

## Radcliffe Award and the Dissection of the Punjab 1947: Partition Retrospect

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### Abstract

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The socio-political and economic developments started in Punjab after its annexation in 1849. Its agrarian strengths provided the boost to the Indian and Britain economies which revealed its prominence. In 1940s, social and political insurgences led to Indian partition. Leaders of all three major communities of Punjab Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were claiming their maximum right on Punjab. In June Plan of partition by Lord Mountbatten, partition of the Punjab was confirmed as the best solution of its grave issues. Mr. Jinnah and the leaders of other two large communities were determined to acquire best part of Punjab after its partition. The partition issues apprehended the British administration. Because of differences in political motives, major communities turned against each other. According to Muslim League the Boundary Commission under Sir Cyril Radcliffe for the partition of Punjab could not discharge neutrally. The final Radcliffe Award gave birth many issues and raised questions, which elevated the Sikh dilemmas. The malpractice of the British administration of Punjab caused heavy blood-shed in the Province.

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**Keywords:** Punjab, Partition, Violence, Boundary Commission, Boundary Award.

### Introduction:

Punjab was considered “Barometer to India”, “A Key Province” and had its abundant significance in the agro-economy of Indian sub-continent. British established 9 canal colonies with best irrigation system in West Punjab which made its lands fertile and striking. Most of the agriculture lands were allotted to the Sikhs in these canal colonies, overall Sikhs and Hindus were dominantly dealing with the economy of the Province. After the provincial elections of 1946, Unionist Party under Khizar Hayat Tiwana (1900-1975) formed a collative Govt. in Punjab despite the Muslims League’s heavy mandate in the Provincial Assembly. Muslim League’s agitation caused the resignation of Unionist Ministry and Punjab went under Governor Rule till partition August 1947. This agitation and blood-shed extended the breeches and gaps among the Punjabi communities.

Violence in the Punjab befitted the immediate reason to divide India. Viceroy the Lord Mountbatten (1900-1979), right after his appointment as Viceroy, started working on it. In his Indian partition plan of 3<sup>rd</sup> June he also announced the Partition of the Punjab into East and West Punjab on the basis of non-Muslim and Muslim majority parts respectively between India and Pakistan. He determined that if India could divide on religious basis then why not Punjab. The Boundary Commission under Sir Cyril Radcliffe (1899-1977) could not maintain it a neutral body to determine the Boundaries of the East and West Punjab. No one among large communities of the Punjab initially wanted the partition but wanted complete province or the maximum because of its topography and agrarian economy. Nevertheless to contain the issues partition of Punjab remained the only solution for British. This partition caused the world’s largest and bloodiest migration when three large communities Muslims 57%, Hindus 26% and Sikhs 14% who had been living together in Punjab for centuries turned against each other and the British administration failed to exercise a peaceful partition of the Punjab.

### Radcliffe Award and the Dissection of the Punjab:

British Govt. appointed the Lord Mountbatten as the Viceroy of India on March 22, 1947. He was tasked to divide India in two States till September 1948.

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But it was not an easy assignment as diversity in the demands of native communities, number of political parties, communal disparities, topographical and demographical disputes were devastating. Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (1893-1985) illustrated his Viceroyalty as follows:

On the arrival of Lord Mountbatten, preparations began in earnest for transition to independence through various stages. The ups and downs of 1947, the maneuvers and intrigues failing or succeeding, humanity at the peak of glory and falling to new lows, the year left behind bitter memories and wretched behaviors. It would need an honest, truthful, diligent and God-fearing historian to recount all that. Such a man, for sure, will be born one day (Khan, 2014).

But Muslim League's horrifying agitation particularly during January to March 1947 against the Unionist's collative ministry under Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana generated a massive disorder in Punjab<sup>2</sup>. Because of disturbances in the Punjab, British Administration changed the Plan and decided the Partition of India to be executed in August 1947. Initially Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) President of All India Muslim League (AIML) was not in favor of the Partition of the Punjab. "He said that the justification for Pakistan was that it was impossible to ask two entirely foreign nations to live together. This did not apply to the provinces (Abid & Abid, 2011). Furthermore, because of its historical, socio-political and economic worth, predominantly Punjab with 57% of Muslim population was going to be the complete part of the Pakistan, which was not tolerable to the political revelries.

#### **Partition Plan and Formation of Boundary Commission:**

Soon after resuming his office the Lord Mountbatten initiated work on the partition of India. The grave law and order situations in and out of the Punjab convinced Viceroy to draw out the Indian partition Plan. After receiving approval of the Plan from British Govt. the Lord Mountbatten came back to India on May 30, 1947. He called a meeting of the Indian political leaders in Delhi on June 2, 1947 and circulated the approved Indian Partition Plan. On June 3, 1947, a 'white paper' more specified the detail regarding partition plan. According to which two Provinces Bengal and Punjab had to divide between India and Pakistan on Muslim and non-Muslim basis.

Viceroy announced the Plan of Indian Partition on June 3<sup>rd</sup> on All India Radio and right after the announcement, two Boundary Commissions for the Partition of the Punjab and the Bengal also set-up. Subsequently, the Viceroy initiated the debate on TORs (Terms of Reference) regarding Boundary Commission with the political leaders individually. Well ahead, the Indian political parties agreed on the following terms of references for the partition of the Punjab. These TORs were later announced by the Viceroy on June 30, 1947: The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the Boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors (Official documents of Partition of Punjab, 1947).

Indian National Congress (INC) gave their consent regarding the acceptance of the June Plan soon. However, the council of AIML passed a resolution on June 9, 1947 in Delhi, in which they endorsed the partition as the only solution of Indian enigma. The Muslim League Council gave "...the opinion that although it cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab or give its consent to such partition... the Council therefore, hereby resolves to give full authority it the President of All India Muslim League, Quaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah to accept the fundamental principles of the Plan (Gariwal, 1998).

Primarily, the Lord Mountbatten suggested assigning a person, experienced in drawing boundaries, as an advisory body with the consultation of UN. But Secretary of the State William Hare pointed out "that UNO could only constitute the commission at the annual meeting of the [General] Assembly, or at a special meeting called specifically for the purpose. It would be unconstitutional for the Secretary General to appoint Boundary Commission on his own initiative"(Transfer of Power Papers). Later, finally the indulged parties agreed on a Boundary Commission consisted on independent Chairman with four members. Mr. Jinnah also proposed three 'Law Lords' from UK to be part of the Boundary Commission as 'imperial members'.

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<sup>2</sup> In the provincial elections of 1946 Muslim League received heavy mandate in Punjab Assembly but later Governor of the Punjab E. Jenkins invited the Khizar Hayat Tiwana of Unionists Party with the collation of Akali Sikh and Congress to form its ministry in the Punjab. On this Muslim League started heavy agitation, during January 1946 to mid-1947 the bloodiest agitation by the League was there in Punjab to pressurize the British administration to form the League Ministry.

But he was told that Law Lords were the aged persons and they could not bear the summer season of India (Khan, 1973). It was perplexing obligation for the British administration to employ a suitable person as the Chairman of the said Boundary Commission.

The Lord Mountbatten and the Indian Political leadership also firmed up that the Boundary Commission should comprise on the judges of high courts, chosen by the Muslim League and Congress equally and they unanimously select the Chairman of the Boundary Commission. Furthermore, in a meeting of 13/6/1947, it was also decided that for the Punjab Boundary Commission Congress will also choose one Sikh member with two other members. Both Mr. Jinnah and Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru (1889-1964) of the INC would send their nominations as soon as possible (Minutes, 1947).

In reference to the selection of the chairman of the Boundary Commission had three following options:

- i. By the Commission members.
- ii. By Indian Political members
- iii. In case the failure of the both above Secretary of State suggested “ask the president of the International Court of Justice to select Chairman” (Transfer of power papers).

### **Boundary Commission at Work:**

Finally, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, an eminent British lawyer<sup>3</sup> was appointed as the Chairman of the both Boundary Commissions. Sir Cyril Radcliffe was a brilliant lawyer in England “and had never been involved in politics” (Hudson, 1997). Lord Jowitt (1885-1957) the Lord Chancellor from 1945-1951 had a meeting with Cyril Radcliffe and discussed the Indian partition matters. Sir Cyril Radcliffe had no such experience before but finally agreed to divide the 88 million Indian people. Later, Lord C. R. Attlee (1883-1967) the British Prime Minister, in a meeting gave him instructions before leaving England (Collins & Lapierre, 1975). On July 1, 1947, Earl of Listowel, William Hare (1906-1997) telegraphed Lord Mountbatten that Sir Cyril Radcliffe would preside the Boundary Commission and would come without Lady Radcliffe. He was offered 5000 pounds a year and 2000 tax free allowance, but later he only accepted 200 pounds as his actual expenses. He was also given a suitable accommodation according to the conditions of the weather for the living period, travel facilities with a personal assistant-cum-secretary Mr. H. C. Beaumont, one superintendent, four clerks, two typists and six peons were attached (Correspondence).

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958), an INC leader, also shares that the Lord Mountbatten asked to Radcliffe to resume the partition process as soon as possible. In response, Radcliffe agreed and decided to start survey in July. In fact he was reluctant to do survey in Punjab in the hottest month of June so he tried to delay the work for three or four weeks while the Lord Mountbatten was not ready to delay it for a single day (Azad, 1986). Even the Lord Mountbatten was anxious and emphasized to finish the work of the said Boundary Commission till August 14, 1947 (Minutes, 1947).

Moreover, in reference to the responsibilities of Radcliffe Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan discussed that: Sir Cyril Radcliffe was allotted a most difficult, complex and delicate task. That he had little knowledge and less appreciation of its complexities could work in both directions. He would approach it with an open and impartial mind. But an empty mind would demand being filled, and the source of sources from which it were filled would not fail to sway it (Khan, 1973).

Sir Cyril Radcliffe reached Delhi on July 8, 1947. He started his job to demarcate the boundary lines between the Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas of Punjab and Bengal. Four preliminary meetings of the Punjab Boundary Commission held in in the building of Punjab Legislative Assembly to discuss the procedural issues. Later the regular sessions held in Punjab High Court Building from 21 July to 31 July 1947<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Before Chairmanship of Boundary Commission, Cyril Radcliffe served in various capacities in the Ministry of Information; he was its Director General when the Second World War ended. Later in 1945 he came to Bar where he started his practice as the part of the member of the judicial committee of the Privy Council, presently he was Vice-Chairman of the General Council of the Bar. He believed in the social advancement as a modernist.

Mr. A. H. Joyce to Mr. A. Campbell Johnson IOR R/3/1/157, 3/7/1947.

<sup>4</sup> Before the arrival of Sir Cyril Radcliffe the inaugural meeting of the Commission was held at 10:30 am on Saturday July 7, 1947 in Punjab Assembly building. The clerical staff of the Assembly was also there to assist the Boundary Commission.

Sir Cyril Radcliffe only attended only two procedural meetings on 14 and 15 July 1947<sup>5</sup> and went to Bengal because he was also chairing the Bengal Boundary Commission. The forthcoming meetings were presided by Justice Din Muhammad, the senior member of the Boundary Commission. It was also decided that the Commission would sit in public. The admission during the proceedings of the Commission would be through 20 tickets for Muslims and 20 for non-Muslim issued by the secretaries. Seats would be reserved for press and counsels in robes and people permitted by the secretaries (Minutes, 1947). The Memorandums of Muslim League, Congress and Sikhs were submitted by their counsels in the Punjab Boundary Commission<sup>6</sup>. Sikhs were the third largest community of the Punjab sharing 14% of the population. After disappointing with the 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan, Sikhs were now looking forward to the Boundary Commission for probing their interests. They did not want to be part of Pakistan and live under Muslim domination. On June 2, 1947, Sardar Baldev Singh (1902-1961), the Defense Minister of India during interim Govt., wrote to the Lord Mountbatten and desired the united India to safeguard Sikhs' interests. He was worried that in case of the partition a substantial part of Sikh community was going under Muslim domination (Pakistan), "where a sovereign State based ostensibly on Islamic Principles in likely to be established (Conversation).

INC was backing the Sikhs socially, morally as well as politically<sup>7</sup>. On 8 March 1947, INC passed a resolution in favor of Sikh demands regarding partition of the Punjab. Sikhs were not in majority in any district out of 29 Districts of Punjab. Sikhs were not in majority in any district of the United Punjab, due to which Lord Mountbatten was shocked on the Sikh demand mainly subjected to avoid the division of Sikh community and their holy shrines between East and West Punjab. In fact, INC and Hindu lobby were using Sikhs to get the best parts of the Punjab Province for Hindustan. Princes of the Sikh States Patiala, Faridkot and Nabha were also supporting the Sikh cause morally, politically, financially and logistically. This situation pushed the Punjab into a massive disorder and bloodshed<sup>8</sup>. The horrifying situations of the Punjab spread the Hindu-Muslim enmity in the other parts of India. Muslim League National Guards (MLNG), Shirimoni Akali Dal (SAD) and Rashtariya Sevik Swamik Sang (RSS) were found involved in the violence. Historically the Hindu-Muslim relations in India and its reaction were observed as follows:

A Hindu-Muslim settlement would come only when "scales of justice so-called" had fallen off from their eyes, when they had introduced into the calculation the disturbing factor of surrender otherwise called love or affection of fellow feeling. When Hindus and the Musalmans had "sufficiently broken one another's head and spilled a few gallons of innocent blood", they would realize their "foolishness" and "recognize" that...not justice but surrender and nothing but surrender was the law of friendship (Al Mujahid, 1981).

Mr. Jinnah the founding father of Pakistan clarified his view by saying, "when we fight for Pakistan we are fighting against the British and not against the Hindus. We have to get our freedom and establish Pakistan from the British and not from the Hindus. Our struggle for Pakistan means freedom for both Hindus and Muslims (Daily Dawn, 1945). On the other hand, Sikhs were also annoyed and arranged Anti-Pakistan rallies on March 11, 1947.

Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad explained that: The Punjab which had been quite till now, also showed sign of strain and conflict, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan had tendered his resignation as the premier of the Punjab on 2 March.

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<sup>5</sup>Sir Cyril Radcliff was also chairing the Bengal Boundary Commission, in this regard he recorded the statement that "in view of the fact that I was acting also as chairman of the Bengal Boundary commissioner of the Bengal Boundary Commission, whose proceedings were taking place simultaneously with the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary Commission. I did not attend the Public sittings in person, but made arrangements to study daily the record of the proceedings and of all material submitted for our consideration". The day to day record and proceedings were sent to chairman by air.

*The Partition of the Punjab 1947: A Compilation of the Official Documents*, Vol. III, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1993), 282.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Muhammad Zafrullah submitted Muslim League's case, from Congress side M. C. Setalvad, Tek Chand and Narotam Singh were the Counsels and Swaran Singh MLA, Ajit Singh MLA, Gurbachan Singh Bajwah etc. including 29 more Sikh MLAs were signatories of the Sikh memorandum in the Punjab Boundary Commission.

<sup>7</sup>BhimSenSachar, the Finance Minister of the Punjab stated that the representatives of both communities Sikh and Hindu are free to work collaboratively in the Constituent Assembly on all concerned issues.

Waheed Ahmad, *Punjab Story 1940-1947*, (Islamabad: National Documentation Center, 2009), 435.

<sup>8</sup>Hindus and the Sikhs of the East Punjab both were responsible of the slaughtering and massacre of Muslims. The Hindu officials of the Sikh States planted the violence and equipped the Hindus and Sikhs with weapons and the training. Sharif Al Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies I Interpretation*, (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1981), 220.

Anti-Pakistan demonstrations, which led to thirteen death and many injured, were held Lahore on 4 March communal disturbances spread to other parts of the province and there were major disturbances in Amritsar, Taxila and Rawalpindi (Azad, 1986).

Sikhs had feelings and hope for the June 3 Plan to achieve their demands but in vain. They were looking towards Boundary Commission to get East Punjab from River Jumna to Chenab (Meeting record). However, the Muslim response throughout Punjab was abundantly aggressive against the Sikh demands. The large scale migration of the minorities between both parts of the Punjab was directly connected with large scale massacre in the Province. The majority community was killing minority community so that they must be migrated to their majority areas and made free the lands for their respective refugees.

In the 69th Staff meeting on August 9, 1947 it was decided that the Boundary Award would not be published before August 15, 1947<sup>9</sup>. Lord Mountbatten requested Radcliffe and emphasized to finalize the Boundary Award before August 15, 1947 because of the massive disorder in the Punjab. He wanted to avoid further violence and blood-shed in Punjab by doing a peaceful partition of the Province. Even he wished that Radcliff must finalize the Award by August 10<sup>th</sup>. But in response Cyril Radcliffe excused to manage it till August 10, 1947 however promised for August 12, 1947 (Transfer of Power Papers). Before, on July 21, 1947 on request of Sir E. Jenkins (1896-1985) the Governor of the Punjab, Sir George Abell (1904-1989) also requested Christopher Beaumont (1913-2002) the secretary of Cyril Radcliffe to provide advance information about Boundary Award to Governor for general preparations and support. For the reason "... a few hours' warning would be better than none as the nature of the Award would affect the distribution of police and troops. If it is possible to give us an abstract here in advance" (Ibid). But it was conditional with the in-time completion of the Boundary Award.

On August 12, Sir Radcliffe completed his work and submitted the sealed Award on August 13, 1947 to the Viceroy. Later, on August 16, 1947 the Lord Mountbatten distributed the copies of the Boundary Award in a meeting with the Indian Political Leadership. This step bent numerous political disputes and controversies that during these three days Lord Mountbatten tempered or monopolized the submitted Boundary Award<sup>10</sup>. These charges particularly from the AIML side had a history, because since his appointment as Viceroy the Lord Mountbatten had pro Congress and anti-Muslim League sentiments. Even, before his arrival in India Mountbatten had relations with Nehru and his family. Lord Mountbatten had anti-Muslim League and pro-Hindu approach. This sort of "political man could never be expected to be fair" (Lodhi, 1995).

In the final Award, Cyril Radcliff gave favor of the phrase "*other factor*"<sup>11</sup> only to India but not to Pakistan. A popular belief about the Radcliff Award was that Radcliff gave the favor to India which was dictated by the Lord Mountbatten (Transfer of Power Papers). Three Tehsils of Ferozpur District Ferozpur, Zira and Fazilka which were included in Pakistan while Justice Muhammad Munir (1895-1979) and Din Muhammad endorsed it in final Award but were handed over to India. In a lunch in with the Lord Mountbatten, in which Pundit Nehru and a civil servant and constitutional advisor of the Viceroy V. P. Menon (1894-1966) were present, Radcliff changed his mind about Ferozpur when Nehru and Menon suggested that the attachment of Ferozpur with Pakistan would become a reason of War between India and Pakistan (Jinnah Papers). Moreover, in Gurdaspur District, Gurdaspur, Batala and Pathankot were given to India<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>9</sup>In this Staff Meeting only Sir George Abell, Lord Ismay, Mr. Christy and Allan Campbell Johnson were participated even C in C Erskin Crum was not consulted. No one Indian or any political was participated in this meeting,

H. M. Seervai, *Partition of India: Legend and Reality*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 153-154.

<sup>10</sup>Dr. Kunwar Sain in his book also and referred his meeting with Lord Mountbatten that me and Sardar Panikar met with Lord Mountbatten and we found no proof that he monopolized the Award but later after 13 years Justice Munir disclosed inner stories. Moreover, "...Radcliff warned that haste would produce anomalies?", on August 11, 1947 Dehli Radio announced the delaying of the Boundary Award. He more raised the questions that why Mountbatten was insisting to announce the Award after August 15? Why Mountbatten feared that Boundary Award "would infuriate both parties? The conclusion is obvious".

*The Partition of the Punjab 1947: A Compilation of the Official Documents*, Vol. III, XXXVII, XXXVIII.

<sup>11</sup>The term "other factor" made by the British PM Attlee to empower the Boundary Commission to deal the Sikh community with special regard by considering the location of their holy shrines "can reasonably be taken into account up to a point...it is for Commission itself to decide what are 'other factors' and how much importance should be attached to all or any of them".

Sir George Abell to the Secretaries Punjab Boundary Commission IOR R/3/1/157, 23/7/1947.

<sup>12</sup>Gurdaspur was a Muslim majority area with 51% Muslim population but it handed over to India to provide the path to Kashmir to Indian forces.

Larry Collins (1929-2005) focused that another conspiracy by Radcliff was involved in concerning the city of Gurdaspur on the “northern extremity of the Punjab”. Here Radcliffe followed the natural boundary line of the river Ravi but ignored the Muslim population in majority and gave it to India (Collins & Lapierre, 1975).

Muslim League in its memorandum in the Boundary Commission suggested dividing the areas of Punjab on tehsil basis rather than on district basis. If they took the tehsil as unit for division then the Gurdaspur and Batala tehsils as the Muslim majority tehsil would have been included in Pakistan (Khan, 1973). All three dominant communities Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs had dissimilarities in their demands regarding partition of the Punjab. Congress was claiming over whole East Punjab till Chenab, Sikhs were focusing on some more districts like Montgomery, Lyallpur and certain sub-divisions of Multan Division. While Muslims were demanding the complete three division of the Punjab Multan, Lahore and Rawalpindi and some Tehsils from Ambala and Jullundur Divisions (Arora, 1990). Alistar Lamb viewed that the attachment of the Ferozpur and Zira Tehsils with India was on the basis of “good irrigation policy”, “as was, also, the Indian possession of the three Eastern Tehsils of Gurdaspur in India” according to the partition map of August 8, 1947. On this unjust attachment of three Eastern Tehsils of District Gurdaspur, AIML leader and later the first Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaqat Ali Khan (1895-1951) objected to Lord Ismay (1887-1965), the Chief of Staff for the Viceroy, declared it injustice and “which will amount to a breach of faith on the part of the British” (Lamb, 2009). The Muslim majority Tehsil Ajnala in Amritsar District was also given to India<sup>13</sup>. The Nakodar Tehsil and Jullundur itself in Jullundur District included in India (Official Documents). While Muslim League was claiming on the complete Lahore division and a part of the Jullundur division “by and large, the Muslim demand did not depart widely from the line separating contiguous Muslim majority areas from non-Muslim majority areas. On the other hand Bahawalpur State with the Muslim ruler included towards west Punjab” (Johnson, 1953).

The drawing of the boundary lines of the Punjab was much painful for Radcliffe. It was starting from trackless wooden edge Kashmir where the Ujh River entered into Punjab. “Following where possible the Ravi or Satluj rivers, it ran 200 miles south to the northern most edge of the Great Indian Desert. Lahore went to Pakistan, Amritsar with its golden temple to India (Collins & Lapierre, 1975). So the Muslims finally suffered, Pakistan deprived from its large, economically significant and strategic terrain.

The attachment of Gurdaspur with India was basically a controversial scheme to provide the road access to the Indian troops to occupy the Kashmir valley. Without Gurdaspur, Indians had no road access to Kashmir “and its vacillating Hindu Mahraja, Hari Singh (1895-1961) would had no choice except to link Kashmir’s destiny to Pakistan. Unintentionally, almost inadvertently, Radcliffe’s scalpel had offered India the hope of claiming Kashmir” (Ibid). Radcliff also dealt wrongly with the Upper Bari Doab Canal. Bari Canal Doab took off from Madhopur Head works which was in non-majority Tehsil in Gurdaspur District. But it irrigated most of the Muslim majority areas of the West Punjab but he handed it over to the East Punjab (India). On this issue he wrote in his report that “I have not found it possible to preserve undivided the irrigation system of the Upper Bari Doab Canal which extends from Madhopur in the Pathankot Tehsil to the Western border of the District of Lahore, although I have made small adjustments of Lahore-Amritsar district Boundary to mitigate some of the consequences of this severance” (Ibid).

The circumstances elucidate that Boundary Award of Radcliffe was allegedly also monopolized by the Congress. For example, in his letter of August 9, 1947, Nehru tried to influence the Boundary Commission demanding the affiliation of Ferozpur Tehsils with India. He also wanted the guarantee the attachment of eastern tehsils of Gurdaspur with India (Lamb, 2009). Moreover, the Prime Minister of Bikaner Sardar Paniker (1895-1963) and the Chief Engineer of the State Dr. Knwar Sain (1899-1979) on August 11, 1947 in a meeting with the Lord Mountbatten ensured the attachment of the Ferozpur head works with India not with Pakistan. According to the telegram of August 11, 1947 Lord Mountbatten insisted the Governor of the Punjab to include Ferozpur and Zira Tehsils to India but initially according to the proper plan of partition these areas were the part of Pakistan (Lodhi, 1995). Likewise, in reference to the partition of Bengal, the eminent figure of INC Sardar Patel (1875-1950) on January 15, 1950 shared that “we made a condition that we could only agree to partition if we did not lose Calcutta,

<sup>13</sup>Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan pointed out that “had this yard stick been applied the Gurdaspur and Batala Tehsils of the Gurdaspur district, the Ajnala Tehsil of the Amritsar district, the Ferozpur and Zira Tehsils of Ferozpur district and Nakodar and Jullunder Tehsils of Jullundur district, all Muslim majority areas contiguous to Muslim majority areas included in Pakistan, should also have been allotted to Pakistan”.

Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, *Agony of Pakistan*, (Oxford: Kent Publications, 1973), 63.

If Calcutta is gone, then India is gone” (Daily Hindu, 1950). This reflects if INC could pressurize the British administration to manipulate the partition of Bengal, they must have altered the partition of the Punjab to get best and fertile agricultural tracts of the Punjab.

### **Criticism on the Boundary Award:**

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah opposed this unjust division as follows:

Not with a ‘bonafied’ object, but a sinister move actuated by spite and bitterness... firstly to create more difficulties in the way for British government and secondly to unnerve the Muslims by opening and repeatedly emphasizing that the Muslims will get a truncated or mutilated, moth eaten Pakistan. This clamor is not based on any sound principle” (Lodhi, 1995).

Ch. Muhammad Ali (1905-1980)<sup>14</sup> viewed on the Radcliffe Award that he gave many Pakistan bound areas to India but not a single of India’s to Pakistan. On the exploitation of Pakistan in his Award, he said that he was “conscious that there are legitimate criticisms to be made [of his Award] as there are I think, of any other like that might be chosen”. He more explained his point:

I have hesitated long over those not inconsiderable areas east of the Sutlej River and in the angle of the Beas and Sutlej rivers in which Muslim majorities are found. But on the whole I have come to the conclusion that it would be in the true interests of neither state to extend the territories of the West Punjab to a strip on the far side of the Sutlej and there are factors such as the disruption of railway communications and water systems that ought in this instance to displace the primary claims of contiguous majorities (Johnson, 1953).

But Allan Campbell Johnson (1913-1998) countered his logic explained why only Pakistan effected in this regard, not India (I bid) as no non-Muslim majority areas attached with Pakistan even not mistakenly. Furthermore, Justice Muhammad Munir the member of the Punjab Boundary Commission also observed the plan as follows:

When I read the text of the Award I was stunned. A two-page document and a line on a map drawn as the fancy of its drawer dictated had divided the fourth largest country in the world. No reasons except one to which I shall presently refer, were given and no reference was made to the arguments contained in the reports of the members. Here was an instance of a British lawyer trained in traditions of British justice, the very first principle of which is that a party should know why a matter has been decided against him. If the Award was judicial, it lacked every attribute of a judicial decision, and if it was political, why lay claim to justice, fairness and impartiality. Why not say that India belonged to the British and their Viceroy gave it to whomsoever he liked (Official Documents).

Ch. Muhammad Ali (1905-1980), first Gen. Secretary Govt. of Pakistan and later the Prime Minister of Pakistan, was also eye witness to proof of British maladministration and monopolization over the bigoted partition of the Punjab. When he went to “Viceregal Lodges” to see Lord Ismay to give a message of Mr. Jinnah, he saw a map hanging there on the wall. He said that “I beckoned him to the map so that I could explain the position to him with its help. There was a pencil line drawn across the map of the Punjab. The line followed the boundary that had been reported to the Quaid-i-Azam. I said that it was unnecessary for me to explain further since the line; already drawn on the map, indicated the Boundary I had been talking about, Ismay turned pale and asked in confusion that had been fooling with his map (Ali, 2009).

The above discussion proves the presence of strong hints suggesting Boundary Commission was not working neutrally. Many Govt. officials with Lord Mountbatten like Lord Ismay were involved and had their influence on the Boundary Commission of Cyril Radcliffe (Lamb, 2009). On the other hand, Cyril Radcliffe burnt the proceedings and the important record of the Boundary Commission, which were illogical and pointed fingers on his personality (Transfer of Power Papers). Furthermore, right after the submission of the Boundary Award he flew to Britain, while being responsible for the Award, he must have stayed until the implementation and demarcation of the Province.

If Boundary Award by the Cyril Radcliffe is critically analyzed, no doubt it was an unfair and partial Boundary Award having no concern with facts, records and documentation. Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan (1889-1967) viewed about the Boundary Award in his autobiography:

<sup>14</sup>Ch. Muhammad Ali was an eminent bureaucrat and the first General Secretary of the Govt. of Pakistan and later the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

I was not inclined to accept the invitation as it seemed to me then that this commission was a farce and decision would be taken by the Viceroy himself (Cheema, 2006).

The implementation on such Award was infact the worst example of the British maladministration Radcliff was entirely unaware about Indian land and topography. The unjustly demarcation increased the magnitude of the holocaust in Punjab. The Sikhs in reference to their demands were fully dependent on the Radcliffe Award. They later became more furious when they could not receive their holy shrines till Sheikhpura district. Jinnah's stance for the united Punjab was factual because it was complicated and difficult task to divide the Punjab. Before the announcement of the Boundary Award, Sikhs were threatening that they would turn more hostile and fiercer if the Radcliffe Award went against their interests in Punjab.

The districts of Gurdaspur, Lahore, Amritsar and Montgomery in the Bari Doab all were disturbed. Agriculturally it was the richest part of the Punjab and overall it was Muslim majority area except Amritsar. The case of the Sikhs was clear as they were struggling for their agricultural lands in the canal colonies (9 canal colonies) and superlative irrigation system of the West Punjab. But Congress had some virtuously political motives. "Congress case was impregnable on good-old-fashioned imperialist lines". In case of Muslims they were afraid of exploitation from Hindus and Sikhs, because the economy of the Punjab was in the hands of the Sikhs and Hindus (Spate, 1947).

The partial Boundary Award historically harmed the new born Muslim majority State of Pakistan. Cyril Radcliffe enfolded the actual boundary lines of the West Punjab which produced a controversy and conspiracy theory. Mr. Jinnah, the First Governor General of Pakistan declared it unjust, incomprehensible and a political rather than judicial Award. But regrettably, there was no choice for Muslim League leadership except to abide the Radcliff's Boundary Award.

### **Conclusion:**

According to the June 3<sup>rd</sup> Plan of the Indian Partition, Boundary Commission was formed on July 12, 1947 to divide the Punjab into East and West Punjab between India and Pakistan respectively on the basis of Muslim majority and non-Muslim majority areas. The outcomes and upshots proved the Commission it's working as merely a dummy. The INC leaders with the assistance of Sikh leadership and British establishment high jacked the proceedings of Boundary Commission which was working under Cyril Radcliffe. Punjab was a Muslim majority Province with 57% of the Muslim majority but West Punjab received only 16 provinces of the Punjab out of 29. INC used the Sikhs and received 13 districts in the East Punjab.

Historically it was a monopolized Award as many Muslim majority areas were given to India but not a single non-Muslim majority area was committed to Pakistan. This unjust division of Punjab historically affected the region with the water, regional and territorial issues like Kashmir. No community contented on this Award. Sikhs were wanted the East Punjab till Chenab to get their holy shrines of Nankana Sahib and further various fertile lands of the Canal colonies. On the other hand, Muslim League wanted the Gurdaspur, Batala, Pathankot, etc. with Pakistan. These stances increased the breeches among the indulged communities which igniting a large-scale violence and blood-shed in Punjab. The British administration was responsible for this sort of partition and failed to contain the alarming situations and brutalities during partition in Punjab. During partition crisis about 2 to 3 hundred thousand people were killed and countless were injured, displaced and kidnapped. This unfair Award caused such agonies to the Punjab and Punjabis the time could not cure.

### **Hypothesis:**

The tactics of Indian political leaders pushed Indian Provinces of Punjab and Bengal towards partition. The partition process exposed the British Administrative strengths and the capacities of native political and administrative bodies. Leaders used the natives for political motives. These socio-political intentions shaped nasty identities among both the people of India and Pakistan. This made the partition process intangible and provocative.

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