Appendix I

Statement issued by the Cabinet Mission in New Delhi on 25 May 1946

The Delegation have considered the statement of the President of the Muslim League dated 22nd May and the resolution dated 24th May of the Working Committee of the Congress.

2. The position is that since the Indian leaders after prolonged discussion failed to arrive at an agreement the Delegation put forward their recommendations as the nearest approach to reconciling the views of the two main parties. The scheme stands as a whole and can only succeed if it is accepted and worked in a spirit of co-operation.

3. The Delegation wish also to refer briefly to a few points that have been raised in the statement and resolution.

4. The authority and the functions of the Constituent Assembly and the procedure which it is intended to follow are clear from the Cabinet Delegation's statement. Once the Constituent Assembly is formed and working on this basis there is no intention of interfering with its discretion or questioning its decisions. When the Constituent Assembly has completed its labours, His Majesty's Government will recommend to Parliament such action as may be necessary for the cession of sovereignty to the Indian people, subject only to two matters which are mentioned in the statement and which, we believe, are not controversial namely: adequate provision for the protection of the minorities (paragraph 20 of the statement) and willingness to conclude a treaty with His Majesty's Government to cover matters arising out of the transfer of power (paragraph 22 of the statement).

5. It is a consequence of the system of election that a few Europeans can be elected to the Constituent Assembly. Whether the right so given will be exercised is a matter for them to decide.

6. The representative of Baluchistan will be elected in a joint meeting of the Shahi Jirga and the non-official members of the Quetta municipality.

7. In Coorg the whole Legislative Council will have the right to vote but the official members will receive instructions not to take part in the election.
8. The interpretation put by the Congress resolution on paragraph 15 of the statement, to the effect that the Provinces can in the first instance make the choice whether or not to belong to the Section in which they are placed, does not accord with the Delegation's intentions. The reasons for the grouping of the Provinces are well known and this is an essential feature of the scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the parties. The right to opt out of the groups after the constitution making has been completed will be exercised by the people themselves, since at the first election under the new provincial Constitution this question of opting out will obviously be a major issue and all those entitled to vote under the new franchise will be able to take their share in a truly democratic decision.

9. The question of how the States representatives should be appointed to the Constituent Assembly is clearly one which must be discussed with the States. It is not a matter for decision by the Delegation.

10. It is agreed that the Interim Government will have a new basis. That basis is that all portfolios including that of the War Member will be held by Indians and that the members will be selected in consultation with the Indian political parties. These are very significant changes in the Government of India and a long step towards independence. H.M.G. will recognise the effect of these changes, will attach the fullest weight to them and will give to the Indian Government the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day-to-day administration of India.

11. As the Congress statement recognises, the present Constitution must continue during the interim period and the Interim Government cannot, therefore, be made legally responsible to the Central Legislature. There is, however, nothing to prevent the members of the Government, individually or by common consent, from resigning if they fail to pass an important measure through the Legislature or if a vote of non-confidence is passed against them.

12. There is, of course, no intention of retaining British troops in India against the wish of an independent India under the new Constitution; but during the
interim period, which it is hoped will be short, the British Parliament has under the present Constitution the ultimate responsibility for the security of India and it is necessary, therefore, that British troops should remain.

*Courtesy Larry Collins & Dominique Lapierre, Mountbatten and the Partition of India Part II.*
Appendix II

Statement by Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency
the Viceroy, 16 June 1946

1. His Excellency the Viceroy, in consultation with the members of the Cabinet Mission, has for some time been exploring the possibilities of forming a coalition Government drawn from the two major parties and certain of the minorities. The discussions have revealed the difficulties which exist for such a Government.

2. The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission appreciate these difficulties and the efforts which the two parties have made to meet them. They consider however that no useful purpose can be served by further prolonging these discussions. It is indeed urgently necessary that a strong and representative Interim Government should be set up to conduct the very heavy and important business that has to be carried through.

3. The Viceroy is therefore issuing invitations to the following to serve as members of the Interim Government on the basis that the constitution-making will proceed in accordance with the Statement of May 16th:

- Sardar Baldev Singh
- Sir N.P. Engineer
- Mr. Jagjivan Ram
- Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
- Mr. M.A. Jinnah
- Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
- Mr. H.K. Mahtab
- Dr. John Matthai
- Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan
- Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin
- Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar
- Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
- Dr. Rajendra Prasad
- Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

If any of those invited is unable for personal reasons to accept, the Viceroy will, after consultation, invite some other person in his place.

4. The Viceroy will arrange the distribution of portfolios in consultation with the leaders of the two major parties.

5. The above composition of the Interim Government is in no way to be taken as a precedent for the solution of any other communal question. It is an expedient put forward to solve the present difficulty only, and to obtain the best available coalition Government.
6. The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission believe that Indians of all communities desire to arrive at a speedy settlement of this matter so that the process of constitution-making can go forward and that the Government of India may be carried on as efficiently as possible in the meantime.

7. They therefore hope that all parties especially the two major parties will accept this proposal so as to overcome the present obstacles, and will cooperate for the successful carrying on of the Interim Government. Should this proposal be accepted the Viceroy will aim at inaugurating the new Government about the 26th June.

8. In the event of the two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Statement of May 16th.

9. The Viceroy is also directing the Governors of the Provinces to summon the Provincial Legislative Assemblies forthwith to proceed with the elections necessary for the setting up of the constitution-making machinery as put forward in the Statement of May 16th.

*Courtesy Larry Collins & Dominique Lapierre, Mountbatten and the Partition of India, Part II.*
Appendix III

The following is the full text of the Announcement of Statement of H.M. Government commonly known as the 3rd June Plan, on which the Partition of India and the transfer of Power to the Dominions of India and Pakistan were based.

STATEMENT BY HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCTION

1. On February 20th, 1947, His Majesty's Government announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948. His Majesty's Government had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to co-operate in the working-out of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16th, 1946, and evolve for India a Constitution acceptable to all concerned. This hope has not been fulfilled.

2. The majority of the representatives of the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province, and the representatives of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new Constitution. On the other hand, the Muslim League Party, including in it a majority of the representatives of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind as also the representative of British Baluchistan, has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

3. It has always been the desire of His Majesty's Government that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves. This task would have been greatly facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties. In the absence of such agreements, the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has devolved upon His Majesty's Government. After full consultation with political leaders in India, His Majesty's Government have decided to adopt for this purpose the plan set out below. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame any ultimate Constitution for India; this is a matter for the Indians themselves. Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for a united India.
THE ISSUES TO BE DECIDED

4. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. Now that provision is made for certain Provinces specified below, His Majesty's Government trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those Provinces, a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it, will now take their due share in its labours. At the same time, it is clear that any Constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it. His Majesty's Government are satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their Constitution is to be framed:

   a) in the existing Constituent Assembly; or
   b) in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly.

When this has been done, it will be possible to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.

BENGAL AND THE PUNJAB

5. The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will, therefore, each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the Province. For the purpose of determining the population of districts, the 1941 census figures will be taken as authoritative. The Muslim majority districts in these two Provinces are set out in the Appendix to this Announcement.

6. The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the Province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly.

7. Before the question as to the partition is decided, it is desirable that the representatives of each part should know in advance which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join in the event of the two parts
subsequently deciding to remain united. Therefore, if any member of either Legislative Assembly so demands, there shall be held a meeting of all members of the Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join if it were decided by the two parts to remain united.

8. In the event of partition being decided upon, each part of the Legislative Assembly will, on behalf of the areas they represent, decide which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt.

9. For the immediate purpose of deciding on the issue of partition, the members of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab will sit in two parts according to Muslim majority districts (as laid down in the Appendix) and non-Muslim majority districts. This is only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature as it is evident that for the purposes of a final partition of these Provinces a detailed investigation of boundary questions will be needed; and, as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either Province, a Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned. It will be instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. It will also be instructed to take into account other factors. Similar instructions will be given to the Bengal Boundary Commission. Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix will be used.

SIND

10. The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding the European members) will at a special meeting also take its own decision on the alternatives in paragraph 4 above.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

11. The position of the North-West Frontier Province is exceptional. Two of the three representatives of this Province are already participating in the existing Constituent Assembly. But it is clear, in view of its geographical situation, and other considerations, that if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to
join the existing Constituent Assembly, it will be necessary to give the North-West Frontier Province an opportunity to reconsider its position. Accordingly, in such an event, a referendum will be made to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province to choose which of the alternatives mentioned in paragraph 4 above they wish to adopt. The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Provincial Government.

BRITISH BALUCHISTAN

12. British Baluchistan has elected a member, but he has not taken his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly. In view of its geographical situation, this Province will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt. His Excellency the Governor-General is examining how this can most appropriately be done.

ASSAM

13. Though Assam is predominantly a non-Muslim Province, the district of Sylhet which is contiguous to Bengal is predominantly Muslim. There has been a demand that, in the event of the partition of Bengal, Sylhet should be amalgamated with the Muslim part of Bengal. Accordingly, if it is decided that Bengal should be partitioned, a referendum will be held in Sylhet district under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Assam Provincial Government to decide whether the district of Sylhet should continue to form part of the Assam Province or should be amalgamated with the new Province of Eastern Bengal, if that Province agrees. If the referendum results in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, a Boundary Commission with terms of reference similar to those for the Punjab and Bengal will be set up to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts, which will then be transferred to Eastern Bengal. The rest of the Assam Province will in any case continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly.
REPRESENTATION IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLIES

14. If it is decided that Bengal and the Punjab should be partitioned, it will be necessary to hold fresh elections to choose their representatives on the scale of one for every million of population according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission’s Plan of May 16th, 1946. Similar elections will also have to be held for Sylhet in the event of it being decided that this district should form part of East Bengal. The number of representatives to which each area would be entitled is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Sikhs</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sylhet District</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Bengal</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Punjab</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Punjab</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. In accordance with the mandates given to them, the representatives of the various areas will either join the existing Constituent Assembly or form the new Constituent Assembly.

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

16. Negotiations will have to be initiated as soon as possible on the administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon:

(a) Between the representatives of the respective successor authorities about all subjects now dealt with by the Central Government, including Defence, Finance and Communications.

(b) Between different successor authorities and His Majesty’s Government for treaties in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power.

(c) In the case of Provinces that may be partitioned, as to the administration of all provincial subjects such as the division of assets and liabilities, the police and other services, the High Courts, provincial institutions, etc.
THE TRIBES OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

17. Agreements with tribes of the North-West Frontier of India will have to be negotiated by the appropriate successor authority.

THE STATES

18. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of 12th May 1946 remains unchanged.

NECESSITY FOR SPEED

19. In order that the successor authorities may have time to prepare themselves to take over power, it is important that all the above processes should be completed as quickly as possible. To avoid delay, the different Provinces or parts of Provinces will proceed independently as far as practicable within the conditions of this Plan. The existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly (if formed) will proceed to frame Constitutions for their respective territories: they will of course be free to frame their own rules.

IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER

20. The major political parties have repeatedly emphasized their desire that there should be the earliest possible transfer of power in India. With this desire His Majesty's Government are in full sympathy, and they are willing to anticipate the date of June, 1948, for the handing over of power by the setting up of an independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date. Accordingly, as the most expeditious, and indeed the only practicable way of meeting this desire, His Majesty's Government propose to introduce legislation during the current session for the transfer of power this year on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decisions taken as a result of this announcement. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Indian Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether or not the part of
India in respect of which they have authority will remain within the British Commonwealth.

FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS BY GOVERNOR-GENERAL

21. His Excellency the Governor-General will from time to time make such further announcements as may be necessary in regard to procedure or any other matters for carrying out the above arrangements.

APPENDIX

The Muslim majority districts of Punjab and Bengal according to 1941 census.

1. THE PUNJAB:
   Lahore Division. - Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhupura, Sialkot.
   Rawalpindi Division. - Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi, Shahpur.
   Multan Division. - Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan, Muzaffargarh.

2. BENGAL:
   Chittagong Division. - Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera.
   Dacca Division. - Bakerganj, Dacca, Faridpur, Mymensingh.
   Presidency Division. - Jessore, Murshidabad, Nadia.
   Rajshahi Division. - Bogra, Dinajpur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi, Rangpur.

THE VICE ROY’S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI

3rd June 1947.

Courtesy V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India.*
PLATES – I - XIX
Malegaon to Mauritius: On the trail of 1857

TEAM TOI

PLATE 1

News of the Sepoy Mutiny first appeared on Page 12 of the May 12, 1857 edition of The Times Of India—

a paticle of French with notes of Bhojpuri—for example, in the song 'Haare avan mein chalo' or the other common usage for 'I love you', 'Je t’aime va', where a 'va' is added in the way that Bhojpuri speakers say risikva or chalva,” he says.

Misra’s research also throws light on the migration to Singapore in 1853, when about 600 families from Gorakhpur fled to Bihar, and on to Darbhanga, and then to Calcutta. “The minister of Darbhanga financed their trip to Singapore,” says Misra.

“In Singapore, the refugees stayed with the boat people of Malay origin, called the Orang laut. It was only years later that they got jobs as labourers and were given land plots in the Kampong Glam area in the eastern part of the island. Their descendants are still there. Many of them are still not rich and classified as working class, but others have broken out and live in the better parts of town.”
PLATE II

A

PERSONAL COLLECTION
In the context of a multi-religious country, "religious nationalism" can come to acquire a similar meaning, it says.

NEW DELHI, AUG 22: Pakistan's founder Mohammed Ali Jinnah features in a section on communalism in a new NCERT textbook, which states he saw Muslims in British India as a nation and wanted them to get a nation-state for themselves.

Making an in-depth analysis, the recently released history book for Class-XII — "Themes in Indian History, Part III" — defines communalism as a "particular kind of politicisation of religious identity, an ideology that seeks to promote conflict between religious communities".

"In the context of a multi-religious country, "religious nationalism" can come to acquire a similar meaning," it says.

"In such a country, any attempt to see a religious community as a nation would mean sowing the seeds of antagonism against some other religions," the book states. "This is precisely what the Muslims in British India did as a nation and desired that they obtain a nation-state for themselves," the book states.

"Through these chapters, we want to make today's students tomorrow's concerned global citizens. They should know the realities of our history," NCERT spokesperson B C Patna said.

"They should know partition just did not give the two countries their independence: for many million people, independence was just partition. And for this reason, Mahatma Gandhi did not participate in any of the freedom celebrations and instead, he was busy controlling the rioting people in Calcutta," he said.
TWO DOMINIONS ARE BORN
Political Freedom For One-Fifth Of Human Race

POWER ASSUMED
BY INDIANS

Constituent Assembly Members Take The Oath
WORK FOR COMMON PROSPERITY

From Our Special Representative

NEW DELHI, Aug 15.—Two new dominions, India and Pakistan, were born at zero hour today, ushering in political freedom to 400 million people, constituting one-fifth of the human race.

At a special session of the Indian Constituent Assembly, the House assumed full powers for the administration of the Indian Dominion.

NO DISTURBANCE IN CALCUTTA

No incidents of a communal nature occurred.

Close Friendship with Britain
Nehru’s Reply to Mr. Attlee

First Governor of W. Bengal
C. R. Sworn In This
In this article, written for The Statesman Supplement, Mr. Hiren Mukerjee traces the recent political history of India. It is a picture of light and shadow, of disappointed hopes of ceaseless striving for the prize which is won today.

During World War II, Indian leaders were shoulder-to-shoulder with their Allies in their struggle. The Congress Army, the Muslim League and the Quit India movement were all fighting for the same cause. However, in the post-war era, the political landscape in India changed dramatically. The Quit India movement, which had been a powerful force in the pre-war era, lost much of its momentum. The British Empire was collapsing, and India was set on the path to independence.

The struggle for independence was not an easy one. It required a lot of牺牲 and sacrifice. The people of India were tired of the British rule and were ready to fight for their freedom. The Quit India movement played a crucial role in this struggle. It was a call to action, a call for self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

The Quit India movement was led by Mahatma Gandhi, who had become a symbol of the Indian struggle for freedom. His leadership and his principles inspired the people of India to fight for their freedom. The movement was supported by the Muslim League, which was led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The Muslim League was concerned about the future of the Muslims in a Hindu-majority India.

The Quit India movement was met with violence and repression. The British government was determined to keep the peace and prevent the disintegration of the empire. The Congress Army was attacked by the British forces, and many of its members were arrested. The Quit India movement was seen as a threat to the stability of the empire.

The movement was not successful in achieving its goal of achieving an independent India. The British government was determined to keep the empire intact, and the movement was not able to mobilize enough people to achieve its goal. However, the movement did help to unite the people of India and to bring them together in a common struggle for freedom.

The Quit India movement was a turning point in the struggle for independence. It demonstrated the willingness of the people of India to fight for their freedom, and it showed the strength of the united people of India. The movement was a symbol of the Indian struggle for freedom, and it continues to be remembered as a significant event in the history of India.
PLATE VI

A

From: Personal Collection

B

Times of India, Feb 20, 2008

‘Make public list of 29 files on Netaji’

New Delhi: Rejecting the PMO’s refusal to provide a list of classified files relating to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, the Central Information Commission (CIC) has asked it to make public a list of 29 such files.

The commission’s decision came after the PMO produced before it 33 classified files on the revolutionary leader. It, however, exempted four related files as they had reference to foreign states.

Acting on an RTI application of ‘Mission Netaji’ - a Delhi-based research trust - challenging PMO’s refusal to make public its classified files on Netaji, the CIC had, in its order of January 25, asked the latter to produce (in a sealed cover) a list of classified files for its perusal. The Prime Minister’s Office while declining to produce the list of the classified files had earlier said that divulging their contents could affect India’s sovereignty and relations with foreign nations.

Perusing through the files as produced by the PMO, Chief Information Commissioner Wajahat Habibullah said while four of the 33 classified files had a reference to foreign nations, rest of the 29 files should be given. In its order passed yesterday, the CIC also noted that out of the 29 files, seven were classified “top secret,” three “confidential” while the rest were marked “secret.”

Apart from the 33 files, the PMO also informed the commission about two recently declassified files.

C

Times of India, 15 Aug, ‘47
Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose

Courtesy: National Library
Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose with his Azad Hind Fauz in Germany in January 1943.

Courtesy: Netaji Research Bureau
In one of his rare pronouncements, Attlee said he found India 'particularly intractable and nearly insoluble'. When violence spread through the subcontinent despite warnings, Attlee refused military reinforcements in India.

Courtesy: Tehelka, 15 Sept 2007
PLATE XI

The leaders who made the country Independent

From: Personal Collection
C. Rajagopalacharya with Lord Mountbatten and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur

Courtesy: National Library
PLATE XIII

Maulana Azad with members of Cabinet Mission

Courtesy: National Library
PLATE XIV

Jawaharlal Nehru and M.A. Jinnah going to attend the Simla Conference

Courtesy: National Library
The gates of India and Pakistan at Wagha Border, Attari.

From Personal Collection
The ceremonial closing of gates of India and Pakistan every evening at Wagha Border.

From: Personal Collection
PLATE XVII

A

BSF Guard of India and Pakistan Rangers

From: Personal Collection
India and Pakistan separated by barbed wire.

From: Personal Collection
PLATE XIX

A

The Black Water of Andaman

From: Personal Collection

B

Cellular Jail – Side view

From: Personal Collection
पं. रविशंकर चुबल विद्वान विद्वानों के नामांकन, रायपुर

प्रशासन, रायपुर

T 22497