people which

ensures complete equality of all citizens before law and maintenance of law and order, "so that life and property and religious belief are fully protected by the State at all costs". Qaed-e-Azam Jinnah gave a message of cheer and hope to the common man when he declared: "If we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, then we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people and especially of the masses and the poor." No less categorical was his assurance to the minorities of meting out full justice to them when he addressed himself to them saying: "If you work in a spirit of co-operation, forgetting the past and burying the hatchet, I will say that every one of you, no matter to what community you belong, no matter what your colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations. We are starting the State with no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, between caste or creed. We are starting with this fundamental principle, that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State". There can be no doubt that after these assurances of justice and fair-play from the head of the State of Pakistan, the minorities will feel secure in the belief that their interests, in the various walks of life will be fully protected.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1947.

PAKISTAN AND U. N. O.

ACCORDING to the tentative decision reached by the Legal Department of U.N.O., the Dominion of Hindustan will be the legal and constitutional successor to British India, thus automatically achieving U.N.O. membership. The decision would appear to be more in the nature of a finding since it will not be more authoritative than a recommendation and the right to raise dejection to this course being adopted would accrue to Pakistan or any other member of U.N.O. The legal ruling of the U.N.O. experts involves more than a mere question of procedure because it implies that whereas the Dominion of Hindustan would be regarded as the legal and political entity in place of British India, the status of Pakistan will be considered as that of a mere separatist State, breaking away from the Indian Dominion. This verdict of U.N.O. legal experts would seem to be on a par with the notion sought to be popularised by the Congress that the territories over which Pakistan would exercise jurisdiction are just "seceding areas" and no more. It seems abundantly clear that the advantage the Congress got by monopolising the External Affairs Department in the Interim Government, by sending Congress envoys to UNO and by the exchange of diplomatic representatives with other countries, was carefully utilised to disseminate the illusion that Hindustan was to occupy the pride of place as the person of international law formerly occupied by British India. If, therefore, U.N.O. legal experts fell a victim to this ingenious casuistry of the legal Pandits of the Congress, it should not surprise anybody.

In U.N.O.'s short life that organisation never formerly had any occasion to pass judgment on a problem similar to the one that has now arisen with regard to representation and membership of Hindustan and Pakistan. A search for a

precedent in the chequered history of the development of public international law through its various stages, also, would be in vain. The British decision on the partition of India and on the transference of power to two new legal and political entities would scarcely seem to have a parallel. Under the provisions of the Indian Independence Act—the constitutional and legal instrument sanctioning partition of the sub-continent and transfer of power—two equal independent Dominions known as "India" and Pakistan will come into existence on August 15, 1947, both having full power to make laws both for internal and extra-territorial operation vested in their respective sovereign legislatures. But for the name "India" given to the new Dominion of Hindustan which will only succeed British India in respect of the territories over which it will exercise jurisdiction, there is nothing either in the Act or any previous declarations of the British Government to suggest that Hindustan will be the successor authority, either politically or legally to the former British India.

The mere fact that the Dominion of Hindustan will have more territory to govern and Pakistan less, does not *ipso facto* prove that the former should be initiated into the society of States and into U.N.O. as successor to British India which the latter as seceding State. The two Dominions now being inaugurated are politically and legally equal to each other and are in every sense co-successors to the British authority in this sub-continent. Had India been a sovereign State recognised as a person of international law before partition, there could have been some justification for the larger area, namely Hindustan, to claim that the smaller territory was seceding from the recognised State. Legally speaking the present position is that the British Government

which enjoyed sovereignty over British India has transferred power to two successor authorities and the presumption in favour of one being more blessed than the other does not arise.

The legal experts of U.N.O. who made this recommendation had two other courses open to them. They did well in rejecting the suggestion that both Hindustan and Pakistan should be regarded as new States and be obliged to apply for membership of U.N.O. The second suggestion which was favoured by the British delegation was a judicious adjustment of both claims which also conformed to the legal position. That both Pakistan and Hindustan should be granted automatic membership of U.N.O. as joint successors to British India is the one proposal which is fair and at the same time does not militate against Hindustan's prestige in the family of nations.

Dawn

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1947.

QAED-E-AZAM

The Pakistan Constituent Assembly honoured itself on Tuesday by adopting the resolution moved by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan to the effect that from August 15 in all official acts, documents, letters and correspondence Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan be addressed as Qaed-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. It would have been graceful on the part of the Opposition not to import the bitterness, they did, in the debate that followed on a non-controversial resolution like that. The ground on which they opposed it, namely, the conferment of titles was contrary to socialistic practices, shows that they were led by passion rather than by conviction. They betrayed a thorough lack of appreciation of the sentiment underlying the resolution. In the first place, the appellation Qaed-e-Azam is more a term of endearment than a title. Secondly, the greatest leader of the Muslim nation of India has been universally known as Qaed-e-Azam for nearly ten years—in fact long before the establishment of Pakistan and his appointment as its Governor-General, and lastly, the title—if indeed it is one—means much to the grateful nation. It conjures up before its teeming millions the picture of a man who has built a powerful nation out of them and won them the most precious heritage of man, freedom.

In all times and in all climes popular heroes have been honoured, Hindustan not excluded. Mr. J. N. Mandal twitted the Opposition by citing the case of Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in this context. If Mr. Gandhi could be called Mahatma Gandhi, why should exception be made in the case of Mr.

Jinnah? That was enough to expose the utter illogicality of the Opposition's viewpoint. They made too much noise about what they called "principle", but why do they deviate from that virtue in not opposing the use of the appellation of Mahatma before Mr. Gandhi's name?

We hope and trust, the Opposition members realized the fatuity and unreasonableness of their attitude after Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's cogent reply when he said that whether the House passed the resolution or not Mr. Jinnah was known throughout the world as Qaed-e-Azam. Even by throwing out the resolution, he added, they could not take away the endearing title from his name. Honouring a national hero in even a Socialist State is not taboo. That Muslims are loth to honours conferred by a foreign power was amply demonstrated in Bombay more than a year ago when hundreds threw away some of the highest British honours as worthless glass splinters. Consistent to that policy it has been decided that the Governor-General of Pakistan is not to be addressed as His Excellency—a term which is of alien origin—but as Qaed-e-Azam, meaning the great leader, a title conferred upon Mr. Jinnah by a hundred million Musalmans of the vast sub-continent.

Dawn

MONDAY, AUGUST 18, 1947.

PAINFUL REALITIES

THE great day has come and gone. State ceremonials and public festivities are over. The week that ends today has been one of history's most crowded and the mind of the common man may well have tended to become confused under the impact of rushing events. We think it is time however even though Freedom is no more than 48 hours old, that all should recall themselves to practical problems. Some of these problems are grave and the next few days may make them graver.

The flags of sovereignty fly in the capitals of the two new Dominions but this historic transformation has not produced any magic effect on the minds of men and altered the communal situation as many had perhaps fondly hoped. Where is peace? Where is the security of life and property of the minority—that great minority of nearly 50 millions who are still known as the Muslims of India? Disorder is rampant in Bharatpur and Alwar, the long preparations and underground activities of certain leaders with the covert aid of some of the bordering Indian States have produced fresh massacres in Eastern Punjab. The much-boasted joint Occupation Force under the command of a British General has proved amazingly ineffective.

Further east, in Kharagpur and Calcutta in Western Bengal, on Mr. Gandhi's own confession, "the Hindus have gone mad," finding encouragement and opportunity in the presence of a Government which has replaced in a wholesale fashion and on avowedly communal grounds all police officers and the armed police belonging to one community by another.

Addressing the Pakistan Constituent Assembly last Thursday Lord Mountbatten, who was then still the hero, thought it necessary to remind the representatives of Paki-

stan of the joint statement which had been issued at the end of July by the respective future Governments of the two Dominions and in which they had pledged themselves to protect all citizens alike, irrespective of religion, caste or sex. The facts we have stated above, which are doubtless better known to Lord Mountbatten than to anyone else, are an unanswerable indictment of the Government of which he is the head today. It is also an indictment of him personally because until the midnight of August 14-15 he had the responsibility as well as the power to ensure throughout the sub-continent the safety of human life and the punishment of those who were freely taking it. Even now he is in a position to use his authority and his influence in this good and urgent cause within the territorial limits of the Indian Union. But what did he do; what is he doing? Events that have happened and are still happening in Hindustan provide an accusing answer.

It is indeed amazing that Lord Mountbatten, while he was so eloquent on the desirability of Pakistan honouring the words of the Joint Statement, though in the territory of Pakistan it was being already honoured, did not consider it necessary even indirectly to tender this wholesome advice to the Government of Hindustan in course of his address to the other Constituent Assembly. We can tell Lord Mountbatten who has become "one" with the people of Hindustan that if things which are happening in Eastern Punjab, some of the Indian States, Western Bengal and other parts of the Indian Union were to begin happening anywhere in Pakistan his opposite number, the Qaed-e-Azam would not have sat complacently watching as the British Governor-General of an independent Hindustan appears to be doing.

Some may be disposed to take the

views that the painful topic which forms the subject of this article had better been left undiscussed on the morrow of freedom. If so, we would say to them that they are the true dwellers in the proverbial fool's paradise. Can freedom be real, or can it bring joy if men, women and children continue to pay so heavy a price for it? Is it not true that one of the reasons which led the Muslims of the minority provinces to throw themselves whole-heartedly, almost recklessly, in the vanguard of the battle for Pakistan was the hope and assurance that when such a State was established it would be able to protect them also against injustice and tyranny? Now that Pakistan has come into that promise, must be honoured and hope fulfilled.

We are happy to note that in his broadcast from Radio Pakistan the Qaed-e-Azam spoke so feelingly of those "valiant fighters in our cause who readily sacrificed all they had including their lives to make Pakistan possible," and that in his message after assumption of office Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan gave the assurance that if in spite of their having pledged full loyalty to Hindustan the Muslim minority continued to be the victims of communal aggression, "we would not remain idle spectators." If the situation does not improve in the near future we shall expect the effective implementation of these words, whatever the cost.

The only happy sign that is visible is the action which Mr. Gandhi has recently taken in Calcutta in order to end the madness of his community. He has faced angry mobs of Hindus who even went to the length of stoning his residence and shouting insulting slogans against a man they were supposed to revere, and he has taken up his residence in one of the most disturbed localities of Calcutta. It is to be hoped that he will abandon his intention to proceed to peaceful Noakhali and will take a vow not to leave Calcutta until lawlessness and violence have completely disappeared. The results of Mr. Gandhi's efforts will be anxiously watched by the patriots in both the Dominions, because unless violence ceases God help both Pakistan and Hindustan.

Dawn

SUNDAY, AUGUST 24, 1947.

HYDERABAD AND KASHMIR

FROM August 15, the Nizam of Hyderabad has become an independent sovereign of an independent territory and assumed the title of "His Majesty." Neither he nor his Government is having an easy time since then because the State Congress under the direct instigation of Indian leaders who occupy positions of high responsibility, is evidently bent on fomenting rebellion and communal disturbances in order to compel Hyderabad to join the Indian Union. These mischief-makers are being supported by the entire Hindu Press who have lately been giving much prominence to alleged acts of repression by the Nizam's Government. A campaign has been started over the issue of hoisting the Indian Union flag at public meetings and on public buildings in the State and an outcry has been raised that "an insult" has been offered to that flag by the authorities who are alleged to have hauled it down at various places. The Hyderabad Government have promptly denied these reports, but as all this is part of a preconceived plan, little heed is likely to be paid to truth.

In his address before the Indian Constituent Assembly Lord Mountbatten described Hyderabad as the only large State which had so far refused to accede to the Indian Union but he disclosed that negotiations were still proceeding for the purpose of an agreement between Hyderabad and Hindustan according to which there would be voluntary co-operation in certain matters between the two. Lord Mountbatten will not deny that he has played a great part in inducing, we may even say coercing, a large number of Indian States into refraining from either remaining independent units or forming groups of federations of their own, as they had originally intended to do. It is also no secret that he has been bringing

considerable personal pressure on Hyderabad itself to pursue the same course. One cannot help feeling admiration for His Majesty the Nizam and his Government that they should have steadfastly adhered to what they consider right and refused to be stampeded like most of the other members of the Princely Order. We are no supporters of that bejewelled brotherhood for its own sake and we fully endorse the view that in these days of democracy and freedom the autocratic regimes which have been the rule rather than the exception in the Indian States must be replaced by popular Governments. This does not, however, necessarily mean that every Indian State should surrender to the whims and caprices of a political party. This is what is being contemplated under the constitutional cloak of accession to the Indian Union. Hyderabad is now being the victim of the same design and it is painful that Lord Mountbatten should associate himself with undue pressure on a State whom his Royal cousin was once proud to call an ally and from whom Britain received such great aid in the two world wars.

Turning from Hyderabad to Kashmir one comes up against a very different picture. If the majority of the subjects of His Majesty the Nizam are Hindus, even a greater majority of the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu are Muslims. It is also true that while the Hindu majority in Hyderabad are prosperous and treated with respect the Muslim majority in Kashmir are miserably poor, ill-treated and regarded as aliens in their own land. The Maharaja, unlike the Nizam, has not yet declared his intentions clearly and appears to be sitting on the fence, but things cannot be so quiet in his territory as they look. The flame of discontent against the tyranny of a small

group of Pandits and Dogras against the masses of people many times more than their number, is constantly burning. The people of Kashmir and Jammu are almost literally living in a vast prison house. In spite of repeated appeals made to the Maharaja's good sense, he has shown none as yet, except that he is still temporising. We do not know what transpired when Mr. Gandhi visited Srinagar and Jammu, but it appears that he returned quite satisfied with the Maharaja's intentions. Rumour also has it that Lord Mountbatten has been bringing pressure on the Maharaja to join the Indian Union, which would be a flagrant affront to 95 per cent. of the people of Kashmir and to Pakistan.

We think the time has come to tell the Maharaja of Kashmir that he must make his choice and choose Pakistan. The generous attitude adopted so far by the Qaed-e-Azam seems to have emboldened him to think that Pakistan will remain an idle spectator, whatever step he takes. In our view the Maharaja should not be allowed to cherish this illusion any longer. The award of the Boundary Commission may have technically made Kashmir "contiguous" to Hindustan but if the Maharaja relies on this lame excuse to convert this essentially Muslim land into an outpost of Hindustan the gravest possible trouble will inevitably ensue. It is high time that the States Department of the Government of Pakistan made the strongest possible representations to the Maharaja of Kashmir to induce him to come down on the right side of the fence.

FOR INDEPENDENCE DAY

ALL FREEDOM-LOVING NATIONS OF THE WORLD are thinking of 1945 as the year of victory, their trusted leaders are busily planning a peaceful prosperous and happy post-war world. In our own country, however, the toiling masses and the wage-earning middle classes are suffering as they have never suffered and see no end to their misery. Our great patriotic organisations on whose shoulders lies the responsibility to mould the destiny of our ancient nation fall to come to any agreement. The Imperialist autocrats who hold sway over our country have become more insolent, more disdainful.

This is not all. After the failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting, intensified frustration and increased disruption have seized the patriotic world. The Congress and the League press instead of clearing the ground for mutual understanding is indulging in mutual fault-finding. Where is the glory in putting all the blame on your own brother and extinguishing all the hope in the hearts of your people? We no more stand divided in two camps, we are fast becoming two armed camps. How will this lead to brotherly unity and common freedom, will it not lead instead to its very opposite?

The position inside each camp is changing for the worse. The League is getting divided into several factions, though each swears loyalty to the Qaid-e-Azam. The Congress is being disrupted unconstitutionally but in cold blood in the name of "revival of Congress activities." The prospect is not of greater strength behind our main patriotic organisations but of greater disintegration within them.

What our people and their leaders have built up in the past, our common cause itself, we are all not taking forward but backward. Not to see this is to cease to be serious, to close our eyes to the harsh reality because it entails painful heart-searching.

Our young Party will organise the Independence Day Week from 20th to 27th January and dedicate itself anew to the great cause which alone matters for the freedom of our country: namely, unity of all patriotic organisations and the prosperity of our people.

Release of the Congress leaders will be the main and central slogan of the Week. In the most trying times in world history, in times of greatest need of our suffering people, patriotic India cannot assert itself UNLESS the political leadership of the greatest patriotic organisation of our land, the mighty National Congress, is in the midst of the people, is able to see things for itself: unless we have the leaders back at the head of the organisation that put an enslaved nation on its feet, that inspired our millions with patriotism and which naturally must play the leading role in our forward march to the unity of all patriotic forces and the liberation of our Motherland.

Without them Congressmen can only grope, like the blind, stumble like the weak and quarrel with their weaker brothers of the League and our Party. With the Congress unable to function, with Congressmen without any leadership, it is the whole country that is reduced to helplessness. It is the entire people that lose all hope. This is the crux of the situation in our unfortunate land today.

A nation-wide campaign worthy of the leaders who have built and led our foremost patriotic organisation is the greatest need of the hour. Our Party will launch it on this Independence Day Week and we hope all honest sons and daughters of India, irrespective of political differences, will join in, or voice on their own what is a genuine national demand and which should be the concern of us all, of all classes and all parties.

Gandhiji has cleared the Congress position about the August disturbances and related Congress policy. Even the Imperialist bureaucrats have no single reason worth the name left to keep the Congress leaders in detention. The mounting agitation by our friends abroad for settlement with India and the leaders' release is proof positive.

ONCE INDIANS OF ALL SHADES OF OPINION, RAISE THEIR UNITED VOICE AND ROUSE THE PEOPLE, NO POWER ON EARTH WILL BE ABLE TO KEEP THEM BEHIND THE BARS.

We are the only non-Muslim organisation that has given unqualified support to the League demand for Pakistan and popularised it as widely as we could. We have therefore earned the fraternal right to ask our League brothers the simplest questions: How can you expect Congressmen to accept Pakistan when your Ministries keep Congressmen prisoners? In the Punjab it needed the treachery of Khizar before the League began demanding the release of Congressmen. The League Ministries are not strong anywhere: intrigues are rampant. Must they fall before Leaguers everywhere will learn the lesson that the Punjab so painfully learnt?

During the Week, we will do our very best to explain to the Leaguers that Gandhiji has already accepted the principle of self-determination, but did not go far enough to satisfy Mr. Jinnah. Now the only way to get the Pakistan accepted by the Congress, is to demand the legalisation of the Congress and the release of its leaders. We hope they will not ask the cheap question as to what guarantee there is that the Congress leaders will accept Pakistan. Because there is none except the League leaders' own capacity to explain the justice of the Muslim demand and the Congress leaders' good sense. Can we expect them both to fail? Only a faithless defeatist may say so. We expect self-respecting Leaguers to say: Let us do our duty by them and trust them to do theirs.

Our Party has grown from within the Congress. We love the Congress as much as any other Congressman. We are grieved beyond words when some Congressmen tell us we are unwelcome within the Congress. When the younger members of the family feel grieved at the hands of the Elders, they have the right to talk straight. During the Week, we will contact as many Congressmen as we can and ask them to compare us with the leaders of the anti-Communist crusade.

Are they not the very elements who deliberately or mistakenly used Congress name for sabotage etc? Do they also not embrace the worst pro-Mahasabha and anti-League elements? Are not the most opportunist and worst careerist elements seeking shelter under the banner of anti-Communism and loyalty to Mahatmaji?

We will ask them to explain to us whether what is being said and done in the Congressmen's Conferences is uniting the Congress or disrupting it, whether it is constitutional or whether it is gross "zubherdusti," whether it is the best and greatest service of the people or whether it is talk and no work and, above all, whether all that is said against us is not just potent lies and mean slanders? We expect our honest Elders who have known us since we were mere boys to answer straight. We know that most of them feel acutely uncomfortable and that a small minority is making the most noise and exploiting a situation of the utmost political confusion.

We are prepared to thrash out all the political differences and are pledged under the constitution of our Party to accept the discipline of the broad parent organisation inside which we work. We will appeal to the Congress Elders to resist the disruptors and shut up the slanderers.

On the holy Independence Day, we will appeal to all Congressmen to recall our contribution to the common national movement and to consider as their own all the strength and vitality of the most disciplined political party in the country. If Congressmen and the Communists fall out, would the country that needs us all, of the Congress, the mother of all Indian patriots, gain?

During the Independence Day Week, we will rouse the people as best as we can for the release of the nation's foremost leaders and against the disruption of the national forces. These are the two central tasks before our Party today and on them depends, which way our country will go during 1945—towards greater demoralisation and disruption OR towards growing unity and final victory.

' People's Age '
January 14, 1946

MASS UPSURGE OF SOLDIERS, ARMEN, WORKERS AND STUDENTS

50,000 Rally at Red Flag Meeting

Despite a virtual ban on all anti-British demonstrations by the Congress leadership, a gigantic movement of solidarity with the men of the Navy and the Indian National Army is sweeping the country. We print here some reports which have not received sufficient prominence in the daily Press.

Jubbulpore 200 Soldiers' Strike

ON Thursday, February 27th, about two hundred Indian soldiers went on strike at a camp near Jubbulpore as a protest against the Commander-in-Chief's broadcast on the Navy strike, and against the sentence recently passed on Captain Burhanuddin of the Indian National Army.

The strikers included men of the Indian Signal Corps and the Indian Army Mechanical Engineering Depots. They marched in orderly formation through the city streets. They assembled later at Tikakhumi for a meeting with the Congress and Muslim League flags and on the dais at the meeting were Sjt. BHAWANI PRASAD TIWARI, President of the City Congress Committee, and B. N. MUKHERJI, Communist leader.

Call To Political Leaders To Sink Differences

Soldiers speaking at the meeting protested vigorously against the broadcasts of Admiral Godfrey and the C-in-C on the Navy strike in Bombay. They made passionate appeals to leaders of the Congress, Muslim League and other political parties to sink their mutual differences and stand together to win the just demands of the men of the armed forces and to liberate the country.

Different speakers summed up their demands: Increase in pay and rations; improvements in living conditions; overhaul of the demobilisation system; cancellation of the 'Victory Celebrations' in view of the acute food shortage; the release of all Indian National Army men in detention; and the suspension of trials of the INA officers and withdrawal of Indian troops from Indonesia.

Repression: 128 More Join Strike

On Friday, the Army authorities tried for several hours to get the strikers to hand over their 'ring-leaders'. When the men stood solidly by their comrades, troops were sent in to arrest the 'ring-leaders'—but over a hundred soldiers broke out of the camp and marched to the town.

On the same day, 128 more soldiers of the 3rd Indian Signal Training Corps went on strike in solidarity with the 200 already on strike, and marched to the city in a procession. They were addressed by leaders of the Congress, Muslim League and the Communist Party. The meeting demanded immediate redress of the strikers' grievances and warned against any victimisation.

The latest news is that the Army authorities have 'segregated' the 'ring-leaders' of the strike and are considering the question of trying them in a court-martial. It is reported that the men are standing firm and continuing the strike—according to a statement by Sjt. Tiwari, President of the City Congress Committee.

Certain parts of the city have been declared 'prohibited areas' for seven days and excitement in the city continues.

Madras 150 Airmen Strike

N EARLY 150 men at the R.A.F. Headquarters, Red Hills, MADRAS, went on strike on the morning of the

Jessore

General Meeting Of Entire RIAF Squadron

R.I.A.F. men of No. 10 Squadron stationed at HABA (Jessore) held a general meeting of all the members of the Squadron on February 22 and passed a resolution expressing their sympathy with the RIN strikers and condemning the authorities.

On February 25, they formulated their demands as follows and presented them to the Commanding Officer. The entire squadron is united on the issue. From the Pilots down to the ground crew, this squadron is composed of all nationalities and religions—Bengali, Marathi, Sikh, Muslim Hindu, etc. Despite the adverse views, expounded by both the League and Congress leaders recently, this squadron has acted in a manner which should evoke admiration from every honest patriot.

At the Military base at Avadi, 700 airmen started a hunger-strike. At St. Thomas Mount, 300 went on hunger-strike. In addition to the general demands of men of the Navy and the Air Force all over India, they demanded the release immediately and without trial of the men of the Indian Air Force awaiting trial at Delhi and an assurance that Indian soldiers would not be used against strikers in the armed forces under any circumstances.

Their Memorandum Of Demands

The demands they have put forward are the following:

"1. 'We the men' of the RIAF fought for defence of India against Fascist aggression, and as such we belong to the people of India. Therefore we have every right to express our views and take part in matters of vital interest in our country.

"2. 'We firmly believe that the RIN disturbances arose out of gross misbehaviour by the Naval authorities and inspite of the adverse views, expounded by both the League and Congress leaders recently, we wish to convey

D.A.V. College. All of a sudden, a group of Students' Congress leaders led by a certain Ramkishan Gupta rushed out to attack the procession and tore off the Muslim League flag, shouting anti-Communist and anti-League slogans all the while.

The Muslim League students were persuaded to keep cool and the procession marched on to a meeting place at Golbarh. But the same story was about to be repeated there. Ramkishan Gupta and his gang organised a rival meeting and the signal was given for a clash when one of them started brandishing a stout bunch of a tree.

Communist students, backed by others, at once formed a cordon between the two groups and stood firm until there was a cooling of tempers and a peaceful dispersal.

But feelings were running high—so that there were two processions on the 27th to protest against the sentence passed on Capt. Burhanuddin of the INA. One was led by the Students' Congress and the Students' Federation. The other was led by the Muslim League and Akali students. Chances of having a joint procession were spoiled when the Students' Congress refused to allow the Muslim League flag in their procession.

Maulana Azad's Shocking Sermon

But the Students' Congress leaders themselves got a shock when they went to Maulana Azad's residence. When Maulana Azad only chided them for using slogans and for organising civil life," they answered:

Protest-Strikes, Demonstrations, Rallies, All Over India

our deepest sympathy and demand that an immediate impartial enquiry be conducted.

"3. 'We earnestly desire that from now onwards there should be complete indiscrimination of all the three Services and they should under no circumstances come under the control of British Command.

"4. 'We also declare that in order to live as good neighbours with the British Forces our privileges, pay, allowances and status must be fully equal to theirs.

"5. 'Representatives from the Forces selected by the men themselves should be given an opportunity to represent their cases, as other methods of sending officials appointed by the authorities have brought no successful results.

"6. 'We request the authorities to convey their decision to us at the earliest opportunity so that we may know where we stand.'

Lahore Students Of All Flags Strike Together

ON the 25th of February, students of the University, Law and Government Colleges in LAHORE came out on strike under the joint leadership of the Students' Federation, the Students' Congress and the Muslim Students' Federation to protest against the Bombay firings and the suspension of the ratings. The Congress and Muslim League flags were crossed in union in the Government College Hall amidst tumultuous applause.

When the students carrying the Congress, Muslim League and Students' flags marched out in procession, they decided to go to the D.A.V. College, at the request of the Muslim League students, anxious to build fraternal relations with the Congress students.

Fight Disruption

They forced their way against attempts by the Police to cordon off the road but got a nasty shock when they reached the

'We have come merely to say that the Congress should enter into no compromise with the Government unless all RIN and INA men are released.'

Maulana Azad then attacked the students, the INA and the RIN men—almost everybody in fact—for their 'indiscipline' and for creating 'hurdles' in the way of a 'calm and peaceful atmosphere.'

It was after this that the incident over the Punjab Governor's car took place. Somebody inside the car pulled out a revolver and the procession was passing by. This was too much for the students and the Union Jack was ripped off and the wind-screen smashed.

Maulana Azad and Dawood Ghaznavi, the Punjab Congress President, are crying themselves hoarse about 'Communist mischief' behind these demonstrations. But there are plenty of signs that they will not be able to put the Punjab's fighting youth into a straight-jacket in the name of 'discipline.'

Rawalpindi

Police Lathi-Charge Students' Procession

ON the 27th of February, Rawalpindi saw an unprecedented students' demonstration protesting against the execution of Burhanuddin and Abdul Rashid and the INA men. The call was given by the local Students' Congress and the Muslim Students' Federation, with the cooperation of the Communists. There was complete hartal in all public places.

Despite attempts by the local Congress leaders, Yogi Ramnath and Volantis Biswas to prevent it, a students' demonstration was taken round the city streets. Near Fishman's Hotel, they were fired upon with charges by the Cantonment Police and the Government Police. The procession, led by Gulabchand Bhasin, an aged Congress leader, was dispersed by the District Commissioner of the Punjab and four students.

The Government's unwise militant students' demonstration was the deep disappointment caused among Muslim students by the refusal of the Congress leaders to allow the Muslim League flag in the procession. The Congress leaders who have been cooking up fantastic tales

RESPONDING to the call issued by the Communist Party of India, DURA City (key patriotic centre in Tamilnad) observed on February 27, a one-day general strike and hartal in sympathy with the RIN and INA men. Police forces in Bombay and elsewhere.

There was an almost complete strike of all transport-bus, jetties, rikshaws, Municipal Offices—and in all factories including cigar factories, oil and rice mills, presses and transport workshops. Scavengers and handmen workers also participated. All textile mills joined in the strike except the Vardhmani Mill, which is far off from the city.

The students of all the local schools observed a general strike. Most of the city's shops were closed. Most of the hotels and restaurants too were closed, including the Railway Indian Refreshment Room. Even the Railway Parcel office posted no work. A notorious group of anti-Union players and of the Company Union, like the Vardhmani group, tried their best to break the textile workers' strike, but failed miserably.

At a protest meeting of different sections of the workers were held in the morning. In the evening, a workers' demonstration of about 5,000 was organised which ended in a march. The demonstration, which demanded that there should be no victimisation of the Naval strikers, was met with a barrage of political jibes in the country to carry on a fearless agitation for the redressal of their grievances.

A rival Congress meeting was held at the same time. The speaker, the Congress Socialist leader, Ashok Mehta, and attended by about 20,000, advised the strikers to remain loyal his usual anti-Communist thorn and contented himself with declaring that the Communist Party had changed their policy and asking that if the Communist Party were really socialists, why should they not dissolve the Party and join the Congress?

The whole day's political demonstrations were kept perfectly disciplined. There were very few unruly incidents.

to give the whole incident an anti-Communist twist. The Communists, according to them, were in league with the Police and Chopra threw the first stone. The strikers were urged to begin the lathi charge.

At the end of the day's sales, Hakim Abdul Ghani was nowhere in sight when the lathi charge was on. He was seen with a group of the same strikers, was pulled out of his home when he wanted to escape during the lathi charge.

Vijaya Prasad, General Secretary of the Congress, who was present and found these lies in the Press saying: 'Communists were with me under the discipline of our organisation. They too were beaten. When I fell, one Communist took the national flag over from me. He was beaten by the Police.'

Cuttack

Street-Corner Meetings And Workers' Rally

THE news of the Bombay Naval strike and upheaval in the city led to a great excitement in CUTTACK. Communist squads on ekkas, rickshaws and on foot went throughout the city to hold meetings at the Parade Ground on Sunday (February 27) and to attract more than a hundred street-corner and halla (four-class quarters) meetings—some of which were attended by over 700 persons.

More than 40 such meetings were held in the Darbhanga area along with which the mills of the J. K. Group and the Engineering works located—(from where the Communists were said to have been 'expelled' according to the Congress leaflet).

In the middle-class areas too there was a good response. A sudden shower did not allow the workers to gather in large numbers at the rally. But the rain stopped just in time for the meeting to begin with a great enthusiasm. The good sprinkling of middle-class Hindus and Muslims, along with the presence of Communist leaders, YUSUF KHAN ASHRAF, attentively for speeches.

Yusuf, who was present, gave three lessons: every worker should lead from the Naval strike.

First, he said, they should show immense courage and put the choice of the Government to the test before every honourable Indian.

Secondly, men of all views in the Navy should be treated on the same footing and the Red Flag side by side with the Government side. They should come to their aid unconditionally. They have shown the correct path to the workers' leaders. They should be united against the Imperialist oppression.

'The third lesson of the Naval Strike', said Yusuf, 'is that the role and come forward to unite and lead the entire people against the British rule. The Government's Sardar Patel advised them to lay down arms and to accept the Government's people to witness 'peacefully' and 'calmly' the young heroes in the Navy who were being martyred in Bombay rose in their defence and the whole city responded to their call.'

70 BRITISH PLAN: DEVIL'S OWN

The Cabinet Mission's plan is now before us all. Lord Wavell has characterised it as the blue-print of Indian freedom. The entire skill of the seasoned British propaganda machine is being used to sell the plan to the Indian people as containing all that they desire and explain it to the world abroad as the last word in statesmanship. There is not a good word in the political dictionary that has been left unused.

WHEN the issue is the fundamental relationship between the rulers and the ruled, the tests for every freedom-loving Indian, irrespective of all party differences, are simple enough to apply to the British plan.

FIRST, has the British Government made a declaration recognising Indian independence? And everyone of us knows that the answer is in the negative.

But it may be argued that the Mission has declared that if we do not desire to stay inside the British Empire we may declare our independence through the Constitution-making Body. It sounds easy, only a question of time.

Independence Made Dependent On Princes

But in the Constitution-making Body will be the Princes and the views of His Highnesses about the virtues of the British Empire and the need for the British connection are well-known.

Thus even at an indefinite future date Indian independence will need the consent of the Indian Princes!

SECONDLY, is there an immediate transfer of power from British to Indian hands? Again the answer is in the negative.

It is no accident that the Viceroy and not the Cabinet Mission is taking the initiative to form the Interim Government. It is planned to be nothing more than the Viceroy's Executive Council and not a Free Provisional Government.

In the Viceroy's own broadcast its purpose has been described as "to run the administration."

And in the House of Lords, on a question from Lord Simon, who led the Simon Commission, the Government spokesman assured him that it was only a change of personnel.

No Immediate Transfer Of Power

In fact, it is clear enough from the Cabinet proposals, broadens made and the Press Conferences, that the transfer of power too is a matter for the future, after the Constitution-making is over, and for the time being the British Government desires India's foremost leaders to run the existing administration under the Viceroy's leadership.

Thus under the British Plan neither power for our leaders nor the independence of our country are immediate realities but promises for the future, to be realised through the Constitution-making Body.

Whenever the relationship between two countries is redefined on the basis of freedom, the representatives of the ruling power agree to transfer power to the accredited leaders and recognise the independence of the subject country as the starting point of a new relationship between the two countries.

That this is just what the British Plan does not do should make us cautious enough about it and look it all over.

But if we examine the British-proposed Constitution-making Body our natural caution will turn into the holy indignation of a struggling people whom the Imperialist master is trying to cheat away.

The British propaganda is putting out the Constitution-making Body as the most reason-

able solution of irreconcilable Congress-League differences and giving a real chance to Indians to make their own constitution. On paper, and to the foreigners it may sound plausible.

The Congress stood for the unity of India and modern defence does need unity, and this unity has been preserved through a Union Centre.

The League wanted a separate State to escape Hindu domination, it has been offered the chance to get Muslim Provinces together into a Federation of their own.

Let us see whether the plan helps us to solve our differences or only exacerbates them, and where it leads us.

The Union Centre

It is a plan for a three-tier constitution, first Province, then Group and last Union Centre. It is an elementary democratic principle that the more indirect the legislative and executive organs, the more remote from the people they are and less democratic they tend to be.

This is not all. In the highest tier, the Union Centre, the States will be represented, and in the Constitution-making Body alone the Princes will be 14 of the total.

British paramountcy over the States will not pass to the Interim Government, and in fact the Princes are the only element in Indian life who have been declared independent by the British Mission!

Indian parties have to "negotiate" with them and turn the blind eye to 14 of their own brother peoples over whom the Princes rule. If their Highnesses find Indian leaders reasonable they may nominate some popular representatives.

It is not only that the Indian people are expected to hug rather than uproot the worst elements of Indian reaction but they are being introduced into the highest organs of the future Indian State.

Theirs is the role to act the British Fifth Column inside the Indian Union when the era of direct British rule ends. They are the 1946 edition of the old British Imperialist trick of the "nominated block".

And it should not at all be hard to imagine what foreign policy they will advocate, of course against "Soviet aggression," nor what defence policy—close military alliance with Britain—as the only way to save India!

To let the Indian Princes act as the Indian Union is about the same as to let the British stay in India.

Provincial Groupings

Let us see what is planned at the base. Provinces have been formed into groups to separately draft their own Provincial and Federal constitutions. The common man gets thoroughly confused by constitutional technicalities, figures and percentages. In simple words, when those clauses of the British proposals are implemented the following picture will emerge.

In the North-West group the League is likely to get 18 out of 36 seats and the balance will be with the three unprincipled reactionary Akalis to guide the first step in the destiny of 36 millions.

If, however, the Muslim Unionists of the Punjab and the Syed Group in Sind vote for the League constitution, then the

League in this zone gets a clear majority.

In the North-East zone out of 70 votes the League will get 35 and the balance will be with the Europeans, and a handful of foreigners will decide the destiny of 10 million Assamese and 60 million Bengalis.

Again, even if the League wins in both the zones and they become Pakistan zones it will not be the end of the story but the beginning of a sad chapter.

Non-Muslims will do everything to get out of Pakistan and Muslims attempt to keep them in. Hindu-Muslim conflict will thereby not only get still more sharpened but keep rocking Indian politics to their very foundations.

Way Opened For National Conflict

And it will not be Hindu-Muslim conflict alone but national conflict together with it. For example, in the North-East 10 million Assamese do not desire to get swamped by 60 million Bengalis.

There is no person in India today who is more angry and determined than Syt. BARDOLOI, and he has his people behind him.

In the North-West, the majority of the Pathans do not want

a Muslim Federation, but only their own self-determination, and at the other end, the Sikhs threaten to unseat their kirkpanth.

The British scheme of separate zones will not end but only intensify Hindu-Muslim conflict and bring into the political life other national conflicts.

When common people get split community-wise or nationality-wise and their leaders rouse them against each other, then they get consolidated more and more under their own vested interests.

What we saw during the elections was only the beginning of this new phase.

Scope For British Big Business Penetration

It is no accident that in the British Plan vital matters like Customs, Tariffs and Planning are not mentioned.

If the different Indian Federations are in conflict with each other and the parties leading them bossed by vested interests, then it becomes the ideal ground for economic penetration by British Big Business.

They alone will prosper through the competitive economic war between the different Federations, which is rendered inevitable by the constitutional arrangements themselves.

The Princes through their own separate deals with the British would add to the economic chaos.

The common people need planning against poverty and hunger, the vested interests are only concerned with profits for themselves. How India's vested interests are planning India's economic development, and what the British plans themselves are, will be clear from our story on page 12.

Thus the British plan of groups not only transforms the present political conflicts into permanent divisions but is designed to exploit them to advance their own economic gains.

No Time Limit For Constitution Making

Every Constitution-making Body has a time-limit fixed to it within which it

has to produce the constitution. The British-made Constitution-making Body, however, suffers from no such time-limit, and one can see through the game of endless delay before the new constitution is allowed to be born.

After all it is not easy to fix up the alliance of the Princely Order with the Indian political leadership. It is easy enough to make our parties fight each other but not so easy to fix the time-limit to reach the exhaustion point which will make them accept British terms on all counts as the only way out.

It will be great self-deception to consider such a constitution-making as anything else but a parody of Constituent Assembly. Amery has already applauded the "classical approach" which the Mission's constitutional scheme provides for.

We know that this approach means, viz, rely upon India's internal differences, accentuate them still more and then call upon India's leaders to produce a solution and thus clear the ground for the British plan going through.

Not Indian independence but Indian dependence, not Indian unity but Indian disunity, not Indian development but Indian disintegration, not the triumph of Indian democracy but the triumph of Indian reaction, are guaranteed under

by P. C. Joshi

the British Plan.

Our Party forewarned against such a very British plan during the war years itself and again during the very recent past. Some believed then that the British Government dare place such a diabolical plan before our powerful popular parties. Now it stares us in the face.

An average Congressman calls it 12 annual Swaraj and an average Indian nationalist calls it Pakistan and if one read the complimentary comments of the Indian Press one would be left wondering.

Leaders Responsibility For Present Mess

How could things come to this pass?

How could freedom-loving Congressmen and Leaguers and non-party people, who showed marvels of heroism, courage and foresight during the INA demonstrations and in solidarity with R.I.N. strikers only a short while ago, come to express these servile sentiments, repudiate their own patriotic past, give vent to infantile illusions about what the British are offering. Why cannot they see through the British game which is nothing new but the old device of exploiting our differences and putting their own solution through?

The real responsibility lies on the leaderships of the Congress and the League who, while they talked of freedom and the immediate realisation of their aims by direct negotiations with the cabinet Ministers, spread illusions about the British willingness to transfer power.

SECONDLY, by preaching hatred against each other they destroyed all faith in a common way out.

Thus when the British proposals actually came to the followers of the Congress and the League took them as the best that could be had under the circumstances, not because of the British but because of the other side.

It will be unfair to fully evaluate the stand taken by the Congress and the League leaderships before the negotiations are completed and all the documents are available.

But even that part of the

correspondence that has been published discloses that neither the Congress nor the League leaderships made declaration of independence and transfer of power a condition precedent to the negotiations.

The Congress President wrote about declaration of independence and withdrawal of British troops once but then it got left and dry.

The Congress tried to win the British over for the 'unity' of India, and the League for the 'division' of India!

Drift Towards Surrender Or Fratricidal Strife

And naturally this gave the British the chance to act the umpire and put through their own plan, which is based on how towards it because India's political dawn of Indian independence and democracy.

The leaders of the Congress and the League have not yet given up their calamitous tactical line and even an Interim Government is not certain.

The Congress is pressing hard and bargaining for its own terms.

The League is sitting back and refusing to show its hand, and bargaining for its terms. It appears that even the personnel of the Interim Government would be decided by the British Viceroy.

This way the British guide the course of India's destiny and every single step is leading towards it because India's political leaders play into their hands over and over again.

The situation is fast drifting towards a common surrender to the British Plan or fratricidal conflict between the Congress and the League, the Hindus and the Muslims.

Fight The Plan

The Communist Party will play its role in this grave turning point in the life of our freedom movement by rousing the patriotic ardour of the common people and mobilising them behind the following immediate slogans to burst through British designs:

- Immediate declaration of Indian independence.
- The earliest date for the withdrawal of British troops.
- Establishment of an Interim Government as the free Provisional Government based on Indian unity to fight the famine, guarantee the minimum demands of railway and industrial workers and mobilise them for industrial rehabilitation.
- Unqualified support to the States' peoples against the Princes' autocracy, the Provincial Ministries and the Interim Government, in their demand for civil liberties, responsible government and self-determination.

Not the Princes but the people, not a few hand-picked individuals but duly elected leaders of the people to represent them in the Constitution-making Body.

Determination to settle Indian differences on democratic principles and abide by the final verdict of our own people.

Respectively of all past differences our Party will seek the widest contacts with progressive and Left elements inside the Congress and the League to stop the fast growing rot.

No serious Left worker dare remain blind to the dire implications of the British Imperialist Plan for the future of our country nor to the utter blindness of Right-wing policies.

Only when the mass of the freedom-loving Hindus and Muslims are roused, kept ever vigilant, actively intervening from issue to issue, will the British Government realise that there is no getting round India now.

BREAK WITH BRITISH PLAN!

Forward To An Indian Plan!

THE country has been saddled with another humiliation, another British award. The British Viceroy has announced the names of Indian leaders whom he wants in his Executive, and this offer is dependent upon the prior acceptance of the first British award to function the British-designed Constitution-making Body.

The entire picture of how the British desire to shape the Indian future is now before the people, and there is no more room left for nursing illusions or hoping against hope that with Indian temperature reaching boiling point the British rulers will not be able to cheat us this time.

Main Features Of Imperialist Plan

The British plan is clear enough:

- Retain power in British hands during the Interim period, and only get Indian leaders inside the existing Government.
- Make Indian communities and nationalities fight each other, let the freedom-loving Indian people get divided into hostile camps and eliminate the prospects of a joint front against the British.
- Force Indian political leadership into compromise with the Indian Princes, the British Fifth Column.
- And thus prepare the ground for imposing the final British award, the Indo-British treaty that will keep India as a good market and a safe war-base for the Imperialist domination of the colonial world and a pawn in its game of world power politics.

In the British plan there is no transfer of power to Indian hands, no independence for our country either now or hereafter, but only war among various sections of the Indian people and strengthening of Indian reaction.

How is it that there has been no categorical and indignant rejection of the British plan by either the Congress or the League leadership? The simple truth has to be faced that they began as compromisers with the British enemy and have gone deeper and deeper into the British net.

Neither the Congress nor the League demanded immediate transfer of power and declaration of Indian independence as a prior condition to starting negotiations.

Instead Mr. Jinnah openly spoke up against both and the Congress kept these demands in the background, only on paper.

If both parties had stood together and true to their fundamental aims, India would have been securely on the road to freedom, and if even the leadership of one party had remained true the British plan would have been blown sky high, remained only on paper.

Compromise With British Preferred

Neither the Congress nor the League leadership thought of settling their fundamental differences nor even of agreeing to a democratic mechanism of putting these differences to the people.

The Congress thought of preservation of India's unity through British aid. The British have only provided unity for military and international purposes, which they themselves need, and sacrificed the economic and political unity, which the common people need.

The League thought it would be able to get sovereign Pakistan with British aid. It has only been given the chance to federate six Provinces, but unwilling warring minorities are kept within them, so that the British can permanently have their finger in the pie, under the plea of protecting the minorities.

The Muslim masses have been condemned to live under their own reaction under the plea of "Muslim solidarity", and at daggers-drawn with their own brother people.

The League leadership had accepted British award No. 1, and the Congress leadership had not rejected it, and both thought that in award No. 2 they would at least get a strategic place for themselves as against the other party in the Interim Government. The British have kept that position for themselves.

Leaders who can thus compromise, rather than implement, the principles of independence against British Imperialism and of democracy among ourselves, can with an easy conscience recommend the acceptance of the British plan with verbal qualifications. This is the greatest danger facing the country today.

The Communist Party stands for a decisive rejection of the British plan as the plan for Indian slavery and war among Indians.

The Communist Party would ceaselessly campaign among freedom-loving Congress and League masses to call upon their leaderships to turn their face away from the British rulers and concentrate all attention upon building up a Joint Front instead, which will foil the British plan and become the Indian plan for Indian independence and real self-determination.

Basis For A Joint Front

The Communist Party would popularise as widely as it can, the following measures as an eminently just basis for such a Joint Front:

* (1) Acceptance of the right of self-determination including secession, by redrawing the boundaries of Provinces on a truly national basis and putting the issue of separation or union to the verdict of the people, on the basis of adult franchise.

* (2) Agreement to face the British Government jointly in the Constitution-making Body for the declaration of independence, withdrawal of British troops, and the States' representation to be through the elected representatives of the people and not the autocratic Princes.

India is on the brink of a precipice where India's foremost leaders are engaged in a political see-saw whose logical end leads to the pit of the new Imperialist British plan and hell for the common people.

Our Party was the first to forecast the British plan; our Party was the only one to forecast against the compromising and factional policy the leaderships of the Congress and the League were following which alone could give the British a chance to act the arbiters of our destiny.

We are today at the last stage of the fragile tale and all our efforts are directed to rousing the common people to see that the Indian political leadership does not surrender to the British plan but formulates an Indian plan instead.

To surrender to the British plan as inevitable would be a double-guilt. It would stop the battle for independence and start the war among brothers.

The next few days will finally and formally disclose which way the Congress and League leaders go.

As we go to press an A.P.I. message reports that the Congress Working Committee is moving towards acceptance of the British plan. The League leadership has been waiting for the Congress. The worst has happened.

But it is only the first step which if not decisively checked will be followed by a series of such steps till the whole British plan comes into operation.

All the efforts of the Communist Party will be directed to rousing the common people against the British plan and for an Indian plan.

They alone can save the situation and they will get their chance over and over again, against the retention of the British troops, against the inclusion of the Princes, against infringing with the British for or against groups, against using Lord Wavell to get the better of each other in the Interim Government, and for building a joint front against the British for real power.

The same spirit that stirred Bombay citizens both Hindus and Muslims to save the R.N. ratings, the same passion that is making the people of Kashmir fight with their backs to the wall, is needed all over. A new phase in Indian freedom struggle has begun.

' People's Age '

June 23, 1946