

F03240

INSIDE PAKISTAN



..... "For God's sake Liaqat, now that we've got it what are we to do with it?"

INSIDE PAKISTAN

K. L. GAUBA

**DELHI
RAJKAMAL PUBLICATIONS LIMITED**

First Printing March, 1948
All rights reserved.

Price Rupees Five only

Printed by Gopi Nath Seth at Navin Press, Delhi and published by
Rajkamal Publications Limited, Delhi.

Dedication

To

“ The gale had passed, but chilling was the air.
A simple tramp came wand’ring o’er the hill—
A man of peaceful habit, free from care,
Save that he felt a trifle wet and chill.
Calmly, with equal mind but broken shoe,
Onward he moved, until at length he stood
Where an adjacent haystack met his view
(A crop both scarce and dear, but very good.)
This he regarded in a casual way,
Then, finding warmth his prevalent desire,
Drew forth a match and lit the ready hay,
And in a moment had a first-class fire.
And there he basked upon the leeward side,
Till the rude farmer came and raised a storm,
To whose unseemly protest he replied
Mildly, that he had done it “for a warm”.

* * * *

A simple tramp. Perchance a simple tale,
But what a greatness! Surely we have here
A calm, cool mind that knows not how to fail,
A steady brain that sees its purpose clear:
An elemental soul that gives no heed
To right or wrong-surmounts without pause
The disproportionate vastness of his deed,
Nor care the 2d. that he lacks for laws.
What is a stack? A barn, a homestead roof—
Whole villages shall flare at his commands;
Great towns and cities shall be nowise proof
If such a one aspire to warm his hands.
Does he need victual? Is he void of trust?
Poultry and flocks his instant need shall slake
Ten thousand fatted beeves shall bite the dust
Ere he go lacking in a modest steak.
Oh, see him! ‘Tis a sight to stir the heart,
Serene of purpose, ready, swift, and bold,
The kingly impulse of a BOUNAPARTE
Were less than his, if he is feeling cold.”

CONTENTS

I	Dawn of Freedom	....	1
II	The Pakistan Idea	....	19
III	The Cabinet Mission and Its Plan	....	33
IV	Eighty Million Blue-Prints	....	42
V	The Qaid-e-Azam	....	59
VI	Gulistan-i-Fatima	....	64
VII	A Pakistan Charter	....	80
VIII	The Refugee Problem	....	92
IX	Is Pakistan Bankrupt ?	....	98
X	The Bargaining Counter	....	107
XI	Pakistan hails its Army	....	119
XII	Kashmir	....	137
XIII	The Scramble	....	157
XIV	War or Peace ?	....	166
XV	The Pakistan Press	....	178
XVI	Pakistan Railways	....	194
XVII	The N.-W. F. P.	....	201
XVIII	Sind	....	210
XIX	Baluchistan	....	225
XX	Acceding States	....	229
XXI	Pakistan's Eastern Partner	....	239
XXII	The Tribes of the Frontier	....	245
XXIII	By the Grace of God	....	253
	Post Script	....	267
	Index	....	273

By Way of Introduction

"INSIDE PAKISTAN" does not need a preface and hardly any words by way of introduction. The title is sufficiently indicative of its contents and purpose. Several titles were considered for the book, including such sparkling and original names as "Bagh-i-Jinnah" or "Gulistan-i-Islam." The first was rejected on the ground that it is not a work descriptive of the exotic plants that bloom in Pakistan's principal horticultural institution. The second was objectionable, as history has unfortunately given Arabia the status of the Garden of Islam. The publishers suggested "INSIDE PAKISTAN", and where it is a matter between author and publisher the publisher is invariably right.

Therefore, while the book has no connection with John Gunther's famous "Inside" surveys of Latin America, Europe and the U. S. A. it is an inside view of Pakistan. It is not a picture of snow capped peaks and tall mountains blue in the distant haze. It is a close-up view, and for all that neither a pretty nor a happy picture. As to how far it is a truthful picture must be left to the reader to judge.

Mr. Jinnah claims for Pakistan the status of the Largest Muslim State in the World" and "the Fifth Largest State in the World." These claims are not touched upon, though any gazetteer could provide ample material for interesting debate. Assuming, therefore, the hypothesis that Pakistan is the biggest of the Islamic States of the World and stands high in the list of the World's greatest States, an "inside" view of Pakistan is as important a matter as an "inside" view of Latin America, Canada or the U. S. A.

Nearly two years ago, in "Consequences of Pakistan" an effort was made to analyse some of the probable

consequences of Pakistan :

“Like the ostrich, members of the Muslim League bury their heads in the sand and dream, and dream.

“Sweet is the dream no doubt—Sovereignty, Independence, Power. But derams have an uncanny aptitude of turning into nightmares. God forbid that Pakistan should be a nightmare. Whether Pakistan is going to be Utopia Realised or Hell unloosed, it is certainly going to affect directly the lives of millions on this sub-continent.”

Mr. Jinnah probably did not read the book; he did not even have time to acknowledge it. But many Muslim Leaguers read it at the time and put it aside. In the last few months they have been hunting out these copies and giving them a second reading. It is too late now. Pakistan is a reality. We have seen some of the consequences, we have to see more.

If “Consequences of Pakistan” was mainly a prognostication, “Inside Pakistan” has no uncertainty or doubt. It is a picture, the close-up, straight-ahead view of a dream come true.

No two writers can look at a subject through the same pair of spectacles. No attempt is therefore made to write “Inside Pakistan” as John Gunther would write it. As an American stranger he could perhaps see more of the beauty and less of ugliness ; more of the foliage and less of the fallen leaves. But he could never know the splendour of a Punjab Spring, although he may find a shady spot, or two under the blazing Pakistan sun.

With much of the subject matter, therefore, the present author can claim personal knowledge; with many of the persons mentioned a longstanding acquaintance.

Familiarity can be both an advantage and also a disadvantage. Familiarity is an advantage when it lends authority ; it is a disadvantage when it creates a bias, either in favour or against. When, therefore, it could be said that any fact or opinion has been advanced out of bias, an effort has been made to support it by another opinion, preferably from a Pakistan source.

Accordingly, therefore, the author is very much indebted to the Qaid-e-Azam, the members of his Cabinet, the "Dawn" the "Pakistan Times" and other unimpeachable Pakistan sources for much authoritative material. The author is no less indebted to the 'Civil & Military Gazette' of Lahore, and 'The Statesman' and the 'Hindustan Times' of Delhi, particularly, and to several other sources too numerous to detail, but which have been mentioned wherever possible for most valuable information and facts bearing on the life and affairs of Pakistan Dominion. The author is also beholden to the "Times of India Year Books" and the several volumes of Treaties and Sanads by the late Mr. Aitchison for a great deal of the material on the subject of the States acceding to Pakistan. The author is also most grateful to an anonymous author, long since buried with his humour, for providing an appropriate dedication. And lastly he is grateful to his brother-in-Law Enver Ahmed of the "Hindustan Times" for permission to reprint his famous cartoon on the effect of the realisation of Pakistan on the Qaid-e-Azam and his Cabinet.

K. L. G.

CHAPTER ONE

Dawn of Freedom

REDDER than any sky was Pakistan's dawn of freedom.

On August 9th rumours were afloat that killings and arson would start the next day in the city of Lahore. The citizens by then had learned to trust these rumours as they had never been proved wrong. Two days before the great Shahalami Gate blaze a merchant of the locality asked a newspaper correspondent to write something so that the fire-raisers may be prevented from carrying out their plan. From previous experience people knew that such fears were not unfounded.

On 10th August killings started in a big way. About 60 people were fatally stabbed within and without the walled city of Lahore. It appeared that someone, somewhere had given the word "go". During the night non-muslim houses were set on fire in Chune Mandi, Bazaz Hatta, Sua Bazar, Lohari Gate and Mohalla Sathan. The remaining houses in Mohalla Sareen also went up in flames.

The police did nothing to prevent acts of lawlessness. In fact the police, which had already earned notoriety for partiality, were reported to have egged on the fire-raisers. Non-muslims continued to complain, but the police officials as well as the magistracy paid little heed.

The situation in the city deteriorated on the following day. Even according to censored reports, 148 people lost their lives at the hands of organized gangs of hooligans on that day. The areas of Bharat Nagar, Singhpura, Tibbi Bazar and Lohari Gate were the worst affected. Fires blazed throughout the night, lighting up the sky over the city.

as 40 killed and 100 injured. Well, in my mind I fixed up a scale to calculate the actual casualty figures from those given in the papers. During this period, not a single day passed when we did not see three or four lorryloads of stiffs crossing our house. "The lawlessness there was so official that you would probably not believe. The military actually helped the murderers. The people trying to escape out of the burning houses were mercilessly shot, and their bodies were roasted. The Lahore Station was for days beyond the reach of Hindus and Sikhs. No ignorant person who left for the station survived. A *Tribune* employee staying with us met the same fate. It was a perfect picture of lawlessness. We had the greatest difficulty of escaping out of Lahore, via the Lahore Cantonment Station. In fact that is the only way out for the victims.

"In short, Lahore is the city of the dead and a complete picture of hell. Those in charge of this hell are so perfect in their jobs and carry out the various items of their jobs with efficiency which is unprecedented."

Sialkot witnessed an orgy of violence, arson and loot for three days beginning from August 13th. The trouble, which started on a small scale on 11th August, was fanned by Muslim Leaguers who along with local officials, a large majority of them also being League-sympathisers, held meetings at various places in the city and urged Muslims to avenge Amritsar.

On 13th August a Sikh was stabbed and houses of non-Muslims were set on fire with the help of the police. Hooligans were seen carrying pitchers full of petrol to burn non-Muslim houses, and they were allowed to carry on their activities fearlessly by the local authorities.

The resistance put up by the non-Muslims, who constituted about 35 per cent of the total population of the city was outmanoeuvred by the police. With the help of the police and military a place of worship was burnt. A

Sikh constable, who tried to intervene, was killed. A number of Dharmashalas and places of worship were completely destroyed and the League flag was hoisted on the historic Shiwala of Teja Singh. Loot, arson and stabbing continued unhampered.

By the evening of 13th August many parts of the city were in flames and a number of corpses could be seen on the streets. In some places the non-Muslims put up stout resistance but they had to surrender since the military and the police refused to interfere, and thus strengthened the hands of the hooligans. The Sikh police force was disarmed and the non-Muslims whenever approached the authorities for help were mocked and jeered at.

With the declaration of curfew in the afternoon of August 13th there was no way left for the non-Muslims except to get themselves burnt in their houses or be shot at by the police if they moved out. Some of the prominent men of the city were burnt alive in their houses.

Organised massacre of non-Muslims continued on August 14th and 15th and when the rioters were taking rest on the morning of August 16th, it is alleged, the City Inspector urged them not to take rest but to continue to wipe out the *kafirs*. On the night of August 15th and 16th when most of the city was in flames the local officers and Muslim Leaguers are reported to have celebrated *jashan* in the Fort (Police headquarters).

On 16th August people started evacuating the city and in the evening some arrangements for evacuation of non-Muslims were made by the Sikh military which arrived there on that day. A refugee camp was started in the Cantonment with the aid of the Sikh military.

On August 15th and 25th, the trains which left Sialkot for Jammu carrying Hindu and Sikh evacuees were derailed causing some casualties.

Two more trains coming from Wazirabad on 15th and 18th were received at Sialkot with several bodies of Hindus and Sikhs and it is learnt that several more bodies were disposed of on the way in the Upper Chenab canal by hooligans.

The train which was coming from Wazirabad to Sialkot was stopped on the way and general slaughter and looting took place. All Hindus and Sikhs were killed except about 60 persons who were seriously injured.

By 1st September this once prosperous city was largely in ruins, its principal industries gutted and the bulk of its non-Muslim population evicted (they have all gone now). Over twelve factories were destroyed, and threw out of employment about 1,00,000 workmen, mostly Muslims. Altogether about 300 shops were burnt to the ground. The trouble by then, had also spread to the rural areas, where complete chaos reigned.

Heavy loss of life and destruction of property was also reported from other West Punjab districts. Planned attacks by armed gangs with the active help of the police, it is learnt, were being organised to kill and loot Hindus and Sikhs.

Nearly all non-Muslim localities in Gujranwalla were destroyed and looted. The loss of life ran into several hundreds. Thousands of refugees from the town and the adjoining areas awaited military protection for safe evacuation. In Hafizabad, Gujranwalla district, rice godowns were first pillaged and then set on fire by mobs. In Ramnagar, another small town in Gujranwalla district, only one non-Muslim area was unaffected, the rest having been destroyed. The prosperous *mandi* of Pattoki was a mass of rubble.

Serious rioting which broke out in Sialkot, Jhelum, Sargodha, Lyallpur and Montgomery districts, also caused a heavy toll of life. Casualties have been conservatively estimated at 10,000 to 15,000. Detailed news from these districts were not available except through those of the refugees who had escaped to safer areas.

Thousands of refugees were marooned for weeks in these districts for want of transport. The railway system was completely dislocated in West Punjab. There was no safety of travel by trains which were still running from western districts to Lahore.

Pakpatan, a city in Montgomery district, was burnt and looted by armed men on August 24th. Refugees told the story of arson and loot, and said that it was not possible to estimate the amount of property destroyed and looted, and the number of persons killed. "It was done on a gigantic scale" one of them said.

More than seventy refugees were killed at Raiwind station and the luggage of others looted

The campaign to eliminate the minorities from Pakistan was not confined to the Punjab. Killing of non-Muslims in Quetta started on August 21st. Narrating the incidents in Quetta on that day some of the refugees said that mass killing of Hindus and Sikhs was incited by circulating rumours of what had happened at other places. The military arrived when most of the shops were looted, houses burnt, and men and women killed.

In the first fortnight of Pakistan's existence communal disturbances on a major scale were reported to have flared up in several districts of the Multan Division of West Punjab, which had so far escaped the horrors of Sheikhpura or Lahore. This was mainly due to the atrocity stories circulated by League newspapers and Muslim National Guards about happenings in East Punjab.

Non-Muslims in the Multan Division were cut off and all possible routes of escape effectively barred. The main centres of trouble were Jhang, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan and Dehra Ismail Khan in the N. W. F. P.

Armed bands of hooligans operated on railway trains, particularly between Multan and Bhakhar. Hindus and Sikhs attempting to escape were thrown out of running trains or had their throats cut.

Leiah, an important town 79 miles from Multan, had over 10,000 Hindus and Sikhs who finding it unsafe to venture out of the town accepted mass conversion to Islam.

In Jhang a serious situation was stated to have arisen owing to the complicity of high local officials and League leaders. On 23rd August a prominent League leader, who is also a member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly,

came to the town and went round the city inciting Muslims to wreak vengeance on non-Muslims in Pakistan. He was assisted by high district officers.

Following this incitement there were large scale encounters between Hindus and Sikhs on one side and Muslim hooligans on the other. With the aid of the military and the police non-Muslims were disarmed and their equipments handed over to League National Guards.

Non-Muslims were not able to get food supplies. When foodstuffs were despatched for them from Lyallpur the trucks carrying grain were looted.

About 300 women were abducted by hooligans and not restored even when requested to do so by the European Superintendent of Police.

Not only were heavy casualties inflicted on non-Muslims but their property was also looted. The Police under the pretence of searching for illegal arms deprived them of their money and jewellery.

“Murder in the eyes of men, violence in the hearts of officials, misery and starvation on the faces of refugees and a feeling of despair among politicians”: This is what a Special representative of the “Hindustan Times” saw in the Punjab as one of the party who accompanied Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on their 2,000 mile tour of the affected areas.

“It was a fatal step the League leaders took in dividing the military, the police and the civil services on communal lines. By doing so they let loose a greater frankenstein than they did by preaching hatred of Hindus and Sikhs. The Pakistan Radio and the Press fed this monster by playing up upon atrocities in East Punjab and blacking out news of butchery in the West.

“Seventy per cent of the casualties of the laste three weeks in West Punjab were inflicted by the communally-maddened troops and policemen. The victims of their bullets numbered thousands. The massacre at Sheikhpura, which was their handwork, puts to shade the slaughter at Jallianwala Bagh. The annihilation of thousands in

Shakargarh tehsil, when the whole story is revealed, will be found to have put to shade even Sheikhpura."

And in a few words what happened at Sheikhpura will bear record. The men, women and children were formed into two groups on the pretext that they were to be evacuated to refugee camps separately. When the men had collected, they were shot down by a fusillade from scores of tommy guns. From the women and children, girls over the ages of 11 and women under forty were sifted to slake the thirst of Pakistan's new battalions; the rest were put to the sword. According to some accounts, not less than ten thousand persons were slaughtered in this locality, in one single day.

Railway trains became the special target of attacks unlike the disturbances of March last, when trouble was confined to a few areas. The trouble started when the Sind Express was held up near Badami Bagh near Lahore. That proved the signal for such attacks at other places and trains between 'Pindi and Lahore were held up for hours together at several stations.

Several passengers were brutally murdered at Wazirabad station after which the hooligans set fire to Hindu shops and business premises. The Wazirabad branches of the "Punjab National Bank" and the "Lakshmi Commercial Bank" were gutted after being looted. The cashier of the "Punjab and Kashmir Bank" was stabbed; their accountant is still missing while their manager escaped.

The thriving bazar of Malakwal, a well-known *mandi*, was burnt. Trains were stopped at Alla, a way-side railway station, where several people were killed.

Three persons, including a two-year old child were shot dead inside a house at 'Pindi.

A major disaster on Chakwal line was averted by the pluck and courage shown by an Anglo-Indian Railway Inspector, who was travelling in that train. A gang of about half a dozen hooligans, armed with sten-guns blocked the rail between Harnal and Mandra-Bhaun section of the N. W. Railway. Noticing that there were some non-Muslims in a particular compartment, the inspector, who

had a revolver, immediately came out of his compartment and returned the fire. The intruders thinking that military was accompanying the train, withdrew after killing two and injuring three. Several passengers were killed at the Taxila Railway station.

When a Pakistan Special carrying some persons belonging to the Baluch Regiment, passed through 'Pindi, the officers in command, it is alleged, exhorted the League National Guards present at the platform, to see that not a single Hindu or Sikh was allowed to migrate safely from 'Pindi.

Ramkund is a famous place of Hindu pilgrimage situated at a distance of 12 miles from Rawalpindi. The deities installed in the temples were smashed as also the gates leading to the Shrine. The entire food stock was looted. The Hindu and the Sikh population migrated in fear.

Two of the most dastardly attacks were on public officers. One of the victims was Diwan Maya Ram Nanda a Punjab Government officer. On his way home with two ladies of his family he was waylaid. All three were brutally murdered.

At the Lahore railway station on platform No. 5, a family under the "protection" of the 'National Guards' was made over to ruffians. The two male members were stabbed to death. The woman in the party was put down on the floor and had her breasts cut off and then stabbed. A boy of ten who ran up the Central Stair-Case was chased and killed on the top of the bridge. And when all this was over these Pakistan heroes walked away as if it was all part of a daily routine.

And so was the murder of Prof. Madan Gopal Singh, Registrar of the Punjab University. He went to Lahore to collect some records. He was invited to meet the Vice-Chancellor. He went to the Vice-Chancellor's room but did not find him there. As he was descending the stairs, he was set upon and stabbed to death. It was alleged, in the Press note issued by the West Punjab Government, that he was killed by a dismissed employee,

whom, it was stated, he had named in a dying declaration. The murder was committed at about 10-30 a. m. in view of several eye witnesses. Nobody was arrested. In the evening officials looted Professor Madan Gopal Singh's house. The dying declaration mysteriously underwent a dramatic change. The disgruntled employee referred to as the murderer was only indicated on suspicion. "I have been stabbed by an employee I dismissed", became "I suspect I have been stabbed by an employee whom I dismissed". It is certainly no fault of the police that Prof. Madan Gopal Singh did not make a more definite declaration while leaving Pakistan. And without a proper 'dying declaration,' how can Pakistan Police do anything about it? Madan Gopal Singh's murder must, therefore, remain one of the hundred thousand unsolved murders of Pakistan.

And thus Lahore, once the gayest city of the north, became a city of the dead. The fashionable Mall presented a deserted appearance with almost all the shops shut up or destroyed. The roads emptied, except for military trucks and a few private cars with armed escorts aboard. There was a grim funeral look on every face and people could not smile. Outside the overcrowded refugees' camp, there were a few Hindus and Sikhs, and all one saw bore a hunted look.

Towards the end of August stabbing and murders showed a decrease. The activities of the goondas took a new turn—looting with the help of the police.

Mr. Manzur Qadir a Lahore Barrister, went to a bungalow of a Hindu Barrister to rescue some property. When he arrived he found looting in progress. A tommy gun was pointed at him and he was told to get out. He withdrew as discretion was certainly the better part of valour.

On 16th August the premises of the *Tribune* newspaper were set on fire. Much damage was not done, but the staff had to flee the city.

Adjoining the *Tribune* office were the offices of the Bharat Insurance Co., Ltd. With the assistance of R. S.

Nathu Ram Assistant Liason Officer an attempt was made to move the records of the Company into lorries. Two clerks were stabbed in the process. The crowd that objected to the removal of the records, then went into Dr. B. L. Kapur's maternity hospital; stabbed an attendant and assaulted the nurses. The timely arrival of some members of the police saved the lives of the patients.

L. Chaman, a Muslim Barrister, went to assist a Hindu friend remove some of his belongings in Shahi Mohalla. The whole party was brutally murdered at the instance of a Sub-Inspector of police, who shared the booty including a large amount in cash.

On 25th August the Associated Press wired from Lahore:

"Widespread looting was reported from Bazar Mohalla in Lahore Cantonment, Gowalmandi and Maclagan Road.

"While murder is on the decrease in the city and district of Lahore, the authorities are confronted with another serious crime—wide-spread looting in broad daylight.

"Mr. Zaffarul Hasan, Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, said that short of shooting them down, he would give no quarter to looters. The police had arrested a large number of these offenders".

It cannot be said that the looting was the work of the newly up-rooted refugees from East Punjab, nor the work of goondas or the police entirely. Persons considered well-to-do let themselves go to seize the easy property of neighbours, friends and erstwhile acquaintances. Furniture, Frigidaires, radios, clothes, jewellery formed the principal subjects of attention. A well-known Barrister organised a party and raided a foreign liquor shop—he and his friends are well stocked in whisky for several months to come. Surplus stocks he has sold to the market. A surgeon in Government service broke into a fellow practitioner's surgery and stole his entire surgical equipment. And when later requested to return it, produced an order of the Punjab Government prohibiting the

removal of surgical apparatus and instruments from the district of Lahore. (It was not realised at the time that this order would virtually bring to a standstill the working of a large factory of a prominent muslim businessman for the manufacture of surgical instruments).

Large houses fell vacant. The Hindus and Sikhs had the best properties. Whole areas, such as Rajgarh, Shamgarh, Kishan Nagar, the city (such as left of it,) the Golf Road area, Mayo Road and several other localities which had more than 90% non-Muslim population suddenly overnight fell vacant with valuable furniture and personal effects left as and where they lay.

And so began a scramble for Hindu houses and sofa sets. Here are a few names with old and new addresses.

Mian Nurullah, M. L. A.	Charing Cross Flat.	Bakshi Sir Tekchand's Fane Road House.
M. S. Muttaqi	Small Bungalow, Mozang Road	R. B. Seth Ram Rattan's Palatial House.
Malik Feroz Khan Noon	Suite Falettis Hotel	Residence of R. B. Sohanlal, Danepur Road.
Farukh Hussain, Barrister.	Two Room Tenement in Mozang.	Residence of A. N. Grover on Fane Road.
Tassaduq Hussein, Barrister.	Small Bungalow, Empress Road.	Large Bungalow, Fane Road.
Shabir Ahmed.	Three Room Tenement.	House of J.L. Kapur, Begum Road.

These are only half a dozen or so. There are probably a thousand more equally impressive. And while Muslim Leaguers from Lahore were drawing their first dividends from Pakistan, scores of thousands and thousands of their less fortunate brothers in Islam were pouring into the promised eldorado—homeless, tired, hungry and stricken with disease.

While Muslim refugees celebrated an "Id" on the roadside, Iftikhar Hussain of Mamdot and Iftikharuddin

of Baghbanpura carried a leg of mutton each to Walton Refugee Camp in gratitude to an All Bountiful Providence.

During the disturbances a vigilant eye on the safety of refugees was kept by Lady Mountbatten who, repeatedly, at no little inconvenience and risk to herself ventured into the danger areas of West Punjab to see things for herself and to get a first hand knowledge of affairs to be taken up, if necessary, later at Cabinet level. On one of these occasions she was accompanied by the Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. At the Press conference that followed, details were given of an attack on a refugee column from Sialkot on the outskirts of Lahore. The details when published sent a wave of anger throughout the country.

Emphasising the need for safe escort, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur described the tragic story of the convoy of 60 vehicles which started to evacuate non-Muslim refugees from Sialkot. Before the convoy left Sialkot, the refugees asked Brig. Coolier, who was in charge of troops there, whether they would be safe during the journey. He assured them that he had provided enough guards for the convoy. The guards were, however, all Muslims, with the single exception of a British officer. The Muslim drivers of the vehicles refused to take the non-Muslim refugees unless they were assured that an equal number of Muslim refugees from East Punjab were brought back. These assurances were given and the convoy started.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur said that she was told by some survivors of this ill-fated convoy that when the vehicles reached the river Ravi, the drivers left and were absent for about a couple of hours. When they returned and resumed their journey, they were attacked by an armed mob estimated at 1,000 strong. The escort fired a couple of shots in the air and did nothing to protect the convoy. The non-Muslim refugees were mercilessly done to death.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur said that she and Lady Mountbatten were in Amritsar when the shattered remnants of this convoy arrived there. She herself counted 13

bodies. The refugees had been literally hacked to pieces. Several others were very seriously wounded. Before the attack on this convoy had taken place the single British officer had left it, because he was under orders to return to Sialkot.

From the undernoted table, it will be apparent that the responsibility for devising new methods of communal warfare lies almost invariably with the members or votaries of the Muslim League :

Stabbing members of other community	began	Calcutta	16th Aug. 1946	by League supporters.
Use of acids	began	"	"	" by non-league supporters.
Burning houses and villages of the other community	began	Noakhali	by League	"
Import of large quantities of knives	began	Bombay	Sept. 1947	"
Stabbings in Punjab	began	Amritsar	March 1947	"
Use of petrol in large quantities in burning houses and business premises	began	Amritsar	March 1947	"
Large scale looting	"	"	"	"
Stopping trains and murdering of the minority community	"	Sharifpura (Amritsar)	"	"
Employing the trouser test to determine community	"	Attock	"	"
Attacking hospitals and killing inmates	"	Multan	"	"
Desecrating places of worship of minorities.	"	Rawalpindi District	"	"

Forcible circumcision and conversion	began Rawalpindi	District	March 1947	League
Attacks on women	"	Amritsar	" "	"
Outrages on women	"	Rawalpindi	" "	"
Abductions	"	"	" "	"
Maiming children	"	"	" "	"
Burning alive in petrol members of the opposite community	"	Amritsar	May 1947	League
Attacks by bombs	"	Lahore	" "	Non-League
Attacks on Omnibuses	"	"	June 1947	League
Original methods in butchering victims	"	"	" "	"
Murder by troops with automatic weapons	"	"	August 1947	Baluch Regiment
Hiring of assassins	"	"	June 1947	League
Hiring of the fire raisers	"	"	" "	"
Massacre at Railway stations	"	"	August 1947	"
Attacks on Refugee convoys	"	"	" "	"
Large scale attacks on trains	"	Gujranwala	" "	"
Looting of shops and houses under police protection	"	Lahore	" "	"

An important member of the Punjab Muslim League, who is also a member of the bar, accidentally dropped in the room of the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court a circular giving instructions to members as to how things were to be done. This is now probably in the archives of the Home Department of the Government of India. Before Aug. 15th this gentleman filed Habeas Corpus petitions by the score on behalf of the Muslim League of

persons arrested for murder and arson. When the Muslim League came into power, arrests for murder and arson ceased.

One of the earliest acts of the Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, when indicated for Premiership of West Punjab was to secure the transfer of all Muslims awaiting trial for murder at Amritsar to the Lahore Central Jail. After the establishment of Pakistan a number of these persons were permitted to escape from the jail. The rest were written off as having died of cholera.

Many of the persons arrested by the police under the orders of Sir Evan Jenkins, Governor, for the Rawalpindi outrages made statements that they had been told by the League supporters that a Muslim League Ministry would soon come into being, and no one of them would have to face a trial. Hence the ferocity and barbarism of the attacks on non-Muslims in that area and complete freedom from restraint. Although the Muslim League did not come into power till 15th August the promise given on its behalf was honoured and nearly two thousand persons held by the preceding Government for murder, arson and worse were set at liberty. Hindus and Sikhs held for lesser offences continued in Pakistan captivity.

It is well-known that time does not bar criminal liability. Since March according to conservative estimates there have been more than a hundred thousand cold-blooded murders, thousands of cases of rape, arson and abduction. In some cases the assassins were taken in delicto. In many cases it was known who they were and who were the abettors. Mr. Jinnah in his Lahore broadcast on August 31st declared emphatically that all guilty of these heinous crimes must be punished.

Said Mr. Jinnah :

“A few days ago, I received harrowing accounts of the terrible happenings in the Punjab and the situation from all accounts, appeared to be so grave that I decided to come to Lahore. On my arrival here, I immediately got in touch with various sources that were available to me and I was deeply

grieved to realise that, unfortunately, there was a great deal of truth in what had been told to me. I am speaking to you under deep distress and with a heavy heart. We have undoubtedly achieved Pakistan, and that too without bloody war, and practically peacefully by moral and intellectual force, and with the power of the pen, which is mightier than the swords. So our righteous cause has triumphed.

“Those who are responsible for this holocaust must be dealt with an iron hand and put down ruthlessly. The civilised world is looking upon these doings and happenings with horror and the fair name of the communities concerned stands blackened in the eyes of the world.”

But either the West Punjab Government and the Punjab Police do not share Mr. Jinnah's views that these men should be brought to trial and are loathe to hang the real architects of Pakistan, or perhaps they never listened-in to the Qaid-e-Azam. What perhaps is more likely- they listened-in and heard him but never attempted to carry out his orders as they knew they were only for listeners in the U. S. A. The words were clear enough: the conclusion is optional.

CHAPTER TWO

The Pakistan Idea

THE idea of Pakistan first came into practical form from a small group of Muslim students of Cambridge University. In January 1933, when the Joint Parliamentary Committee was carrying on its work of examining witnesses, four of these students, Mohammed Aslam Khan, Ch. Rehmat Ali, Sheikh Mohd. Sadiq and Inayatullah Khan issued a small four page pamphlet, entitled "Now or Never," in which they advocated the idea of a partition of the country. The theory that the Muslims are a separate nation, and are therefore entitled to a separate state of their own, was for the first time seriously advocated in this pamphlet.

Sir Mohammed Iqbal had mooted an analogous idea in his address in 1930 to the All India Muslim League.

So closely has Pakistan come to be associated with Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League that one hardly remembers the men who must really be regarded as the originators of the idea, an idea that aroused so much controversy in the domain of Indian politics, created so much hatred, and brought on a calamity unparalleled in human history.

The main figure was Chawdhari Rehmat Ali, at the time a post-graduate student at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. The son of a devout father, Haji Chawdhari Shah Mohammed of Mohar, and the scion of an old family distinguished for its devotion to Islam, he was already known to his friends as a very sincere man with a creative mind.

Rehmat Ali, the Founder of Pakistan has, among his admirers, attained the role of a demi-prophet.

“ To these qualities must be added his mystic faith in his own destiny. It is said that when he was only five, a Faqeer foretold a brilliant future for him and bade him prepare himself for the great role which was pre-ordained for him by Allah.

“His prediction is widely believed to have been the making of Rehmat Ali. As a matter of fact, he himself still admits that ultimately it led to his spiritual re-birth, and gave his life a new meaning which determined him to keep himself free from all worldly ties, to live and work in the hope of finding his destiny, and to hold himself ready for the supreme call that he felt was sure to come.

“Now, in this crisis, nearly 30 years after the Faqeer's prediction, he saw its fulfilment. Fanatically convinced that his hour had struck and that his Allah had at last called upon him to save the Millat's cause in the sub-continent, he answered the summons with a fervent appeal and gave himself to alter the fundamental course of Muslim political life and to release Islam for ever from the yoke of Indianism.

“ In other words, he undertook the all fateful task of transforming the cult of Indianism into the creed of Islamism, the course of ‘ minority communalism ’ into the call of Muslim Nationalism, the perilous position of Muslim territories as provinces of India into the safe status of Muslim fatherland of Pakistan, of Bang-i-Islam, and of Usmanistan in South Asia, and finally, the old sense of frustration into a new hope for the fulfilment of Islamic mission.

“ And all this he achieved in the course of a few years. ”

In pursuance of this decision, Rehmat Ali is said to have neglected his studies and started the struggle. Coming out into the open, on the one hand, he boldly challenged the Anglo-Hindu entente and warned them of the relentless opposition of Muslims to Indian Federation and, on the other, he cried a halt to the policy of the delegates to the Joint Select Committee, devised the name

"*Pakistan*" for the predominantly Muslim strongholds of the Punjab, Afghanistan (North West Frontier Province), Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan, created the *Pakistani* ideology, and called upon them to follow it or else to face the verdict of posterity.

The scheme at first did not arouse much interest or enthusiasm. Hindus were frankly hostile. British politicians were dubious and even Muslim opinion apathetic.

Professor Gulshan Rai writing in the "Tribune" of October 12, 1935 said of the Pakistan scheme :

"The present day mentality of the Muslims is formed by the lands watered by its tributaries into what they are pleased to call Pakistan, or the land where the holy Muslim law is to prevail. Unless the Government rigorously enforces the existing British India Law, there can be no communal peace in the country. The developments of this... Pakistan mentality in the North West are as dangerous to the Hindus and the Sikhs as undoubtedly they are to the Government."

The Duchess of Atholl, M. P., writing on the Indian problem thus showed her apprehensions of the Pakistan scheme :

"The determination of some Muslims not to submit under any conditions to a Hindu yoke at the Centre is shown by the proposal to set up an independent Federation of the five mainly Muslim areas, i.e. the Punjab, Sind, North West Frontier, Kashmir and Baluchistan. In view of the fact that such a Federation would include the bulk of the fighting races of India, that it would control her most vulnerable frontier, and that beyond that frontier lies a continuous belt of Muslim states stretching to the Mediterranean, a greater political and military danger to India could hardly be imagined. It might well mean civil war in India and an Afghan invasion with Soviet support.

"Muslim witnesses described this to the Joint Committee as only a students' scheme, but the anxiety

shown by a leading Muslim delegate to cut short questions on this matter suggests that the proposal has aroused interest in more responsible quarters. A later witness, an ex-District Magistrate, told the Joint Committee that the idea of a great Islamic State, to include not only the area in question, but also Afghanistan, was being discussed in Muslim circles in the Punjab and North West Frontier Province. It is also being spoken of in Chinese Turkestan, which is rapidly being penetrated by Islamic ideas, though Soviet representatives, since the conclusion of a commercial treaty in 1931 with the Chinese authorities, are said to have become the actual rulers of this huge province, a fact which incidentally brings British and Soviet Russia in direct contact with each other for four hundred miles along the northern border of Kashmir.

The opposition to the Pakistan idea at the Joint Select Committee came not so much from the British or Hindu representatives as from representatives of the Muslim community.

"Before we quote their evidence (and the remarks thereon of Sir Zafrulla Khan to show how they tried to strangle the ideal of Pakistan, we must record here that this deputation, consisting of Mr. A. Yusaf Ali, Sir Mohammed Yakub, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Dr. Khalifa Shujauddin, and Khan Sahib Haji Rashid Ahmed, represented both the All India Muslim League, the President of which at the time was none other than Sir Mohammed Iqbal, and the All India Muslim Conference, which had for its supreme head a person of the position of His Highness the Agha Khan.

"This is how some of these worthies thought fit to discharge their duty to the future of the Millat and deliver themselves before the Select Committee when asked their opinion of the Pakistan scheme :

Q. 9598.—Sir Reginald Craddock : I will pass on.
If any of the delegates or the witnesses would like

to answer : will they tell me whether there is a scheme for Federation of Provinces under the name of Pakistan ?

A. 9598.—Abdullah Yusuf Ali, C.B.E. : As far as I know it is only a students' scheme, no responsible people have put it forward.

Sir Reginald Craddock : They have not so far, but, as you say, you advance very quickly in India, and it may be when those students grow up it will be put forward ; that scheme must be in the minds of the people, anyhow.

Mr. Zafrulla Khan : What is the question ?

Sir Reginald Craddock : I wanted to know whether the witnesses had acquaintance with a scheme which was drawn up for what is called Pakistan.

Mr. Zafrulla Khan : We have already had the reply that it was a student's scheme and there is nothing in it. What is the further question ?

Q. 9599.—Mr. Isaac Foot. What is Pakistan ?

A. 9599.—Mr. Zafrulla Khan : So far as we have considered it, we have considered it chimerical and impracticable. It means the Federation of certain Provinces.

Q. 9600.—Sir Reginald Craddock : I have received communications about the proposal of forming certain Muslim states under the name of Pakistan.

A. 9600.—Dr. Khalifa Shujaiddin : Perhaps, it will be enough to say that no such scheme has been considered by any representative gentleman or association so far. Surely Muslim history, heritage and hopes could hardly wish for more doughty defenders.

“ Jinnah was no easy convert to the idea of Pakistan. An interesting account of the conversion has been given by Mr. Khan Ahmed in his book “ Founder of Pakistan.”

“ Lastly, we come to the question of party rivalries that cloud personal judgements and compromise political relations. Here perhaps, an apt illustration is provided

by the All India Muslim League. Upto 1935, the year when the new Government of India Act was passed, the policy of its President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, could fairly be described as that of politician who considered himself 'Indian first everything else afterwards.'

"Though eternally fatal to the Muslims this policy was in those days foolishly considered the hallmark of progressiveness and a passport to popularity. Consequently, while it gravely injured the national cause of Muslims by leading them to look upon the service of 'Indianism' as the goal of patriotism, it established Jinnah's political career and made him the darling of Hindu circles which honoured him with the title of the apostle of united India.

"In these circumstances who can doubt that to a politician of his creed Rehmat Ali's message came as a bolt from the blue. Like that of the League, it compromised his past record inspired by 'Indianism'. More, it endangered his political future, both as a politician and as President of League. This started a political rivalry between the two most powerful personalities and their parties in Muslim India."

Seeing the growing menace of Pakistan to his party, Jinnah took steps to meet it. He went further than that and, in defending his old policy decried Rehmat Ali, dubbed him an irresponsible person and characterised his plan as a crazy scheme.

This diatribe, he hoped, would finish both Rehmat Ali and his movement. But it did not work that way. For Rehmat Ali was the last to take a challenge lying down, retorted with a slashing attack on Jinnah and on the League and forced them on to the defensive.

Describing Jinnah as the "boozna" of Bombay, who was incapable of creating anything himself, had spent his whole life, partly in opposing, partly in defacing and partly in aping every new idea in the politics of the sub-continent, he denounced his policy as the product of his

English cum Indian cum Islamic past. Then, pillorying the All India Muslim League as a crowd of "mealy-mouthed careerists" and its Council a clique of manipulators, some of whom owed their political, and others their material, positions to British patronage, he accused the Leaguers of sticking in the past thirty years to their discredited policies, of reducing the Muslims to the positions of a minority community, of 'Indianising' them as a people, and of betraying their heritage to the Anglo-Hindu entente.

Until 1940 the idea of Pakistan was no serious issue in Muslim politics. It formed no part of the League's programme. Then came a revolution.

It took seven years for the Pakistan idea to percolate to Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League.

Shortly after the 1937 elections, Mr. Jinnah explained the position of the League members of provincial legislatures vis-a-vis other groups and said :—

"The constitution and policy of the League do not prevent us from co-operation with others. On the contrary, it is part and parcel of our basic principle that we are free and ready to co-operate with any group or party from the very inception, or inside the legislature, if the basic principles are determined by common consent."

These words engendered a hope that the League might be induced to co-operate with the Congress in its extremist programme and negotiations were started, but it soon became apparent that the two could not come together.

The situation was rendered more difficult by the attitude of stiffness adopted by the Congress and its President Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Mr. Jinnah refused to convert the League into an under-study of the Congress and firmly upheld the position of the League.

The Congress, for its part, found as the result of the elections that it did not have the support of the Muslim community. Very few Congress Muslims were put up as candidates for the elections, and even they

failed. The Congress therefore set about roping in the Muslims by an appeal to their economic conscience, explaining that the Congress was out to alleviate the sufferings of the masses, Muslims as well as Hindus, and to uplift the nation as a whole. In this process the League and its leaders came in for a great deal of violent criticism at the hands of the Congress political magnates.

On behalf of the League Mr. Jinnah retorted :

“ The Congress have not the monopoly, nor are they the sole custodians of Indian nationalism. As I have always maintained, the Muslim League is prepared to join hands with any progressive party in the fight for the country's freedom, but to achieve this the question of minorities must be settled satisfactorily. Here I am not talking of only Muslims but all minorities. Further we are not prepared to merge ourselves into any organisation, however great it may be, and however advanced its programme and policy may be unless it is determined by common consent.”

Paying little heed to these words of warning, the Congress leaders went their own way. Puffed with the success at the polls they affected to ignore the claims of Muslim leaders. In what may be described as non-Muslim provinces—that is, those in which the Muslims are in a minority—the Congress formed Ministries without consulting and securing the co-operation of the Muslim League; talks failed mainly on account of the Congress demand that whenever such an understanding was reached the Muslim League should cease to be a separate parliamentary body and merge itself in the resultant Congress League party.

The League, for its part, was willing to co-operate but not on the terms imposed by the Congress. In the result the negotiations failed, and the League remained in the opposition.

Although the bulk of the Muslim representatives returned to the provincial legislatures by the electorate were in opposition to the Congress the latter proceeded to constitute Governments with Muslim Ministers who did

not represent Muslim League in the legislature. Nowhere in any of the so-called Congress provinces did the Muslim Ministers have the support of the majority or even a decent number of Muslim legislators. Thus these Muslim Ministers in the Congress provinces were the objects of repeated displays of Muslim hostility.

Having failed to reach an agreement with the League and its leaders, the Congress tried to crush the League and its leaders by making a direct approach to the Muslim masses through an economic and national programme. For a time this appeared to succeed, but eventually failed to achieve its object. The League leaders counteracted the Congress propaganda by pointing out to the Muslim masses that their true interests lay in their organisation under the banner of the League which alone could serve them truly. The League's counter drive succeeded in a large measure aided by allegations that in provinces where the Congress was running the Government the Muslim minorities were not treated well. The Congress, on the other hand, inspired movements to undermine the authority of the Ministers in Bengal, the Punjab, Assam and Sind and in the last named it actually succeeded in overthrowing the Ministry. The widening gulf between the Congress and the League gave an additional stimulus to the consolidation of the Muslim forces under the League which found fruition at the Lucknow session of the League in the autumn of 1937.

A new idea and a new ideology took hold of the Muslim League.

There could be no agreement with the Congress. Hence a state without the shadow of Congress domination.

The *infant terrible*, of a Cambridge under-graduate, which had hitherto been the subject of ridicule by Muslim Leaders and scoffed at by Mr. Jinnah himself, became the pet of the League and the favourite of its President.

The League's counter drive everywhere, succeeded in a large measure aided by allegations that in provinces where the Congress was reigning it was primarily seeking the country's freedom in the interests of the Hindus. The

widening gulf between the Congress and the League gave an additional stimulus to the consolidation of the Muslim forces under the League.

A thick curtain descended on the vision and understanding of the Muslim community. The armchair hangers-on of the Qaid-e-Azam became the arbiters of the destiny and fortunes of nearly eighty million Mussalmans. The Muslim League emerged thus as the strongest and most influential political organisation of the Muslim community.

The Lucknow session changed the creed of the League to :

“ the establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic states in which the rights and interests of the Muslims and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the constitution. ”

With the outbreak of the war and the changes it brought in Indian politics, the League found itself in an extremely advantageous position. The Indian National Congress withdrew its ministries from the Provinces where it had held sway for nearly two and a half years. As a result of this the League came to be on a par with the Congress in that both were now out of office and without the power and influence which went with it. Whereas the Congress lost through the resignation of its ministries such bargaining power as it had while in office, the League acquired some more power through the international complications that resulted from the war.

The idea of Muslims being a nation gathered strength during 1939-40 in which period a number of schemes for the formation of a Muslim block of autonomous states were being mooted. For a time they were not regarded by the League seriously, but from the proceedings of the annual session of League held in April 1940 it became clear that the Muslim League was serious about this partition business.

The Muslim community, as represented by the Muslim League, declared for Muslim independence.

The principal resolution of the session, which was carried unanimously, ran :

“ While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, the 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October 1933, and the 3rd of February 1940, on the Constitutional issues, this session of the All India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935 is totally unsuited to and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

“ It further records its emphatic view that, while the declaration dated the 18th October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de-novo* and that no revised plan will be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

“ Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims, unless it is designed on the following basic principles, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign and that adequate,

effective and mandatory safeguards, should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them, and, in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This session further authorised the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as Defence, External Affairs, Communications, Customs and such other necessary matters.

This created a stir in the country among nationalists and Hindus alike and also among some Muslims. True, the novelty of the thing caught the Muslim imagination, but even among Muslims there were many who questioned the wisdom of the step suggested in the Lahore Resolution. Apart from destroying Indian Unity which had been built up after years of strenuous effort, it was argued by many, the Lahore scheme would place the Muslim minorities in Hindu provinces in a very unenviable position.

The evolution of Muslim League thought in 1940-41 followed the lines laid down in April 1940 when the Pakistan resolution was adopted at Lahore. Percentages and weightages, proportion of representation and share in services, guarantees and safeguards— notions which had held the political field for decades— were clean swept aside. Mr. Jinnah was not thinking in terms of these trifles, outworn gadgets of a democracy held to be unsuitable to an oriental people and totally inapplicable to the peculiar conditions of India. All these devices presupposed the continuance of Muslims as members of a state, more or less secured

and safeguarded, enjoying greater or less share of power, but scarcely likely as a community ever to occupy a dominant position. Mr. Jinnah refused to think of an arrangement which would give the Muslims equal power and authority with the majority community. He would not be party to making the Muslims subordinate to the Hindus. Being a numerical minority they as a community would performe be the junior partners in any composite State.

As in a composite State the Muslims could not in the nature of democracy expect to be reckoned as equals with the majority community, much less as the dominant force Mr. Jinnah went away from the idea of a composite State and proposed that India should be divided into two spheres—Muslim and Hindu. Each was to be autonomous internally and for purposes of a Central Government with minimum powers the two should collaborate as equals.

Outlining the policy of the Muslim League, he said :
“The goal of the All India Muslim League is that we want to establish a completely independent State in the North-west and eastern zones of India with full control on defence, foreign affairs, communications, customs, currency, exchange, etc. We do not want under any circumstances a constitution of an All India character with one Government at the Centre. We will never agree to that. If you once agree to it, let me tell you that the Muslims would be absolutely wiped out of existence. We shall never be a feudatory of any power or of any Government at the centre so far as our free national homelands are concerned. Muslim India will never submit to an All India constitution and one Central Government. The ideology of the League is based on the fundamental principle that the Muslims of India are an independent nationality and that any attempt to get them to merge their national and political identity and ideology will be resisted. The policy of the League is to endeavour to promote goodwill and harmony among other peoples on the basis of

equality, fair play and reciprocity. This can be secured by agreement with other peoples and parties and states with the object of achieving collective security and orderly development of the people living in different states as well as among the different free states as members of a comity respecting each other's rights."

CHAPTER THREE

The Cabinet Mission And Its Plan

THE Pakistan controversy took a realistic turn, when the Cabinet Mission came out to India.

On March 15th, 1946, just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words :

“ My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision.

“ I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so.

“ But if she does so select, it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible.”

Charged in these historic words the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy did their utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India. After prolonged discussions in New Delhi they succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in Conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach

a settlement, but it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded. Since no agreement was reached the Mission felt that it was their duty to put forward what they considered were best arrangements possible to ensure speedy setting up of the new constitution. A statement was made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

Introducing the scheme to the people of India, Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, broadcasting on May 16, from New Delhi ruled out Pakistan as an independent sovereign State.

" Nearly two months ago, I, as Secretary of State for India and my two Cabinet colleagues, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander, were sent out by His Majesty's Government to India to assist the Viceroy in setting up in India the machinery by which Indians can devise their own constitution.

" We were atonce confronted with a major obstacle. The two principal parties, the Muslim League, who won the great majority of the Muslim seats in the recent elections and the Congress who won the majority of all the others, were opposed to one another as to the kind of machinery to be set up. The Muslim League claimed that British India should be divided into two completely separate sovereign States, and refused to take part in constitution making unless this claim was conceded in advance. The Congress insisted on one single united India.

" During our stay in India we have tried by every means to secure such an accomodation between the parties as would enable constitution making to proceed. Recently we were able to bring them together at Simla in a conference with ourselves, but, though both sides were prepared to make substantial concessions, it was not found possible to reach complete agreement. We have, therefore,

been compelled ourselves to seek for a solution, which, by securing the main objects of both the parties, will enable a constitution making machinery to be brought into immediate operation.

“ While we recognise the reality of the fear of the Muslim League, that in a purely united India their community, with its own culture and way of life, might become submerged in a majority Hindu rule, we do not accept the setting up of a separate Muslim sovereign State as a solution of the communal problem.

“ ‘Pakistan’ as the Muslim League would call their State, would not consist solely of Muslims. It would contain a substantial minority of other communities, which would average over 40 percent, and in certain wide areas would even constitute a majority, as for instance, in the City of Calcutta, where the Muslims form less than one third of the population.

“ Moreover the complete separation of Pakistan from the rest of India would, in our view, gravely endanger the defence of the whole country by splitting the army into two and by preventing the defence in depth which is essential in modern war. We, therefore, do not suggest the adoption of this proposal.”

“ The joint statement of the Cabinet members which had the authority also of His Majesty's Government unequivocally found a sovereign Pakistan as an impractical proposition.

It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that had been submitted to the Mission ; but it is right that they should state that it has shown an almost universal desire outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

This consideration did not, however, deter them from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India, since the Mission were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims

lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule.

“ This feeling had become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it could not be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there was to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matter vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests.”

The Mission therefore, examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas; one in the north-west consisting of the provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North West Frontier, and British Baluchistan, the other in the North-east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League was prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged. The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was based, first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of Government according to their wishes, and secondly upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority, in order to make a Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six-Provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures show :

North Westren Area—	Muslim	Non-Muslim
Punjab	16,217,242	12,201,577
N.-W. F. Province	2,788,797	249,270
Sind	3,208,325	1,326,683
Br. Baluchistan	488,930	62,701
Total	22,658,294	13,840,231.
Total	62.07 %	37.63%

North-Eastern Area—	Muslim	Non-Muslim
Bengal	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam	3,442,479	6,762,254
Total	36,447,913	34,063,345
Total	51.69 %	48.31 %

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 18 millions.

These figures, according to the Mission showed that the setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can they see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that could be used in favour of Pakistan, could equally in their view, be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of Sikhs.

The Commission, therefore, considered whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan was, however, regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from the Pakistan of

- (a) the whole of Ambala and Jullundur Divisions in the Punjab.
- (b) the whole of Assam except district of Sylhet; and
- (c) a large part of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form only 23.6 per cent of the population.

In this connection the Commission said :

“ We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary

to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these provinces, Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs, leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. They were therefore forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

“Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph system of India had been established on basis of a united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India. The case for a united defence was even stronger. The Indian armed forces had been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Army and Indian Air Force would become much less effective. The two sections of the Pakistan contained the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth, the area of Pakistan would be insufficient.

“A further consideration of importance was the greater difficulty which the Indian states would find in associating themselves with a divided British India.

“Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the Pakistan State were separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.”

The Commission, therefore, was unable to advise the British Government that the power which was in British hands should be handed over to two entirely sovereign States.

The Cabinet Mission accordingly recommended a Constitution of three tiers, Consisting of firstly the Provinces, having complete autonomy. The top tier recommended was a Union of India consisting of an Executive and Legislature empowered to deal with the essential subject of External Affairs, Defence and Communications. Between these two tiers, the scheme contemplated a grouping of provinces as might intend to join with one another in services covering a wider area than that of a single province and these groups may have, if they wished Legislatures and Executives which in this event would be intermediate between those of the provinces of the Union.

On this basis, which made it possible for the Muslims to secure the advantages of a Pakistan without incurring the dangers inherent in the division of India, the Cabinet Mission invited Indians of all parties to take part in framing a constitution. The Viceroy would accordingly, summon to New Delhi representatives of British India, who would be elected by the members of the provincial Legislatures in such a way that as nearly as possible for each one million of the population there will be one representative, and that the proportion between the representatives of the main communities will be on the same basis.

After a preliminary meeting in common, these representatives of the Provinces would divide themselves up into three sections, the composition of which was laid down and which, if the provinces ultimately agreed would become three groups. These sections would decide upon provincial and group matters. Subsequently they would reunite to decide upon the constitution for the Union. After the first elections under the new constitution, Provinces would be free to walk out of the group into which they had been provisionally placed."

In accordance with the Cabinet Mission Scheme, a Constituent Assembly was elected. On September 2nd 1946 an Interim Government formed by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru took office.

The Muslim League between 16th May and 2nd September adopted a vacillating attitude. It, at first, accepted the scheme, although it negated a Pakistan visualised by Jinnah and Rehmat Ali, namely the independent sovereign Pakistan. The League, however, a short while later withdrew its first resolution, rejected the scheme and turned its attention towards "direct action."

While the Congress was prepared to join the Interim Government the League went into the wilderness of revolt.

Killing of Hindus started in Calcutta on 16th August in the course of the "Direct Action Day" celebrations. Little did any one realise the extent and magnitude of the carnage that was to follow in the country at large. For three days the League goondas had it their own way. But the Bengali Hindu does not take things passively, and replied with the bomb and the bullet. At the end of a fortnight of the reign of terror more than ten thousand people had lost their lives. According to disinterested observers the action started by the League led eventually to a larger number of Muslims being killed than members of other communities.

Similar events followed in Bombay and in the Muslim majority area of Noakhali, when Non-Muslims were butchered in large numbers and villages set on fire. Bihar followed in reply and Muslims were butchered by Biharis with a fanaticism that rivalled the Muslim League "Direct Actionists" at Noakhali. Meantime Nehru had become Vice-President of the Executive Council. He flew to the disturbed areas in Bihar, ordered the Military and the Police to shoot to kill the miscreants (who were his co-religionists). Jinnah on the other hand maintained a discrete silence over murder, arson and loot. They were a part of his direct action campaign.

The Interim Government went from prestige to prestige while Jinnah quibbled over Cabinet scheme. He was distracted however with envy at the sudden power and prestige to which Nehru and his colleagues had attained. A Governor General, sympathetic to the

League, however, made it easy for Mr. Jinnah's nominees to join the Cabinet, without accepting the Cabinet Mission Scheme and indeed without accepting any conditions of any kind. And so while within the Cabinet the Muslim League was committed to bringing to fruition the Constituent Assembly and other details of the Scheme, outside the Cabinet, the League had launched "Direct action" in many parts of the Country.

CHAPTER FOUR

Eighty Million Blue Prints

IN THE preceding chapter we got as far as the entry of the Muslim League into the Interim Government. It is unnecessary for the purposes of this book to mention in any detail the events from October 1946 to February 1947.

In the meantime Mr. Jinnah, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Sardar Baldevsingh, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan and the Viceroy Lord Wavell went to London on a matter of interpretation of the Cabinet Mission Plan, which the Congress was prepared to refer to the Privy Council or the Federal Court. Mr. Jinnah wanted the authors of the plan to give their interpretation. The decision, manifestly perverse, went in favour of Mr. Jinnah, in the hope perhaps it would remove the only standing obstacle to the League joining the Constituent Assembly, which had in the meantime been convened.

The hope did not materialise. Mr. Jinnah put off calling the Working Committee of the Muslim League, went into hibernation at Karachi, conspired with his co-workers to get Pakistan by "any and every means" Meanwhile his nominees continued to participate in the counsels of the Interim Government, which was an integral feature of the Cabinet Mission Plan.

Disgusted with the anomalous position of members of the same Government owing to collective allegiance and indeed divided into two groups set upon diametrically opposed policies (the Congress bent on going ahead with the Cabinet Mission Plan and a Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly; the Muslim League Party on the establishment of a Sovereign Pakistan which had been definitely negatived in the scheme of the Cabinet, and on the establishment of another Constituent Assembly

in which Mr. Jinnah's supporters would form the majority) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressed a letter to the Prime Minister of England offering the resignation of himself and his colleagues if the League continued in the Government without formal acceptance of the Plan. Lord Wavell, on his own initiative, appended a commentary by the Finance Member Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan. This outrageous procedure of disclosing the letter without Pandit Nehru's consent, resulted in the dismissal of Lord Wavell from the Viceroyalty and the appointment of Earl (then Viscount) Mountbatten of Burma to the office of Governor General and Viceroy of India. In making the announcement His Majesty's Government declared the intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948, and 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 16, 1946 and to evolve for India a Constitution acceptable to all concerned.

These hopes, however, did not materialise. In Sind thanks to the pro-Muslim League policy of the Governor Sir Francis Mudie, an all League Government had succeeded to power after general election in which anti-League elements were reduced to a definite minority. In Punjab, following the announcement of February 20, the Khizar Hyat Ministry resigned. The deadlock between the divergent viewpoints of the Congress and the League over Pakistan was resolved by the Working Committee of the former at its meeting in Delhi deciding upon a partition of the Punjab in view of the March riots and atrocities in the Rawalpindi and other Districts upon non-Muslims. The Congress agreed to concede a Pakistan on the basis of a divided Bengal and a divided Punjab. This paved the way to the efforts then being made by the new Viceroy Lord Mountbatten to find a solution of the Indian problem. It was made clear to Mr. Jinnah that he could either have his Pakistan on this basis or not at all. He could not insist on partition of India without conceding the same right to the non-

Muslim majority areas in the Punjab and Bengal. Mr. Jinnah pondered sometimes on the horns of his dilemma, but the new Viceroy himself made rapid decisions and called for decisions likewise. Mr. Jinnah had to decide on his truncated Pakistan or the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Pakistan that would emerge was clearly not even the Pakistan visualised by Rehmat Ali and his friends. Large areas of the Punjab and Bengal must inevitably be excluded and a distance of thousand miles between the East and West components with no corridors was clearly implicit to the acceptance of Pakistan. But Mr. Jinnah had sailed so far in the wind for complete sovereignty that it was impossible to make for any other port now.

On 3rd June 1947 therefore, His Majesty's Government made a statement, based on the plan formulated by Lord Mountbatten, with the concurrence of the principal parties in the Assembly. In commending the plan to the people of India His Majesty's Government stated:—

“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 1946, and evolve for India a Constitution acceptable to all concerned. This hope has not been fulfilled.

“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-Marwara, 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.

“It has always been the desire of His Majesty's Government that power should be transferred in accorda

nce 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 agreement 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 major political parties have repeatedly emphasised their desire that there should be the earliest possible transfer 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 rights of the 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.

“ The mode and manner for determining the areas to be partitioned or to form the new Dominion of Pakistan was as follows:

THE ISSUES TO BE DECIDED

“It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assem-

bly. 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 formed 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

“ The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding 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 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 book.

“ 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.

“ 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.

“ 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 above to adopt.

“ 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

“ The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding the

European members) will at a special meeting also take its own decision on the alternatives in paragraph above.

NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

“ 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 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

“ 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 above to adopt. His Excellency the Governor General is examining how this can most appropriately be done.

ASSAM

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

“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 the district should form part of East Bengal. The number of representatives to which each area would be entitled is as follows :

Constituency	General	Muslims	Sikhs	Total
Sylhet District	1	2	Nil	3
West Bengal	15	4	Nil	19
East Bengal	12	29	Nil	41
West Punjab	3	12	2	17
East Punjab	6	4	2	12

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.

Appendix

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

1. The Punjab—

Lahore Division—Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhpura, Sialkot.

Rawalpindi Division—Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi, Shahpur.

Multan Division—Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan, Mujaffargarh.

2. Bengal—

Chittagong Division—Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera.

Dacca Division—Bakerganj, Dacca, Faridpur, Mymensingh.

Presidency Division—Jessore, Murshidabad Nadia. Rajshahi, Division—Bogra, Dinapur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi, Rangpur.

In accordance with the above scheme, the Punjab Legislative Assembly met and decided onpartition, so too likewise the Bengal Legislative Assembly. Sind decided to join a new Constituent Assembly. Sylhet voted for Pakistan. Baluchistan decided to reconsider its position and joined the New Constituent Assembly. A referendum in the N.-W.F.P., after a great deal of debate upon the matter to be referred, decided to join Pakistan.

Accordingly, therefore, when Parliament enacted the Indian Independence Act (1947) on August 15, there were set up the two Dominions of India and Pakistan. The Dominion of India comprised the territories under the sovereignty of His Majesty before the appointed date except the territories constituting the Dominion of Pakistan.

The Dominion of Pakistan was consisted accordingly of :

- (i) West Punjab comprising of seventeen districts as follows :

In the Lahore Division, the districts of Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhpura and Sialkot;

In the Rawalpindi Division, the districts of Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi and Shahpur;

In the Multan Division, the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan and Muzaffargarh;

(subject to the report of the Boundary Commission)

- (ii) East Bengal: Comprising the under-noted districts

In the Chittagong Division, the districts of Chittagong, Noakhali and Tippera;

In the Dacca Division, the districts of Baker-ganj, Dacca, Faridpur and Mymensingh;

In the Presidency Division, the districts of Jessore, Murshidabad and Nadia;

In the Rajshahi Division, the districts of Bogra, Dinajpur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi and Rangpur;

- (iii) The Province of Sind;

- (iv) The Chief Commissioner's Province of British Baluchistan;

- (v) The North West Frontier Province.

Boundary Commissions were set up and eventually the line demarcating the boundaries of the two Dominions was drawn.

On August 15, the Dominion of Pakistan was born.

The Independence Act continued the existing Constitution under the Government of India Act 1935, (subject to modifications). The two Dominions became fully free sovereign States with the liberty of remaining or going out of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Constituent Assembly of India and the new Constituent Assembly elected for Pakistan became respectively the Dominion legislature charged with the duties of framing constitution for the Dominion. At the head of each Dominion executive was the formal cabinet. Broadly thus, the new ship of Pakistan started on her voyage.

At the helm was the Captain, the Qaid-e-Azam

Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, whose authority on the ship no man dare dispute. In India, the Congress, which had sent thousands of men and women to jail for the purpose of getting English men to quit, chose when it had the power in its own hands a great Englishman to be the first Governor-General of a free India. Mr. Jinnah could also have had the services of Lord Mountbatten, the Independent Act providing that the same person could be Governor-General of both Dominions. But Mr. Jinnah could trust Pakistan to no man but himself and so he nominated himself Governor-General—an appointment to which His Majesty graciously concurred.

The Congress allowed two British Governors of Madras and Bombay to serve out their terms of office. They had acted even before the Independence Act as Constitutional rulers and so the Congress saw no reason to disturb their appointments for the time being. In making the other appointments to Governorships the Congress went wide afield in search of the very first rate personnel—Mr. C. Rajgopalacharia for West Bengal, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu for the United Provinces temporarily, and Dr. B. C. Roy as the permanent incumbent, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, veteran leader of Sind for Bihar and Orissa, Sir Chandulal Trivedi for East Punjab. Sir Akbar Hydari was allowed to continue in the strategically important province of Assam.

Mr. Jinnah in making his appointments for Governorships went out of the ranks of the Muslim League. Excepting for the aged Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, sorely in need of retirement, he made no appointments of Muslims to the Governorships of Pakistan. West Punjab was allotted to Sir Francis Mudie who had served the Muslim League well in Sind. To the North West Frontier Province he recalled Sir George Cunningham, who had previously appointed Muslim League Ministry in the Frontier without its having a majority in the Legislature. The Governorship of East Bengal was offered successively to several British officers but declined by them. Even-

tually Sir Francis Bourne, a retired Punjab civilian was induced to fly out to take charge of the Province. If any Muslim Leaguers were in running for the appointments they were so in their own minds. Mr. Jinnah never gave them a moment's encouragement.

The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met and did the great service of electing Mr. Jinnah as the President of that August body and adjourning *sine die*. In the framing of the constitution of Pakistan too, Mr. Jinnah was convinced that without him it could not be done, or else there was no one among the millions of his admirers, who could be trusted to hold the scales of debate. And Mr. Jinnah had himself nominated President of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. Since Mr. Jinnah was soon pre-occupied with the more urgent task of the conquest of Kashmir, the matter of a Constitution for Pakistan has not progressed.

Indeed, no one in Pakistan today knows or has any idea as to what sort of constitution the Pakistan Constituent Assembly is likely to frame or even debate. It is doubtful whether Mr. Jinnah had ever a blue print of his ideas prepared or perhaps his ideas were never sufficient to make up a blue print. It was said that eighty million Mussalmans were behind Mr. Jinnah in the demand for Pakistan. It is well known that every one had his own blue print of the cherished goal. If that be so, there is good excuse for delay, as it must take time for the Pakistan Secretariat to sort out eighty million blue prints.

The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan is also the Dominion Legislature. The sister body in India has been sitting long hours hammering out not only principles of the new Constitution of India but also diverse legislation. In Pakistan, however, the only Legislature which has been at work has been the Governor-General. By Ordinances, made and promulgated from his sick bed, Qaid-e-Azam, Mohammed Ali Jinnah has ministered to the Legislative needs of his people.

In view of Mr. Jinnah's declining health, it is

debatable when the Pakistan Constituent Assembly will be able to proceed with the work of framing a Constitution for Pakistan, but whenever that be, East Bengal, though in the area less than one fourth of the total area of Pakistan, has more than a 51 percent of seats in the Assembly as the following table will show :

Frontier Province	3 Muslims	0 General	Total	3
Baluchistan	1	0		1
Sind	5	4		9
West Punjab	12	3	Sikh	2 17
Sylhet	2	1		3
East Bengal	29	12		41
	52	20	2	74

To these must be added representatives of the States acceding to Pakistan. In a house, therefore, of about 80 members, East Bengal would have 41 seats. These would be about 60 Muslims, against twenty two other members including Hindus and Sikhs from West Punjab, who are not likely to attend. In view, therefore, of the Constitutional position Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din, not without some justification, considers himself Mr. Jinnah's heir to the throne of Pakistan.

But there are other claimants too at present in embryo. There is Mr. Suhrawardy, until recently Premier of Bengal, a doubtful fighter, at one time one of Mr. Jinnah's most trusted lieutenants. Perhaps from the Indian Union point of view, Mr. Suhrawardy would be the most acceptable leader of Pakistan, as he has found much time to live with Gandhiji and contributed no mean share to the Calcutta miracle last August.

It may safely be presumed that every one in the Central Cabinet and quite a number outside it, have the same pretensions. Perhaps with the same foresight, Mr. Jinnah has gathered round him from the Mussalmans of India only 'yes' men. The great historical difference between policy of the prophet of Islam and Mr. Jinnah is that whereas the Prophet ever sought out the ablest among his followers and even among his enemies and his critics,

Mr. Jinnah has never done so. His critics and his enemies he has never forgiven.

In the Central Cabinet, therefore, with the possible exception of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, who by the sheer ability to put into presentable form Mr. Jinnah's crude ideas, has none of the glamour of Lord Mountbatten's Government. Mr. Jinnah has sound men but with no sense of disparagement they have not the record of service and sacrifice that distinguishes the Cabinet of the Indian Union.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan comes of a family that traces its descent from the Nawab of Karnal in South East Punjab. But for many generations the family has flourished in the United Provinces. So it would be hardly correct to list the Nawabzada as a Punjabi. Liaquat Ali Khan was elected to the Indian Legislative Assembly from the United Provinces, in 1938 and soon became Mr. Jinnah's most trusted lieutenant, both inside and outside the Assembly. Outside the Assembly Mr. Jinnah was the president of the All India Muslim League and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali its General Secretary. While Congress Presidents and Secretaries came and went Mr. Jinnah and Liaquat Ali clung tenaciously to their jobs in the League. And inspite of the fact that Pakistan had been realised, Mr. Jinnah has become Governor-General and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan Prime Minister, they all continue to occupy their old positions in the Muslim League. It would be too dangerous to allow the machinery of Muslim thought to pass out into other hands. In Delhi Liaquat Ali created a great impression with his first and last budget. His speech introducing the budget was a model in diction and clarity and his proposals were, outstandingly, socialistic.

The Finance Minister of Pakistan is Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, who has a long and distinguished record of service with the Railway Board from where he went to Hyderabad as Finance Member of the Nizam's Cabinet. Very amicable and affable, he is a most valuable asset to

Pakistan, particularly in inter-Dominion talks and negotiations. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed has never been a very prominent Leaguer and that perhaps is his greatest merit.

Raja Ghaznafar Ali, Food Minister in the Pakistan Cabinet, comes from the North West Punjab. He was elected to the Indian Legislative Assembly about two years ago on the rejection of the nomination papers of his rival. He became one of Mr. Jinnah's prominent lieutenants in the Assembly. Gazanfar Ali is a fluent speaker, a loyal party man and has an abundance of Jhelum vigour. He demonstrated this time and again by howling down Khizar Hyat, the Premier of the last pre-Pakistan Punjab Cabinet. Before Pakistan came into being, much of his creative genius was directed to the elimination of minorities from Pakistan; but he was one of the few Pakistan leaders to realise the blunder that has been committed and dashed about from one refugee camp to another trying to dissuade Hindus from leaving Pakistan. He was however too late. He is one of the persons with a positive future and his activities will always be interesting, as he is Feroz Khan Noon's most serious rival.

Abdur Rab Nishtar before he came into political prominence was a lawyer of Peshawar. He joined the League and was elected to the North West Frontier Province Legislative Assembly in 1937. In the Aurangzeb Ministry he was Finance Minister of the Province. Although not a successful lawyer, he was a most successful politician and was largely responsible for the growth of League influence in the Frontier Province. In his home town of Peshawar, however, his ability was mistrusted, and there are many acts of his regime as Finance Member. In the 1945-46 election he was defeated in Peshawar by the Congress. During the Cabinet Mission's negotiations in 1946, Nishtar was constantly called into conference by Mr. Jinnah. He and the Pir of Manki Sharif were to the Muslim League what the Khan Brothers were to the Congress. And when the League entered the Interim Government on October 26, 1946,

Mr. Jinnah named him as Member of the Cabinet; Nishtar served as Member for Communications (Posts & Air) until July 1947, mainly to convince the Pathans that they had a soft corner in the Qaid-e-Azam's heart. In the Pakistan Cabinet also he holds the portfolio of Communications.

Chundrigar, Member for Industries & Works, has also like Abdur Rab Nishtar a legal back ground. At the Bombay Bar Mr. Chundrigar had a sound if not particularly dazzling record. But as a great organizer Mr. Chundrigar has probably no equal in the Muslim League. As President of the Bombay Muslim League, Chundrigar was one of Mr. Jinnah's key man. He is more taciturn than Abdur Rab Nishtar and Ghazanfar Ali and hence more dangerous.

Jogendra Nath Mandal, Law Member of the Pakistan Government, is the white stripe in the Pakistan's flag. Mr. Mandal's greatest assets are that he is a lawyer by profession and Member of the Scheduled Caste by birth. And although there is nothing surprising in the combination and many members of Scheduled Castes are lawyers, to Jogendra Nath Mandal the combination has proved fortunate. It was also fortunate for Mr. Mandal that Dr. Ambedkar exhibited anti-Pakistan tendencies. Mandal joined Suhrawardy in the Bengal Cabinet of 1946. The Congress brought in Mr. Jagjivan Ram into the Interim Government. To wean the Scheduled Castes from the Congress, Jinnah generously gave one of the five seats offered by Lord Wavell to the League to Mandal. But the Scheduled Castes saw things in Jinnah's game. Mandal came with Jinnah to Pakistan. As the only Hindu member of the Cabinet, Mandal is the Qaid-e-Azam's bait to non-Muslims to abide in Pakistan.

The Pakistan Government can be compared to the Solar System, a number of planets all of minor proportions, revolving round the central orbit of the Qaid-e-Azam, whose effulgence radiates the whole of Pakistan and is reflected by satellites about him. When,

however, in the fullness of time, the sun of Pakistan Sets, it will settle down to an era of darkness, the planets that now light the Pakistan firmament will career into the unknown, each hither, whither and thither.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Qaid-e-Azam

AS THE Qaid-e-Azam is both the most important institution and personage in Pakistan a separate chapter is inevitable. His authority is immense. Governor Generals under the Government of India Act 1935 had great power. The Qaid-e-Azam has more. Whereas the Governor-General of India has become a constitutional head, the Governor-General of Pakistan has assumed further powers. He has given no undertaking to rule by the will of the people for the people have no will, nor by the will of the Constituent Assembly as the Assembly does not meet, nor as advised by his cabinet as he has the cabinet at his sufferance. In Germany he would be called Feuhrer, in Russia the Secretary-General, in America the Party Boss, in Pakistan, they call him the Qaid-e-Azam.

One of Mr. Jinnah's first acts as Governor-General designate of Pakistan was to induce Lord Mountbatten to issue an order under the Independence Act giving the Governor-General of Pakistan the power to dismiss any Minister or any Provincial Cabinet for any reason whatever.

And, therefore, the Frontier Cabinet, was dismissed soon after the set up of the Dominion. It was not that it did not command a majority in the legislature, but that it had refused to go down on its bended knees to the Qaid-e-Azam. Only the adverse vote of Afghanistan at the U. N. O. on the admission of Pakistan to the community of civilised nations saved the lives of the dismissed cabinet, every of whom, Jinnah intended to hang publicly for having so blatantly flouted his vanity.

The supreme motive force in Jinnah's life has been

vanity. Some clients of mine once wanted me to get the services of Jinnah as their counsel in the High Court and suggested a very reasonable fee, even for Jinnah for a day's visit to Lahore. Jinnah insisted on double the figure. "My dear Gauba," he said, "I am a *Rolls Royce*, if your friends want a *Rolls Royce*, they must pay for it". He went on to say that he had never done a free case in his life or reduced his fee ever, except once for Tilak.

And when Jinnah would not come to Lahore at a fee, Bhulabhai Desai visited Lahore several times for Dr. Satyapal without even his railway fare. But Jinnah's refusal was typical. He went to Lahore to defend Abdul Rashid, the murderer of Swami Shradhanand for a fee of Rs. 11,000/-. He pleaded for an Udaipur temple diety because the diety could pay. He turned down the requests of the Diety of Masjid Shahidganj because he could not pocket a fee without scandalising the Muslim world. He did not see, however, why the God of the Shahidganj mosque should have the services of Mohammed Ali Jinnah without payment of a fee and so recommended Coltman to the Muslims.

One look at Jinnah is sufficient to convince any one that Mr. Jinnah takes a supreme interest in himself. No man who did not take that interest could flash the superb wardrobe that Mr. Jinnah possesses. Mr. Jinnah pays as much attention in the height and glitter of his collars as to his public utterances. His trouser's creases are as incisive as his *bon mots*. He has recently taken to Achkan and lamb-wool caps, but that is to convince the world that the Qaid-e-Azam is also a Muslim.

Little appears in the press about the personal life and traits of Pakistan's Chief of State. But if habits persist, Mr. Jinnah unlike other great figures on the world's stage, has never been a votary of the simple life. We have already referred to his wardrobe. Unlike Mahatma Gandhi Jinnah could not live in a Bhangi colony. Mr. Jinnah could not walk into the Badshahi mosque in a *tehnat* and bare feet. Even when he

approaches God he must be elegantly robed, for according to Jinnah's philosophy, God likes diamond cuff-links. He could not sleep on the floor. When non-cooperation came and Gandhi made going to jail fashionable, Jinnah walked out of the Congress. His house on Malabar Hill and Aurangzeb Road bore ample testimony to a royal taste.

Jinnah, though the head of a Muslim State, is himself no orthodox Muslim. Until the Congress supported the *Khilaphat* agitation, Jinnah was in Mrs. Naidu's words the "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity". But Jinnah deserted the Congress when it turned from passing resolutions to active non-cooperation. Jinnah never, therefore, sat on the Presidential Chair of the Congress.

Jinnah remained in the political wilderness for some time. This was a time too of domestic worries. Having made an unorthodox intrusion into the matrimonial field by marrying Reti Petit, the attractive daughter of a Malabar Hill millionaire, he aroused the active hostility of the Parsi barons of Bombay. His wife was never in normal health and until her death she was a constant source of anxiety to him. There was keen debate during the 1945 elections as to whether Jinnah had married Reti Petit under the Special Marriage Act and made the requisite declaration that he did not profess any of the specified faiths including that of a Muslim. The matter, however, was immaterial, as even if he disclaimed Islam at the time of his marriage, there was no obstacle to his having re-claimed his faith, the moment the Registrar had declared the couple man and wife.

But Jinnah has modestly never claimed to be anything but a good advocate of the Muslim cause, a *Rolls Royce* truck of Muslim ideology. He does not claim to say his prayers five times a day, or even once at bed time; he has never attended the mosque on Fridays; he cannot read the Qoran; he has never made the *Haj*, though he could afford to charter a ship; and has no conscientious objection to champagne or a rasher of bacon with

scrambled eggs.

No man has made so detailed a study of the Acts of Parliament relating to the Indian Constitution as Jinnah. Great parcels of his life are wrapped up in folios of the Government of India Acts. But apart from the study of constitutional matters relating to India and reading the daily newspapers (mainly with a view to see how the world is looking at Mohammed Ali Jinnah) he has no time or inclination for wider reading or study. Of the great leaders of the world he is perhaps the least educated. His vocabulary is limited, his general knowledge is even more so. He has therefore to fall back on other peoples slogans and other peoples' ideas. He puts over "Are we down hearted?" over the radio as if no body had ever asked that question before.

The secret of Mr. Jinnah's political success is mainly in making an allegation against his political opponents, no matter how false or true, and repeating it over and over again until people and sometimes the victims themselves begin to believe that they are guilty. He accused the Congress Ministries of atrocities against Muslims. Congressmen themselves began to believe that they had acted wickedly. His most recent attempt, in this line, is to put the blame for his own dismal failures in Pakistan on the shoulders of his enemies. In the supply of half a million tons of coal to run Pakistan Railways and the supply of millions of units of anti-cholera vaccine and nine crores in hard cash, Jinnah sees a deep conspiracy on the part of the Indian Union to destroy Pakistan. And so persistently and dogmatically has he returned time and again to the charge that Nehru and Gandhi were both induced to pay nine crores to the Pakistan Exchequer to clear the Indian Union of its guilt.

With the conscience money paid by the Indian Union Jinnah paid the outstanding pay rolls of his army, met the demands of turbulent tribesmen and found equipment for the campaign in Kashmir.

The world was astounded when Jinnah at the Hotel Imperial in New Delhi refused the Crown of Pakistan

when offered to him by a band of students. "I am not the Shahen-shah-i-Pakistan" said Mr. Jinnah with some warmth. At the time, it appeared that there was a new orientation in Mr. Jinnah's make up. And frankly it seemed all incongruous that there should be a Pakistan without an Emperor. Even Beverly Nichols had referred to him as Emperor of Pakistan. More astounding than Jinnah's refusal of the Pakistan Crown was his 'no' to Gandhi of the Presidentship of a United India.

Did Jinnah intend to retire having given his people their 'cherished' Pakistan ?

The answer to this came in the emphatic negative when he nominated himself as Governor-General of Pakistan. Then came news of arsenals in Delhi, Kanpur and Bombay. Junagadh acceded to Pakistan and the Nizam hesitated and halted. He perhaps knew more of Jinnah's mind than many people.

Some people have seen in all this the possibility of Jinnah marching to Delhi and being crowned in the Red Fort.

In Jinnah's mind no doubt "Shah-e-Jehan" or "Shahen-shah-i-Hindustan" would be more appropriate to the man who in the estimation of his admirers, is the greatest figure in Islam since the Prophet.

But the kindly tide of Jinnah's fortune had reached its height. The road to Delhi was barred at Wagah. Jinnah could be a "Shahen Shah", but only of the "fifth largest State in the world."

CHAPTER SIX

Gulistan-I-Fatima

ROUND the old National Bank of India Buildings, there was a long caravan packed of nearly two dozen bullock carts. Scores of tired men and women and sad faced children walked around the carts or sat upon oddments of bedding and other cannisters. After two months on the road, they had arrived in Pakistan, the promised Bagh-e-Jinnah. And here was the Ministry of Rehabilitation in the old National Bank Building, where just before the holocaust was housed the "Communal Harmony Movement" and before that, "A. R. P." Headquarters.

And while the Ministry officials were busy making lists of earlier arrivals and seeking information from higher officials too busy with other work of a more urgent character *e. g.* supplies to Kashmir, they could walk around and see a big town for the first time. And eventually when their turn came round and they had been listed, they were directed to the refugee camp on the other side of the Ravi, where they would have to wait their turn to get land vacated by non-Muslims, somewhere, anywhere, nobody could say where. And so they settled down with their wives, sisters, old parents and their children in their first real experience of life in Pakistan—a large open plain, with only the sky for canopy, and here on bleak November, December nights they huddled together for warmth. Their only consolation was that there were three hundred thousand others like them under the starlit skies.

The Qaid-e-Azam, they were informed, had come to Lahore, but was too sick to see any body. The Prime Minister of Pakistan was also confined to a sick bed.

There was tussle in the Punjab Cabinet. The relations of the wife of a Cabinet Minister had been allotted a Cinema House. This had made all the top rank wives in Pakistan green with envy and a Cabinet crisis was imminent.

And every night they heard over the Pakistan Radio the triumphs of the "Azad Kashmir" forces, that they had entered Chinari, Baramula and Srinagar; that the Maharaja had fled to Jammu with his Diwan. They heard that the Indian forces had been cut off at Kathua and the airfield was in the invaders' hands. And so under the star-spangled skies, their drooping spirits were raised with news of fresh achievements of the hopes of conquest of new lands. "Pakistan Zindabad."

Quite a different scene was visible outside my windows overlooking the General Post Office. It was like a city of the dead. An eerie silence and darkness would fall upon the cross road of the great Upper Mall and McLeod Road. No blackout ever could be so black as Lahore without street lights of any kind. Long before six-thirty, the streets were deserted, respectable people hurried to their homes, restaurants emptied and tongawallas refused to ply. At seven-thirty—as there were no longer any Hindus to be killed—anybody could be murdered if he had ten rupees in his purse. And so on an early November night, fifty yards from the General Post Office, at the very gates of the Central Telegraph Office, within the sight of the guards of these two places, a man's throat was cut. His groans for help were drowned in the boisterous laughter of his murderers.

True, the streets are full and there are plenty of people moving about during the day. Three hundred thousand prosperous Hindus and Sikhs have given place to three hundred thousand refugees, most of whom have never seen a clock as large as the Post Office clock or heard the chime of the Church bells.

In the old pre-Pakistan days, Lahore was the Paris of India. Its gaiety and its laughter, its beautiful women and exhilarating winter brought to it people not only from

all over Punjab, but from all over India. Its fine buildings, spacious and historic gardens, its cosmopolitan outlook, it was the grand *rendezvous* of the East. No other city could compare its climate, its people and its life with Lahore. It was industrially too, an important and growing city. Year by year great industrial plants went up on either side towards Amritsar on the East and towards Gujarnwala on the West. The Corporation of the City of Lahore had only recently replaced the old Lahore Municipality; it established a statutory authority for Greater Lahore, a city twenty miles in its largest length and not less than sixteen miles in breadth with a total area of over two hundred square miles—one of the great cities of India.

Among the most important aspects of Lahore life was the student life of the city. Lahore was a great educational centre. The Punjab University, the largest University in the world with an affiliation of more than one hundred and forty colleges in Punjab, Baluchistan, N. W. F. P. the Punjab States and Delhi. In Lahore alone there were more than twentytwo colleges, men's colleges and several colleges for women, and numberless schools for both boys and girls. Lahore was also a great ecclesiastical centre—two fine Cathedrals, one Catholic and one Protestant; Churches of various denominations; numberless mosques, temples and gurdwaras. The Badshahi Mosque, the largest mosque in the world, built by the Emperor Aurangzeb; Shahidganj the historic site dear to both Muslims and Sikhs alike; Data Ganj Bukhsh a shrine drawing millions of pilgrims every year and tombs of Jehangir and Nurjehan and the Shalimar Gardens.

While the fate of Lahore hung in the balance—awaiting the decision of the Boundary Commission a large number of people started quitting Lahore. They particularly included domestic servants, labourers and a sprinkling of the business community belonging to the minorities. The Sikhs, however, were determined not to show the white feather. Lahore was their home town, they said.

The unsettled and uncertain conditions which prevailed in the city for some time contributed to the large scale exodus. The four-week communal outburst resulted in bringing business to a stand-still. A large number of big business firms shifted their head-offices from Lahore.

Lahore had always been a great centre of news—it had been the birth place of over two dozen dailies and magazines. But owing to political changes, a large number of vernacular dailies, including a leading English daily, planned to move out of Lahore. They contended that Lahore could now no longer occupy the place of importance, which it has enjoyed for centuries, after the partition of the Punjab and the establishment of Pakistan. A cynic remarked, "Lahore's days are numbered. Soon it will become a deserted city. The gaiety for which it has been known will be a thing of the past."

Consequently the prices of landed property and houses showed a downward trend. In many cases owners were unable to find buyers. A number of advertisements appeared asking for exchange of property between Lahore and Eastern districts.

No less worried were the Government employees, particularly those belonging to the ministerial cadre and belonging to the minority communities. Their worry of course, was as to what sort of treatment would be extended to them in the new State and whether they would be treated on a par with the majority community.

And then came Pakistan.

The gardens, called after John Lawrence, took on a new name—Bagh-i-Jinnah, and the little rose garden in the corner, Gulistan-i Fatima, all in honour of the visit of the Qaid-e-Azam and his sister, on the occasion of a garden party given by the Premier and Ministers of the west Punjab Government.

But new names do not bring on a new spring to withered roses.

The gardens, once so full of life are now deserted. Ever since Syed Mohsin Shah was stabbed by a Muslim goonda in the belief that he was stabbing a Hindu, the popu-

larity of the gardens have waned. No lovers now stroll or loiter for a kiss in the Gulistan-i-Fatima.

The proud Mall, where gay jazz bands crashed every night, Jewels sparkled and pretty women went about with puffed hair and long earrings, and hundreds of shops offered the finest merchandise, is bereft of its conceit. The "Metro", where the nightly takings were over five thousand rupees, is closed. In August good Pakistanis paid a visit and looted its cellars for a "Pakistan Zindabad" celebration. At the "Volga" where during the War, Shirin and Aslam Lodhi presided over one of the best night clubs in India and served *chicken retrograd* to a discriminating clientele, they now serve fish and chips, for the cooks have fled to Hindustan. "Stiffles" is still open. "Al Hamd-u-llilah", says a waiter grown old in the service of Stiffles, "we served Rajas and Maharajas and now we have to serve these tongawalas." Gone is "Paul's" for ever. His famous shack in the Gardens, before the Qaid-e-Azam lent his illustrious name to them, was burnt down as a prelude to Pakistan. Persistently he continued to do business at his Restaurant the Mall and serve *Sundaes* and *milk-shakes* to Pakistan Nationals—but not for long—a knife was plunged into his abdomen and he just had, like so many others, to go out of business.

And of all the hundreds of shops that once used to do business, hardly more than a couple of dozens are open. Some are closed because they have been looted, a few because their owners were sagacious enough to remove stores in time, the bulk have been sealed by the local authorities to be evaluated by the Civil Supplies Department and passed over to some fortunate and favoured emigree. Hindu owners—not Sikhs on any terms—are welcome back provided they do not ask for any security of life. They can have their shops provided they spend lavishly in jostling and ogling goonda crowds in the office of the Deputy commissioner, and agree to employ East Punjab refugees in charge and not to draw more than a hundred rupees a week for personal expenses, not to take the proceeds of the sales but to deposit them in a Pakistan Bank (and

run officially), and not to ask the local manager for any accounts. Sawhny of Kripa Ram Brothers accepted all the rules, spent a lac of rupees, it is believed, in graft. He, moreover, enjoyed the personal friendship of the West Punjab Chief of Police, Qurban Ali Khan. None of these factors could, however, save him from being murdered, not even the presence of the Qaid-e-Azam in Lahore.

In pre-Pakistan days, Lahore was a great commercial centre. There were numberless banks and private banking companies. Not so now. The Reserve Bank and the Imperial Bank have come down to short hours of working. The bulk of the staff were non-Muslims and they have fled. And following the lead of these banks all banks work for two hours on week days and one hour on Saturdays. Institutions like the Punjab National Bank Ltd. and the National Bank of Lahore and others have closed operation in Lahore, at any rate for the time being. Safe Deposit vaults are closed. An effort to get them opened proved abortive—a depositor was stabbed and the District Magistrate stoned by angry crowd that objected Pakistan property being handed over to "Kafirs." And outside every bank doing business are the National Guards. Every account is open to them and nobody in a bank dare refuse a green uniformed volunteer, in plain clothes not except, scrutinising any account. And if more than five hundred rupees is drawn from a personal account, it must be shared outside with the National Guards, otherwise you are likely to be treated as an enemy of Islam.

The Green Volunteers are more dreaded than cholera. Many a rich Muslim would prefer a cholera case in his house-hold than a visit of these gentlemen. They make more polite calls. The usual excuse is to collect funds to buy a pistol or a gun, which if paid, far the better, otherwise he is informed that he has been listed as a *ghadar*. He pays. In the evenings members of the National Guards drive out to Walton Refugee Camp and carry off refugee girls for a night's diversion. Towards the end of October, a Muslim lady doctor, living in a respectable locality in the Civil Station, was visited by the Guard. Alleging she had mishandled a case, she was bundled into a car, taken out

along the canal bank, raped and left to find her way home.

If the shops on the Mall and Anarkali are closed, there is plenty of life on the roads. Over a quarter of million refugees from East Punjab keep traffic fairly moving. They are not the sort of refugees you see in Delhi or Simla, who have left everything behind in Pakistan except their *'Ranken'* suits and *'Shlakas'* shirts. The refugees from East Punjab have brought all their belongings—their children, their buffaloes and their luggage. As they go round the Lahore Mall, they take their children and luggage with them. Their women have not yet discovered Max-Factor or *Elizabeth, Arden and Donet* flash lipstick and rouge. And what if the *'Metro'* is closed, thousands of Kabab sellers have taken its place. On the pavement right outside the General Post Office are hawkers shouting :

“Pakistan Times
 “Nawa-i-Waquat
 “Aye Aye
 “Khaye
 “Liaqatali Kabab
 “Aye Aye.”
 “Khaye Kulcha Nan,
 “Bhool Na jao
 “Yehan Se Lejana
 “Shah Nawazi Pan.”

And as you wonder whether you should have a *Kabab* or a *pan* or both, a truckload of boisterous youth roll by in military transport shouting :

“Has Ke Lia Pakistan,
 Le Ke Rahenge Hindustan”.

In Pakistan the people have remarkable sense of public duty. Few pay any electricity charges because Pakistan has not enough personnel to prepare the bills. Similarly telegrams are free; moreover, the people who paid the largest electricity bill and telephone calls have been sent away either to Hindustan or on longer journey. People are insulted if they are asked to buy a railway ticket or pay for attendance at the hospitals “The Railway belongs to Pakistan—Pakistan belongs to us — so the Railway

belongs to us, why should we pay to travel in what is ours?" Ticket collectors have not been provided with arms so do not venture to debate the matter, as most travellers in Pakistan railway have atleast a pocket knife. There are practically no taxes — no income tax is levied because few have now a settled income. Property tax is not levied as the owners of the properties have fled. Gun, rifle and revolver licences may be had gratis. There are plenty of briefless lawyers around, as Pakistan need not settle the disputes by complicated and expensive legal procedure. In Lahore an assassin can be hired like a taxi and even cheaper. For fifty rupees he will undertake to send anyone anywhere and settle any dispute quicker than the High Court.

Student life that formed so outstanding a feature of Lahore is virtually dead. In Queen Mary's College where more than four hundred girls and nearly a hundred boys gained first rate instruction has now less pupils than the staff. The Forman Christian College which had a residential accommodation for a thousand students and a waiting list, has now a paltry twenty students to carry on. Dyal Singh College is virtually closed. Government College which shared the honours with Forman College in producing the bulk of the social and political leaders of the Province for over half a century has a bare handful of students left. The income of the University averaging fifty lacs a year, now has come down to a bare one lac. College and school staff face starvation. Pakistan boys and girls are not greatly interested in education. Degrees can be had for services rendered in subterranean movements. The Vice-Chancellor of the University is Malik Umar Hyat, who undoubtedly rendered great service to the establishment of Pakistan. As Principal of the Islamia College he used his boys with effect in the Punjab and Sind elections, the N.-W. F. P. referendum and the agitation against the Khizar Ministry. The lads have now claimed their rewards, which are being paid out in degrees, which many of them would not have had in the usual course.

Since the advent of Pakistan, Friday has become

a half holiday in deference to the fact that Pakistan claims to be the greatest Islamic State in the world. And therefore, now Government officials can go home at 12-30 to have a nice afternoon nap. Very few utilise the half holiday in attending the Friday prayers. Following the example of the Qaid-e-Azam, members of the Pakistan and Punjab Cabinets do not visit the mosque except on the occasion of "Id", or when it is necessary to make a public oration. God takes a second place. The average man, however, has been always a conscientious mosque goer and the attendances at mosques on Fridays are larger with the influx of poor refugees from East Punjab.

Lahore has now virtually no social or club life left. The Hindu aristocrats and Europeans have left. Anglo-Indians keep largely to themselves. Since indecent assaults on Anglo-Indian nurses at the Mayo Hospital have terrified the community, it now wishes to migrate to Hindustan. Hindus and Sikhs who contributed to the mainstay of Lahore social life have migrated. The few Muslim families who used not to observe the rigour of purdah have now largely put their womenfolk behind the *burqa*. Some of the non-Purdah observing Begums were found indulging in *jaazz* at Murree during the last summer. This outraged the Maulvis of Rawalpindi, who threatened to chop their heads off. And so Pakistan has become a *jaazz*-free State.

On the Lahore Mall you will, therefore, see very few women. Those who venture out, do so in the company of their men toughs. They are properly veiled and get home before dark.

There is a general belief that living is cheap in Pakistan. If life is cheap, it does not necessarily mean living is cheap. True, Pakistan has an exportable surplus of wheat and cotton and excellent foreign market in jute. But there the matter ends. If the agriculturist has to maintain a high standard of life, he has to maintain a higher price level and as practically this is the very source of revenue both to Government and to agriculturist, a high price level for food is inevitable in Pakistan. For sugar, spices

and other oddments of life, Pakistan depends on imports from abroad, or the Indian Union. And so, while coal in Bombay is twenty rupees a ton, in Lahore it is seventy rupees a ton. While people of India after decontrol are getting sugar at Rs 16/- a maund, in Pakistan the price of this commodity is sixty rupees a maund. In Pakistan there is a cigarette famine, and big queues line up for small quantities. There is a plentiful supply in all Indian cities.

But in Pakistan, meat is plentiful and cheap; beef is no more than six annas a pound and mutton twelve annas. Butchers are said to be working over-time—other sources of livelihood having disappeared so many people have gone into the *Kabab* business. Thus Karamudin who used to sell fruits to the clerks of the Reserve Bank and the litigants of the High Court, has now turned to *Kababs* and *Rogan josh*. Muslims do not eat much fruit or vegetables. A vegetable seller after stabbing seventeen Hindus mourned over the corpse of the seventeenth. He then realised he had murdered his customers. So too the sellers of milk, butter and ghee. They found their best customers had gone and rue the day Mr. Jinnah thought of Pakistan. The fruitsellers, the flower sellers and the vegetable sellers were almost all Muslims whose trades have gone and been ruined. They will now make you a wreath free to lay on the tomb of a Muslim Leaguer. And so too are *Darzis* or tailors. They made up expensive garments for Hindu and Sikh brides and flourished on their patronage. Ahmeddin the well-known dyer and dry cleaner, who flourished for thirty years on the patronage of the sari-wearing bureaucrats of Lahore cries when he thinks of the good old days. He still lives on saris which his old customers send him for cleaning by air from Delhi.

Overnight Pakistan has become isolated and aloof. Between Lahore and Amritsar, before the two Dominions came into being, there were only 35 miles of road or rail. Scores of fast trains and deisel cars ran at short intervals over every day in the year. And by road several transport companies ran comfortable bus services every

few minutes. More than a hundred thousand people moved between Lahore and Amritsar every twenty-four hours.

Now this is all changed. There is no connection between the two cities. No train service and no bus services. At Waga there is an international boundary. Only refugees from either side are allowed to get through and that not without minor difficulty. At Shalimar Gardens on the Lahore-Amritsar Road there is a barrier, where every car is searched by Police and National Guards. Through the kindness of the guards, sometimes people from one side do venture to get to the other side but it is a hazardous venture. To go from Lahore to Amritsar, one has to fly to Delhi and from there to fly to Amritsar—a seven hundred miles round about. What cost twelve annas before now costs about one hundred and fifty rupees. A journey that could be done under an hour before now requires a deal of luck in reservation and may take, with luck, a week in accomplishment.

This dislocation of the communication system between the two Dominions has no doubt emphasised the Sovereignty in Pakistan but destroyed the economic foundation of this dominion. The disruption of communication has not effected India to this extent, as India was the supplier and Pakistan the consumer. Steel, Textiles, Coal, Sugar, Cigarettes and other manufactured articles meant originally for the Pakistan market were diverted to inland centres relieving local black markets and enabling the Indian Government to embark upon its policy of decontrol of commodities. The Indian consumer is grateful for the barriers Pakistan has set up.

Over 6,000 workers of the North-Western Railway paraded the main highways of Lahore on 6th December voicing their grievances against the N.W.R. administration and demanded the opening of factories, workshops and other industrial plants where a large number of surplus labour could be absorbed.

Mirza Ibrahim, President of the Railway Union, had earlier called a Press conference and warned the authorities to take immediate steps otherwise, he said, "drastic

measures would be adopted.”

This was the first series of demonstrations, said Mr. Mirza, as the huge crowd following him accused the administration of misappropriating Rs. 60,000 and raised slogans against jobbery and nepotism.

An “Anti-Squatters” campaign has been organised by the District Rehabilitation Officers in Lahore to turn out of the city all non-essential residents.

Efforts will be made not to disturb authorised occupants in various localities provided they vacate the houses voluntarily and create a good impression.

Refugees in Lahore discovered that Pakistan officials have a sort of a partiality for women, so they started sending women in the Rehabilitation Department. Purdah-observing ladies had to present applications for approval to the officers concerned. The West Punjab Government had to intervene and issue an order to refuse admission of applications brought by women.

Many non-Muslim business men and shopkeepers who had returned to Lahore from East Punjab with a view to opening their concerns, now closed for months, had to go back to India owing to the impossible conditions they were required to sign before getting possession of their shops.

The sudden collapse of business and industrial life of the province caused by communal disturbances, dislocation of transport system and the influx of refugees caught the Government machinery unprepared. The impact of these factors was so overwhelming that the Government have not yet been able to take adequate measures.

No authoritative figures of the cloth shortage in the Province are available, because all the population tables have been upset by the transfer of millions of people between East and West Punjab. The production of cloth, mill-made as well as handloom, had been at a virtual standstill during the last three months. Although a few textile mills in the Province and the newly created co-operative centres have now started functioning, the actual quantity produced is far from satisfactory.

As regards the import of foreign cloth from the

United Kingdom and United States the main trouble has been the lack of usual credit facilities which banks used to provide before the disturbances started.

And while refugees were looking for shelter, officials, their wives and relatives were basking on the terraces of houses left by the Hindus. The matter had become so much a scandal that it had to find its way into the Press. Mr. B. D. Qureshi of *Darul Qarash*, Abbottabad, drew the attention of the public to the question (Civil and Military Gazette 9th November):

“The lesser officials, with the seeming connivance of the higher executive authorities, are openly shifting from their old dens to the palatial bungalows of Hindus and Sikhs who are no more in Abbottabad. This official clique has also descended upon the masses like hungry wolves.

“It is a common scene to see a petty magistrate flourishing a big stick in the air along, even in the night at the doors of tenants who are lawfully occupying premises by paying rent in advance to Indians who have left. The excuse is that the premises are wanted by a refugee.

“The public agrees to refugees settling in such houses but they cannot tolerate that they should be ejected to give place to a minor official. Many refugees are stranded here but the applications of very few are favourably considered.

“The masses of this unfortunate Hazara District (which was considered a “fort” of the League) have started rubbing their eyes at the merits and demerits of the Khan and Khanna regime. They have been expecting a benevolent regime but instead an “ancient regime” of the 8th century has been thrust upon them.”

This is also true of Lahore. Abbottabad officials are not very different from Lahore officialdom.

While Mr. Ghazanfar Ali was at Chaklala trying to persuade non-Muslims to stay on in Pakistan, an incident at Falettis Hotel, Lahore, was indicative of the Pakistan mentality. According to a report published in the "Civil and Military Gazette":—

"A senior Sikh military officer was virtually ejected from a leading Hotel in Lahore on Wednesday night because Muslims present there insisted that a Sikh should not be allowed entry to a public place in Pakistan, says a Press Note from the Office of the Deputy High Commissioner for India in Pakistan. This, the note continues, is an interesting sequel to the communal harmony propaganda of Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Food Minister of the Pakistan Government.

"The Sikh officer, accompanied by another Indian Army Officer, and two ladies went to this Hotel for dinner. He had been there hardly for ten minutes when the Manager of the hotel approached him and said, 'I admire your courage, but I am very sorry that the Muslims around here object to your presence.'

"The Manager, who was a European, was very apologetic about the attitude of the people, but he said it was advisable for the officer to leave the hotel in order to avoid any unpleasant incident.

"The Sikh officer, much against his will, agreed to leave. Meanwhile, the other officer with him went round and talked to the people who had objected to the presence of the Sikh officer in the hotel, but their attitude was extremely unreasonable. They threatened to shoot the Sikh officer if he did not remove himself immediately."

I personally verified the truth of the above report from the Manager of the Falettis Hotel where the incident took place. The Press report might well have added that the Sikh officer concerned was a Colonel and had that day arrived in Lahore after guarding a convoy of Muslim Refugees from East Punjab and saving their lives several times on the road. The incident created a bad impression in

Delhi where Muslims were and have always been welcome to the Maidens and Imperial Hotels and the Associated Hotels in Simla and elsewhere. From personal knowledge the author can say that but for the courtesy of the management of the Associated Hotels in Simla during last summer, several Muslim families and particularly ladies whose menfolk were in Pakistan, would have been murdered. The Sikh staff did everything possible to protect Muslim residents in the Hotels

Are the Pakistanis happy? Excepting those who got safely away with loot and cash few are happy. And even those, who managed to murder Hindus and open their safes are not happy. They dare not let their neighbours know what they have and how they got it. They are tormented with the fear that when the cash and booty comes to an end, what then? One cannot eat a sofa set or a radio. So far neither Pakistan nor the Bagh-i-Jinnah has flowered. Mr. Jinnah never defined Pakistan, so everyone thought of it in his own fancy. The dream has turned to a nightmare. Lawyers and doctors who thought that with the advent of Pakistan and the elimination of their rivals they could prosper, now look for clients. They go about with long faces.

A friend of mine, in Government service, writing a short while ago, said "So much has happened in the last few months, we seem to have grown old all of a sudden. It makes us cry to think of the Lahore we knew and what we see around us". The "we" and "us" includes his Begum.

A gentleman from Jullundur on his way to Pakistan lost his two grown up and educated daughters—they were abducted at Beas in retaliation for abductions in West Punjab. And the party that abducted his daughters killed his wife and also his only son. He is now alone in a large house once occupied by a Hindu. When people congratulate him on his good fortune in getting so spacious a house, wistfully he goes to the empty refrigerator and opening it says, "Here's my Pakistan; thank Mr. Jinnah for it."

Everyday at the G. P. O. a crazy man sits under

people tree laughing and brandishing a ten rupee note: "*Pakistan Mil Gia, Pakistan Mil Gia: Mohd. Ali Jinnah Shukriya, Shukriya, Shukriya*". People gather about him wondering, what the crazy fool is so grateful about. Then somebody in the crowd says he was a prosperous Amritsar merchant of Katra Jaimal Singh. When Katra Jaimal Singh was burnt down he was left with just a ten rupee note. He sat on his smouldering doorsteps and thanked Mr. Jinnah "*Pakistan Mil Gia*". This he has done ever since.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A Pakistan Charter

HAVING nominated himself Governor General of Pakistan, Jinnah called a Press Conference at his residence in New Delhi. On the morning of July 13, 1947 he proceeded to hand out to an eager world the Pakistan Charter.

To Minorities said the Qaid-e-Azam :

“Minorities, to whichever community they may belong, will be safeguarded. Their religion or their faith or belief will be protected in every way possible. Their life and property will be secure. There will be no interference of any kind with their freedom of worship. They will have their protection with regard to their religion, their faith, their life, their property, their culture. They will be in all respects the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or colour, religion or creed.

“They will have all the rights and privileges and, no doubt, along with it goes the obligation of citizenship. Therefore, the minorities have their responsibility also and they will play their part in the affairs of the State, and as long as the minorities are loyal to the State and owe true allegiance, as long as I have any power, they need have no apprehension of any kind.”

To those who thought Pakistan might not be a democratic State, Jinnah said :

“When you talk of democracy, I am afraid you have not studied Islam. We learnt democracy thirteen centuries ago.”

A correspondent suggested that a theocratic State meant a State where only people of a particular religion, for example Muslims, could be full citizens and non-Muslims would not be full citizens.

Mr. Jinnah said: Then it seems to me that what I

have already stated is like throwing water on the duck's back. For goodness' sake, get out of your head the nonsense that is being talked.

To The British Commonwealth he said :

Q: Is there any possibility of Pakistan continuing to remain in the British Commonwealth ?

A: We shall consider that question when the time comes.

To foreign nations :

"Pakistan's foreign policy," said Jinnah, in reply to a further question, "would be most friendly to all the nations. We stand for the peace of the world. We will make our contribution, whatever we can do."

The only question to which Mr. Jinnah gave no answer or any indication or any promise was as to the form of the Government of Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah refused to discuss the structure of the Government of Pakistan, as that was a matter for the Constituent Assembly to decide.

Q: What is your personal opinion ?

A: No responsible man expressed his personal opinions in anticipation of the decision of a supreme body like the Constituent Assembly, whose function is to frame the constitution.

And so the world settled down to a cheerful prospect of Pakistan's Constitution to world peace via the U.N.O. the British Commonwealth was put on its good behaviour and minorities lulled to a sense of security.

Lord Mountbatten, Mahatma Gandhi and other shrewd men of affairs believed in the honesty of Mr. Jinnah's professions.

The "Dawn", had already indicated the Qaid-e-Azam's mind towards killings of minorities.

Writing under the title "*Stop This Violence*", "Dawn", Jinnah's only authoritative mouthpiece, said: "We would go so far as to say that if any Muslim still feels tempted to put his knife into a Hindu or a Sikh, he must realise that by doing so he will be stabbing Pakistan."

Although this denunciation of the dagger was belated

and long after it had been used effectively in Noakhali and Rawalpindi, many foolish people believed that the Qaid-e-Azam had different views from the average Muslim Leaguer on the methods by which Pakistan could be achieved.

While Jinnah was preparing for his Press conference at Delhi, his most trusted lieutenant, Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial League (and local 'direct-action' leader) addressed a crowded meeting at Gujranwala District Board Hall (July 11). In his capacity as President he ordered Mussalmans in the Province to follow him:

He told the Muslim section of the audience that he had solemnly pledged protection and security to the Hindus and Sikhs in the Western Punjab and, therefore, it was the duty of every Mussalman to honour the pledge given by him and refrain from doing any harm to the person and property of non-Muslims" (C. & M. Gazette.)

The Khan of Mamdot was followed by the President of the City Muslim League who appealed to the Mussalmans of Gujranwala to abstain from doing any harm to the non-Muslims. He assured the Khan of Mamdot that every effort would be made to fulfil the pledge given by him to non-Muslims.

At the same meeting Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, of Baghbanpura, in very strong language, condemned the acts of stabbing and arson. He reminded the audience that no amount of stabbings and burning could affect the decisions of the Boundary Commission. The danger to Islam, he said, would not be in the Indian Union but in Pakistan itself, because Islam was on trial in Pakistan. Islam would be judged by the standard of administration which would be set up here. He emphasised that it was the responsibility of the Mussalmans to protect the minorities.

A few days earlier, Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, former Minister of the Punjab Government, and prospective Pakistan Minister, broadcasting in Urdu from All India Radio, Lahore (June 28) said:

“It is the duty of the Mussalmans in Pakistan to revive confidence in their non-Muslim brethren and to remove from their hearts the fear that Pakistan Mussalmans are their enemies. This is possible only when peace prevails. They must, therefore, establish peace. They must consider Hindus and Sikhs as their brothers and safeguard their lives and property, and thus make them realise that Pakistan is the greatest champion of the ideals of equality and fraternity. The establishment of peace in Pakistan is not only a political necessity, it is also necessary from moral and economic points of view.

He also said: “Pakistan has been established, but our main task has not come to an end, rather it begins now. We have to build a Pakistan which we could justly be proud of. Without peace this task is not only difficult but impossible. Pakistan was not a mere wordy ideal. Pakistan meant an independent State, where everyone would have full opportunity to develop himself according to his capacity; and where every man would breathe freely and lead a happy life. To attain their goal the Mussalmans have sacrificed a lot, suffered a great deal and faced all odds, and now that they have reached their goal they have to attend to constructive work. They have to build up their country, their Pakistan, in such a way that they would be proud of it.

“As I have said before, this task is impossible without peace. It is the moral and religious duty of the majority community in Pakistan to safeguard the life and property of the minorities and their behaviour towards them should be that of toleration and fraternity.

“Fraternity is the greatest heritage of Islam and in Pakistan we have to prove ourselves worthy of this heritage, as of other Islamic traditions. According to this tradition, the safety of life and property of non-Muslims is the responsibility of Pakistan Mussalmans. If they did not pay due attention to this it would not only discredit them, but would bring disrepute to Pakistan as well. I am, however, perfectly sure that they would never bring discredit to Pakistan. They should create such a peaceful atmosphere in Pakistan that even those

who view the future of Pakistan with suspicion will be convinced of our sincerity."

At a meeting at the Lahore Town Hall (June 21) Begum Shah Nawaz, believed to be one of the most active behind-the-screen direct-action-leaders of the Muslim League, told a crowded audience that she prayed most earnestly to God to bring peace to her detracted people.

At the same meeting the Khan of Mamdot as President of the League gave the following solemn pledge :

"On behalf of the Muslim people, I solemnly pledge to my Hindu and Sikh brothers, complete justice and fairness of treatment in Pakistan. The Muslims of Pakistan will guard and protect the honour, dignity, person and property, of the minorities above their own. I call upon the Muslims to honour with their life, the word I am pledging on their behalf. I call upon them to check all lawlessness, to fight against all forms of chaos, and to see that every one who calls himself a Muslim stays his hand."

Referring to the above pledge, the "Pakistan Times" in a powerful editorial said :

"The words quoted above are of too solemn an import to be carelessly brushed aside. We are confident that there is no Muslim who holds the honour of his leaders so cheap, or the word given on his behalf so light that he will deliberately break the covenant so solemnly entered into. Anyone who breaks the pledge, repudiates his leaders, belies his loyalty to the Muslim League, befouls the name of his community; anyone who breaks this pledge is a renegade and a traitor. These are hard words but we cannot afford to jeopardise the future of Pakistan because a few mad fools think that they are wiser than the leaders of their community or because half a dozen hot-heads consider that the way to Pakistan lies through heaps of scorched rubble."

It cannot be said that all these outpouring of the heart did not have any effect on the minorities. The

exodus from Lahore diminished. The Lahore Railway Station, which since May had been the scene of much jostling humanity and black-marketing in train accommodation settled down to normalcy. But what was more important to Pakistan, the flight of capital, which since the recrudescence of disturbances had rapidly winged its way out, eased off. Thousands of people abandoned all idea of quitting Pakistan and were quite reconciled to being ruled by Jinnah instead of Jawaharlal Nehru, on the assumption that one politician is as good as another.

Typical of the new confidence inspired by these appeals was the whole-hearted co-operation offered by prominent men of business such as Mr. Satya Pal Virmani, millionaire millowner of Lyallpur and Amritsar. In a letter to the press Mr. Virmani said :

“Khan of Mamdot’s clarion call to the good sense of his community in the Pakistan Dominion should go a long way towards allaying the fears of Hindus and particularly hearten those who have bravely suffered and stood by their hearths and homes. Their honour, life and property have been vouchsafed.

“Such assurance from the Khan preceded by announcements of the Presidents of the League and the Congress should inspire confidence in the minorities and win the emigrants of the Western Punjab and N.-W. F. P. back to their homeland. If the pledges are soon translated into deeds of goodwill the minorities would not display panic.

“Migration would create new and baffling problems for the Hindustan areas and would neither be welcome to the emigrants nor the new country. The ultimate good lies in sticking to the homeland, in their own rights and co-operating in all possible ways with the Government of the land.

“Let us face the reality of partition rather than pick up contraversies over the advantages and disadvantages it involves which would merely obstruct friendly relations and rehabilitation of the damaged economic

structure. It is essential that the economic life of the land should be revived and all factors leading to chaos eliminated.

"The desperate rush for transference and disposal of movable and immovable property should be checked. A good deal of the onus for resumption of commerce and industrial production lies on the banks in general. These should no longer deny normal banking facilities to their constituents either in the Hindustan or Pakistan areas. It would be a shortsighted policy of the banks to obstruct the credit flow on which depends the entire business structure, trade and industries.

"Out of past failures, the present trouble and hope for the future, I have no doubt, will emerge a new purpose and design conducive to goodwill and to the advantage of all sections inhabiting Pakistan and the rest of India."

But peace was shortlived. Mamdot's promises and the Begum's tears were swept away. Hardly a week had gone by when someone left off a harmless cracker in the Moghalpura N. W. R. Workshops. Word went round that a Sikh had thrown a bomb. And so during the luncheon interval a determined attack on non-Muslims was made. A large number were stabbed to death and many more grievously injured. That evening a man cycling in the Moghalpura area was taken off his cycle, put down on the ground and his throat cut like a goat. On 7th July Gujranwala became the scene of murderous attacks on members of minority communities. According to official reports twenty houses were burnt down belonging to one community by few raiders. Troops and police had to open fire to disperse riotous mobs. The whole of Gujranwala was declared a "dangerous area" under the Punjab Police Safety Act. And after the late A. A. Azam's fervent assurance to minorities, minorities were still attacked and murdered and Muslim League raiders continued the war of extermination. On 1st August the Lahore correspondent of the Associated Press, one of the most effective pro-League journalists

of the world, reported to his agency :

"Three attempts at arson were reported on Thursday night from Chauburji, Krishnanagar and Moti Bazar, outside Kashmiri Gate. A deserted house was set ablaze on the Shalimar park road in Moghalpura area late Thursday night".

"A shop was set on fire in Bazaz Hatta on Friday morning. The fire spread to the neighbouring house which was practically gutted. Another case of arson was reported from Kasera Bazar. An old fire got rekindled in Mohalla Jalotian but was quickly brought under control by the Corporation Fire Brigade.

The same agency reported on the same day from Amritsar :

"The day opened with the stabbing of a man in Darwaza Khakruban, followed by the stabbing of two others outside the Hathi Gate, one of whom died on the spot. One sweeper was shot at on the G. T. Road near the Eye Hospital. The other cases occurred in Longarh, Hathi Gate, Katra Bagh Singh and outside the Hall Bazar. Reports from the village of Rampura and Ratanpura show that in the former place one man was murdered, and in the latter one man was murdered another injured."

During the week-end June 23 to June 25 Lahore had a tense atmosphere. In Said Mitha, a mixed locality of Lahore City, there was a free exchange of brickbats. Not less than 69 cases of arson were reported during Saturday and Sunday. Lahore passed a sleepless night on Saturday with fires burning all round, the biggest being inside Shahalmi Gate.

Up to 1 p. m. on Sunday 100 houses, including residential houses, were completely destroyed in Shahalmi Gate, Papar Mandi and Kucha Hawagaran. Buildings on both sides of the bazar were entirely gutted and have collapsed, the falling debris having blocked the bazars. The loss is estimated at several lakhs of rupees.

Gunshots were repeatedly heard early in the morning

and about a hundred rounds are reported to have been fired by the troops and police on curfew-breakers, during the tumult and confusion caused by the spreading fires. About half a dozen persons are reported to have been injured.

Twenty cases of arson were reported up to mid-day on Sunday from different sectors, including Akbari Mandi, inside Bhati Gate, Pipal Vehra, inside Mochi Gate and Old Kotwali and Mozang.

Life in Lahore was completely paralysed on Sunday with the breakdown in supplies of foodstuffs and other necessities. Housewives went without milk, vegetables, fruit and meat.

There was no activity in the curfew-bound areas, while business was at a standstill in the Civil Lines. The bus services had been suspended till further notice. The railway platforms were over-crowded with the out-going passengers.

On Tuesday a party of journalists went round the city. This is the picture given by the "Pakistan Times" Special Correspondent :

"It was a pitiful sight we saw in the city on Tuesday morning with a party of Pressmen. Houses once inhabited by happy families now stood there deserted, blackened and burnt out. Smoke was still coming out of many of them and the air was heavy with a bitter tang which irritated the eyes and nostrils.

"Shahalmi Gate, once the main centre of provisions trade, has become a wreck.

"A block of 250 houses and shops has been reduced to ashes and the main street is impassable with mounds of rubble, still smouldering. In order to check the fire from spreading to the nearby houses the authorities have ordered the demolition of the burnt-out or half-burnt houses.

"The Party then visited Mozang which had suffered heavy destruction of property. Rows of houses have been burned out leaving behind smoking rubble, charred bricks and twisted girders. The houses in

this area were mostly empty, for the occupants of the houses, anticipating trouble ahead, had migrated to safer places. The demolition of the half-burnt houses and clearing of the debris was in progress."

In Bagbanpura, the locality in which Iftikhar-ud-Din and Begum Shah Nawaz had their ancestral homes and in which they exercised considerable personal influence, there were so many cases of stabbings of non-Muslims and arson of their houses that the Government of the Punjab had to impose (June 13) on the Muslims of the locality a collective fine of Rupees two lacs, on the ground that the inhabitants of Baghbanpura had since May 10th been concerned in the commission of offences and other acts prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order. Jahanara Shah Nawaz and Iftikhar-ud-Din and members of their families would have had to foot a very large part of this bill but for the timely grant of Pakistan.

And then came the Indian Independence Act. It received the Royal Assent on the 18th of July 1947. Nothing could undo Pakistan now. It was a living entity. 15th August was a nominal date. It was already a reality.

Having achieved Pakistan, the Muslim League turned towards making the land *pak* of non Muslims. In Lahore Gujranwala, Sialkot, Sheikhpura, Montgomery, Lyallpur, Mianwali, Peshawar, Quetta and everywhere the holy war of extermination started. For weeks previously throughout Lahore there were hushed whispers. "When Pakistan comes, we will have all the wealth of the Hindus ; we will have their houses and we will have their women." A prominent lady in the Muslim League, a fortnight before the official advent of Pakistan indicated the house she was going to occupy. She has that house now.

And so those who were not massacred fled, leaving everything behind. Hindus and Sikhs left valuable properties, ample estates, fine bungalows, great educational and cheritable institutions, big commercial premises, show rooms full of merchandise, personal effects, jewellery, cars, furniture, radios frigidaires, silk and satinwear, and fine clothes generally. And overnight the 'haves' became 'have-

nots' and the 'have-nots' the 'haves.' Overnight Mr. Jinnah's minority problem was solved, the minorities were on the move. In tens of thousands daily they were voluntarily quitting Pakistan—pouring into the Indian Union. Pakistan and its people were becoming daily the richer. Was there ever in all history, so much booty won with so little effort? More than five million people had decided to quit Pakistan and leave everything behind except their families. According to Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Pakistan Health Minister, a hundred thousand people were killed in West Punjab uprooting five millions. In terms of rupees annas and pies Pakistan and Pakistan nationals got property left behind by non-Muslims equivalent to a value of Rs. 2,000 crores according to well-informed sources.

Many people, to save their property, accepted Islam. Mr. Dina Nath, S/o R. B. Dhanpat Rai became Din Mohd; Rai Sahib H.R. became Ghulam Mohd and so many others. But even Islam did not save them. Dina Nath was stabbed and died in hospital. A number of others after becoming Muslims were induced to contract new marriages, and write away valuable properties to Pakistan brides as *Haq Mehr*. And before a marriage could be consummated, the bridegroom was taken for a "Sair" by the brides relatives. And when the bride would see his head without his body, she knew she was a widow and free to marry again and share her property with a deserving Pakistani.

But perverse Nature set up new problems for Pakistan. Jinnah had a new headache. It was not the minorities any longer. They would never be disloyal to Pakistan as they would never have an opportunity. They would never exploit their wealth, nor exploit the masses of Pakistan. They had been effectively eliminated.

But with the departure of hated *Banias* and *Kafirs*, Pakistan awoke to a reality that it had never before comprehended—no not even imagined. The non-Muslims ran the banks, the insurance companies, the wheat, cloth, sugar, retail and wholesale departments. They paid the bulk of the taxes. And suddenly therefore, overnight the economy of Pakistan collapsed. The huge buildings

like the Dyal Singh College, the Balak Ram Hospital, Ganga Ram Widows' Home were but empty shells. The banks could not function as the clerks had run away. The municipalities found it could not pay the salaries of its staff, as the people who pay the house-tax and others, were no longer there. The cotton crop was at hand; the financiers had gone. The ginning factories were now in the hands of Pakistanis but there was no transport to bring the cotton and no coal to run the machinery. Pakistan railways were losing crores of rupees. They had no coal and the goods and passenger traffic had come down to practically nil. Doctors found they had the instruments and the surgeries of departed colleagues, but no patients to pay them consultation fees. Lawyers had come in for ample libraries but there were no clients and no cases.

And so within a fortnight of the establishment of Pakistan Jinnah had to leave Government House, Karachi, and make a dash to Lahore. Pakistan was tottering. New headaches tormented the Qaid-e-Azam; Finance, Coal, Railways and Banks. But bigger and more ominous than all was a new problem—the problem of millions and millions of refugees pouring into Pakistan from the East. And they came to Pakistan not because they expected a heaven, but to escape from hell. East Punjab, docile and indolent and indifferent for months, had taken upon itself to give Muslims a taste of what Hindus and Sikhs had in West Punjab. And so terribly was West Punjab being avenged that Jinnah by August 31st saw the whole of Pakistan floundering in the midst of a refugee problem that might eventually involve a migration of sixty million Mussalmans to Pakistan. Pakistan just could not afford to become the largest Muslim State in the world. And more than that worried Jinnah and his friends was the amazing similitude with which Pakistan methods were being copied by others, and if anything, more brutally and efficiently. The Pakistan way was now a two-directional High Road.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Refugee Problem

WEST Punjab had to accommodate 57,42,496 Muslims from East Punjab and adjoining States as against 40,16,404 non-Muslims who left the province, said Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Minister for Refugees, Government of Pakistan, at a Press conference in Karachi.

The Minister stated that there were on December 6th, over 7,00,000 Muslim refugees in the various camps in the province. During the week ending December 6, as many as 14,721 had been taken ill; 2484 had died of dysentery and pneumonia.

Till 6th December nearly 13,00,000 Muslim refugees had been settled in towns, while another 29 lakhs had been rehabilitated in rural areas.

Out of 7,396 villages evacuated by the non-Muslims, 6,788 have been occupied by Muslim refugees; 287 out of the 713 abandoned factories have been allotted to the Muslims.

In the cold hard figures of the statistician the above describes briefly the first fruits of partition, and in many ways the most difficult problem facing both Pakistan and India—namely the satisfactory rehabilitation of nearly ten million persons uprooted from their homes on either side of the boundary line.

Ghazanfar Ali Khan at the same Press conference said that despite the serious set-back that his mission to rehabilitate the non-Muslims in the West Punjab had received his belief had not been shaken that "the ultimate solution of the problem lay in the two Dominion Governments creating confidence in their minorities and also creating conditions to justify their confidence."

It is a thousand pities that Ghazanfar Ali and other Pakistan illuminaries did not realise the value of the minorities earlier.

The net result of the activities of the Muslim League at Rawalpindi and Lahore has been that not only has Pakistan lost over four million prosperous, hardworking and thrifty people, but has been saddled with the problem of resettling nearly six million comparatively poorer Muslims from the east.

The six millions who have migrated to Pakistan have not come voluntarily in search of a land flowing with milk and honey. They were quite content and well settled in the Eastern Districts of the Punjab; for generations their ancestors have lived in the East and history and tradition have entrenched them to the soil.

True, some of them voted for Pakistan—not a great many as the franchise did not extend to more than one in a thousand. To bulk of them Pakistan was first a name. They were quite content to remain where they were, to till their lands; to tend their cattle and their flocks of goat and sheep; and to live their simple and honest lives, content to toil in the day and to render gratitude to God at sundown. This had been the picture of their lives as long as any could remember and the oldest among them could not say that their parents and their parent's parents had lived any differently.

They had lived from time immemorial amongst others, who had more or less the same lives, but whose ideas of God and Providence were somewhat different. Some of their friends and neighbours were followers of the Gurus, others had no particular form of worship but conservative in intermarriage and claimed a faith older than all history. But the relationships between them who went down on the knees at the mosques, and those who occasionally went to the Gurdwara or the temple was kindly and affectionate. Sometimes people known as "leaders" would come down and foment trouble over the killing of an animal or a procession with music but in the long run, years of peace and harmony prevailed. Muslims of East Punjab shared the joys and sorrows of their neighbours, as much as Hindus and Sikhs shared the joys and sorrows of their Muslim neighbours in the remoter districts of Campbellpur, Attock,

Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan.

And suddenly as the overnight gather of a storm, clouds came over the hearts of men. And as news came through of atrocities upon Hindus and Sikhs in West Punjab, the kindness and peace in which Muslims had basked came to an abrupt end.

Muslims in East Punjab paid the price of the wickedness and the inequities perpetrated by their 'misguided' brothers in the West. Whatever happened in Pakistan was copied in the east by people, who had seen for themselves how it could be done on persons near and dear to them. Murder, arson, loot and more swept the east in a sudden conflagration that got alight in the second week of August and by the middle of September had spread as far as Delhi, Meerut and Saharanpur. Some red hot embers started flames in places as far away as Kanpur, Banaras and Calcutta.

But it must be said to the credit of both the Dominion Government of India and Government of East Punjab that they went all out to suppress the conflagration. In West Punjab there was nothing comparable to the action of the Indian troops in quelling disorders ; or Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's reckless courage in dashing into Connaught Circus and arresting looters with his own hands ; or Mahatma Gandhi risking life and honour every day so that Muslims may be safe.

But in spite of all the best efforts, retaliation took its toll in the remoter areas of East Punjab and other neighbouring States. And just as there were massacres in the west, there were massacres in the East and perhaps bloodier. There were also abductions, rape and arson.

It is difficult to say whether this war was the first of its kind waged by the combatants not among themselves but on non-combatants, on persons with whom they have no quarrel, in killing neighbours, on helpless women and helpless children.

And so within a fortnight of the establishment of Pakistan, the new Dominion was faced with two-way emigration problem of unparalleled dimensions,

Murder, arson and rape in West Punjab came to an

end, not so much because Muslims in East Punjab had to pay the price, but because leaders of the Muslim League in Pakistan foresaw that if the trouble went on any longer, just as the Muslims in East Punjab had been uprooted, Muslims all over India would be uprooted and Pakistan would then be face to face with a pretty problem involving the rehabilitation of sixty million Muslims; which was clearly well beyond the capacity of Pakistan to absorb.

And so discretion rather than good sense or humanity brought about an end to the holocaust in the west. The determined efforts of Sardar Patel, Home Member of the Government of India, the Maharaja of Patiala and the Akali Leaders bore fruit and by the end of September mass killings in the East had come to an end.

But the refugee problem continues. The events of August, and September had made it clear that non-Muslims could no longer stay in West Punjab or Muslims in East Punjab. And so began the greatest mass migration in history.

And so by air, by train and by road millions of people have been on the move since last August. Some of them have reached new destinations but the numberless are still far from being settled. Strange enough, refugees from East Punjab are not vociferous against those who pillaged their lands and drove them from their homes. They are vociferous against those who started the trouble in Pakistan.

When the Qaid-e-Azam arrived at Walton Aerodrome on August 30th, he was greeted with shouts "Qaid-e-Azam Murdabad."

Mamdot was mobbed by angry refugees.

So to avoid demonstration against the administration, the largest refugee camps are at some distance from the capital. Nearly three hundred thousand are encamped at Shadara, with not a tree or tent to shelter them in their first Pakistan winter.

Ghazanfar Ali Khan at the Press conference stated that more than 14,000 were taken ill in a single week. He did not mention that the Lahore journals had computed

that more than 5,000 refugees were dying of cold and hunger every week.

Dr. Siddiqui, Health Officer of the Lahore Municipality, in a recent statement estimated that nearly a hundred persons are found frozen to death in the streets of Lahore every morning.

While there is a Dr. Siddiqui to count the dead in the streets of Lahore, on the roads of West Punjab, refugees, tired and weary, walking now for weeks, hundreds are dying by the wayside.

I have seen caravans on the move to Pakistan, miles and miles long—men, women and little children on the move by the hundred thousands. 'It is a very long way to Pakistan', and not every body reaches Wagah.

The problem of the evacuees from East Punjab does not by any means end at Wagah. It is the beginning of fresh troubles. His destination (no body can tell him as yet) and when and how long it will take him to get a home no body can tell him.

The problem of settling agriculturists is difficult enough. There is not enough land to go round the army of refugees that have arrived—and millions more who are on the way.

The settlement of skilled factory labourer is worse—there are no factories, or the factories are closed, or else the factories cannot run. Then the thousand and odd Muslim carpet weavers of the Amritsar Carpet Company are unemployed—all the carpet factories are in Hindustan and until Pakistan puts up a Carpet Factory, they must starve. Many Muslims had prosperous iron and steel works at Batala. Their business as also the jobs have all gone, and steel cannot be had in Pakistan for love or money.

So are the skilled workmen on the railways. Pakistan has got more locomotive cleaners than locomotives. They are workless as Pakistan has no coal to run its trains. They could not run them as the station and train staff, mostly non-Muslims, have left.

A quaint commentary on the refugee problem is that whereas six million Muslims have poured into Pakistan—it has not been possible to find much more than six Muslim

clerks to take over the ledgers of Lahore Banks which are the best part operating only on a two hour daily schedule.

There is a host of butchers in Pakistan and all have to make a living and so while meat is cheap (beef 3 annas a seer and mutton 6 annas) Pakistan is faced with meat and milk famine as milch animals, goats and sheep are being slaughtered at a higher rate than nature can replenish.

CHAPTER NINE

Is Pakistan Bankrupt ?

SIR Archibald Rowlands, Financial Adviser to the Qaid-e-Azam, after a three months' visit to Pakistan, in a recent exclusive interview to the "Statesman," said that although Pakistan would have deficit budgets for years to come, it was very far from being bankrupt.

A careful study of the financial aspects of Pakistan was made by two distinguished economists (Sir H. P. Mody and Dr. John Mathai) and they came to the conclusion that excluding the cost of defence, Pakistan was financially a feasible proposition. In this connection they appended a note to the Report of Sapru Committee in the following terms :

"Although in our opinion a division of the country is to be deplored, we should be prepared to consider it if there was no other basis for an agreed settlement. The extent to which, in our opinion, political separation may be accepted as a means of conciliating Muslim sentiment without serious risk to the country, is as follows :—

- (1) Areas in which there is a Muslim majority of the population to be segregated, to form a separate State or States. This may mean district-wise Pakistan, but our study has shown that it is feasible under such an arrangement to have large contiguous blocks of territory demarcated as separate Muslim zones.
- (2) These areas to be determined in such manner as to constitute a single contiguous block within the province in which they are situated.
- (3) A definite agreement to to be entered into

by the State or States so formed with the rest of India for co-operation in matters of defence and economic development.

The main objection to separation was that it would hinder the development of the country, and imperil its safety."

The cautious and qualified support to the proposition of Pakistan given by Sir H. P. Mody and Dr. Mathai found its source in the difficulty in which these two gentlemen found themselves on the question :

"Our view is that if a scheme which pre-supposed the political unity of India was not acceptable to the Muslim community, and if the results of the forthcoming elections were to vindicate generally the Muslim League position, separation as a means of ending the present deadlock should not be ruled out".

The net implications of the above views were however twofold : *firstly* if the burden of its defence was saddled upon Pakistan it ceased to be a feasible proposition and, *secondly*, even without having to bear the cost of defending itself against external aggression and internal commotion, Pakistan was no more than a feasible proposition. The most enthusiastic sponsors of the scheme were not able to claim for it any outstanding economic and financial merits.

Let us examine the question in some of its more important aspects:

(a) *Central Finances of Pakistan.*

In order to get a picture of the financial condition of Pakistan we must look first at the budgetary position of the Central Government before the partition.

The following tables give a general statement of the Revenue and Expenditure of the Government of India according to the revised estimates of 1944-1945 and the budget estimate of 1945-46 representing a good average post-war position :

General Statement of the Revenue and Expenditure in Lakhs of Rupees.

REVENUE	Revised Estimates 1944-45	Budget Estimates 1945-46
Customs	40,00	85,25
Central Excise Duties	39,07	48,59
Corporation Tax	1,06,11	89,67
Taxes on Income other than Corporation Tax	1,03,89	1,00,83
Salt	9,30	9,30
Opium	1,05	1,27
Interest	1,74	1,44
Civil Administration	2,22	2,26
Currency and Mint	12,55	12,28
Civil Works	61	66
Receipts from Indian States	63	63
Receipts connected with the War	21,28	16,42
Other sources of revenue	3,67	3,18
Post & Telegraphs—Net contri- bution to general revenues	9,32	11,85
Railway—Net contribution to general revenues	32,00	32,00
Deduct share of Income-tax revenue payable to provinces	25,56	33,29
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total Revenue	3,56,88	3,62,34
Deficit	1,55,57	1,55,29
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	5,12,65	5,17,63

EXPENDITURE

	Revised Estimates 1944-45	Revised Estimates 1945-46
Direct Demands on the Revenue	8,52,67	8,86,38
Irrigation Embankment etc.	13,32	10,77

EXPENDITURE (*continued*)

	Revised Estimates 1944-45	Revised Estimates 1945-46
Posts & Telegraphs—Capital outlay charged to revenue	0,54	1,60
Debt Services	22,60,77	33,95,19
Civil Administration	24,59,00	27,55,00
Miscellaneous	11,21,23	16,20,78
Currency & Mint	2,20,77	1,70,49
Civil Works	2,50,14	2,46,58
Defence Services Nett	3,97,12,01	3,94,23,39
Contributions and Miscel- laneous Adjustments bet- ween Central and Pro- vincial Governments	8,75,55	1,73,81
Extraordinary payments	34,89,00	30,79,00
Total Expenditure charged to Revenue surplus	...	...
Total	5,12,64,92	5,17,62,99

The deficit of 155 lakhs in the above estimates was due to the abnormal expenditure of 397 crores on the defence services.

Before proceeding further let us look at the principal items of revenue and expenditure. Taxes on Income and Corporation Tax accounted for 209 crores out of a total of 356.85 crores. Customs yielded 40 crores. A sum of 32 crores was the net contribution of the Railways to general revenues. Salt yielded 9.30 crores and central excise duties 39 crores. On the side of expenditure the country spent 397.23 crores on the defence services but anticipated a reduction of 394.23 crores in the following year.

In assessing the budgetary position of Pakistan it is well to remember the following circumstances :—

- (1) Pakistan has taken 1/3rd Army and 1/3rd Navy.
- (2) Pakistan has enrolled as a semi military organisation National Guards, consisting of

- not less than 30 battalions.
- (3) The Pakistan Railways, by reason of disruption of social and economic life, large movement of refugee and military traffic, shortage of coal, dislocation of staff and personnel are now operating on a basis of an annual short fall of atleast 24 crores.
 - (4) Corporations such as the City of Lahore Corporation, that previously were self-supporting are now standing liabilities on the State. It is estimated according to press reports that the Lahore Corporation is in immediate need of half crore rupees to meet current expenses. On an annual basis a demand of one crore would not be wide of the mark.
 - (5) The refugee problem is likely for sometime to be a formidable drain on Pakistan finances as it will not be possible to settle all the refugees on the land and the Government will have on its hands atleast a million refugees, for which the State would directly or indirectly have to provide. Upon a cautious estimate, Pakistan needs eleven crores annually for some years to keep a million refugees from bare want.
 - (6) Corporation and Income Tax in Pakistan must be written down considerably owing to the flight of non-Muslim capital and personnel, and reduced post war profits.

The partition Council has decided that $17\frac{1}{2}$ to Pakistan was fair basis of the division of assets including balances. Upon the assumption it is logical to assume that Pakistan's normal revenues may be assessed at $17\frac{1}{2}$ % of the gross revenues of India.

$17\frac{1}{2}$ % of 366. 88 crores comes to 62 crores (approximately). Deduct share on Railway contribution

5. 6 crores

Deduct reduced Corporation and Income Tax	10. 0 crores
Gross income	46. 4 crores
Expenditure @ 1/3rd of Central Estimates	
33. 1/3% of 512 crores comes to	170. 6 crores.
Add loss of railways	24 crores
Add Refugee relief	11 crores
	—————
Total Expenditure	205 crores
Less Income	46. 4 „
	—————
Net deficit	161. 2 crores.

The net deficit of the Central Government over the budgetary year 1944-45 according to the round estimates was only 1. 55 crores. There is then a wide margin between the budgetary position of the India and Pakistan. Even the budget estimates of India after partition although disclosing an estimated deficit of about 27 crores, including the refugees rehabilitation, the financial morass of Pakistan bears no comparison to the financial conditions in India.

If Mr. Jinnah had applied his mind earlier to these problems, finance would not be Pakistan's headache No.1.

Going back to Sir Archibald's exclusive interview with the Statesman:—

“Sir Archibald added that heavy taxation; particularly on *samindars*, was inevitable in Pakistan but the Pakistan *samindar* could not bear it easily. The heaviest drain on Pakistan finances was cost of the army, which could probably be reduced in two or three years when there was less tension between the dominions.”

Whether the *samindars* of Pakistan are prepared to make up the deficit of 161. 2 crores annually remains to be seen. If we know anything of the Pakistani *samindar* any effort to recover the deficit from him may prove more troublesome than a mere headache.

The picture of provincial finances of Pakistan units is unfortunately not any more cheerful.

(b) Finances of West Punjab.

Until the partition the income of Punjab was considered sound. The Provincial budget usually disclosed an annual surplus. This surplus varied according to seasons and crops between 6 and 60 lakhs. The Provincial Government was in receipt of a share of the Central collection of Income tax and this Subvention found a useful windfall in the hands of successive Finance Ministers, which was usefully employed in the advancement of beneficent activities.

The budgetary position of West Punjab cannot be a rosy prospect for the Finance Minister Mumtaz Daultana, who devotes more time to the adumbration of civic loyalty and the propagation of the *Shariat* than to the shortfall in his revenues.

The exodus of non-Muslims, who were the most prosperous section of the population will be apparent in the budget in reduced figures under the heads of civil administration covering stamps and court fees, registration fees, sales tax, motor registration and postal sales.

The Corporation of Lahore has already felt that the non-Muslims paid the bulk of the house and property taxes and the octroi. The income of the Corporation has declined, it is said, from 15000 a day to about Rs. 50/- per day. It has accordingly requested the Central Government of Pakistan for loan of Rs 50 lacs to cover current expenses.

(c) Finances of N.-W.F.P.

The province has been in receipt of an annual subvention of Rupees one crore from Central revenues to enable it to meet the excess of expenditure over revenue.

In this connection it would be of interest to reproduce some remarks made by the Finance Minister of the Muslim League Ministry in the N.-W. F. P., in a recent budget speech:—

“The estimate of revenue receipts for the Province for 1944-45 is Rs. 226. 82 lakhs while the anticipated expenditure is Rs. 229. 47 lakhs. The Central subvention constitutes almost half of our annual

receipts. I am convinced that placed as we are, our sheet anchor in the future is an increase in the amount of our subvention, which is by far the largest single item in our revenue budget."

The same exponent of a 'No Centre' programme proceeded :—

"The reason is that our revenue is inelastic, because the bulk of it is a fixed subvention from the Central Government of India, and there is little possibility of expansion of the remainder. It is barely enough to meet our standing charges and affords but meagre scope for development, whether in agriculture, education, medical relief, or any other direction which may lead to the greater happiness of the people of this province."

Mr. Jinnah will not deny that the late League Ministry made pressing representations to the Viceroy and the Government of India for an increase in the subvention to the N.-W. F. P. It cannot, therefore, be argued that the N.-W. F. P. is anything but a burden on the revenues of Pakistan.

(d) The Finance of Sind.

The Province of Sind is also a deficit province and is in receipt of an annual subvention to meet excess of expenditure over revenues. These subventions also come from Central revenues and at present amount to about 105 lakhs annually.

(e) The Finances of Bengal.

The finances of the Eastern partner in Pakistan are equally impressive.

After a sequence of deficit budgets for several years, Bengal looked forward hopefully to an improvement in her financial position as a direct result of the special steps taken by the Central Government and by Parliament through the India Act to alleviate Bengal's plight. Under provincial autonomy she was better off to the extent of Rupees 75 lakhs a year than before. In the year 1935-36 despite the grant from Central revenues of an amount equal to half the proceeds of the jute export duty,

the budget showed a deficit of Rs. 51½ lakhs. The Niemeyer report however, as subsequently implemented, gave a further sum of Rs. 42 lakhs annually from an increased share in the jute export duty, and also annual relief of Rs. 33 lakhs by cancelling the province's accumulated debt to the Centre. Thus Bengal was able to face the future with more confidence. The budget for the year 1937-38 was a surplus budget. The year 1938-39, however, marked the beginning of another sequence of deficit budgets. The budget for 1941-42 revealed a deficit estimated at more than a crore of rupees. Although the finances of the province, as revealed in the revised estimates and actuals of the preceding years, show a continuous improvement, the expenditure of the province appears to have reached a stage where it may be said, the Government are living well beyond their means. The year 1943-44 was marked by a considerable rise in income, but unfortunately flood and famine not only served to hamper normal development, but resulted in heavily increased expenditure on relief and reconstruction measures. Another deficit resulted but discussions were instituted for assistance from the Central Government, as the outlook was even worse for 1944-45. The assistance received, however, proved inadequate to stop the rot, which was aggravated by economic conditions.

Bengal has accordingly even less prospects than Punjab to be able to present the Qaid-e-Azam with a surplus to reduce the wide margin between revenue and expenditure at the Centre.

Sir Archibald's hope, like the hope of every financier faced with a balance-sheet that does not balance is to try to reduce expenditure and increase income. Sir Archibald's recipe to the Qaid-e-Azam would reduce the army and tax the *samindar*.

Neither of these two remedies can find favour with either the Qaid-e-Azam or with Pakistan.

CHAPTER TEN

The Bargaining Counter

THE biggest problem facing Pakistan today is not refugee rehabilitation but finance. Without assistance from either the Indian Union, Britain, or the United States, Pakistan like a new sown plant but not watered amply must wither and die. Pakistan can get money and assistance from the Indian Union by goodwill and friendliness. But the leaders of Pakistan from Jinnah downwards fear that they will at once lose the leadership among the masses if they show any friendly feeling towards the Union. Leadership is more important than the needs of Pakistan. But keeping alive the hatred which they have so successfully utilised in the past, is not doing Pakistan any good now. Foreign capital—either U. S. A. or British—insists in a guarantee of settled conditions. Possibility of war between the two dominions—not ruled out as impossible by careful observers—has scared foreign capital. A prominent banker, closely connected with a large group of Scottish and British financial interests, said to me that as things stand he was not prepared to recommend a single shilling for Pakistan.

The murder of Principal Bartlam at Lahore, Colonel and Mrs. Dykes in Baramulla and the attempt to shoot the nuns of the Baramulla Convent have created grave doubts in the minds of Englishmen towards Pakistan. Most of them opted for Pakistan in the belief that conditions there would be more settled and welcome than in India. The murder of Englishmen and women has rudely shaken British complacency. The Pakistan Government has been told by the members of the Punjab Civil Commission that unless the murderer of Principal Bartlam is found and hanged, no Englishman will

continue in the Pakistan Service. The Pakistan Government is, therefore, faced with the unpleasant dilemma of hanging a Muslim student or professor and consternation within its own ranks or losing the entire lot of British officers. For the moment, therefore, no financial assistance from Britain is possible. Assistance from the U. S. A. is no easy matter. Easiest of all sources is the Indian Union, where fortunately for Pakistan, men sympathetic towards Jinnah and the League, Nehru and Gandhi, still have the purse strings of the Union. But they want a solution of the Kashmir issue. Pakistan's financial problem is undoubtedly complex but not impossible of solution.

Inter-twined with finance are the closely related problems of refugee rehabilitation and economic development. Without funds Pakistan cannot pay for coal to run her railways or the oil to lubricate her machinery. She can embark on industrialisation with funds and credit, for both of which she is in desperate need. All her schemes of development, such as exploitation of water power, and mineral wealth are long term projects calling for ample funds, small returns in extensive periods of peaceful conditions. Pakistan at the moment has nothing to offer the investor.

Mr. Jinnah has described Pakistan as "the biggest Moslem Stateand the fifth biggest sovereign State in the world." Although one might dispute the second half of the description, Pakistan's increasing importance is undoubted—particularly because of its situation on the frontier of the Anglo-American and Soviet orbits in the strategic Middle Eastern theatre.

According to the impression of Pakistan by Mr. Andrew Roth, a well-known American Journalist, Mr. Jinnah exaggerates when he describes it as "blessed with enormous resources and potentialities". Pakistan is undoubtedly "workable" economically, particularly with the low living standards prevailing. It has an "industrious" population of 70,000,000 (like pre-1938 Germany) with a territory of 230,000 square miles (1/4th

more than 1933 Germany). It is an agricultural surplus area which can feed its own people, export some wheat and rice and a great deal of its valuable jute crop. It has some oil and chromite and considerable potential water-power. Some of the young Leaguers ruefully refer to it as "*Khakistan*" (Land of Desert) because it is so backward industrially. It contains the most backward areas in an already under-industrialized sub-continent. It has a scattering of woollen, cement, sugar and cotton mills but has to import cloth and other manufactured goods. Although some 85 percent of the sub-continent's raw jute is to be found in Pakistan, the jute mills are in Calcutta. Pakistan has only the single modern port of Karachi and is less well served with transport and communication than India. It has no known coal or iron and a very backward population. Only four percent can read (as against 12 percent in India) and, even among the well-educated, Pakistan suffers from the same disease as India: Too many Lawyers and too few Engineers. Its immediate potential is restricted to light industries. The economic difficulties of the new Dominion have been immeasurably increased by the bloody communal conflicts that have accompanied the boundary award.

One of the most important questions that confront the Pakistan authorities is the enforcement of law and order. At present there is an almost complete absence of either. The question of the opening of the safe deposit vaults is an instance in point. Details of procedure were settled by correspondence at high level between the two Dominions—Nehru to Liaqat Ali and Liaqat Ali to Nehru. But when the truculent and unruly crowd of over 4,000 persons prevented the removal of the contents of the lockers to the owners who had specially come a long distance for the purpose, the police stood by and did nothing to deter the rioters. Mamdot told a deputation that it was Liaqat Ali's fault and not his that sanction had been granted to non-muslims to remove their belongings. So too, a crowd intervened when Principal Bartlam of the Punjab Engineering and Technological College wished to permit a

Hindu Professor and his son remove their belongings. Principal Bartlam was murdered along with the Hindu he wished to befriend. Mob rule for a long time held up the question of the safe passage of the non-muslim convoys to East Punjab. Convoys continued to be searched in West Punjab inspite of the agreement by Dominion representatives. Murder and abduction on large scales continued inspite of ministerial assurance of protection. This defiance of authority is now apparent in other spheres of public activities as well.

About 5,000 students of the various schools staged a rowdy demonstration in front of the offices of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam on Monday. A large number of them smashed their way inside the office and overpowering the clerks working there, smashed the furniture, tore the office files and tried to set fire to the building.

The valuable records of the Anjuman were completely destroyed. Some of the demonstrators brandished knives and threw brick-bats at the Anjuman employees, three of whom suffered serious injuries.

The Police had to be called in. One of the demonstrators, who was reported to have threatened to stab the Superintendent of Police, was arrested and the others were dispersed.

The students carried boldly splashed placards demanding "immediate redress of wrongs to the teachers."

The Anjuman authorities, it is understood, have decided to close the school for some days. They contemplate taking disciplinary action against the teachers who are believed to be at the back of the agitation.

The Teachers' Union, it is said, tried to use the approaching Matriculation Examination as the proper psychological moment for forcing their demands. They presented the Anjuman with an ultimatum to accept their demands for increase in their salaries or else they would "take over the schools and appropriate the tuition fees paid by the students."

Teachers of the Walton High School translated

their threat into action when they appointed a new Headmaster and began to administer the school without reference to the duly appointed Headmaster.

"Certain rebellious elements for their own ulterior motives, are seeking to undermine the constitution of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam by scandalous propaganda amongst the students and public", Said Dr. Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, president of the Jamia-i-Himayat-i-Islam, in a Press conference.

He added that the demands of the Anjuman teachers had steadily been increasing and in 1947 the Anjuman, faced with a deficit of Rs. 3,600, had managed to concede most of the demands. The salaries that teachers received were at par with their contemporaries in Government schools.

Pakistan will undoubtedly have deficit budgets for the next five or six years and may face a long period of austerity, according to its Finance Minister Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, in a special interview with the "Statesman".

The prospect, however, is faced with determination and calm and the people of Pakistan, he claims, are solidly behind the Government in adapting themselves to strained circumstances (including members of the Socialist and Communist Parties) in order to put the new State firmly on its feet financially and economically.

Deficit budgets are no new thing in this sub-continent; India and many of its provinces have had them for many years, nevertheless Pakistan will make every effort to "get out of the rut", as soon as is consistent with the setting itself up as an industrialized State, and with adequately developing its resources. Luxuries will be eliminated, taxes increased and there may be, as in the case of Britain to-day, general lowering of the standard of living. Pakistan knows that stringent days are ahead, but the minister feels it will face them with fortitude and determination.

“From both the economic and financial aspects, Pakistan had had a rough start. In these respects the division of India was not so much a partition as secession of Pakistan from India. Pakistan started from scratch and had to rig up the machinery of government whereas India had the machine already running.”

“Factors acted to the detriment of Pakistan. Firstly, the country had no money markets, upon which every country depends for its financial well-being. The main machinery of finance, the Reserve Bank of India, remained with India and merely held back the balance assessed to Pakistan. Secondly, events in the Punjab of August and September affected Pakistan more adversely even than they did India. Whereas East Punjab, Delhi and the western parts the U. P. were seriously affected, in India the bulk of the country was affected only incidentally. Almost the whole of the Western Pakistan was affected by evacuation, refugee immigration and by disturbances in West Punjab. The strong anti-Pakistan agitation that followed caused people to act abnormally in the field of finance, to the detriment of the new State which was faced with considerable difficulties in managing its finance and economic life. Finally, rupees 20 crores, originally set aside for Pakistan was inadequate as a balance, though there never was any justification for the widely held expectation in certain quarters that Pakistan would go bankrupt when Rs. 20 crores had been expended.

This point, however, has now been settled without recourse to the arbitral courts at the figure of Rs. 75 crores for Pakistan as its share of the original cash balance of more than Rs. 400 crores. Twenty crores have already been placed to the credit of the Pakistan Government, leaving Rs. 55 crores to be handed over by India. This amount also has been paid later.

The financial question that has yet to be settled between India and Pakistan is distribution of receipts of customs, excise and income-tax, on which India's attitude appears to be that each country should keep what it

collects. Pakistan's case is that this division is factory and unfair as material is very often consumed in areas remote from the port of entry. This divergence of view was exemplified by the Pakistan duty imposed on the export of raw jute.

The principal charge to the Pakistan budget is defence and the main item in this charge is defence of the N.-W.F.P. Here Pakistan possesses an advantage which its predecessors, the British, had not. They are facing fellow-Muslim States and dealing with fellow-Muslim tribesmen. Nevertheless responsibility for the Frontier and subsidies to tribes and care of strategic railways is heavy for a new and undeveloped State and is especially burdensome when it is trying to make a start in administration and industrial development.

"Revenue sources have not yet been developed but Pakistan possesses ample essential raw material—cotton (including the valuable long-staple), 70 per cent of the sub-continent's jute, raw hides and skins, and chemicals for manufacture of fertilizers, in addition to oil and precious metals. For all these there are ample markets apart from India, but India will undoubtedly also be an extensive buyer."

"It is for this reason that Pakistan Government feels the suggestion that Pakistan rupees after April next, will halve in value is nonsensical."

At the time Mr. Ghulam Mohammed gave the above interview, unconfirmed reports were current in Karachi that the Pakistan Finance Member was shortly to leave for Washington to seek an American loan for Pakistan. One expert put the request as high as six hundred million dollars. It was also understood that Pakistan through its ambassador was seeking a loan of one million dollars for purchase in the U. S. A. of blankets for refugees for the winter and that the loan is likely to be conceded.

The loan for blankets was probably a camouflage as a loan for blankets negotiated in December would only enable the blankets to reach the refugees when the Punjab summer was well on. The loan once granted

could be extended for the purchase of arms for a summer offensive in Kashmir.

And this six hundred million dollars loan, to say nothing of U. S. A. opinion, the proposal received a mixed reception in Pakistan itself.

Strong opposition to the reported proposal of the Pakistan Government to accept a loan of 600 million dollars from the U. S. A., was voiced by Mirza Bashiruddin Mohammed Ahmed, head of the Ahmadiya community, while addressing a packed gathering at Law College Hall, Lahore. Malik Firoz Khan Noon presided.

Mirza Bashiruddin said that the annual interest of Rs. 5½ crores would involve virtual economic domination by an alien State.

As an alternative, he suggested that the Pakistan Government invite foreign firms to invest their money in the Dominion. He said that these firms should be granted only 40 per cent of the shares, while the rest should be contributed by the State and the people of Pakistan. He added that provision should also be made for the training of Pakistan personnel under the supervision of technical experts whom foreign firms would employ.

Malik Firoz Khan Noon also opposed the proposal to go to U. S. A. for funds as it would result in economic servitude to the U. S. A. Whether it meant economic servitude or not, the U. S. A. would certainly insist on law and order for an indefinite period, and peace with Pakistan's neighbours—all not very popular conditions to present Pakistan leadership.

The serious condition of Pakistan's railway finances and the possibility of eventual nationalisation of its air transport and the internal road services was revealed to the "Statesman" by the Minister of Communications, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar.

An anticipated loss of about Rs. 6 crores in railway revenue by March 31 next has led to the raising of passenger and freight fares, and surcharges from the beginning of the new year.

The Communications Minister said that from the start Pakistan had been obliged to cut rail services drastically. Coal for firing locomotives came from India and so far they had received less than half the normal supplies from that source.

Unfortunately coal supplies had not improved. Some supplies arrived but many days passed with no coal import at all. They had tried conversion to oil burners and were running oil burning locomotives on the Karachi—Rohri line but they had only three engines suitable to this fuel.

Personnel had also been a most serious problem. Almost all the non-Muslim staff had left and the majority of the Muslim staff who opted from India could not arrive. Over 100,000 of them were held up for weeks in East Punjab and elsewhere. Most of them had now arrived by boat via Bombay, but it was a lengthy process as they had not many boats. Because of the acute staff shortage, a number of stations up the line had been closed temporarily.

The charge of indifferent and unsympathetic treatment of the 20,000 railway employees who had opted for service in Pakistan was levelled against the administration by the N. W. R. Union leaders, Mirza Ibrahim, addressing a Press conference on 5th December.

He said that out of over 52,000 railway workers who had opted for Pakistan, only 25,000 could be absorbed in the gap left over by non-Muslims. The bulk of others would face starvation and worse if things were not remedied immediately.

Expressing some of the main and immediate needs of the workers, he urged the authorities to provide accommodation for a large number of families, who were undergoing privations due to sheer negligence of the official staff.

He outlined some of the measures which could be adopted for providing the displaced workers with means of livelihood which were, firstly, the opening up of all private factories and industrial plants, where a good many

of them could find employment. Secondly, the restarting of all railway workshops in west Punjab, and finally the nationalisation of coal mines and oil wells to help absorbing the surplus of nearly 30,000 railway employees.

He observed that the unrest among the employed was steadily growing and many of the workers had expressed their desire of going back to India. In fact nearly 350 employees of the S. I. R. had already left, at the risk of their life and service.

There was also a feeling in the trade union that Rs. 60,000 which had been collected from cuts in the salaries of railway personnel had been misappropriated. This feeling has steadily gained ground as no provisions for the employees are being made.

"We intend to stage a public protest, by taking out a procession early next week, condemning the present state of affairs", concluded Sardar Ibrahim.

According to the American Andrew Roth :

"A major conflict is looming over how close Pakistan should be tied to Britain. Nationalist-minded Pakistanis—which include most of the young people and the League rank and file, are dismayed by the number of Britons to be found in the administration." Three of the five provincial Governors, five of the nine departmental Secretaries and the entire top leadership of the armed forces is British.

It is interesting to note that of those Britons who have elected to stay, the great majority have opted to serve the smaller State of Pakistan. This may be due in part to the fact that opportunities are greater among the less-advanced Muslims but many feel this concentration is also due to the Briton's feeling that although India may eventually declare its independence, it may be possible to revert Pakistan within the Empire.

This possibly is enhanced by the character of the League leaders, virtually none of whom have any tradition of militant nationalism, although the League has had the aim of "full independence" since 1937. Until 1946, at least, a major part of its strategy lay in trying

to convince Britain that it was in its interest to grant Pakistan which would be a good market, keep its army under British control and remain within the Empire. In spring Mr. Jinnah, in interviews with a number of other correspondents, emphasised that the granting of Pakistan would be necessary for the mobilisation of the Muslim States on the side of the Anglo-Americans in a war with the Soviet. Since Pakistan's establishment, League leaders have been more cautious, declaring they will side with neither bloc.

This caution is due partly to the fact that they are nearer to the Soviet border than to those of either Britain or the U. S., and partly to the friendly interest in the U. S. S. R. taken by substantial segments of Pakistan public opinion.

It is quite clear that there will be overwhelming opposition to giving Britain or the U. S. a blank cheque to use Pakistan's military strength or strategic position in their interest alone.

Although Pakistan is but a few weeks old, the pressure of events had already caused the lines to be drawn, and already a battle is proceeding over the future of the League.

As a result, the leaders are tending to abandon the League which brought them to power and are relying increasingly on the bureaucracy which they inherited from the British and their new powers through job distribution.

But the future alone will show how the State will develop and which forces will gain the upper hand in shaping its destiny.

Mr. Jinnah's bargaining counter is still the Membership of the British Commonwealth. While Ghazanfar Ali, his spokesman tells the Muslim masses that "Pakistan" Sovereignty visualises a State free from the British Commonwealth Membership, Jinnah lends himself to the view that Pakistan would remain a member of the British Empire.

According to London despatch published in the New York paper "P. M.," in June last, the prospective of a new

Muslim State of India—Pakistan—comprising about one-fourth of India's territory and roughly 90 million Muslims, may stay inside the British Commonwealth while Hindu India—Hindustan—establishes itself as an independent nation."

Quoting "responsible British quarters," the paper adds: "Mr. M. A. Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, has intimated to Lord Mountbatten that Pakistan would prefer to remain a member of the British Empire. Pakistan's comparative weakness contrasted with the neighbouring Hindustan, has apparently influenced Muslim leaders in favour of leaning on Britain."

It is reported that an assurance by Mr. Jinnah is further supported in a London message to the New York "Sun" which says: "A high Government spokesman said today that at least one segment of an eventually partitioned India may stay within the British Empire as an independent dominion."

Mr. Jinnah left the matter in doubt at his Press conference on July 13th but returned to the matter in December when faced with an empty exchequer and failure in Kashmir.

The matter might have been of some importance if Mr. Jinnah was a younger man and in better health. Many observers, however, doubt that even if Mr. Jinnah induces continued connection with Britain in his will, whether his wishes would be respected.

The membership of the British Commonwealth was an excellent counter in the bargain for Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah no doubt used it to the utmost value. Today, however, it is difficult to pass it again for fresh advantages.

The counter still has bargaining value, but Pakistan credit is not the same as that of the Muslim League a year ago.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Pakistan Hails Its Army

ON OCTOBER 15th Pakistan afforded its admirers an opportunity of viewing its military might. The Fuehrer was in Bertsgaden, so Goering took the salute.

The saluting base was near the Museum, at a stone's throw from Kipling's famous 'Zamzam.' As the tanks, armoured cars and machine guns rumbled down the Mall, the surging crowds broke into spontaneous display of enthusiasm by shouting slogans, and the most loudly and enthusiastic voice being: "*Le ke rahenge Hindustan.*" The West Punjab Premier, Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan, and the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, Justice Sir Abdur Rashid were amongst the large number of distinguished persons who witnessed the function. Brig. Nazir Ahmed led the march past. According to one Pakistan estimate about three lakhs of persons are stated to have witnessed this display of Pakistan Military might.

Much before the scheduled time, people in their thousands, began to collect near the Museum and along the Mall, overflowing into the lanes and plots on both sides of the Road. The roofs of the University buildings, the Museum and buildings on the roadside were filled with enthusiastic crowds. Adventurous amongst them got on to the tops of the trees and many of them were seen precariously perched on the branches. Some persons were sitting on the University tower-clock. The statues of Sir Ganga Ram and Dr. Woolner also provided sitting accomodation to the spectators.

Exactly at 5 P. M. the Premier and the Governor arrived at the saluting base. On behalf of several Lahore organisations, both of them were garlanded amidst

shouts of *sindabad*. By this time the crowd had further swelled creating congestion of space, and straining the accomodation arrangements to the utmost. Last minute efforts to arrange seating accomodation for a large number of distinguished men had to be given up in view of the magnitude of the task. The resultant inconvenience to the guests and the incidental embarassment to the organisers, was however, suffered by everyone concerned in good humour and with fortitude.

Immediately after the arrival of the Premier and Governor the platoons of the Punjab Police Force marched past them. The newly enlisted Home Guards, with their smart turn out, excited deep admiration among the public. In the absence of the Qaid-e-Azam, the premier Liaqat Ali Khan took the salute. Then followed the impressive pageantry of the Pakistan troops stationed at Lahore Cantonment with Brig. Nazir Ahmed at the head. The famous band of the 8th Punjab Regiment, which was in attendance, provided colour to the show.

Sherman and Stuart tanks, "self propelled" artillery, and troops of the Frontier Force Regiment took part in the parade. The smart turn out of the troops, police and Home Guards created a deep impression on the minds of the public who repeatedly cheered them.

Interviewed, the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Zafar-ul-Ahsan, said : "The unexpected concentration of masses on the Mall, which incidentally showed how baseless is the talk about "low morale", completely overwhelmed our arrangements which had been made for a modest gathering. The Police, under the charge of Senior Superintendent of Police, handled a very difficult situation with tact and firmness. We shall, in future, have to change our whole technique for accomodation, etc., in order to avoid inconvenience to the public." He thought that in future the Fort or the door steps of the Shahi Mosque shall provide the base for such functions.

Various descriptions of the event followed widely

divergent in character. The official estimate of the gathering was given in the 'Pakistan Times' and computed at three hundred thousand. The 'Civil & Military Gazette' dismissed the event in twenty four lines and estimated the attendance at a few thousands. The '*Jamindar*' on the other hand described the event in eight columns and five full-page headlines in a description that was literally not less amazing than the march-past itself.

It depicted the scene in superlatives such as the 'greatest ever witnessed in Islamic, or in fact any, history' and numbered the 'masses of spectators' 'from Bhati Gate to Garhi Shahu,' a place four miles away, in 'millions upon millions' not even in lakhs, and claimed that every 'blessed street' in the city 'had not even accommodation for a rye-seed.'

After reading the above description thousands felt satisfied that Pakistan was now the greatest power on earth (bar none), even though the Boundary Commission had left it on the ignominious situation of only the 'fifth' largest state in the world.

A third description by a spectator was that there was nothing of the sort what the 'C. & M. Gazette' said or the '*Jamindar*' described. The number of men marching past was not impressive to any enemy, while the number of spectators was what you can expect in any *tamasha*.

Typical of the Muslim League attitude towards the question of defence, is to be found in Mr. Z. A. Suleri's book, "The Road to Peace and Pakistan."

"We would say that defence again is no longer an isolated question for different countries to solve. Like economics it must be tackled jointly. And we hope if economics is tackled jointly, the question of defence will be automatically solved.

"But answering the objection raised in the jarring strain Pakistan will not be able to do this and do that, it may with quiet confidence be asserted that defensively Pakistan will be better off than

Hindustan for a variety of reasons. Enumerating some of them, (a) Pakistan will not have the North-West Frontier problem; a huge sum of money is expended on that account. It will be at peace with the neighbouring Muslim States, (b) Its man-power will not be wasted on defending the long stretches of Hindu India coasts, (c) Its man-power will be first class in abundance. The famous Muslim soldier, the backbone of Indian Army, will be available to enter the service of Islam. Hindustan will take some time to engender quite the same spirit that a Muslim displays on battle-fields. That spirit is the result of centuries of tradition. And due to the permanent climatic conditions and other considerations it will be well-nigh impossible for Hindustan to produce the fine physical stature of Pakistani soldier; and (d) Pakistan's economy will be reasonably strong to equip its soldiers well."

But surely, is this not all a case of special pleading? If wishes were horses, Pakistanis would mount!

These questions were considered in some details in '*Consequences of Pakistan.*'

What is the basis for saying that Pakistan will have no need to spend largely on defence by reason of friendly Islamic nations? Has Afghanistan no army? Nor Persia? Nor Iraq? Nor Egypt? Is there any federation between existing Islamic Nations, and are there any prospects of any such federation in the future on which Pakistan could rely? Why did the Arabs break away from Turkey and what stands in the way of the return to the rule of a Turkish Caliph? Has Turkey to maintain no army, no air force, or a navy? What has been the fate of Persia recently and can one be sure that the danger to Persian existence has passed? Would Pakistan be guaranteed against invasion by Afghanistan or Persia and even if guaranteed, what value is this guarantee to an effete and defence-less Pakistan?

And suppose there be no immediate danger from the West. What of the Eastern defenceless frontiers of

Pakistan? Khalistan of any magnitude would form, from its inception, a *kirpan* at the very heart of Pakistan itself.

Says Mr. Durrani in "Meaning of Pakistan":

"Pakistan will be a well-knit, highly organised modern State, capable of offering united opposition to any would-be conqueror from the East. What is more, Hindu India is herself vulnerable from land and sea. If it ever came to a trial of arms, we would smash the country from end to end within three months."

Before Pakistan can achieve this strength, it must be in the words of Mr. Durrani a highly organised modern State. This would need both time and money. Pakistan would appear to be surely in need of both.

There is little also in the optimism of Pakistan as to the friendliness of neighbours. There is no reason why Afghanistan should guarantee the security of Pakistan and maintain its own present cramped boundaries. Every sovereign country likes a direct route to the sea. What if Afghanistan asks for Baluchistan on racial, ethnological, and economic grounds? What if it wants a corridor to Karachi? The territorial ambitions of Afghanistan have been restricted by a powerful Russia on one side and a powerful British Empire on the other. Pakistan would have to adopt one of three unenviable alternatives.

- (1) Depend for defence on the finances and goodwill of Hindu India.
- (2) Maintain a British army of occupation and entrust its defence to the British.
- (3) Pave the roads for an invasion from the North-West.

Pakistanis forget the other contingency—Russia. Or perhaps they do not. Sir Firoz Khan Noon threatened to go to Moscow for Pakistan if he could not get it from London. Perhaps that will not be a bad thing in the long run. Russians do not believe in God. God already seems to have forsaken Pakistan. The Muslim League is dominated by communists and atheists. The advent of Russia into Pakistan will have one salubrious result. It

will strip the pseudo-communists of their wide acres.

From 1849 to 1901 the N.-W. F. P. consisting of the four trans-Indus and one cis-Indus districts, formed part of the province of the Punjab. Having seized the province, British administrators turned their eyes towards the Tribal Belt, Afghanistan, and even beyond the Oxus. Russia, it was feared, was steadily advancing towards the Afghan frontier on the Oxus, and had successfully absorbed the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara. The British professed to have a holy horror of Czarist Russia and were anxious to have a strong and independent Afghanistan as a buffer in between. But while professing so much concern and regard for Afghan independence, their action clearly showed that they were quite willing to help themselves to as much of Afghanistan as they could. In vain did Abdur Rehman, the Emir-el-Kabir or the Great Emir, plead with them to leave the Tribal Belt severely alone. Afghanistan was not strong enough to fight the rising might of Britain in India, or to prevent the absorption of these tribes in the British political system. In vain did Abdur Rehman write :

“If you cut them off from my dominions they will never be of any use to you or me. You can hold them down in peace but if at any time a foreign enemy appears on the borders of India, these tribes will be your worst enemies.” The British would not listen.

There were three wars with Afghanistan. Each one of these—so British historians would have us believe—was provoked by Afghanistan. Less biassed people, however, doubt if a weak Afghanistan could ever provoke a war against the might of Britain, and know, rather, that these wars were caused either by the British desire to have a puppet of their own on the throne of Kabul, or to tear off more and more limbs from the body of the Afghan State. In the first war 1839 to 1841, the British wanted to drive out Emir Dost Mohammed Khan and to put their own puppet, Shah Shuja, on the throne of Kabul. They did succeed in this, but the fury of the Afghans was naturally

roused. In 1841 the entire British force, while returning to India, was set upon and annihilated. Only Surgeon Brydon was left to tell the tale of the massacre. The avenging campaign put back the former enemy, Dost Mohammed Khan (who had fled to India), on the Afghan throne.

The relations of Afghanistan with the Indian Empire were for long dominated by one main consideration—the relation of Afghanistan to a Russian invasion of India. All other considerations were of secondary importance. For nearly three-quarters of a century the attitude of Great Britain towards successive Emirs was dictated by this one factor. It was in order to prevent Afghanistan from coming under the influence of Russia that the first Afghan war of 1878 was fought—the most melancholy episode in Indian Frontier history. It was because a Russian envoy was received at Kabul, while the British representative was turned back at Ali Masjid. After that the whole trend of British policy towards Afghanistan was to build up a strong independent state friendly to Britain, which would act as a buffer against Russia and so to order British Frontier policy that the Government of India should be in a position to move large forces up, if necessary, to support the Afghans in resisting aggression.

A knowledge of the trans-frontier geography of India has always brought home to Frontier administrators the conviction that there are only two main gates to India—through Afghanistan, the historic route to India, along which successive invasions have poured by way of Seistan. It has been the purpose of British policy to close them,—and of Russia to endeavour to keep them at any rate half open. To this end, having pushed her trans-Persian Railway to Samarkand, Russia thrust a military line from Merv to the Kushklinsky Post, where railway material stands collected for an immediate prolongation to Herat. Russia has connected the trans-Siberian railway with the trans-Caucasion system by the Orenburg-Tashkent line, thus bringing Central Asia into direct touch with her European magazines. Nor

has Great Britain been idle. A great military station has been created at Quetta. This is connected with the Indian Railway system by lines of railway which climb to the Quetta plateau by the Bolan Pass and through the Chapter Rift lines, which rank amongst the most picturesque and daring in the world. From Quetta the line has been carried by the Khojak tunnel through the Khwaja Amran Range, until it leads out to the Afghan border at Chaman, where it opens on the route to Kandhar. Material is stocked at Chaman which would enable the line to be carried to Kandhar in sixty days. In view of the same menace the whole of Baluchistan has been brought under British control. Quetta is now one of the great strategical positions of the world and nothing has been left undone which modern military science can achieve, to add to its natural strength. In the opinion of many military authorities it firmly closes the western gate of India, either by way of Kandhar, or by the direct route through Seistan.

But will Pakistan be able to keep the door ?

Further east, the Indian Railway system has been carried to Jamrud and up the Khyber pass to Landi Kotal, and down the other side of the pass to Landi Khana. A first class military road, sometimes double, sometimes treble, also threads the Pass to the British advance post at Landi Kotal, and then descends until it meets the Afghan Frontier at Landi Khana. A Commencement has been made with the Loi-Shilman Railway, which starting from Peshawar is designed to penetrate the Mullagori country and provide an alternative advance to the Khyber. For unexplained reasons, this line has not been completed and is now thrust in the air. In this wise two great powers have prepared for the great conflict which may some day be fought on the Kandhar--Ghazni--Kabul line for the green pastures of Pakistan.

In Waziristan we have the real frontier problems of the day.

Geographically, Waziristan is a rough parallelogram

averaging 60 miles from east to west and 160 from north to south. The eastern half consists of the Suleiman Range gradually rising up to a range from five to ten thousand feet high, which forms the watershed between the Indus and the Helmund Rivers and corresponds with the Durand Line separating it from Afghanistan. This is the western boundary. On the East is the Indus. North is the watershed of the Kurram River running east and west about 30 miles north of Bannu, separating Waziristan from the Kohat district. In the South is a zigzag political boundary from the Durand Line running between Wana and Fort Sandeman in Baluchistan with a turn southwards to the Indus.

The western half is a rugged and inhospitable medley of ridges and ravines straggled and confused in hopeless disarray. The more inhabited portions lie well up the slope at heights of four to six thousand feet. Here are the outposts of Wana and Ladha some 15 and 20 miles respectively, from the Durand line. In the centre of the grazing district, the latter within five miles of important villages of Kangiguram and Makin.

The submountain tracts from the hills to the Indus vary from highly cultivated and irrigated land round Bannu to the sand desert in the Marwat above Pezu.

Where irrigation or river water is obtainable cultivation is attempted under conditions which can hardly be encouraging. Other tracts like that between Pezu and Tank, usually pastoral, can only hope for an occasional crop after a lucky rainfall.

The inhabitants of these tracts are unable to support their existence from the soil which is poor and have to make up the margin by armed robbery of their richer and more peaceful neighbours.

The name Waziri originates, according to tradition, from one Wazir, two of whose grandsons were the actual founders of the race. Of the four main tribes Darweshkhel, Mahsuds, Dawars and Batani, only the first two

are true Waziris. Their villages are separate though dotted about more or less indiscriminately and inter-marriage is the exception—in fact traditionally all are in open strife, a circumstance which, until some political event like the Afghan War of 1919, joined them together, has materially aided British dealings with them.

Unlike other parts of India, however, these wild people acknowledge little allegiance to Maliks or headmen. No one except perhaps the Mulla Powindah, till his death in 1913 could speak of any portion of them as his following.

The policy of the British was at first one of non-interference with the tribes. Even now only part of the country is administered. Gradually it was found, however, that more and more supervision was necessary so as to control raids. This has been done by expeditions into portions of the country by the Regular Army, and by building posts and brick towers at various places manned by local Militia.

The settled policy of Government in Waziristan, Sir Denys showed, was the control of that country through a road system, of which about 140 miles would lie in Waziristan itself and one hundred miles along the border of Derajat, and the maintenance of some 4,600 Khassadars and of some 5000 irregulars, while at Razmak, 7,000 feet high and overlooking northern Waziristan, there would be an advanced base occupied by a strong garrison of regular troops. Razmak, he showed to be further from the Durand Line than the old established posts in the Tochi. In the geographical sense, therefore, the policy was, in one sign and respect, a backward policy. Nonetheless, it was a forward policy in a very real sense, for it was a policy of constructive progress and was a big step forward on the long and laborious road towards the pacification, through civilization, of the most backward and inaccessible, and therefore, the most truculent and aggressive tribes on the border.

"Come what may, civilization must be made to penetrate these inaccessible mountains or we must admit that there is no solution to the Waziristan problem, and we must fold our hands while it grows inevitably worse."

The policy thus initiated for a period proceeded with results according to the highest reasonable expectations and exceeding the most sanguine hopes of people concerned in its formulation.

In 1932, during the Red Shirt rising in the Peshawar area, the Upper Mohmands decided to join in the disturbances and raids followed in the administered territory immediately northward of Peshawar. The Lower Mohmands are described as Assured Tribes. The meaning of the description is that the British Indian authorities assure them protection against the attacks of the Upper Mohmands and they, on the other hand, are bound by promises of good behaviour. The Assured Tribes in 1933 interfered with the programme of the Upper Mohmands for raiding the plain and the Upper Mohmands in 1933, when spring and early summer once facilitated their methods of campaigning, commenced retributory raids upon the Halimzai and other Assured clans. The attacked clans appealed to the political authorities for help and that help they were obliged to give.

The Upper Mohmands made another descent in the summer of 1935. The Lower Mohmands quarrelled among themselves over the distribution of road maintenance contracts and Upper Mohmands decided to fish in the troubled waters. Successful military operation ended in the Upper Mohmands suing for peace, and in the Ghalanai road being carried forward over the Nahakki Pass and down beyond it on to the Main which extends to the natural road junction where the Upper Bajaur Valley meets the Upper Mohmand country.

Not until the fall of winter towards the end of 1937 were the Tori Khel and the bands of irreconcilables, under daring leaders whom the Fakir of Ipi inspired

by his agitation, beaten by extensive military operations into asking for peace. The Faqir was never caught and continued a troublesome influence.

The summer campaign in 1937 involved the employment of 50,000 troops. Before they were withdrawn in the following winter, 106 miles of new roads, opening up some of the hitherto inaccessible country in and about the upper reaches of the Shaktu River, were made. The Faqir, however, assisted by several notorious outlaws, continued to keep Waziristan, particularly in the north, in a disturbed condition throughout 1938 and on into 1939. It was, therefore, found necessary to keep an extra brigade in the territory and spasmodic operations against recalcitrant gangs proceeded by land and air. This did not have much success in restoring normal conditions. In the summer of 1938 a temporary complication was provided by the appearance amongst the Mahsuds of a Syrian called the Shami Pir who was only just prevented from leading a tribal incursion to support a rebellion against the Government of Kabul. The persistence and expanse of the trouble in Waziristan, constituting as it does a heavy set back to the "policy", had seemed for fifteen years to be achieving material results.

This has provoked renewed discussion of Frontier policy especially in regard to military commitments which were examined by a Defence Committee under the chairmanship of Admiral of the Fleet Lord Chatfield, when it visited India on behalf of His Majesty's Government towards the end of 1938.

Although hostile sections still persisted with mischief, there was thought, by April 1939 to be sufficient justification for the hope that the period of major military operation was over and Waziristan was in consequence returned to the charge of His Excellency the Governor of the N.-W. F. P. in his capacity as A. G. G. for the Tribal areas.

In these tribal areas the King's Writ does not

run. It is unlikely that the Writ of the Qaid-e-Azam will command any more respect.

The tribes were kept from coalescing for war by a policy in which revenues of India played a large and important part. An equally important part will have to be played by Pakistan revenues if the very large and vigorous tribes of these territories are to be kept in good humour. The Waziri is as earnest and sincere a Muslim as there is any in the world, but the sovereign State of Pakistan will mean little to him unless it brings food and raiment for himself and his family. He will get this from Pakistan either directly or in the shape of subventions from the Lahore treasury, or in payment for roads of dubious utility.

Pakistan will have to foot this bill or the Waziri will grow his crops on the estates of Sir Firoz Khan Noon.

The most recent indication of Pakistan's policy towards Waziristan is the withdrawal of Pakistan troops from Razmak, Damdil and other outer stations. The ground for the withdrawal has been stated to be the establishment of cordial relations with the Frontier Tribes. The withdrawal, however, was attended with no friendly gesture by the tribes. Pakistan troops carried out the manoeuvre under cover and not without loss of life. The Faqir of Ipi followers started firing on Pakistan troops as they withdrew.

The North West Frontier.

The questions relating to the Frontier Province, the Durand Line and the Tribal Belt have been more or less a sealed book. The Political Department has never permitted anything but the barest details to filter out to the public.

That is perhaps one reason for the appointment of Sir George Cunningham as Governor of the N.-W.F.P. by the Qaid-e-Azam.

It was round about 1930 that the stirring of a new life became evident in the N.-W.F.P. and the veil of mystery began to lift. With the advent of reforms in 1932, the people's point of view saw the light of day

for the first time.

The North West Frontier Province extends from the Suleiman Mountains and the Gomal Pass in the south, to Chitral and the Pamirs in the North. The British Tribal Belt covers the area between the administrative boundary, that is, the foothills and the Durand Line as far as Kashmir. Thereafter the Kashmir State takes over as the eastern boundary. The Tribal Belt covers an area of 14,986 sq. miles, with an estimated population of 23,77,599. The area of the settled districts is 14,263 sq. miles and the population 30,38,067. These figures are from the latest census report of 1941. According to these figures the total population of the province and the Tribal Belt is 54,15,666. The figures for the Tribal area cannot however be regarded as very accurate, nor exhaustive. Some estimates place the population of the Tribal Belt alone at about three and a half million.

The N.-W.F.P. and its Agencies therefore, form an irregular strip of country lying north-east and south-west between the parallels of 31.4 and 36.57 North latitude, and 69.16 and 74.7, and extreme breadth 279 miles. On the north it is shut off from the Pamirs by the Hindu-Kush Mountains. On the South it is bounded by Baluchistan and the Dera Ghazi Khan district, on the East by Kashmir State and the Punjab and on the West by Afghanistan. The cultivable area of the Province is 67.5 per cent, but the net cultivated area is only 39.2 per cent.

The bulk of this land is covered by mountains with narrow valleys in between. The plains extend between the Indus and the foothills on the west and cover the Peshawar, Mardan, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan districts, and the cis-Indus plain of Haripur. Of these the Peshawar, Mardan, Haripur and Bannu plains are extremely fertile. The valleys beyond the foothills are watered by springs, or else by hill streams. Some of these valleys like the Kurram and the Swat, are extremely beautiful and fertile with green paddy fields on

either side of the Swat and Kurram rivers which run through them. The Peshawar and Mardan plains are also very fertile. A well established irrigation system, comprising of canals and watercourses, helps to irrigate this fertile plain. Wheat and sugar-cane are the two principal crops and very good rice is also grown. But the fame of this plain rests largely on the excellent fruit that is grown in abundance—wonderful peaches and plums, luscious grapes of different kinds, pears and oranges.

The Frontier has played a very important part throughout the long course of Indian history. Through it lead the passes—the Khyber, the Gomal, the Tochi, to mention the principal ones only—through which the Aryans poured into India, driving the Dravidians and the aboriginal tribes before them.

Through the self same passes have passed armies of Tartars, Mongols, Turks, Iranians and Afghans, either to colonise or to find empires at Delhi and beyond. It would be true to say that before the advent of the European race generally, and the British in particular, when India proved vulnerable from the sea, all the invasions of India were from the North West. From the ninth century onwards, each series of invaders brought with them new culture, new social codes, different types of art and architecture, and in general, varying conceptions of life. They brought about tremendous changes in the social and political systems, they found and changed the outlook of life, and its values.

The invaders fighting their way through the passes and the valleys of the North-west, were always in the first instance bound for the Indus, then the Land of the Five Rivers (which we now know as Pakistan).

Some waves of invaders swept past Delhi into Central India, past the Vindhya right into the uplands of the Deccan.

Hinduism, Budhism, and Islam have in turn claimed spiritual allegiance from these fighting men of the north. The remains of numerous Budhist stupas and monasteries scattered all over this area bear testimony to the spiritual

hold which the religion of the great Gautama once enjoyed over the entire region, only to give place to the temples of Prithvi Raj and the mosques of Jahangir and Aurangzeb.

Under what is called the Durand Agreement with the Amir of Afghanistan, the boundary between India and Afghanistan influence was settled, and it was delimited in 1903 except for a small section which was delimited after the Afghan War of 1919. But the Government of India have never occupied up to the border. Between the administered territories and the Durand line there lies a belt of territory of varying width extending from the Gomal Pass in the south, to Kashmir in the north—generally known as the Tribal territory. Its future has been the keynote of the interminable debate of frontier policy for nearly half a century.

This is a country of deep valleys and secluded glens, which nature has fenced in by a chain of inaccessible mountains. It is peopled with wild tribes of mysterious origin, in whom Afghan, Tartar, Turkoman, Persian, Indian, Arab and Jewish intermingle. The intermixture has produced in its men and women the finest specimens of the human race

These people have lived their own lives for centuries with little intercourse even amongst themselves, and as Sir Valentine Chirol truly said, "the only bond that ever could unite them in common action was the bond of Islam." It is impossible to understand the Frontier problem unless two facts are constantly borne in mind. The strongest sentiment amongst these strange people is or was, until comparatively recently, the desire to be left alone. They value their independence much more than their lives. The second factor is that the country does not suffice even in good years to maintain the population. They must find the means of subsistence outside, either in trade, by service in the Indian Army or in the Khassadars, or else in the outlet which hill-men all the world over have utilised from time immemorial—the raiding of the wealthier and more peaceful population of the

plains. The internal peace enforced among them by British control has in late years led to an increase in their numbers and this has aggravated their economic problems.

Baluchistan is almost wholly mountainous and covers a great belt of ranges connecting the Sufed Koh with the hill system of Southern Persia. It thus forms a watershed the drainage of which enters the Indus on the east and the Arabian Sea on the south, while on the north and west it makes its way to the inland lakes which form so large a feature of Central Asia. Rugged, barren, sun-burnt mountains, rent by high chasms and gorges, alternate with arid deserts and stony plains, the prevailing colour of which is a monotonous sight. But this is redeemed in places by level valleys of considerable size in which irrigation enables much cultivation to be carried on and rich crops of all kinds to be raised.

The political connection of the British Government with Baluchistan dates from the outbreak of the First Afghan War in 1839. It was traversed by the army of the Indus and was afterwards occupied until 1842 to protect the British lines of communication. The districts of Karachi, Quetta and Mastung were handed over to the Amir of Afghanistan and Political officers were appointed to administer the country. At the close of the First Afghan War, the British withdrew and these districts were assigned to the Khan of Kalat.

The founder of the Baluchistan Province, as it now exists, was Sir Robert Sandeman who broke down the close border system and welded the Baluch and Brahui Chiefs into a close confederacy. In the Afghan War of 1879, Pishin, Shorarud, Sibi, Zawara Valley and Thal Chotali were handed over by Yakub Khan to the British Government and retained at Sir Robert Sandeman's strenuous insistence.

The political feature of Baluchistan is that of an oblong stretch of country occupying the extreme western corner of India. It is divided into three main divisions :

(1) British Baluchistan proper.

(2) Agency territories.

(3) The State of Kalat.

(1) British Baluchistan has an area of 9,476 square miles consisting of tracts assigned to the British Government by the treaty of 1879 with Afghanistan.

(2) The Agency Territories have an area of 44,345 square miles and comprise tracts which have from time to time, been acquired by lease or otherwise and have been brought under control and placed directly under British officers.

(3) The Native States of Kalat and Las Bela have an area of 80,410 square miles and are ruled by the Khans of Kalat.

The province embraces in all an area of 1,34,638 square miles and according to the census of 1941 contains nearly a million inhabitants.

From the above facts, it will be clear that Baluchistan was once a part of Afghanistan and was wrested by the force of British arms.

The effect of British policy has been to cramp Afghanistan into the high lands of the Hindu Kush and to concentrate in Baluchistan some of the most formidable out-posts of the Empire.

Through Baluchistan, Afghanistan had access to the sea.

There can be little doubt that Afghanistan has not yet forgotten, that Baluchistan, not so long ago, was a part of its domains, hardly less than three quarters of a century ago. If Afghanistan has not the audacity to demand its return from the British Government, it will not have the same hesitation in demanding restoration from a Pakistan cabinet.

The Qaid-e-Azam or his successor in office will no doubt be faced at some time with the unenviable alternative of war with Afghanistan or ignominious surrender of the Baluchistan Province.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Kashmir.

NO ESSAY upon matters inside Pakistan would be complete without a reference to Kashmīr.

Kashmir although now a part of the Indian Union always formed an integral feature of the Pakistan plan. Pakistan could not be Pakistan without its central "K". Time and Destiny have willed otherwise, but whether permanently or only temporarily, no man can yet say.

The main divisions of the territory in the state of Jammu and Kashmir are the provinces of Jammu, including Ladakh and Baltistan, and Kashmir and Gilgit.

Jammu has from time immemorial been the capital of a Dogra Rajput dynasty. It had acquired some importance under a Chief named Rana Ranjit Dev by the end of the 18th century. The neighbouring country was split up into a number of independent hill principalities, such as Kishtwar and Bhadrawah on the east, Basohli on the south, Bhimbar and Rajaori on the west and north-west. These were constantly quarreling and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had become more or less subject to the Sikh Government of Punjab under Ranjit Singh. His service was joined about this time by three great-grand nephews of Ranjit Dev, namely Gulab Singh, Dhyān Singh and Suchet Singh. They rose in favour, and Dhyān Singh became minister to the Maharaja and was able greatly to benefit his family. Gulab Singh distinguished himself in 1820 by capturing the Chief of Rajaori. The principality of Jammu had by then been annexed by the Sikhs, and Ranjit Singh conferred it upon Gulab Singh with the title of Raja. Shortly afterwards Dhyān Singh was made Raja of Poonch (between Rajaori and

Muzaffarabad), and Suchet Singh obtained the district of Ramnagar (just east of Jammu) as a Chiefship. In the course of the next fifteen years the three brothers, and especially the eldest, had subdued all the neighbouring hill principalities. After the murder of Dhyān Singh in 1843, followed soon after by the defeat and death of his brother Suchet Singh, and the murder of his son Hira Singh, all their estates fell to the survivor, except Poonch, which the Lahore Government confiscated. By the year 1844, therefore, Gulab Singh had acquired authority over nearly all the country included in the present province of Jammu.

Ladakh and Baltistan. The early history of Ladakh is obscure. The province seems originally to have been a part of Chinese Tibet. At the beginning of the seventeenth century it was conquered by the Balti Chief of Skardu. Then it became independent under a "Gyalpo," or Chief of its own. At the end of the eighteenth century it was attacked by the Moghul tribe of Sokpos. The invasion was repelled with the aid of the Mohammedan Governor of Kashmir, and from this time till 1834 Ladakh seems to have been an independent tributary of Kashmir. Baltistan appears to have been independent under the Raja of Skardu till 1840. Ladakh and Baltistan were conquered in successive campaigns by Gulab Singh's troops, led by Zorawar Singh and Diwan Hari Chand, between the years 1834 and 1842.

Kashmir has undergone many changes. At first it was ruled by Hindu and Tartar kings. Then came a Hindu dynasty, which lasted till the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Mohammedan minister of the last Hindu king seized the government, and for more than two centuries and a half Kashmir remained independent under its own Mohammedan rulers. In 1588 it was conquered by the Emperor Akbar, and the Moghul regime lasted till the latter half of the eighteenth century. The country then became subject to Ahmed Shah Abdali, and was administered by Afghan governors from Kabul,

till it was wrested from them by Ranjit Singh in 1819. From that year till 1846 it remained under the Sikhs, governors being appointed by the Lahore Darbar. Of these governors Mian Singh (1833-41), Ghulam Mohi-ud-din (1841-46), and Sheikh Imam-ud-din (1846), are the best known. Mian Singh was murdered by his mutinous troops in 1841. The Lahore Darbar then sent Raja Gulab Singh with Ghulam Mohi-ud-din to Kashmir. They succeeded in quelling the revolt, and the latter, who was a close friend and dependent of Gulab Singh, remained as Governor.

Gilgit appears to have been ruled till the beginning of the nineteenth century by independent Rajas of the Trakhane dynasty, some of whom attained considerable power. Between about 1810 and 1842 there was a succession of revolutions. First Suleiman Shah of the Khushwakt family of Yasin conquered Gilgit from the last Trakhane Raja. He was killed and succeeded by Azad Khan of Punial, who in turn was killed and succeeded by Tari Shah of Nagar. The latter was followed by his son, Shah Sikandar. He was killed and succeeded by Gaubar Aman Khushwakt of Yasin. Meanwhile Karim Khan, brother of Shah Sikandar, applied for aid to the Governor of Kashmir. A Sikh force was despatched under Nathu Shah; Gauhar Aman was defeated and expelled and Karim Khan was installed in 1842 as Raja of Gilgit, in subordination to the Sikh Government.

At the beginning of the Sutlej campaign, therefore, Gulab Singh held Jammu and the Hill Chiefships in a more or less complete state of subjection, and Ladakh and Baltistan by right of conquest; and the rulers of the Lahore State, one of whose principal leaders was Gulab Singh, held Kashmir and had thence extended their power over Gilgit. The battle of Sobaraon was followed by the British occupation of Lahore and the submission of the Sikhs.

A separate Treaty with Gulab Singh was concluded at Amritsar on the 16th March 1846. By it the British Government transferred and made over,

“For ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravee, including Chamba, and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March 1846.”

In return Gulab Singh undertook to pay 75 lakhs of rupees, to refer disputes with neighbouring States to the arbitration of the British Government, to assist with his whole force the British troops when engaged in the hills or in the territories adjoining his possessions, and to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government. The general and practical result of the Treaty of Amritsar was therefore to confirm Gulab Singh on what he already possessed and to transfer to him the province of Kashmir with its newly acquired authority over Gilgit; though a literal interpretation of the first article of the Treaty (No. I) might perhaps have excluded Gilgit. The boundaries of the newly formed State were afterwards adjusted by mutual consent, as described below.

Gulab Singh had some difficulty in obtaining actual possession of the province of Kashmir. The Governor appointed by the Lahore Darbar, Sheikh Imam-ud-din, made for a time a successful resistance; and it was not till the end of 1846 that Gulab Singh was established in Kashmir with the aid, both of British troops and the Lahore Darbar. Thus Gulab Singh owed not only his title to Kashmir, but his actual possession of it, wholly to the support of the British power.

Nor was the occupation of Gulab Singh of the province of Hazara effected without opposition; and it soon became apparent that he would be unable to control the turbulent tribes in the hills of Hazara. Eventually, in 1847, the Governor-General's agent, after some difficulty negotiated an Agreement (No. II), on the basis of an exchange of territory, between the Lahore and Kashmir

Darbars, by which the lands in the neighbourhood of Jammu were left with Gulab Singh, while most of the hill country to the west of the Jhelum went to the Lahore State. Hazara was thus transferred to Lahore, and the Jhelum became the western boundary of the State of Kashmir, roughly speaking between the towns of Jhelum and Muzaffarabad.

In 1946, Sheikh Abdullah, President of the Kashmir National Conference started a movement parallel to the "Quit India" movement of 1942. He told the Maharaja and his administration to "Quit Kashmir". He had the support of the Congress; and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru went to his assistance in spite of the ban of the Kashmir Government. Pandit Nehru was assaulted at the Kashmir frontier and was arrested. Sheikh Abdullah was tried for sedition, convicted and sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment.

The head of the administration was Pandit Ramchandra Kak, the Prime Minister. In the "Quit Kashmir" movement, strangely enough Mr. Jinnah had no sympathy. The Muslim Conference headed by Ch. Hamidullah Beg, a smart young Jammu lawyer, declined to take part in the movement, except with the approval of Mr. Jinnah.

There was an ideological difference between the Kashmir National Conference and the Kashmir Muslim Conference. The Muslim Conference was a purely Muslim organization. Sheikh Abdullah led a party largely Muslim but including members of other communities as well. Abdullah had been the leader of the Kashmir since the 1930 movement and although for a time received a setback in his political fortunes, in 1946 he returned to the political arena with his popularity greatly strengthened. Mr. Jinnah wanted Kashmir free but insisted on one condition—freedom through the Muslim Conference which was the Kashmir edition of the "All India Muslim League", and not through Sheikh Abdullah's party; Abdullah was too important to allow Mr. Jinnah to wear the Kashmir crown all on his own.

Ramchandra Kak, however, was pro-Pakistan. He had an English wife, who was a most welcome visitor at the British Residency. It was Britain's policy to encourage the establishment of Pakistan. Pakistan was conceded partly for strategic reasons—a proximate base against the U. S. S. R. Kashmir for obvious reasons was an integral part of the Imperial strategy.

The British Government kept Kak in power, though the Maharaja earnestly desired a change. Kak asked the Maharaja to accede to Pakistan. This choice was not wholly an easy one. The Maharaja could not be sure that in Pakistan his status as a ruler would be maintained. He would definitely lose the sympathy of his non-Muslim subjects with gaining the support of his Muslim subjects. If he acceded to Pakistan, the affairs of the State would become a domestic matter in which he could look for no support from the Indian Union. And so like Hyderabad he played for time, hoping like the Nizam, that time would resolve the dilemma.

Time and Pakistan impatience offered a way to Kashmir that nature seemed to have immutably closed.

No sooner had Pakistan become a reality than the interest of the Muslim League in Kashmir ceased to be academic. The "Pakistan Times", one of the League Journals commenced evincing a close interest in the affairs of the State and a desire to absorb it. Thus the "Pakistan Times" wrote :

"By far the best course for Kashmir would be to join Pakistan as a federal unit with defence, communications and currency as jointly administered subjects. The advantages to the State in such an arrangement are immense. She would be a powerful factor in determining the policy of the Pakistan Union, she would secure a market for her raw material, and get impetus and protection for her industries. She would find capital for working her mines in bauxite, coal, mica, copper and iron. She would also find capital for setting up giant generators of the cheapest hydraulic energy on the face of the

earth, sufficient to cater for the requirements of the entire Western Pakistan. She can become the nerve centre of the industrial life of Pakistan and get fabulous dividends on her undertakings. It will also relieve her of the defence burden.

“At present the only egress from Kashmir to the world is through Pakistan, for the northern highlands and passes offer little or no communication facilities. The economic life of Kashmir is inextricably wrapped up with that of Pakistan. The biggest industry in Kashmir is the forest industry. It is the source of one third of the State revenues. Kashmir timber is carried to its markets through two of the Pakistan rivers—the Chenab and the Jhelum. Without an understanding between the State and Pakistan this flourishing industry would be completely paralysed for water arteries offer the cheapest conveyance for timber. Kashmir fruits find their customers in Pakistan and the State can ill-afford to lose the market so near home. The State is a deficit area in food and depends on Pakistan. The dependence of Pakistan on the State is negligible.

“With an unfriendly Pakistan the position of the State would be untenable. It would require huge armies to defend its vast frontiers adjacent to martial areas of Pakistan—armies, which the State has not the finances to maintain. Already the State is spending one fourth of its budget, on an army which is hardly sufficient for civil needs. A powerful army would also be needed to check an onslaught from the North. So whether she joins Pakistan or chooses to remain independent a co-ordination in matters of defence with the latter is unavoidable.”

Fortunately for Kashmir, the bulk of the Gurdaspur District was awarded by Sir Cyril Radcliffe, Chairman of the Boundary Commission to the Indian Union. This enabled Kashmir to go ahead with her plans to have a third arterial road—one connecting with the Indian Union with Kashmir. The State would not then be faced with

factual blockade by Pakistan in the event of independence or alliance with India.

The Jammu—Pathankote road was pushed on with all speed. On the other hand recruitment of tribesmen started in real earnest as soon as the Qaid-e-Azam had got rid of the Khan Ministry in N.-W.F.P. The tribesmen, it was announced, were meant to protect the soil of Pakistan from aggression—wholly imaginary—from East Punjab. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, moved his headquarters to Lahore for the ostensible reason of being personally able to direct refugee work. He continued to stay on—as a sick man—even though both the Dominions and West Punjab Cabinets made special Cabinet appointments pertaining to refugees.

By the middle of October the Kashmir cauldron was on the boil.

Telegrams of protest went from Kashmir to Pakistan against aggression of tribesmen in the Poonch area.

A provisional Government was formed at Pulandari in Poonch State with Mohd. Ibrahim, a thirtythree year old Barrister as Prime Minister.

The Maharaja of Kashmir appointed Mr. Mehar Chand Mahajan, a former judge of the Lahore High Court and presently Judge of East Punjab to be his Chief Minister. In selecting Mr. Mahajan the Maharaja went far afield in search of a man of great vigour—a man who could not only stand up to Pakistan bullying, but do a bit of bullying himself.

The Qaid-e-Azam suggested that the Maharaja and his Prime Minister or both, should come to Karachi for a chat. Mr. Mahajan ignored the invitation and asked withdrawal of raiders from the Jammu and Poonch areas. Kashmir threatened to ask other friendly assistance, if these men were not withdrawn. Kashmir also asked for supplies of petrol and other essential commodities withheld for sometime by Pakistan, and which Pakistan was bound to supply under the Standstill agreement executed earlier.

The Reserve Bank of India, Lahore Branch, under Mr. Rahim, an enthusiastic Pakistani, had already withheld remittances since July to the Imperial Bank of India, Srinagar.

Without money and petrol Pakistan considered that Kashmir would not be able to stem the flood of wild tribesmen gathering at Domel and Abbottabad and Sialkot for a two-pronged thrust at the heart of Kashmir.

On October 18th, to lull the Maharaja and the State forces into a sense of security, Liaquat Ali Khan sent a telegram to the Kashmir Prime Minister in the following terms :

“We are astonished at the contents and tone of your telegram dated October 15. Instead of taking immediate and effective action on specific complaints made by us in our telegram dated October 12th, you have put forward vague allegations of infiltration by the people of Pakistan into Kashmir and accused the border people of stirring up bad feelings.

“We emphatically and categorically deny the allegations and accusations. People travel to and from Kashmir and Pakistan in the normal course of business, but the allegations regarding the free distribution of arms and ammunition to Pakistan areas adjoining the State borders and the infiltration of armed men into State territory are incorrect.

“On the other hand, there is evidence of the ruthless oppression of Muslims in Kashmir State and of raids into Pakistan territory by armed Dogra gangs and non-Muslim refugees from the Punjab. The most recent report is that of an attack on Chamna Khurd village by Dogra army personnel. Large numbers of armed Sikhs as well as Hindus, belonging to the Rashtirya Sevak Sangh have gone to Kashmir with the object of repeating what they did in East Punjab. In fact, Muslims have already started leaving the State. The Pakistan Government takes a most serious view of a state of affairs in

which the Muslims in Kashmir are suppressed and forcibly driven out of Kashmir.

"We are astonished to hear of your threat "to ask for assistance", presumably meaning thereby assistance from an outside Power. The only object of this intervention could be to complete the process of suppressing the Muslims to enable you to join the Indian Dominion against the declared and well known will of the Muslims and others who form 85 percent of the population of your State.

"We must earnestly draw your attention to the fact that, if this policy is not changed and, the preparations you are now making to implement it are not stopped, the gravest consequence will follow, for which you alone will be responsible.

"As regards the alleged action of the West Punjab Government in preventing the transport of petrol, cloth and food, we have already informed you that the West Punjab Government have been asked to provide you with all reasonable assistance in these matters. It is entirely wrong to attribute transport difficulties, which have risen owing to circumstances beyond the control of the West Punjab Government, to the unfriendly intentions of that Government or to regard it as an act of coercion of the State. We have already sent a special officer to discuss with you the problems arising from these matters and to settle ways and means of adjusting the difficulties."

The road to Pathankote was going on rapidly. Pakistan intended to stage the invasion, according to well informed quarters, when the Banihal Pass closed for the winter. No help on account of winter conditions could reach the Kashmir Valley.

But Mahajan was not taking any risks. Pakistan knew he might bring a large number of troops from the Indian Union long before the Banihal Pass cleared and then all dreams of conquering the Valley would vanish. The Jammu-Pathankote Road was nearing completion.

Jinnah decided to come to Lahore and to make

Lahore his headquarters during the Kashmir operations, in which Pakistan was not officially engaged but in reality most deeply interested.

Lorries, petrol, ammunition and hospital supplies were furnished from Pakistan sources to the invading army. From a source, which I would not care to doubt, the ammunition came from Pakistan dumps taken over on partition and not accounted for.

On October 26th, while the invasion was in full swing and tribesmen in their thousands were rolling up the Baramula road, the Maharaja wrote to Lord Mountbatten expressing his desire to accede to the Indian Dominion. On October 27th, the accession was accepted, subject to an eventual referendum.

Consternation swept Pakistan. I remember the day at the Lahore High Court Bar Association. I have never seen longer and more dismal countenances. The faces, that had a glow of pride, while Shahalmi Gate and Rang Mahal were on fire, were no longer lit with Pakistan pride.

Ferocious articles flowed from the press rooms. Under the caption of "Treachery", the 'Pakistan Times' 'in an irate editorial' denounced the accession :

"The Ruler of Kashmir has, in a letter to the Governor-General of India, declared the accession of his State to the Indian Union. The Governor-General, in his reply, has accepted the accession. Thus two individuals by an exchange of two miserable slips of paper have sought to decide, immutably and for ever, the destinies of over three million human souls. Not the slightest reference has been made to the wishes or aspirations of these voiceless millions, not even a pretext of associating them with the momentous decision, exists. The ordinary commercial exchange of even goods or chattel is attended by more ceremony. A greater amount of consideration and thought enters into political transactions of far lesser significance. The only excuse the Maharaja has put forward for thus capitulating the

people of Kashmir into a perilous abyss, is that his notorious regime is closely threatened by his rebellious subjects, and he cannot borrow foreign bayonets to butcher them without mortgaging his land and his people to the lender. Hence the mortgage. The Indian Government have accepted the deal in even more brazen terms."

Even greater wrath was reserved for Sheikh Abdullah :

Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah's case is even blacker. The author of the "Quit Kashmir" movement has suddenly been converted to the slogan of "Do not quit Kashmir", and the Dogra House that was yesterday the worst enemy of the Kashmir people, has now become, in the Sheikh's eyes, its only saviour. Again, until a few days ago, the Sheikh talked of nothing but the will of the people, a national referendum to decide the future of Kashmir, responsible Government for the Kashmir people and all the rest of it. Today all these professions have gone overboard. He talks of fighting "the invaders" in his land, as if the Sikhs or the Gurkhas that the Indian Union is at present landing in Srinagar, are "the bluest-blooded Kashmiris. He has manoeuvred himself into a position where the only role he can play is to help in the butchery of his own people by foreign mercenaries and be an ineffective second fiddle to the Maharaja and his helpers from abroad. And he will have to continue in this role until either he and his master are over-thrown, or his people are crushed and exterminated. Thus both Nehru's Government and the leader of the National Conference have been guilty of treachery, and stand condemned before the bar of democratic opinion."

And while the war of words was going on, in Kashmir things were happening.

The "D" day was actually fixed for October 21, but the attack could not be launched till the next day. The disposition of the 4,000 men at the disposal of

Maj. Anver was arranged by him in the following manner, from Garhi Habibullah one detachment of 500 men and another of 450 men, were moved in parallel columns towards Garhi, a place east of Domel and Bhatka respectively. The main column of 2,000 men moved with Maj. Anver on the road to Muzaffarabad. Three detachments of 200 men each were deputed to attack from the western side, after crossing the river Jhelum on the northern side of the Kohala bridge. The remaining few hundreds were to cross the river on the southern side of the Kohala bridge and contact the three detachments attacking from the west. The main column met with slight opposition at Ramkot on the road to Muzaffarabad.

The first stiff opposition they met was at Muzaffarabad where there was a full battalion of Dogra troops stationed between Muzaffarabad and Domel. The bridge between Muzaffarabad and Domel was an important link, which, if blown up, would have been the end of the offensive. The tribesmen cleverly captured the bridge and then set up a picket on the Muzaffarabad side of the bridge, from where they attacked the Domel garrison with gunfire.

After a daylong fight they captured Domel on the evening of October 23rd. Some of the Kashmir State troops escaped up the hills. The invaders looted the town, put Hindus to the sword, abducted their women and shot the District Magistrate. The next two days witnessed the fall of Garhi, a place about 25 miles south-east of Domel, and Chinari, another 25 miles down the road to Srinagar.

On October 26th, the main column had moved up from Chinari towards Uri. It was at Uri that they encountered the First Sikh Regiment of Patiala State. The tribesmen routed these Sikh soldiers also who on their retreat blew up the bridge controlling the roads to Poonch as well as Srinagar. The next two days were spent in diversion from the bridge towards Mohera, where there was a big power house.

It was at Mohura that the "Daily Express" correspondent, Sydney Smith and another Englishman were

captured by the tribesmen. Major Anver had been leaving behind some of his men at the various places to hold the conquered positions.

The detachment which he had sent, got stuck near Garhi and could not contact the main column.

Two tricks of fortune conspired to cheat the Qaid-e-Azam of the Kashmir *Gaddi*.—the lust for loot and the loss of a day and a half by pillaging at Baramula, and the reckless bravery of an Indian Officer, who with no reserve of men or ammunition made an attack on the invading forces as if he had whole Army Division at his support. Col. Rai, with the small detachment at his disposal dashed down the Baramula Road. He saved the airfield, delayed the raiders from advance by thirty-six hours and enabled reinforcements by air to reach Srinagar. He saved Kashmir, though he gave his life in the effort.

It was with an expert hundred that the attack on Pattan was made on October 31st. Here the raiders encountered air bombing by Indian Union planes and machine-gunning by fighters. The tribesmen lost heavily in transport vehicles and ammunition. Pattan was, however, captured, but it was considered absolutely impossible to proceed on the straight road to Srinagar.

Leaving behind Major Aslam at Pattan, Anver with a small force of 250 men took a circuitous route to Srinagar via Achhgam. He had to leave behind 230 men on the way and with 20 men he reached Achhgam, a village about a mile from Srinagar airfield and about six miles from the city. At Achhgam, there were three battalions of the Kumaon Regiment and Anver and his men, acting on the principle "discretion is the better part of valour" hid themselves in the adjoining fields. The Indian Union troops had got scent of their presence and they arranged six pickets on the top of the hill overlooking Achhgam and Birgaum, another adjoining village. A party of eleven men with Anver went up the hill during the dark hours of the night and threw hand-grenades on the pickets blowing up three of the pickets.

The other three pickets were terrified and fled towards the airfield.

Flushed with this unexpected victory, Anver now thought of an immediate dash to the airfield. But his forces at Pattan having failed to come up, he thought it would be dangerous to stay long in Birgaum as the enemy could at any moment return with reinforcements from the airfield. So Anver returned to Pattan only to find that it was in the hands of the enemy and that his forces had withdrawn.

He went to Baramula, got reinforcements and re-attacked Pattan. By this time he had about 2,000 men again under his command. On November 5th and 6th there were indecisive skirmishes on the outskirts of Srinagar. But, in the meantime, armoured car units of the Indian Union had arrived and air offensive was launched in full strength. The tribesmen suffered casualties and they could not even pick up their dead. The Mountain Battery of the Indian Union had reached Srinagar and the tribesmen had to retreat. As the stretch of territory from Baramula to Pattan was open country, they withdrew to Uri, destroying a bridge near Rampur, Baramula was now the operational base of the State and Indian Union forces.

On 10th November Anver was hit in the calf by a splinter from a bomb dropped by the Indian bombers. While his driver was saved, his orderly, who was also in the same vehicle, died. He was later removed to Abbottabad for an operation and Col. Akbar took over the Command.

Giving a resume of the Kashmir campaign, to the "Dawn" at Karachi, Maj. Anver said that the attack on Kashmir was originally planned from two sides—one from the regions adjoining Kashmir State in the tribal belt and the other from the Pakistan border. While the Frontier tribesmen's attack materialized the other one did not.

Khurshid Anver regretted that the persons in charge of the second front on the Punjab border side did not do well and that it was mainly due to them that the tribesmen

could not capture the whole of the State before reinforcements from the Indian Union could have arrived.

Khurshid Anver was very bitter against the Pakistan Government for not having rendered any assistance to the tribesmen in their heroic bid to capture Srinagar.

He was of the opinion that given the necessary arms and ammunition, the tribesmen would sweep the whole State within a few days.

Anver said he was organizing the tribesmen and that he hoped to have a standing army of 200,000 within a period of six months.

The Pakistani hordes were in the Kashmir Valley for thirteen days. But to the people of Baramula it was like thirteen years. The town was ransacked and pillaged over and over again, houses destroyed and people killed—and not all Hindus and Kashmiri Pandits. The raiders made little distinction between the victims.

No one knows the total number of persons killed. But from all accounts, it must have exceeded 1,000. Among them were Lieut-Col. and Mrs. Dykes, besides four sisters of Mercy and a Mother Superior of the Convent of St. Joseph.

A little child belonging to Mr. and Mrs. Dykes was thrown down a well. All the sisters of Mercy were lined up and were about to be shot, when a Pakistan Officer better informed than the others called it off on the ground that it might involve Pakistan in international complications.

According to a captured tribesman, the raiders killed the Europeans on the day of their entry into the town. On the same day, they smashed the local hospital and Post Office.

Three tribesmen, all over 50, were captured at Baramula. Two came from Peshawar and one from Hazara. They had the same tale: "We were recruited by a Pir and a Minister of the Frontier Province."

The oldest, a toothless man in rags, stated that he was not here to fight as he was too old to carry a gun. He came to serve those who fought the *Jihad*.

They all agreed that Maj. Khurshid Anver was leading the invaders. Another officer, they mentioned, was Maj. Mohammed Aslam.

Estimates of the strength of the raiders in Baramula vary between 3,000 and 5,000. But apparently the same men did not stay all the time. They came in waves and while some arrived, others left which, probably, accounted for the repeated looting of the same sections of the town. The loot was carried away in lorries which went in the direction of the Frontier Province at night.

About 100 lorries were lined up in Baramula on the night of their departure. Some invaders rode in tongas while the remainder walked. All had left Baramula by midnight.

In their 13-day occupation of the third largest town in the Valley, the invaders have denuded it of everything. There is not a grain of rice or a yard of cloth left.

For those who still think that the invaders of Kashmir is just a raid by a few tribesmen, a visit to the forward areas is most essential. The systematic military lines on which the 'raid' was organized and is being conducted point to only one conclusion. Substantial evidence is available at Uri of the tactics, resources and strength of the invaders—evidence which should demolish once and for ever the 'raid' theory.

On the night of November 22nd the raiders attempted to storm a hill position previously taken by Indian troops. The battle lasted over six hours. It is estimated that nearly 60,000 rounds of ammunition were fired by the raiders in this engagement. From only one of the many positions from which the attack was launched over 20,000 empties were picked up by the troops the next day.

The raiders used not only the usual '303 rounds but special armour-piercing bullets. The ammunition was not of local manufacture but the usual British-manufactured ammunition used by the Indian Army prior to its division. Three cases of unused mortar charges with 18 charges in each were also left behind by the raiders.

These charges are also of foreign manufacture. One of the mortars captured by the Indian troops had its number-plate intact. This mortar is of the standard 3-inch pattern used by the regular Army.

The wireless code used by the raiders is the same which the Indian Army employed prior to 15th August. The reference maps and their numbers conform to maps and numbers which the Indian Army was using.

Messages intercepted by our Intelligence gave names of ex-Indian Army officers who are well known. One such officer was Brig. Ayub Khan who was once with the 14th Punjab Regiment. Brig. Ayub Khan is a Sandhurst-trained officer and at one time served on the 58th Selection Board at Meerut. He was the official adviser to Pakistan on the Army Partition Committee set up by the Joint Defence Council.

Two other officers whose names are also well known and who frequently figured in the messages intercepted by our Intelligence are Major Mohammed Gulsher Khan (a cousin of Feroz Khan Noon) and Captain Sharif.

Documentary evidence has also been captured by Indian Union troops from the persons of the dead left behind by the raiders. This evidence points to the organization of the raiders into brigades, battalions, companies and platoons. It is strange that the strength of a company of the raiders is 184 out of which 182 persons are armed with rifles. The other two are armed with automatic weapons. It is well known that even in war time the strength of a company in the Indian Army has never been more than 120. And this number includes many who are not armed.

One Lal Badshah killed in action on a mortar position on the night of November 22nd had with him valuable papers which showed that he was recruited in Kohat on November 16th and was an ex-Havildar of 1/12 Frontier Force Regiment. He was put in C Company of the 1st Battalion of the "Azad" Kashmir Infantry and was given the number 1346.

It is significant that after the raid of Baramula, the

so called Afridis and tribesmen from the unsettled districts of the Frontier Province are no longer seen among the raiders. The majority of the raiders fighting in Kashmir today are Punjab Muslims mostly from the districts of Gujrat, Jhelum and 'Pindi. A few Pathans from the settled areas are also among the raiders.

A visit to the Mahura Power House which had been captured by the raiders, proved that the marauders had qualified engineers amongst them. The Power House was destroyed in an expert manner.

After the raiders had been driven out of Baramula, they had very little time to deal with the Power House. So the Engineers who were presumably conversant with the electrical machinery, blew up the essential portions of the plant. They cut the main cables and so rendered immediate operations of the generators impossible. They blew up the exciters without which the generators would never function. Thus with a minimum effort they obtained maximum results. In the short time at their disposal, the raiders put out of commission the essential machinery in the Power House.

The road from Baramula to Uri is strewn with the wreckage of trucks and lorries left behind by the raiders. Most of these trucks bear the number plate F.P.H. (Frontier Province Hazara). Sometimes they bear the number plate P.B.R. (Punjab). A few of the lorries exhibit interesting mottos and slogans. On one heavy vehicle was painted a motto in Arabic. Translated into English it would read: "When God is with us, victory is near."

On the propaganda front also, the raiders have used methods which must have meant considerable preparations. Leaflets printed at the Jilani Press, Lahore, were distributed in tens of thousands in the villages.

Large illustrated posters inciting the population to join the raiders were posted at all important points in the villages; such poster showing a Kashmiri being bayoneted to death by a Dogra soldier. The poster is very well produced, of large size and obviously done

on litho. Its printing would obviously mean the help of a well-equipped press. The name of the press is not given on the poster but it is plain that it must have been produced in Lahore where good litho printing is possible. In any case, the poster could not have been produced in villages of the Frontier tribesmen.

The Kashmir story is far from being complete. Kashmir is too valuable an asset for Pakistan to abandon. Jinnah, it is believed, wants a war over Kashmir but his Military Advisers are not prepared to risk an open breach with the Indian Dominion.

Owing to the accession of Kashmir, the Indian Dominion is morally and legally bound to render all assistance to Kashmir even to the point of accepting a declaration of war by Pakistan.

There may be a referendum, but it is not now clear that it will go in favour of Pakistan and that is the main reason, why before the invasion—Pakistan journals so loudly emphasising the right of the Kashmir people to determine their future, are now luckewarm over the matter. Abdullah's views are going to count with the Kashmiris and he is no Pakistani. He does not believe in one-community States or liquidation of minorities by rape and murder. A bigger factor against Pakistan now is the bitter experience of Kashmiris at the hands of the Pakistan hordes. They do not want to be handed over to the tender mercies of freebooters or bandits.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Scramble

ACCORDING to no less an authority than the "Pakistan Times" (August 3) the day the partition of the Punjab was voted in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the scramble for the leadership of the new Muslim parliamentary party began.

Taking advantage of the presence of a large number of Muslim Legislators from West Punjab, Malik Feroz Khan Noon, rallied a gathering of his kinsmen and friends and obtained from them a written indication of their support. "We hereby choose you our leader" signed etc. etc.

Mamdot, who, by election and property belonged to the East Punjab, but by ambition to the West could not take this dual challenge to his authority lying down.

For once the Baghbanpura family backed the wrong horse. Begum Shah Nawaz and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din supported Noon's candidature. Mamdot starting with only three supporters rapidly gained support against his more experienced rival. When it became known that, although the Qaid-e-Azam was officially indifferent to the result, he would prefer Mamdot to Noon as the more reliable of the two, Mamdot's success was assured.

Major Ashiq Hussain, a prominent member of the Punjab Assembly from the West came to Lahore to actively support the candidature of Mamdot. He was unfortunately shot dead by a Muslim constable from Mianwali side in a private altercation. The murder was (quite unjustifiably) credited to the activities of the Noon group and led to its discomfiture. Moreover Ghazanfar Ali arrived at the psychological moment to preside over the ballot which should have been presided over by Chundrigar. Ghazanfar Ali is reported to have expressed the (personal) opinion that to elect Feroz would be to

re-elect Khizar. (Firoz Khan had the misfortune of being related closely to Khizar).

Of the scramble for power the "Pakistan Times" said:—

"One should have thought that our brothers beyond the Eastern Frontier, who will soon be forcibly separated from us, had earned enough of our gratitude to deserve a closer interest in their affairs, and that the choice of the leader who would be at their head, would receive as much thought and deliberation as the leader of the West. No one, however, looks particularly bothered to offer or to accept the crown of thorns, which may be the leadership of the East, while every nerve and artery in every political organism that managed to insinuate itself into the Provincial Legislature through merit, intrigue or good fortune, has been and is being strained to effect the election of one contestant or the other to the leadership of the West. We have scrupulously refrained from commenting on this contest for fear of compromising the dignity of the organisation to which we all belong, we have shielded from the public eye the cess-pools of intrigue which have sprung up in the last few days, in the hope that the stink would remain confined to the lordly residence where they had been dug."

Of the methods employed to secure votes, the same Journal gave these very interesting details editorially :

"The obscene anxiety at present being displayed for this office, therefore, can only be put down to the fact that the contestants do not regard the Premiership of the Province as an ordeal of service and sacrifice but as an agency for power and patronage; that this office is being so highly prized not for the sake of the good that might accrue to the people but for the sake of the benefit that the holder might be able to extract out of it for himself. The methods that are being employed to ensure election might have been envied by the worst exponent of the Unionist opportunism. Public offices, or promises of offices,

we are told, are being bartered away for votes; all the fetishes of clan and kindred that we hoped Pakistan would rid us of, are being invoked; Unionist gaudetiers and flunkeys of the British are being appeased and befriended. On the one side cases have been reported to us of administrative decisions supposed to have been taken and reversed not in public interest but according to the sectarian proclivities of certain voters, on the other side, offices and other favours to officials who happen to possess parliamentary connections are being lavishly promised."

The result of the contest was not long in doubt after Ghazanfar Ali arrived in Lahore and gave no uncertain indication of the personal wishes of the Qaid-e-Azam. There was a landslide in Mamdot's favour. Shaukat Hyat, who supported Noon, went over with friends to the Mamdot camp and thus without a contest Mamdot was elected leader, Firoz Khan being content to make a chivalrous (and discreet) withdrawal in his favour.

The election of Mamdot to the leadership of the legislature automatically secured for him the Premiership of the Province (now West Punjab) on August 15th. He announced a small Cabinet of four with himself as Premier. The other members being Shaukat Hyat as Revenue Minister, Karamat Ali of Sheikhpura as Education member and Mumtaz Daultana in charge of Finance. Firoz Khan and his friends, though offered, declined office, probably well knowing that the Cabinet was not overburdened with either intelligence or experience and may safely be relied upon to lose popularity at no distant date.

The new Government succeeded to no prosperous heritage. Within a fortnight, Muslims in East Punjab had been uprooted as effectively as non-Muslims in West Pakistan and were pouring into Pakistan by the millions. Lahore, Kasur and Sialkot formed the three focal points of refugee concentration, The Government of West Punjab was hard pressed to organise relief and assistance. A ministry for Refugee rehabilitation was created and

the appointment went to the Baghbanpura family, which could not long stay out of office. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din was appointed.

Iftikhar-ud-Din showed keen interest in the refugees and visited camps, flew around the countryside giving cheer, saying 'Id' prayers and making speeches. He also went to East Punjab on an inspection of Muslim refugees' camps and identified himself with refugee complaints.

Shrewd enough, he realised that the refugee problems were trumps in any hand that might very well make a grand slam in provincial politics.

But it was clear that Iftikhar-ud-Din would not serve long under Mamdot. The Qaid-e-Azam was ill—there were all sorts of rumours as to his real illness. The official communique referred to influenza, but perhaps Ministers of the Punjab Government knew better. And so a fresh scramble was on.

Punjab is the key to Pakistan and whoever has the key to Punjab has the key to Pakistan.

Iftikhar-ud-Din kicked over the Cabinet ladder as easily as he kicked over the Presidentship of the Congress two years earlier. He sought and secured election to the Presidentship of the West Punjab Muslim League, defeating Mamdot's nominee handsomely.

Knowing that people are disappointed with the Mamdot regime, which is far from the Pakistan of their dreams, Iftikhar-ud-Din has begun to woo the masses with ideas of a gigantic social and economic revolution.

Addressing a huge public meeting at Islamia College grounds recently he unfolded his conception of a "people's Pakistan based upon the tenets of Islam."

Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din called for a social and economic revolution which alone, he said, could enable Pakistan to survive the prevailing chaos and misery.

Making a pointed reference to the communal upheaval that drove 6,000,000 East Punjab Muslims to the west, he said it was a blessing in disguise as it had made their task much easier. The present economic system could not absorb these millions of refugees who had now been

reduced to penury.

The situation demanded a revolutionary departure from the prevailing system of economy including the abolition of *zamindari* and other vested interests.

Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din said: "Our struggle has not ended with the achievement of Pakistan, in fact it has just begun because we have to wage a struggle against the enemies of the people. At present nepotism and jobbery is rampant in Pakistan on a scale far greater than that in the day of the worst British bureaucracy. We have to liquidate all such parasites who are sucking the blood of the people.

"We have yet to build up a people's Pakistan run by a people's Government and then only will we succeed in the talks for which lakhs have laid down their lives."

Expressing deep concern over the fate of 40,000,000 Muslims in Hindustan, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din said that they could not be left to the mercy of an aggressive Hindu majority. It was foolish to think that the problem could be solved by show of force or by counter-aggressive policy.

Explaining the Mian's policy his journal the "Pakistan times" threw further light on the new economic and political revolution :

"What are these problems and difficulties? Firstly, the problem of resettling our refugees and their absorption into our national socio-economy, secondly the problem of ensuring an honourable and secure living for our brethren in India who have done as much for Pakistan as we the people of Pakistan have, without reaping any of the benefits that have accrued to us, thirdly the problem of eliminating from our State the evils that we have inherited from the foreign regime that has plagued us for well-nigh two hundred years, and making Pakistan into a model democracy for the rest of the world to emulate, fourthly the problem of safeguarding our land and our honour against external aggression and lastly the problem of Kashmir that is an integral part of

of the geo-political existence of Pakistan. All these problems are contained in one over-all problem, the problem of safeguarding the security and integrity of Pakistan from the dangers that threaten it from within and without and of making this State worthy of the suffering and the sacrifice its foundation has entailed, of redeeming the blood and tears that have so plentifully flowed to mould its corporal form. There are many people going about who would have us believe that all we have to do is to recite a few magic formulas, to buy a few oddments from some derelict arms-factory, or to go about shouting a few slogans and all would be well. All that you require, some other people tell us, is to have faith in your leaders, your ministers and your administration, and you can banish every other anxiety from your mind. We wish this were so, but it is not. We must consider, analyse and assess the nature of every problem, big and small, and we must closely scrutinise the practicability and the rationale of every solution that is offered."

Not to be outdone by Iftikhar-ud-Din, who by birth is a bourgeois Capitalist, by intellectual persuasion a Communist, by religion an atheist by political expediency a Muslim Leaguer and by experience an apportionist, the West Punjab Premier Mamdot, enunciated the rival programme of the Ministry.

At a Press Conference, Mamdot announced the Government's decision to enforce the *Shariat* very soon in the Province. He also announced that prostitution would also be banned as it was un-Islamic.

The Premier disclosed that a special tribunal to deal expeditiously with cases of corruption would be constituted soon by an ordinance, providing for drastic punishment of corrupt officials, including public flogging.

Under the proposed ordinance any five persons can ask for any inquiry against an official, whereupon an inquiry shall be held. Persons preferring frivolous or malicious complaints will be punished.

A publicity drive would be launched to mobilise public opinion against corrupt officials, and members of the public given to anti-social activities, said the Premier, and he hoped that in that campaign the Government would rely on the full co-operation of the press.

An anti-corruption committee of the Civil Supplies Department has started working. Another Committee has been set up to hear complaints of improper allotment of houses, shops, business and land and recommendations to the Government, including recommendations against officials found to have acted with improper motives.

Asked whether the Government had considered the question of introducing prohibition the Premier referred the questioner to the Finance Minister, Mian Mumtaz Daulatana, who disclosed that the Provincial Government had expressed itself in favour of prohibition at the recent Conference of the Finance Ministers of Pakistan held in Lahore, but as it was a matter which affected the revenues of the Pakistan Government, the final decision rested with the Centre.

He announced that, in the interest of maintaining direct touch with the public, it has been decided that "in future no Minister, while on tour, shall stay with an official; if at all they accept the hospitality of a friend, it shall only be the hospitality of a poor Muslim League worker.

The result of the decision of the West Punjab Government to enforce the *Shariat* has led to the resignation of some British members of I. C. S. but it has had the advantage of rallying the conservative elements.

The net result of the establishment of the law of the *Shariat* will be to put the ladies back into Purdah and to ostracise pseudo-Communists who will find it difficult to reconcile atheism with Islam. The Baghbanpura, the Noon and the Khizar estates will cease to be governed by legislation, and succession will proceed according to the *Shariat*. There may even be a social purge and some of the Pakistan maidens who have shown a preference for port and the foxtrot may have their noses cut.

It is difficult to say who will win in the contest, for

both Mamdot and Daulatana have money and the will to spend it for a good cause. They have moreover an advantage over Iftikhar-ud-Din in that they have a government machinery at their back.

Iftikhar-ud-Din on the other hand has also money behind him. He has at least two influential journals, who are prepared to back him, right or wrong. He has direct contact with masses and draws large audiences; he is an effective speaker and has won the support of popular leaders like Maulana Daud Gaznavi, also like him a former President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. Iftikhar-ud-Din is also powerfully connected. He is a cousin of the Begum Shah Nawaz and a nephew of the Chief Justice Sir Abdur Rashid and of Lady Shafi, widow of the late Mian Sir Mohd. Shafi. He may have the support of Malik Firoz Khan Noon. The policy, however, he wishes the masses to adopt, is vague and has not the appeal of the *Shariat*. His rivals are bound to have the support of the Ulema and Iftikhar and his friends may find themselves as "*Kaffirs*".

But Iftikhar, on account of his antecedents may not wear the crown of West Punjab, if Mamdot goes to the Central Pakistan Cabinet, he may be succeeded by Ghazanfar Ali, who is a doughty fighter, a powerful speaker and a person well up in all political trade tricks.

Firoz Khan Noon is the dark horse in the race for West Punjab Premiership. He too has money, and plenty of it, but he has not the heart to either spend in the way of Allah or even himself. He has to realise that one promissory note is better than half a dozen promises.

But it is taking too optimistic a view to believe that the scramble for power in Pakistan will be either confined to Punjab or that it will be bloodless. In Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah has gathered elements that are difficult to reconcile. The tribesmen of the Frontier would never consent to be ruled by East Bengalis. East Bengal Muslims equally arrogant would never consent to domination of Pakistan by Punjabis. Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din, Pir of Manki Sharif, Abdul Qayum and

Yusuf Haroon have all contributed to the establishment of Pakistan as much and if not more, than Iftikhar-ud-Din, Feroz Khan Noon or Zafarullah

Of the Pakistan leaders Chaudhuri Zafarullah Khan is perhaps the most able. His championship of the Arab cause at the United Nations was an admirable exposition of a debatable case. But if Pakistan is to be a theocratic State, run by canons of the *Shariat*, it is doubtful whether the community to which he belongs, namely the Mirzais of Qadian, will be granted the status of Muslims in Pakistan. In Afghanistan the Mirzais are not tolerated and several of them have been stoned to death. From recent experience it is difficult to believe that there will be greater toleration of eccentric beliefs in Pakistan.

Pakistan is not held together, like the Soviet Union by an ideology, or by a long record of proud achievements that binds the British race in every quarter of the World, or a national pride in the free institutions of a free people like the United States of America. The only knot that binds Pakistan is the frail vanity of a sick man.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

War Or Peace ?

A QUESTION that I am frequently asked is whether there will be War between the two Dominions. The question is of outstanding importance. Pakistan has directly effected the lives of more than eighty million people. War between Pakistan and India will have a bearing on the lives and fortunes of all four hundred million, in the sub-continent.

Let us examine the main factors that make for War and Peace.

1. *Pakistan has a will to War.* Mr. Jinnah has ambitions even at the age of seventy-one (or is it seventy-five?). If Mr. Jinnah refused Mahatma Gandhi's offer of the Presidentship of India and accepted the Governor-Generalship of Pakistan, it was in the hope of bigger things. If Bahadur Shah could be an Emperor at eighty-five, Qaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah is a much younger man.

By the activities of the last few months, Pakistan has been able to win rich lands in the Rawalpindi, Sargodha, Montgomery and Lyallpur Districts and valuable movable and immovable property in Lahore, Sialkot and other towns. Loot and plunder has been going on so large a scale and in so many ways that there are many in Pakistani to-day, who are eager to pour into Hindustan, for what they can get out of it. What Pakistanis did in Kashmir is an illustration in point.

There is an ideological difference between the two Dominions. India wants prosperity by industrial expansion. Pakistan looks to prosperity along the short cut of war. And therefore while Pakistan has the will to war, the Indian Union not only has no will^a to fight but anxious to keep out of a war even at a sacrifice.

2. *Pakistan has ready-made material for war.* During the last War, it was found by experience that while it takes six months to train and discipline a soldier, it only takes a week to teach him to handle a gun efficiently. There are hundreds of thousands of Pakistanis, some openly, some clandestinely, undergoing military training

Pakistan has more ready-made material than the Indian Union. Sixty percent of India's fighting forces was recruited in the Punjab. Excluding the Sikhs who have migrated to the East, Pakistan has more than half a million ex-service men, who would be very fit and very ready for service in the cause of Pakistan.

Pakistan has the finest areas upon which to draw for the man power requisite for War—the Frontier, Baluchistan, Attock, Jhelum, Sargodha, Mianwali.

Pakistan has use for ex-Indian National Army personnel, who are heroes in Pakistan. India has no use for heroes. I. N. A. men are mistrusted. The valiant Sikhs, who filled some of the finest battalions of the Indian Army are today a neglected and struggling community.

3. *It is easier for Pakistan than for India to rally international support.* Muslims have been for generations distinguished for the rallying power of Islam. Pakistan, accordingly, hopes for support from the Islamic countries in the event of War as also from Indian Muslims.

In the hands of a skillful propagandist, like Mr. Jinnah, it may not be difficult to find an issue upon which to raise an issue with the Indian Union to the status of a *Jehad*.

The Indian Dominion could probably count on the support of the Russian group at the U. N. O. but U. S. A. and British Commonwealth would in all likelihood back Pakistan

4. *The Indian Dominion's policy of appeasement of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League.* In spite of all that has happened, it is the misfortune

of both Dominions that many important leaders have not discovered the real Jinnah, and consider that good will be returned for good. It is this policy of appeasement that has contributed so much to the rise of the prestige of Jinnah and the League and brought untold misery to millions. If carried further, India may face difficulties. Leopards don't change their spots.

5. *Kashmir* is a ready made issue upon which Pakistan would be willing to go to war. According to well-informed quarters, Mr. Jinnah was anxious to have a straightforward showdown with the Indian Dominion in November last, but he was restrained by his Military High Command. It was only their emphatic opinion that Pakistan would be finished within a few hours of the declaration of war, that prevented a break out of hostilities. But Pakistan without Kashmir is Russia without the Ukraine, or Iraq without its oilfields.

The following factors, however, held the balance against war between India and Pakistan :

(1) *Mr. Jinnah's age and health*:—Nobody has essayed an arduous a war at Mr. Jinnah's age and with his state of health. Upon his own statement he is seventy-one. Hitler started world war II at the age of fifty-two. Napoleon Bonaparte's career as conqueror came to an end in his fifties. Alexander died before he was forty. Lincoln made a decision to fight the South at the age of sixty. The Holy Prophet's career came to an end at the age of sixty. Jinnah's career of conquest cannot begin before he is nearly seventy-two at the earliest.

And Mr. Jinnah is a sick man. Since his elevation to the office of Governor-General Mr. Jinnah has allowed himself a minimum of effort. He allowed himself a journey to Lahore at a crucial time, when his Kashmir venture was on the verge of success. He came to relieve Liaqat Ali Khan of important burdens. But himself took ill. For three weeks, he caused his friends and doctors grave anxiety.

Jinnah, on good authority, is stated to suffer from

fainting fits, particularly when faced with depressing news. He is also stated to have an affliction in the throat that can only be operated on by one or two Swiss specialists. The fact that Mr. Jinnah has purchased a specially fitted Dakota plane for his own use has supported the belief that he may shortly wing his way to Switzerland for reasons of health. He does not need a special Dakota to visit Mamdot or Abdul Qayum.

(2) *Pakistan is strategically very difficult to defend.* The two units of Pakistan are nearly a thousand miles apart. Each unit would have to be self-contained and self-supporting for purposes of War. East Bengal could not be militarily held in the event of war without drawing off large numbers of the better organised section of the Pakistan Army.

Pakistan has not the depth for defence so necessary in modern warfare. Lahore, the capital of West Punjab, is only thirty-five miles from Amritsar and is only sixteen miles from the Pakistan Border. Evacuation of the West Punjab Government, (with loss of prestige) would be inevitable in case of War.

The main artery of communication between Karachi and the North is the single way N. W. Rly. line between Rohri and Samasata. At Rehim Yar Khan the line is less than twenty miles from the frontier and at the other points less than fifty miles. To prevent the life line being cut would be virtually impossible.

(3) *Pakistan is surrounded by unfriendly elements.* While Pakistan has made efforts to win Islamic sympathy through Malik Firoz Khan Noon—the Qaid-e-Azam's roving ambassador—it has done little to conciliate its neighbours.

In East Punjab have gathered together millions of a sturdy people, who have been ousted from their homes and rich lands in Lyallpur, Montgomery, Sheikhpura and Rawalpindi Districts and who have suffered much. Their wounds remain open by the memory that the Pakistan State has still more than fifty thousand of their

women folk.

In the east are also the States of Patiala, Nabha, Bikaner and Jodhpur, which are more likely to take a lively interest in any conflict with Pakistan.

To the North and North-West is an unfriendly and unsettled Kashmir.

The Tribes of Frontier are an uncertain element. The Fakir of Ipi has, in spite of cajolery and threat, failed to proffer the bended knees to the Qaid-e-Azam. He is not likely to be impressed by a Pakistan *Jehad*.

Afghanistan has claims upon Pakistan—matters of history and Treaty to be adjusted. Afghanistan was the only country to oppose Pakistan's admission to the United Nations Organization.

The Khan of Kalat has not acceded cheerfully to Pakistan. He claims the return of Quetta, and Independence.

Tribesmen of Waziristan have monetary claims on Pakistan. As much as Pakistan looks with envy upon the fair lands of Hindustan, Waziristan looks with the same envy upon the fair lands of Pakistan.

Waziris, Mohmands and Mahsuds, strong, earnest and righteous Muslims do not know any Islamic mandate restricting them to the wild hills of the West. If they are ready to offer Mamdots, Daulatanas and the Noons their roasted sheep, they expect the same Islamic courtesy in a share in their lands.

The law of the Quoran, by which Mamdot and Daulatana plan to overwhelm their opponents may be the strongest factor towards peace.

(4) *Pakistan is financially weak.* Finance is probably Pakistan's greatest difficulty in the matter of a declared War.

In an undeclared War—like the Kashmir incident—many people can be brought in on hopes and promises.

In a declared War, an Army has to be paid and it has to be properly equipped. With salaries in arrears and an empty Exchequer Pakistan, would find it impossible to wage a declared War for any length of time.

When Pakistan gets a cash payment from India of seventy-five crores under the financial settlement and is able to put up a cordite factory, the biggest road-block to Hindustan would have been cleared.

(5) *The stock and morale of Pakistan is low.* Jinnah's stock continued to rise even after Pakistan was conceded under the Plan of 3rd June. Victory after victory sky-rocketed his stock. Sind voted for Pakistan, West Punjab voted itself out of India. East Bengal joined Pakistan. The Sylhet referendum resulted in victory for the Muslim League and the N.-W. F. P. expressed preference for Pakistan against India. From the four corners of the World came greetings to Pakistan and its Qaid-e-Azam.

But on the day that destiny reached its highest peak, it was already set on a downward course.

By August 25th, the Sikhs of East Punjab were showing the Muslim League that they could retort in the same language

By August 30th, Mr. Jinnah was alarmed at the millions of Muslims being uprooted in the East and pouring into Pakistan in a worse condition than the non-Muslims being ejected from Pakistan.

By the beginning of September the Pakistan Railways had come to a stand-still. The dependence of Pakistan on the good-will of India was manifest.

Reports of murder, arson and loot flashed in the foreign press and the credit of Pakistan declined.

Pakistan lost the Kashmir gamble. The raiders were driven out even as they reached the gates of Srinagar.

(6) *Pakistan is economically dependent on Hindustan.* Not only for coal but for many other supplies Pakistan is dependent on Hindustan

Lahore, Gujranwala, Lyallpur, and Sheikhpura are largely lit and flourished industrially by energy from India. In the event of War, whatever little industry that North Pakistan has, would come to an abrupt end by the movement of a single switch at

Jogendranagar.

Although under the Boundary Award the Suleimanke headworks at Ferozapore went to Pakistan, it would require army divisions to ensure that Pakistan would continue to flourish on the waters of the Sutlej. One bomb from an Indian bomber would put the head works out of gear for years. No soft words of the Qaid-e-Azam would then induce the turbulent waters of the Sutlej to enter Pakistan or water the fair gardens of the Nawab of Bahawalpur.

(7) *Jinnah is less favourably placed for War than on September, 1st.* On September 1st, the Indian Union armed forces were in chaotic disorder. They were officered and led by British officers with pro-Pakistan sympathies.

Junagadh had acceded to Pakistan providing that Dominion with a direct foothold within the Indian Union itself—a dagger pointed at the heart of India, in the words of the Jam Saheb of Nawanager.

The progress of infiltration into Kashmir was progressing well—the Jammu Pathankote road was hardly advanced.

Jinnah had left behind several well-stocked arsenals at strategic points in India. The arsenal at Delhi, Kanpur and Aligarh had not been unearthed.

The Muslims of India could largely be depended on to support a Muslim League offensive. They had not yet discovered the peril that awaited them by supporting the League.

The British had not yet been disillusioned about the prospects of Pakistan.

Dumps of unaccounted for ammunition had been earmarked for Pakistan. They had not been wasted in the disultory mountain warfare.

The Nizam of Hyderabad had definitely refused to accede to India and was biding a favourable opportunity to opt for Pakistan.

Pakistan had a cash balance of twenty crores which had not been frittered away in refugee relief.

Above all the bubbles of Jinnah infallibility and Pakistan invincibility had not been pricked. Millions of Muslims in India still looked to Jinnah for leadership. The bravery and gallantry and fighting qualities of Indian troops under Indian leadership had not been tested.

(8) Not the least of the factors in favour of peace is the disillusionment of millions of Muslims, both in and out of Pakistan, of the policy of hate and their growing doubts about the two-nation theory. Many of those who thought in terms of Pakistan and followed Mr. Jinnah's lead realised that the policy of League has brought happiness to none and untold suffering and misery to millions—Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

Broadcasting on the evening of October 7th, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, speaking as the Premier of Pakistan said :

“Only 54 days have passed since Pakistan came into being. In the history of Nations and States, 54 days are but a moment. Yet it was the will of God that, in the short space of time, Pakistan should face calamities and tribulations which might well have daunted many a State more seasoned and mature. When a few days ago, the Qaid-e-Azam broadcast to you from Lahore, we were confronted mainly with the upheaval in the Punjab. Today we see Delhi and its environs added to the long and dreary list of towns and villages where the murderer has been at work and where life has been made impossible for the followers of Islam.”

It is not, however, necessary to take the professions of Liaquat Ali Khan too seriously. The greatest mistake that can happen is to be lulled into a sense of false security.

Whether there will be War or not between the two Dominions no one can say with certainty, but it is well to remember that in spite of the Pakistan Premier's assertions as to the merits of peace, since August 15th :

According to an A. F. I. message from Karachi the Pakistan National Guards are to have thirty battalions.

1. The Pakistan National Guards has been formed, in breach of the standstill agreement between the two Dominions, that the numbers and personnel of any auxiliary forces will not be increased.

2. Thousands of licenses have been issued, and all are being issued gratis to civilians in big cities.

3. Military training to the civilian population is proceeding apace.

4. Malik Firoz Khan Noon has been "according to a reliable source" (News Chronicle, November 14) on mission to the Middle-East to receive arms and ammunition for Pakistan.

5. Mr. Abdul Qayum Khan in his capacity as Premier of the N.-W.F.P. has appealed to all Islamic countries to come to the help of Pakistan.

According to Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader, the danger is still great, and Master Tara Singh is no idle speculator.

Master Tara Singh urged the people to learn the art of self-defence. "It is true the Government is ours. But the danger before us is great. In Pakistan arms are being freely distributed and every Muslim is a soldier. It is, therefore, very necessary that we on this side of the country should arm ourselves."

He added: "So long as our Gurdwaras are not returned to us, so long as our abducted girls are not made over to us, so long as our property and land remain in Pakistan, there is no possibility of peace in the country."

On December 5th, at Narowal Mian Mumtaz Mohammed Daulatana, Minister of Finance, West Punjab Government, at a public meeting said: "The hour has arrived when you should revolutionise your outlook and attitude, and work in the spirit of *mujahids* for the glory and greatness of Pakistan."

"There is no reason for you to be despondent or dejected, for there is no room in Pakistan for cowards and weaklings." he added.

"My countrymen, we neither desired nor expected

these bloody events to follow the attainment of Pakistan. The decision to divide the country, was after all, in the nature of a settlement which all parties had agreed to honour. We wished to render unto others what we wished them to render unto us., the right of a nation to live a life of peace, prosperity and self-respect. To achieve this peace, for ourselves and others, we even acquiesced in decisions and awards, which we strongly felt to be less than just and less than fair.

“We ardently wished on the achievement of Pakistan, to put all bitterness and bickering behind us and apply ourselves peacefully, to the task of building up our State and to work for the welfare of our people.

“Was it not in the interest of a newly-born State that it should have peace within and peace without in order to grow to its full manhood ? Or does anyone think we were so foolish as to want disorders and upheavals ? Who among us could declare that hundreds of thousands of our Muslim brethren beyond our borders should lose their homes, their property, many of them their lives, and be driven out of the land where they and their ancestors had lived for centuries, and to flee into the wilderness in mortal terror ?

“In order to build we must have peace. Therefore, those who talk to you of war and conflict are not your friends. Beware of them and stop counting your gains and your losses in the gamble of death and destruction. Turn your faces to the future.

“We have a great deal to do that is of the utmost importance to us. We in the Government are firmly resolved to put down all disorders with a firm hand. Please help us in this, the greatest of all national duties today.

“Those who have the slightest political sense know that any conflict between the two Dominions is suicidal for both. You can be sure, therefore, that peace is just as important for India as it is for us, and that those who disturb the peace across the border are stabbing their own country in the back. This is as plain as daylight

to everyone who knows the barest elements of the situation."

The Mohmand Tribal leader, Badshah Gul, who is now fighting on the Kashmir front, recently appealed to all Muslims to deliver the unfortunate Muslims of Kashmir from Sikh and Dogra tyranny.

In a message to Pathans, Badshah Gul said :

"I would especially like to warn Frontier Pathans and tribesmen that if timely action is not taken, what Hindus and Sikhs are doing in Kashmir will surely be repeated in Chitral, Dir, Swat and other independent Tribal territories soon after.

"Our women and children will then find themselves face to face with similar troubles as exist in Kashmir to-day and death and destruction will be rained upon them from air fleets as well as heavy artillery.

"Pathans have joined the struggle in Kashmir and many of their brethren have fallen in the field. Defeat the enemy and victory will be victory for both.

"Successful conclusion of the war in Kashmir will carry Pathan prestige high and strike terror through out India".

Badshah Gul further said : "I would also beseech all Muslim States of the world to make the Kashmir issue their own. Victory here would mean victory of the Muslim world."

"Hindus and Sikhs aim at encirclement of Pakistan by occupying Kashmir territory. They are out to cut off this largest Muslim State and thus undermine the solidarity of the Muslim world."

While truck-loads of Frontier tribesmen pour into Jammu territory, truck loads of National Guards roll about Lahore raising the spirit of the people :

"Has Ke Lia Pakistan
Le Ke Rahenge Hindustan."

"Pakistan we took by bluff;
Hindustan is sure our stuff."

Whether this is the objective of the Pakistan Muslim League, or whether it is pure filibuster and bluff, time will

tell. Mr. Jinnah keeps his confidence better than Indian politicians. He likes springing surprises.

There is a smell of powder in the air. Men who want things in a big way are not daunted by difficulties. Jinnah wants Kashmir, he wants Bahadur Shah's crown, he wants the red stone walls of the Agra Fort to echo with Zindabads of the Qaid-e-Azam, he wants to receive the obeisance of the Nizam at Golconda and to lie beside Shah Jehan on the banks of Jumna in a monument grander than the Taj.

These may be the dreams of a crazy man. But Pakistan was the dream of a crazy man. The dream came true as a nightmare. Who can say that there are no more nightmares yet to come ?

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Pakistan Press

OF ALL "Pakistan" journals, by far the most important is the "Dawn". Established in Delhi some years back as Mr. Jinnah's organ, it has continued to represent the extreme view point of the League and the Qaid-e-Azam. Long before anything happened in Delhi or in East Punjab, the "Dawn" decided to migrate to Pakistan (Karachi), where it could propagate hatred without fear of a muzzling order from the India Government. The fears of the "Dawn" were not ill-founded. The "*Tribune*" had been scared out of Pakistan when its press was set on fire on August 14th. Although the premises of the "Dawn" at Delhi were defended by snipers for several hours they went the way of the "Tribune" eventually. But by the time this happened, the most valuable machinery had been moved and like the Qaid-e-Azam's Delhi residence, what could not be moved, was sold at fancy prices. The "Dawn" reappeared from Karachi in October in new clothes and looked mighty pretty. It is well got up, well edited and has probably the highest circulation, because it is known to echo the mind of the Qaid-e-Azam. The Editor is Mr. Altaf Hussain, a small dynamic personality. All his writings are flavoured with pieric acid and have a smell of gun powder.

For long standing importance, the "Civil & Military Gazette" of Lahore, undoubtedly, takes precedence over all the other Pakistan Journals. For more than forty years, it has stood, if not for disinterested journalism, at least for sober policy. At times it has shown greater daring and independence than the best Indian journals. During the time of Sir Douglas Young as Chief Justice of Lahore, the Editor and printer published without qualm

much material to the detriment of the High Court reputation without any fear, in spite of threats of contempt proceedings.

Over Pakistan, however, the record of this esteemed journal has been less creditable. Although 49% of the shares had passed to Sikh National Interests, the "Gazette", (presumably under the order of the 51% interests which were British) decided that Pakistan was to be supported and so the "C. & M. Gazette", for months backed Mr. Jinnah and the League whether right or even wrong. So much was the Gazette connected to the Pakistan Idea, that it refused to review, the Author's "Consequences of Pakistan" which was sent twice to the Editor.

Not only did the "Gazette" refuse to believe that the "Consequences of Pakistan" would be so disastrous as the author of the book ventured to forecast, but it entered into a contract for the printing of the proposed "Pakistan Times" at its own press, upon its machines, and to issue it simultaneously with the "Gazette". Accordingly the "Pakistan Times" appeared for some days from the "C. & M. Gazette" Press, but not for long. The "Gazette" realised that money was not everything. Pakistan was not going to be "utopia". It tried to back out of the contract; lost the suit filed by the "Pakistan Times". The "Gazette's" own publication was held up by an injunction issued by the Court of Mian Bashir Ahmed, a Lahore subjudge. The "Pakistan Times" won.

As soon as "Pakistan Times" came out, the sales of the "Times" increased and those of the "C. & M. Gazette" declined. The "Times" edited by Faiz Ahmed Faiz gave Muslim Leaguers a new value of their money—red hot Pakistan news. Faiz Ahmed, like Altaf Hussain, is a superb dialectician, and in the matter of abusing Congress leaders, it is difficult to decide, which of the two is the more original. They run a close race.

A welcome change has however recently come over the editorial policy of the "Gazette." What takes the "Pakistan Times" or the "Dawn" a thousand words to

express, F. W. Bustin of the "Civil & Military" can say in a hundred, and not less effectively. The curtain over Bustin eyes seems to have lifted and he very often offers Pakistan Government much food for thought. For interesting sidelights on Pakistan life the "Gazette" is perhaps unique and so thousands of people in Delhi and elsewhere buy the paper for first hand accounts of their once beloved Punjab. It is the only little bit of fresh air in Pakistan.

Of vernacular Journals, all Hindu and Sikh papers along with their staff have migrated from Lahore, which before the August halocaust was a great newspaper centre. Apart from seven English weeklies and dailies, there were countless Urdu, Hindi and Gurmukhi journals on all sorts of matters. With the exception of Muslims the rest have migrated after the office of the "Tribune" was set on fire and editor of the "Milap" was stabbed. "Pakistan" has come in for huge stocks of paper and printing machinery by the exodus of the non-Muslim press and Hindu paper merchants such as the well known firms of Advani & Co., and Ramlal Kapur.

Advani & Co., alone lost about a thousand closed bales of paper valued at over Rs. 3 lacs from several godowns. Without some official support, the loss of bales weighing several maunds each seems hardly possible.

Muslim presses and journals, and the black market, have no doubt benefited by the loss.

The advent of Pakistan has created difficulties for the vernacular Muslim Press. Vernacular journalism flourished largely in the soil of irresponsible criticism. Patel, Nehru and Gandhi are too remote and on many occasions disarm criticism particularly on the question of minority rights. So the Muslim journals like the "Zamindar" and "Shah Baz" express much warmth on domestic affairs such as running down the Mamdot ministry. Urdu journalists had their hey days during the War and the post-war period, when considerable slices of cake were to be had from the secret funds of the Govt. of India and of the Muslim

League. But Pakistan has now been achieved. The cake has been eaten and so many of my journalist friends in Pakistan are contenting themselves with *Zindabadi Kababs*.

Firoz Khan Noon has, it is reported, taken over (by consent of the owner) the Mufid-i-am Press and the publishing house of Messrs. Gulab Singh & Sons. He has also taken over the house and furniture of the proprietor, R. S. Sohanlal. He may produce a journal to back his claims upon Pakistan. He certainly has now the means.

In the "Pakistan Times" Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din is stated to have a preponderating interest. The interests in the "Civil & Military Gazette" have been, it is believed, acquired by the Dalmia Jain group of Delhi.

The Hindu press in Sind is still intact, but is largely muzzled. The "Sindh Observer" has, for a long time, refused to comment editorially, as it was required to submit its editorials to the press department for censorship before publication.

The Pakistan machinery of propaganda is, if anything, more efficient than its Indian counterpart. The news broadcasts of Pakistan Radio are in ordinary parlance and not like All India Radio, in chaste Esperanto. The Pakistan Radio broadcasts are with a set purpose—to interest people in Pakistan, to arouse their enthusiasm and their patriotism. Its news editors devote more space and time to home news. Unfortunately their Delhi opposite members are more interested in the Marshall Plan and in the affairs of Indonesia.

There is however, a much greater freedom of expression in India. In India people can say what they think. In Pakistan, no public man or journal could criticise the Qaid-e-Azam. People with irregular opinions are rounded up. More than a thousand persons have been arrested and imprisoned by the Frontier Government since August 15th for having Congress sympathies. A Karachi Editor, a Muslim, was arrested for criticising the Qaid-e-Azam. Maulana Habibur-rehman, a past president of the Majlis

Ahrar, uniformly of pro-Congress views was recently arrested and is detained under the Punjab Safety Ordinance. Mian Abdul Ghani, a nationalist Muslim, was arrested at the Lahore Airport on his way to Delhi to attend a Nationalist Muslim Conference convened by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

What Jinnah thinks and says today, Pakistan says and thinks tomorrow. Therefore, if we have Mr. Jinnah's ideas, we are safe in assuming that it represents the bulk of thinking people of Pakistan, not because they have arrived at the same point by an identical process of reasoning, but because they have developed the habit of allowing Mr. Jinnah to think for them. Any one who does not agree with Jinnah is just a Quisling (Khizarling) and his days in Pakistan, if he is unfortunate to be there, may be just ticked off on the calendar. And then to know how Pakistan views its present difficulties we have only, like Duncan Hooper, Reuters Special Correspondent, to pay a call on Mr. Jinnah and put a few questions to him :

Q What is going to be the fortune of minorities in Pakistan ?

A. Minorities belonging to different faiths living in Pakistan or Hindustan do not cease to be citizens of the respective States by virtue of their belonging to a particular faith, religion or race. I have repeatedly made it clear, especially in my opening speech to the Constituent Assembly, that the minorities in Pakistan would be treated as our citizens and will enjoy all the rights and privileges that any other community gets.

Thereby we shall hold high the banner of Islam and all that it teaches us and establish our rightful place as equals in the deliberations of the comity of civilised nations as the fifth largest nation in the world.

(Note : As to how Mr. Jinnah's promises to minorities are put into actual practice see another chapter).

Q. What is your own view as to the massacres that have taken place ?

A. I have restrained as far as possible from apportion-

ing blame between the Hindus as a community and the Muslims as a community. But I must make it clear that I deplore and condemn without reserve the horrible deeds of killing and destruction that have taken place irrespective of their place of occurrence or origin.

"I have done my utmost and I am glad to say not without considerable success to impress upon the Mussalmans, that whatever the provocation, there shall be no retaliation, no revenge".

(Note: Mr. Jinnah said nothing of the sort in March when his followers were laying the foundation stones of Pakistan at Rawalpindi and Attock. The first denunciation of brutality came from Mr. Jinnah not after Calcutta, Noakhali or Rawalpindi but when Lord Mountbatten induced him to publish a joint appeal as President of the Muslim League with Acharya Kripalani as President of the Congress. Mr. Jinnah only agreed to a joint appeal with Gandhiji).

Q. Will Pakistan ever unite with the rest of India?

A. It is very unfortunate that vigorous propaganda has been going on from the moment the two States were created that Pakistan is only a temporary madness on the part of the Muslim League that has brought about this secession, that Pakistan will have to come into the Union as a penitent repentant erring son, and that the two nation theory is responsible for all that has taken place.

Pakistan has come to stay and will stay. But we are always ready to come to an understanding or enter into agreements with Hindustan, as two independent, equal, sovereign States, just as we may have alliances, friendships and agreements with any other foreign nations.

But all this propaganda and agitation, all the threats that are held out, even by prominent Congress speakers, against our fully independent sovereign State are not likely to restore goodwill and friendly relations between the two States.

We must try to stop any effort or attempt which is intended to bring about a forced union of the two Dominions. The methods advocated for the achieve-

ment of the end are :- (1) bring about a revolt by Muslims against the Muslim League and the Pakistan Government ; (2) failing that, making the leaders of Pakistan realise the folly of the two-nation theory and change their ways and force them once again to agree to join the Union and, thereby create a single India.

Q. What do you consider are now the proper functions of the Muslim League outside Pakistan ?

A. The Muslim League has already achieved its mission—its fundamental object—which was to establish the independent State of Pakistan.

The remaining aims and objects of the Muslim League are very general I quote :

“To protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interests of Indian Mussalmans and other communities of India, and to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Mussalmans of India and those of other countries.

“I wanted to call a meeting of the Working Committee and of the Council of the All India Muslim League at an early date because it is obvious that we have to reorientate the Muslim League in the light of the fundamental changes that have taken place. But, unfortunately, owing to the grave situation that was created we were so fully absorbed that we had no time to attend to this or any other matters which are facing us, and which still require our urgent consideration.

The main objective of Muslims in India is to play their part in ensuring that they get a fair deal. But with the establishment of the two Dominions, this is also a matter which can only be handled effectively on a Governmental level.

“To the Muslim minority and their leaders left in India I have already offered advice that they must reorganise themselves under their own chosen leadership as they have a very big part to play, in safeguarding the rights and interests of millions.

They have already professed under my advice, their loyalty to the Government of India and made their position clear on the very first day when they attended the Indian Dominion Constituent Assembly.

“They should not, in their adversity, be led away by mischievous propaganda of interested parties and hold the Muslim League and its leadership responsible for all their tribulations. They must hold on to their posts, and Pakistan, I can assure them, will not be a mere spectator of their suffering.

“We are deeply concerned with their welfare and future and we shall do everything in our power to avert the danger that they are facing. I sincerely hope that with the co-operation of the Indian Dominion we shall be able to secure a fair deal for them.

When asked “How do you explain the uprooting of muslims in East Punjab?” Jinnah said :

“Terrible Bloodshed.” The birth of the two Dominions was, I am glad to say celebrated everywhere as the day of the attainment of freedom and independence, not only for those two major nations but for all the inhabitants of this great sub-continent—yet immediately thereafter there came this terrific bloodshed which was undoubtedly intended to eliminate the Muslim minorities from Hindustan.

“The facts are now established that the whole object was, by blood thirsty gangsterism, to drive them away from Hindustan. It is most deplorable and regrettable that this has resulted in the destruction of the lives and property of enormous number of people and the suffering of millions.

“Lastly, I must emphasise that the Congress and the Indian Dominion Government must put down the leadership of those who planned this ruthless killing and also those elements which are collaborating with them to defy law and order. This organised attack to, which I have referred, has played

lives and yet the end is not in sight. Blood, murder loot and arson are rampant everywhere in the Land of Five Rivers. Who is responsible for it shall remain a moot point. The poison of making money has gone deep down. The number of those who believe that honesty is the best policy has dwindled.

"The officials are taking advantage of the disordered state of the country and are using every means to enrich themselves. Favouritism, nepotism are seen everywhere. These are the days to oblige friends and relations.

"The refugee problem created by the Sikhs is sapping the resources, material and physical, of the State. The difficulties created in evacuation and rehabilitation are tremendous, but this does not mean that nation-building activities should be ignored. The spirit of lawlessness is on the increase everywhere.

"During 100 years, there has been an organised propaganda to bring authority into contempt. Our leaders have been telling us of our birthright to rebel. The crude mind does not make any distinction between such a right of a slave against his master and of a national against his country.

"The exploitation of masses by the speculators, profiteers, nobility and the refugees of West Punjab and not from East Punjab, is playing havoc "

Mr. Riaz Hussain Jan, a villager and farmer from Balkasar District Jhelum, had already given the public an idea how things were going in the district (Civil & Military Gazette).

"Muslim League leaders claim that they have won Pakistan mainly on the plea to safeguard the rights of the poor and backward Muslim masses from Hindu capitalists and monopolists

"So far the case is emerging differently. The Muslim Leaguers who have come to power, and their parasites who are scurrying to share the loot, are mostly aristocrats and capitalists themselves. The "touch system" to obtain any job is gaining momentum. The Black Marketeers

and corrupt Government officials are expecting costlier gifts from the masses."

There was much noise and commotion by the League on the introduction and application of the Punjab Safety Ordinance. For days processions of thousands of people were led for the restoration of "Civil Liberties", in other words the repeal of the Punjab Safety Ordinance. The Khizar Ministry was abused and vilified, coffins of Khizar Hyat were carried through the streets of Lahore and his women were described as prostitutes. "*Khizar Kanjar, Hai, Hai*" (Khizar, the procurer, is Dead, what a Pity.) In spite of tear gas bombs students of the Islamia College raised the Muslim League banner over the flagstaff of the High Court, and thousands went to jail cheerfully in the cause of Muslim League's battle for civil liberty. And after August 15th, Civil liberty came with its own, loot, rape, arson and murder flourished. The Public Safety Ordinance was not however, repealed. It remained to be applied to persons, who were critics of the administration. The first act of the new Government was to remove restriction in the carrying of arms, the liberty of the subject was thus underlined by the bullet.

The much hated Public Safety Act, however, became a useful weapon in the hands of the new Government. The Hindu press disappeared. The "Tribune" offices were burnt, the Editors of the "Sunday Times", "The Milap" were stabbed. The rest disappeared in fright. The only non-Muslim journal that continued to carry on bravely was the "Civil and Military Gazette", which had an English name and a British Editor. Censorship, however, was imposed and enforced against this journal. On August 13th, the following order under signature of the Chief Secretary was served on the Editor, Printer and Publisher of the "Gazette".

"To

Printer-Publisher-Editor of the "C. and M. Gazette" Daily, Lahore.

Whereas the Provincial Government is satisfied in

respect of "C. and M. Gazette" of which you are the Printer, publisher and editor, that for the purpose of preventing it from publishing unauthorised matter connected with the communal disorders following the resignation rendered by the Punjab Coalition Ministry an activity prejudicial to the Public safety and the maintenance of Public order, it is necessary to take action as hereinafter appearing;

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by clause (a) and clause (c) of Sub-Section (1) of Section 6 of the Punjab Public Safety Act; 1947, the Governor of the Punjab is hereby pleased to direct that you shall not, for a period of fifteen days, with effect from the date on which this order is served on you, print or publish in any of the issues (including supplements) of the said C. and M. Gazette" or any other newspaper of which you may be printer, publisher or editor, any comment (Including headlines thereto) any statement or report which is not official, any photograph or any correspondence, any article or any other matter whatsoever concerned with the bearing on the communal disorders in the Punjab, or cases of whatever nature arising out of such disorders, or relating to any action taken in pursuance of this Order in respect of any such comment, statement, report, photograph correspondence, article or matter, without its previous submission for scrutiny in duplicate to the Assistant Provincial Press Adviser, Punjab, Lahore at his office in the Punjab Civil Secretariat, Lahore between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m.

"By order of the Governor of the Punjab."

On August 25th, in accordance with this order, the Editor of the Gazette submitted for censorship, an open letter addressed to the Qaid-e-Azam, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan and Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot :

"Your Excellency and Gentlemen. Believing unreservedly in the sincerity of your assurances regarding the restoration of peace in the unhappy

province of the Western Punjab, and in your promises of protection to minorities, I bring to your notice: (And here the editor gave the details of the incidents to the Sind Express, already referred to in the preceding chapter). The editor continued.

Lives could be saved, and the extension of the death-chain which their loss ensures prevented, by the adequate guarding of trains. When, at one point, the train guard of the Sind Express fired a volley of six shots, apparently over the head of a menacing mob, the miscreants turned tail and ran. Only a very small escort, armed with no more than two sten guns, could conceivably have saved those fifteen lives and thus prevented the exacerbation of a blood feud which has attained fantastic and terrible proportions.

"This seems a simple way in which your assurances can be honoured and your promises fulfilled. Will you adopt it ?

"Assuring you of my keen interest in and high hopes for the future of Pakistan, I am

Yours respectfully,
The Editor."

Later on the same day the Editor of the Gazette was informed by telephone that, after consultation with the Premier of the Western Punjab, permission to publish this open letter had been withheld for reasons of policy.

The Editor did not leave the matter there. On August 28th he wrote with reference to complaints concerning publication of reports of riot news: "Charges of understatement are well based: we have observed self-imposed restraint even regarding truth, and the censor has standards other than the truth.

The B.B.C. quoting from the article referred to the order of censorship passed by the "Government of Pakistan" at "Karachi." Swift to pick a verbal flaw the Pakistan Government issued a complete denial of censorship and described the report of such censorship as

untrue and malicious, adding "The Government has not imposed a censorship of any kind on press reports of disturbances in West Panjab."

The Pakistan Government's victory, however, was shortlived. The Gazette returned to the charge. Published the letter to Jinnah and Mamdot as a part of its argument, defeating the censor and concluded with the following.

"We were informed by telephone that after consultation with the Premier of the West Punjab, permission to publish the open letter has been withheld for reasons of policy" (criteria other than truth") Quibbling may exonerate the Pakistan Government from the charge of issuing a misleading communique, since the censorship was imposed by the Governor of the Punjab and not by the Government of Pakistan and issued from Lahore, not Karachi. But we are concerned with facts, not quibbles. And we leave it to our readers to judge whether our statement regarding censorship or the denial of that statement contained in the communique was utterly untrue and malicious."

Soon after the denial of the Pakistan Government regarding censorship, the Muslim Editor of a Karachi journal was arrested and sentenced for writing articles stated to be in dispareagement of the Qaid-e-Azam.

On November 8th Maulvi Abdul Ghani of Ludhiana was arrested at the Walton Aerodrome at Lahore just as he was about to board a plane for New Delhi to attend a meeting of non-League Muslims convened by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad. The Punjab Safety Act was the handy instrument employed to keep the Maulvi from reaching Delhi and giving his fellow Muslims a first hand account of the Pakistan paradise.

On October 16th when I returned to Lahore after the partition, I was informed, by Mr. Rahim, Manager of the Reserve Bank of India, that during my absence from Lahore angry crowd had come to my chambers with a view to burn the chambers of the author of "Consequences

of Pakistan." They were induced to depart on the ground that if they set fire to the chambers, the consequences of Pakistan would be more detrimental to the Anjuman-Islamia, who owned the building than to the author who might have covered himself by riot insurance.

Mr. Rahim and other friends made it quite clear to be author that life in Pakistan was only possible to believers in Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

The Pakistan Railways

PRIOR to the partition, the North Western Railway was one of the greatest railway systems in the world. Its operation extended over a mileage of more than 6880 miles. From Karachi and Delhi it carried the whole of the import and export trade of Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, N.-W. F. P. and Kashmir. Its trains and expresses brought wealth and prosperity to the North. The Frontier Mail and Punjab Mails linked Lahore and Peshawar with Bombay and Calcutta. Added to these were other expresses and passenger services to meet the growing needs of popular demand. Luxurious air conditioned coaches kept out dust and tempered the rigours of winter and summer. Goods and passenger traffic brought more than three crores monthly to the Railway Exchequer. It carried more than a million passengers daily, and men and women of all communities found it a convenient safe and expeditious mode of travel. The great carriage and wagon, locomotive, electrical depot shop at Mughalpurā provided employment for nearly a hundred thousand workmen. The railway gave employment to about half a million persons of all communities.

Financially too, the N. W. R. was one of the country's most successful railway systems. Against a capital charge of Rs. 1, 51, 89, 72,000, the net earnings annually were over Rs 14, 91, 22,000 giving a yield of 9.82% on the capital at charge.

But the new age however, brought about a catastrophe in the fortunes of the railway. The Lahore Central station, one of the biggest junctions in the world, from August 12th to August 16th, was a scene of bloody butchery of Hindus and Sikhs. For a time, Dogras and Baluch troops fought it out, but the boundary Force decided to let

the Baluchis have it.

Travelling on the railway had already become unsafe. At Sharifpura, near Amritsar, Muslim League supporters as early as in march, had shown how communication cords could be pulled at convenient points and how members of one community could be liquidated by the other. The Sharifpura incident set a vogue, which later became fashionable.

And whatever Pakistanis do, they do in a big way. On the occasion of the Qaid-e-Azim's visit to Lahore in August, the Editor of the "Civil & Military Gazette" gave His Excellency a picture of travel on the Pakistan Railway. In an open letter, the Editor wrote :—

"I bring the following to your notice as evidence of manner in which your assurances are being negated and your promises rendered abortive. I do this in the hope that the facts stated herein let may bring about the punishment and elimination of those elements who are flouting your orders and frustrating your intentions.

"Passengers by the down Sind Express who arrived in Lahore on Saturday evening had experiences which they will never forget, and of which they were with difficulty, persuaded to speak. After the train had left Gujrat, a small body of passengers, armed with axes and knives repeatedly stopped it by pulling the communication cord and visited each compartment in turn, ferreting out those of another community and ruthlessly butchering them. Sometimes these crimes were committed while the train was moving, sometimes in the presence of parties who rushed towards the line from the countryside whenever a stop was made.

"Some passengers attempted to save themselves by crawling under the carriages, but these were pulled out and killed. Two leapt from the train and started across the fields. The train was stopped, chase given and the fugitives despatched. The earlier victims were killed with hatchets, the later ones,

more slowly with knives. A woman and her three small children were among the last to die.

"Once the train stopped at a wayside station when no more victims remained for the sacrifice and the murderers apologised to their co-religionists on the platform for the zeal which left them no one to kill.

"Fifteen deliberate cold blooded murders may seem little enough to turn you gentlemen, from the tremendous task on which you are engaged, the creation of a state from a nation. But these fifteen shared the fate of many more. Few trains indeed come to Lahore from north or east without revealing similar atrocities."

And so it cannot be wondered that many people, even Pakistanis, gave up travelling by trains if they could help it. They could go by road, if they could get sufficient petrol through the good offices of the Deputy Commissioner or from the black market. They would go by air, if they could possibly get a booking. They would walk, if there was nothing better. But if there was a bullock cart around, it would be most welcome of all.

And so Pakistan is back a thousand years and the North Western Railway is practically obsolete.

Under orders of the Partition Council, Pakistan got 2/3rd of the N. W. R. and a proportionate share of the Eastern Bengal Railway system, which serves Eastern Pakistan. The Railways, instead of proving a profitable asset then, almost immediately became one of the major sinks of Pakistan economy.

The advent of Pakistan was celebrated by a discontinuance of almost the entire passenger services. On August 28th, the North Western Railway administration issued the following communique :

"The optimism expressed in Wednesday's communique was shortlived as, due to circumstances wholly outside the control of the Railway, a further drastic cut in the already depleted train services has become necessary. The details of trains now to be run are being worked out. Intending passengers

should, therefore, satisfy themselves regarding the running of such trains by which they propose to make their journey before proceeding to the station.

“The following refugee specials were run on August 27th :

- (i) Two from Lahore to Amritsar.
- (ii) One from Kasur to Khanewal.
- (iii) Two from Amritsar to Lahore Cantt.
- (iv) One from Amritsar to Lahore.
- (v) One from Lahore Cantonment to Lahore.

“The General Manager, North Western Railway, has issued an appeal to all officers and staff to contribute liberally to a relief fund which has been opened to assist railway refugees who are victims of the present disturbances.

“The Divisional Superintendents have been asked to open subscription registers immediately and to set up committees to disburse the funds so collected.

On September 3rd the communique was indicative of what was happening :

“Lahore September 3rd. Five stations in Lahore Division have been temporarily closed due to shortage of staff, according to a bulletin issued by the N.W. Railway. They are : Taripur Band, Emnabad, Kala Chatai, Rajajang and Basirpur. The situation on other divisions shows signs of improvement. The coal position on the N.W. Railway continues to cause concern. The restrictions in booking of goods traffic as previously notified, are still in force. Arrangements have been made to move urgent consignments of food grains.

“Movement of petrol is being speeded up and escorts are being arranged for petrol trains.

“Eleven trains have been arranged for today. They are : Delhi-Saharanpur-Lahore-Rawalpindi—3 Up and 4 Down Mail ; Lahore-Karachi—7 Up and 8 Down Mail ; Rohri-Karachi—191 Up and 192 Down ; Multan-Karachi—19 Up and 120 Down ; Khanewal-

Karachi—91 Up and 92 Down; Samasata-Bhatinda—99 Up and 100 Down; Lohore-Shorkote—73 Up and 74 Down; Lahore-Lyallpur—137 Up and 158 Down; Lahore-Jessar—131 Up and 132 Down ; Wazirabad Sialkot—293 Up and 294 Down ; Karachi-Quetta—9 Up and 10 Down.

“These trams traverse the boundary area of the two Dominions.”

According to official sources from Karachi, reported by the Associated Press, it was estimated that the total decline of railway earnings at the Lahore Junction alone was from Rs. 1,00,000 daily to Rs. 40/- per day. The normal monthly earnings of the North Western Railway (Pakistan section) should have been two crores monthly. It had fallen to fifty lacs of which forty-five lacs was debitable to Government on account of refugee traffic. Coal, which previous to the partition, cost Rs. 30/- per ton was costing the Railway Rs. 69/- per ton owing to a costly diversion by sea from Calcutta to Karachi, by reason of the E. I. Railway and E. P. Railway personnel's refusal to provide the transport to Pakistan, owing to butchery of railway personnel in the Moghalpura workshop, already referred to.

And thus Pakistan Railways faced the new year with a deficit of ten crores and more, ticketless travelling by millions, and the refugee transport, dislocation of goods—traffic, and coal at twice the normal figure.

As to ticketless travel the department of information admitted :

“Ticketless travel on the N.W.R. has thus become a major problem for the railway authorities. Measures for increasing the penalties for travelling without ticket are, it is learned, under consideration by the Government.

“The railway administration may fix a zero-hour after which ticketless travel will not be tolerated. Prior to this, the Government are likely to impress on the public that ticketless travel means the depriving of their own State of substantial revenue which

could be used for the welfare of the citizens of the State."

Another factor which is responsible for the loss in earnings on the East Bengal Railway is the diversion of the tea trade from Assam to Dhubri and then down by river to Calcutta. It is understood here that although the tea planters, who are mostly Europeans, prefer dispatching tea to Chittagong by train, as in the past, this being the cheapest route, the Assam railway authorities cannot perforce book tea on this route.

Mr. Mohammed Ibrahim, President of the North Western Railway workers' Union in a statement to the Press recently called attention to the problems faced by Pakistan Railways :

"One of the most disastrous result of the present communal disturbances in East and West Punjab is the almost complete disruption of railway transport in West Pakistan. Important passenger trains and goods trains have been cancelled. Those trains that do run are not earning anything. The fall in railway earnings has been calamitous.

It has become the practice among people to ride in trains without purchasing tickets, and any effort to bring these ticketless travellers to book is met with violent resistance. Taking advantage of the vast number of refugees who are using trains, ordinary people have also taken to ticketless travel.

"This is a most shameful state of affairs. When a good portion of railway earnings was being sent abroad, and when the railway were benefitting our foreign rulers few dared to travel without tickets and defaulters were severely dealt with ; but now, when the railway becomes the property of the people of Pakistan, it has become a heavy liability instead of being an asset."

"The Union offers its fullest co-operation to the Pakistan Government in its efforts to stop ticketless travel and to make the railways once more a paying

concern.

"The Union appeals to all patriotic citizens of Pakistan to help the railway authorities to check free travel. The Union also appeals to all railway servants, especially ticket collectors to carry out their duties fearlessly.

"This is a matter of special concern to railway servants, for it is apparent that if the railway earnings fall, our demands for increased wages cannot be met. The present financial position on the railway is endangering the very life and future of railway employees as well as putting our country in grave danger of complete economic collapse.

"It must be realised by all patriots that the railways are today in the virtual control of unsocial elements who are making it very difficult for the restoration of normal traffic; they are uprooting the permanent way, obstructing railway servants in the discharge of their duties, and we have to fight these unsocial elements and win back the North Western Railway for the use of the people of Pakistan.

"I know from personal experience that ticket collectors, who were inclined to be somewhat lax were preparing for August 15th and were saying to ticketless travellers that after August 15th they would spare no one since every pie would be needed by Pakistan. These patriotic railway servants are firm in their determination, but are helpless in the face of these unsocial elements who are armed and are known to be ruthless. Public support is necessary to curb these armed gangs who ride in trains these days.

"Pakistan Zindabad !"

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The N.-W.F.P

TH E N.-W. Frontier Province went to Pakistan in unhappy circumstances. The 1945-46 elections were fought everywhere on the clear issue of Pakistan or no Pakistan. The answer of the N.-W.F.P. was clear and emphatic. The Muslim League was defeated and the Congress Government was returned to power with a substantial majority. A Congress Government under Dr. Khan Sahib was again set up. Dr. Khan Sahib was once again Chief Minister and had three colleagues; Lala Meharchand Khanna (Finance), Qazi Attaulla Khan (Revenue) and Mohammed Yah Jan Khan (Education).

The Ministry took office on the eve of the departure of Sir George Cunningham, who had been Governor since March 2nd 1937, an unusually long period for Governors. Sir George had been largely responsible for the rise of the influence of the Muslim League in the province. He had appointed a League Ministry, in spite of the fact that the Congress had the majority of the following in the Legislature. During the War he had imprisoned Dr. Khan Sahib and his brother Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other leaders of the Congress Party.

In spite of all official efforts, the influence of the Khan brothers carried everything before it, and so while Nationalist Muslims went down before the League in other parts of India, the Khans succeeded in maintaining their hold on the Government by sheer ability and integrity of purpose and character. Even Abdur Rab Nishtar, the Qaid-e-Azam's favourite, suffered defeat in his home town of Peshawar. No greater indication of influence of the Khan Brothers was possible.

Sir George Cunningham was succeeded on March 3rd 1946, by Sir Olaf Caroe of the political department.

Like Cunningham he was anti-Congress and pro-League. Caroe in October tried his best to dissuade Pandit Nehru going to the Frontier, and if it had not been for the constant vigilance of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Khan Sahib, the Vice-President of the Interim Government may well have been murdered.

In spite of the best efforts of Dr. Khan Sahib and his Ministry, loot, murder and arson disgraced the Province in March, 1947. The Muslim League having successfully stampeded the Khizar Ministry, hoped, no doubt with the help of the Governor to take the place of the Congress Government. But Dr. Khan Sahib was made of sterner stuff than Khizar Hyat. He treated an attempt on his life as if it was an accident while shaving. He answered the muslim League challenge by arming in thousands his brother's Red Shirts, who had contributed so much to the freedom of the Frontier. Red Shirts offered protection to non-Muslims and restored the order that the League had done everything to disturb.

Dr. Khan Sahib refused to hand over the Government to the League. He put Muslim League leaders like the Pir of Manki Sharif and Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, leader of the opposition, in jail for defiance of the law. Olaf Caroe, however, was a brake on the suppression of the League.

The Khan brothers were in constant touch with the Congress High command during the March-April negotiations between Lord Mountbatten and Indian Leaders. They were beaten only by the obstinacy of geography. Ethnologically, geographically and culturally, if Pakistan was to come into being, the Frontier Province belonged to Pakistan. The Khans moved to set up an independent Pathan State but this move came too late. Even if it had come earlier, it is doubtful whether it would have been accepted either by the Congress or by the Muslim League. The principle, if accepted, would rightly in the words of Lord Mountbatten, have resulted in the Balkanisation of India. Travancore, Hyderabad and Bengal were clamouring for independence. Suhrawardy

and Sarat Chandra Bose had joined hands for the demand for an Independent Sovereign State of Bengal. The Congress and the League frowned equally on the proposals—the Congress because it has ideologically been opposed to the division of India, and the League for the very good reason that if Bengal and the Frontier and probably Kashmir went out as Independent Sovereign States, Pakistan would hardly be worth having.

It was quite clear from the start that the Pathans had been placed in the unenviable position of choosing between a Muslim and a non-Muslim State. The decision of course was a foregone conclusion. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, wisely therefore, decided to boycott the referendum. In a lengthy statement to the press, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan stated :—

“Great changes that are taking place in India, resulting in the ending of the British domination, not only affect the whole of India, but the Frontier Province especially.

“I have given the greatest thought to these changes and have also consulted my co-workers.

“For more than a generation we have struggled for freedom in the Frontier. In the course of the struggle, we Pathans have suffered great hardships, but have never given up the struggle.

“Our struggle was against the British rule and domination. In this struggle we allied ourselves with the Indian National Congress, the great organisation which was similarly fighting. Naturally, in the circumstances we found ourselves in close alliance and comradeship with the National Congress.

“When we in the Frontier were in great trouble in the course of the freedom struggle, it was the Congress that came to our help. In spite of our request, the Muslim League gave us no help. As a matter of fact many of the present leaders of the Muslim League in the Frontier helped the British against their own people.

“Our struggle all along has been for the freedom

of India and more especially the Pathans. We want complete freedom. That ideal of ours still remains with us and we shall work for it.

“Unfortunately, recent developments have placed great difficulties in our way. In the announcement of June 3rd it has been stated that the referendum will be held in the N.-W. F. P., where the only alternative which will be put before the electorate of the “present Legislative Assembly will be whether to join the Indian Union Constituent Assembly or Pakistan.

“This limits our choice to the two alternatives, neither of which we are prepared to accept. We cannot vote, as we want to vote, for a free Pathan State. The way this question will be put makes it a communal question and the people will be confused because of this communal approach.

“We do not want to encourage communalism in our province. We must also take into consideration all that has happened in the N.-W. F. P. during the last few months.

“An organised campaign of terrorism was launched by Muslim Leaguers, which resulted in the murder of hundreds of innocent men, women and children. Property worth crores of rupees was destroyed, through loot and arson. The whole atmosphere is, therefore, surcharged with communal frenzy and poison.

“Even now, leading members of the Muslim League are carrying on a raging and tearing campaign to frighten the people from voting against them in the referendum.

Evidently, they not only want to prevent tens of thousands of refugees who have gone out of the province from voting in the referendum, but they are threatening others who are in the province by telling them they will do so at their peril.

“They remind them of horrible outrages which have disfigured the face of our province during the

last months.

“Religious passions of the unsophisticated Pathans are also being aroused by describing the contest on the present issue as a contest between “*Kaffir*” and “Islam”.

“I have tried my utmost to reach a settlement between various parties concerned. I regret that this has not been possible, because Mr. Jinnah will not agree. Perhaps, he thought, that I had seen him because of our weakness, though I approached him as a Muslim for maintaining unity amongst the Muslims. It was not out of weakness that I approached him, but out of strength of our cause and because of our earnest desire to have peace in the Frontier, as well as freedom.

“I maintain that a great majority of the *Pakhtoons* are for the establishment of a free Pathan State. With a view to ascertain the will of the people in this respect, I am prepared for the holding of a referendum or general elections.

“What are we to do in these circumstances? I am convinced that we cannot associate ourselves with this referendum, because of the difficulties pointed out above.

“Meanwhile, I would appeal to all *khudai khidmatgars* and others, who believe in a free Pathan State, not to participate in the referendum and to keep away peacefully from it.

“But this does not mean that we should sit still. A new struggle has been forced on us. After bringing to a successful conclusion our 18 years’ struggle for freedom against the British Domination, we are now forced with a new danger. Not only the liberty of the *Pakhtoons*, but their very existence is at stake.

“I, therefore, call upon all Pathans, who have love of their motherland at heart, to unite and work for the achievement of our cherished goal.

“However, I wish that even at the eleventh

hour Mr. Jinnah had recognised 'the justice of our position and refrained from dividing Pathans from Pathans."

The statement of Abdul Ghaffar Khan soon brought the League's peripatetic propaganda loudspeakers into action.

Malik Firoz Khan Noon and Begum Shah Nawaz went to Peshawar together.

Malik Sahib was received by the League leaders at the Railway Station from where he drove straight to Pakistan Chauk and addressed a meeting presided over by Fida Mohd. Khan, President of the Peshawar City Muslim League.

"There is mischief in the Hindu-sponsored stunt of Pathanistan," declared Malik Firoz Khan Noon. "It is a fraud by which the Hindus are designing to keep the brave Pathans clinging to the wheels of Hindu chariot and merge into Hindu Raj to the great disadvantage of Muslim culture, religion and future progress of Islamic state of Pakistan.

"The declaration of Khan Brothers, that Red Shirts would not take part in referendum was also misleading. He appealed to the Pathans not to be misguided by this new trick of Khan Brothers, for there might be a trap for them. It was possible that they might take part in referendum at the last moment."

He exhorted them to beware of all tactics of Khan Brothers and get ready for the coming referendum.

In the end he said: "To cast a vote for Pakistan is eternal life, and a single vote of Muslims in favour of Hindustan will be ruinous to the cause of Muslim solidarity and future progress of Islamic Sovereignty."

Begum Shah Nawaz made an equally melodramatic appeal for Pathan support.

The referendum, of course, went the way of expectation and the Frontier Province lined up with Pakistan.

During the referendum, to show his disinterestedness,

Governor Caroe went on a holiday to Kashmir. Rob Lockhart earmarked, as Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army supervised the referendum—the result of which was a foregone conclusion.

Jinnah, on the assumption of power did nothing to placate the Khan brothers or the Red Shirts. He re-appointed George Cunningham as Governor to the N.-W. F. P., no doubt on account of his past services to the Qaid-e-Azam and his long experience in the Frontier. Having put a man he could implicitly trust in so important an outpost of his Empire, the Qaid-e-Azam used his powers under the Pakistan Constitution (there are no such powers under the Indian Constitution) to direct the Governor of the N.-W. F. P., to dismiss the Khan Sahib Ministry.

And so democracy had its first round with the Qaid-e-Azam. It suffered a complete knock out.

The Khans retired to Utmanzai. Mehar Chand Khanna, erstwhile Finance Member of the Government, after being kept in unofficial confinement, was later arrested on a charge of having unlicensed arms—refused legal assistance of his choice and convicted. During the trial he was refused bail. The Sessions Judge, Peshawar, while considering Khanna's appeal against conviction admitted him to bail. The same evening he was again arrested. The Sessions Judge again bailed him out. Khanna then proceeded to the aerodrome to take a plane to Delhi to meet his wife whom he had not seen for several months. He was again arrested under orders of N.-W. F. P. Government at the aerodrome.

Abdul Qayum Khan, the present Frontier Premier, has the lawyer's knack of putting a dubious case with skill. Accordingly, his messages and statements have almost invariably the elements of originality.

Since August 15th he has periodically been able to offer (and threatens) thousands upon thousands of Pathans in the service of Pakistan. Shrewd observers say that if the Kashmir invasion was led by Khurshid Anver, Abdul Qayum was in all likelihood the principal ordnance

officer.

To Abdul Qayum's Province must go the credit for finding the men for the Kashmir invasion. Some men involved are ex-service men from Jhelum and Rawalpindi, but the bulk come from Hazara and other parts of the Frontier.

The advent of the Muslim League Ministry in the Frontier has been marked by severe repression. More than 1000 previous sympathisers with the Congress have been arrested and are in detention. The Red Shirts and the Khan brothers are immobilised.

Since the advent of Pakistan, there have been massacres of non-Muslims in Hazara, Dera Ismail Khan and in Peshawar. Most, if not all, the non-Muslim population of the Frontier province have migrated or have had to be evacuated by the Government of India.

Evacuation has, however, not been an easy matter either for the Government of India or the refugees from the province.

According to a report by a special correspondent of the "Hindustan Times":

"The Peshawar C. I. D. and police are not permitting non-Muslim passengers who travel by air to take with them any valuable clothes or jewellery or any other costly affects.

"The planes sent from Delhi to evacuate non-Muslims from Peshawar are not given the take-off signal by the Peshawar Flying Control unit until the police, and the C. I. D. have thoroughly searched the luggage of the passengers and removed every article of value.

"Military officers under transfer orders to India are being deprived of their firearms and a token receipt signed by a police constable given in return. Civilians with arms for which they hold a licence are also being deprived of their arms before they can board the plane.

"If a civilian is carrying more than one pair of shoes, the other pair or pairs are taken away from him on the ground that he is not entitled to carry

them. The same is true of towels, bed-sheets, stitched and unstitched clothes. No new cloth or clothing is allowed to be carried by non-muslim passengers. The plea generally put forward is that clothes and effects in excess of the bare minimum are the property of Pakistan and, therefore, no non-muslim has any right over them.

“Pilots flying between Delhi and Peshawar complain of harassment and ill-treatment of passengers by the C. I. D. and the police at the Peshawar aerodrome and of confiscation of their property and belongings.”

Until the matter of searches was raised at several Inter-Dominion Conferences, refugees from Pakistan (including the N.-W. F. P.) were often subjected to humiliating searches. It is stated that a particularly brutal case of search and abduction at a Pakistan aerodrome created much trouble at a certain aerodrome in India.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Sind.

SIND is one of the two provinces created in 1936, the other being Orissa. Unlike the latter, which has been carved out on a linguistic basis from three older provinces, Sind was a compact unit and was considered a province within a province even before its separation. From the point of view of geography, ethnology and language, Sind has greater affinity to the Punjab than to Bombay. Nevertheless it had been attached to the Bombay Presidency administratively ever since its conquest by Sir Charles Napier in 1843.

Sind has an area of 48,136 sq. miles and a population of 4, 535, 008. Of this, the Hindus (including Scheduled castes) number 1, 229, 926 and the Muslims 3, 208, 325. The rest of the population before Pakistan, was made up of 20,209 Christians; 31,011 Sikhs; 3, 687 Jains; 3, 838 Parsis; 1, 082 Jews and 36, 390 others. According to the Census of 1941, 389,333 males and 90,020 females in the Province of Sind are literate, representing 15.6% and 4.4% of the total male and female population respectively. 138, 249 Muslim males and 16, 416 Muslim females; 231,869 Hindu males and 64, 498 Hindu females are literate. The language of the province, Sindhi, though it bears many marks of Arabic and Persian influence and is written in Perso-Arabic script, is nearer the original Sanskrit than any other Indian language. The Hindus are far more advanced than the Muslims and enjoy a virtual monopoly of the trade of the province. As against 263 Hindu literate males per thousand, only 44 Muslims per 1,000 are literate; 51 per 1,000 literate Hindu females compare against 5 literate muslim females. The number of those literate in English are 119 per 10,000—186 per

10,000 males and 34 per 10,000 females.

Out of every 100 workers in Sind 59 are engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. Ten percent are engaged in manufacturing industries, most of which are, however, of the cottage type, there being very few factories in Sind.

The cultivable area of the province is mostly commanded by the recently constructed Sukkur Barrage and Sind canals, which, with other canals and the Indus river itself, supply water to 7,500,000 acres. The Barrage works have cost nearly 24 crores of rupees. The Sindhi agriculturist is gradually becoming alive to the perennial regulated supply of irrigation and his outlook is becoming brighter. The rapidity with which lands supplied by the Barrage system are being taken up augurs well for the success of the scheme and the prosperity of the province as a whole. Already there has been a growth in the production of long staple cotton, all of which is easily absorbed by Indian textile mills.

If the Barrage becomes all that is expected of it, Karachi may have to handle in 1960 a very large portion of the produce mentioned above of the Barrage produce and also the produce from 429,800 acres of Dubari cropped land. That this is not altogether Utopian is evident from the fact that within seven years of the commencement of Barrage operations, that is, by the end of 1941 the following acres were under cultivation in the Barrage Zone: 1,078,488 acres under wheat, 859,888 acres under cotton and 598,811 acres under rice.

Karachi, Pakistan's federal capital, according to the special correspondent of the "Statesman," is still, as it always has been, something of a place apart. It started some centuries ago as an obscure fishing village which later, according to some, developed a small slave market. When, after Napier's conquest of Sind, it became the area's principal town, the new Karachi began to grow to the south of the Indian township.

It grew gradually, as a miniature and imitation Bombay, under whose administration Sind was placed, almost

as an English town in the later Victorian manner. Apart from the tortuous streets of the sprawling and undistinguished old town, there is nothing notably Indian about Karachi. It is rather a mixture of the Middle East and England. Its main skyline is provided by a few unnecessarily doomed business buildings, the steeple of an Anglican church and the Victorian architectural monstrosity, called Frere Hall, all turrets and a belfry.

The shopping centres, though there are now few English shops, might easily belong to a minor English south coast town. The more modern blocks of flats in Victoria Street are in the American manner.

Thirty years ago, apart from British residents, Karachi was mainly a Gujerati town. Today its population at least three to four times as numerous, is variously Sindhi, Pathan, Markrani, Cutchi, and, partly by recent forced migration, Bihari and Punjabi. Speaking in terms of religion, whereas until last August the population was predominantly Hindu, with Muslims a good second, Muslims now predominate, with Christians (including Europeans) second, Parsis third and Hindus last.

Sind was more or less trouble-free till the beginning of September.

The 55 Up passenger train of the Jodhpur Railway was derailed between Nawabshah and Safiabad and was then attacked by a mob of about 10,000 strong. The engine and all the bogies went off the rails. Several were killed and many others injured. The driver and the guard saved themselves by jumping out only a few seconds prior to the disaster.

The passengers, who were mostly Sikh refugees, are reported to have been butchered.

The Chief Traffic Manager of Jodhpur Railway, Bombay, wired as follows :

"Due to the removal of one rail by saboteurs, 55 Up mixed train which left Nawabshah at 11-40 hours on September 1st, was derailed at mile 77 between Nawabshah and Shafiabad at 12-5 hour. The engine capsized and two wagons derailed."

The result was that a few retaliatory incidents occurred on the trains to Sind. The situation, however, did not deteriorate as far as the East Punjab, as a Jodhpur Military Commander is reported to have informed the District Magistrate of Nawabshah that he would send back a hundred corpses for every one he received. The incidents came to an end as it was believed in Pakistan that the Jodhpur Commander meant business.

But searches of refugees continued in spite of Dominion agreements to the contrary. According to a press report published in the Hindustan Times of Delhi (October 11th) :

“The recent agreement between the Governments of India and Pakistan not to effect searches of evacuees in the two dominions and to allow them to carry their personal luggage and movable property is a dead letter in several parts of Sind. Searches of all passengers at most of the railway stations and of those travelling by buses are still continuing.

“These searches are not only repeated at three to four places on route during a passenger’s journey from one place to another, but they are held even in case of those passengers travelling from one place to another within the province itself. Passengers travelling by bus to nearby places, such as between Sukkur and Shikarpur, are also searched and their personal belongings, on which no ban exists, are taken away by the police, for whom this new duty has proved to be a profitable business

“In Nawabshah District the minorities, which once consisted of several thousand families, have dwindled to a considerable extent, many of them having been murdered and the rest converted. A large number have also migrated, leaving their buildings, lands, business concerns and other properties or disposing of them at low prices.

“The manner in which the non-search agreement between the Governments of India and Pakistan and the orders of both the Pakistan and Sind Govern-

ments are ignored by the Nawabshah Muslim collector, Mr. Masood, long since known for his maladministration, can be realized from his three-week-old order disallowing any non-Muslim going from the district to carry more than 13 lb. of even used clothes, and from his recent order that no one leaving Nawabshah can take with himself more than Rs. 10/- in cash. This applies not only to persons travelling to places outside Sind but even to those travelling to a place in Sind itself.

"It is known that Sind Government have passed no such orders restricting people to taking with them not more than Rs. 10/- when travelling whether inside or outside Sind."

A Hindu *bania* carrying Rs. 260/- was left with only Rs. 10/-. His plea that he was prepared to return home and hence he should be handed back the amount, was not accepted. Another Hindu passenger, carrying Rs. 50/- gave the balance of Rs. 40/- to a relative, who came to give him a send-off, but a Muslim National Guard caught hold of him and took him to a police sub-inspector, telling him that the man had been given a pistol to carry back. The Hindu relative was thereupon taken to the police station. A zamindar, who was travelling to Sakrand, a suburb of Nawabshah, with Rs. 50/- as petty cash for making payments to his *haris* (peasants) for cotton-picking, had his amount confiscated.

Searches at Nawabshah became more stringent and harassing. Fountain-pens, watches, radios, sewing machines, etc., kept for personal use were seized. Gold buttons worn by persons not being spared. The persons of women were also being searched and even nose-rings were removed and confiscated. A Hindu "Bhaibund" vehemently protested against the removal of his old mother's nose-ring (a sign of *sohag*, that is, non-widowhood), but his protests were disregarded and the nose-ring was confiscated. A woman was stripped naked in the waiting-room for the purpose of search, while a Hindu male had his *dhoti* removed on the platform for this purpose. While the

search of the boxes of a woman was being conducted, three Muslim National Guards snatched some clothes and attempted to run away, but on her shouting, the station master and some policemen chased the National Guards and recovered from them all the clothes. No arrest was, however made.

A teacher from the mofussil, who had come to Nawabshah to withdraw from the bank the salaries of the staff, was deprived of Rs. 196/- and left with only Rs. 10/-. Retired Government servants living in the mofussil, who usually come to Nawabshah Treasury to get their pensions cashed, cannot now go back to their homes with their money. Hindus are not allowed to withdraw more than Rs. 20/- to Rs. 25/- from their accounts in the post-office.

According to the "Statesman" between August 31st and December 4th a total of 1,37,328 Hindus left Karachi—roughly half the Hindu population, and they are still on the move. Most of them have gone by boat to Bombay, others by rail via Jodhpur, and a few up-country to the Punjab or Delhi. There has been almost no loss of life among the Hindus and most of them have been able to dispose of their property before leaving. Their exodus is due partly to nervousness and, more lately, to aggressiveness over property on the part of Punjabi refugees. The Sindhi Muslim has, on the whole, behaved himself well in the matter of leaving his Hindu neighbours untroubled. The Sikhs, always a small community in Karachi itself have almost disappeared, although there were enough left to make a congregation in the gurdwara on Guru Nanak's birthday. Up-country, especially near Nawabshah, there are Sikh zamindars still in occupation and working, though a few of them have been converted to Islam. It was in the middle districts of Sind, particularly near Larkana, that minorities suffered.

At a recent Press conference Mr. M. A. Khuhro, Sind premier, reviewed the situation in the province, which, he said, was quite satisfactory. However, there have been a few incidents of highway robbery and one or two murders in Karachi. Those incidents, he said, could be stopped

if the man in the street acted courageously and helped in tackling law-breakers. Both armed and unarmed patrols had been provided in different quarters of the city.

Mr. Khuhro said that his Government had taken adequate measures and normal trade channels had been restored and cotton ginning and rice-husking mills had begun working.

Referring to the evacuation of people from Sind, the Premier said that although his Government had done everything to create confidence in them—and he was glad that some of the Hindu leaders co-operated with him in stopping the exodus—most of the accredited representatives of the Sind Hindus had withheld their co-operation.

Misguided Hindu officials and Government pensioners had sent out their families. He urged them to get them back, otherwise the Sind Government would be compelled to revise its attitude towards them.

“Statesman’s” special correspondent recently gave an interesting account of Karachi city—well worth preserving :

For the past 30 years as an independent province, Sind has grown increasingly self-reliant in essentials. Coal was needed mainly for railways to reach up to the Punjab rather than for the essential requirements of Sind itself. Thus Sind and Karachi arose with a steadily growing population, drawn mainly from nearing areas until air travel made the city a transit camp for Indian and world movement. This, again, merely helped to enrich the place and increase its importance rather than bring it more closely into the world and, until last August, Karachi, India’s tidiest town continued its placid, unhurried, and remote life.

Most of the shops owned by people of one community have changed hands, not brutally or by compulsion, but by sale—recently at quite profitable figures, including realization for goodwill. Hindu signboards are still up in Elphinstone Street—particularly those of drapers, doctors, dentists and curio dealers—and one sees them also in the other main streets. Muslim signboards predominate,

not merely because of recent purchase from Hindus but by new construction. In Victoria Road, formerly an empty stretch of land, hundreds of Muslim and some Hindu shops have been built and a busy new thoroughfare sprung to life.

Thus, the first impression of this doubly capital city—Pakistan's federal centre and Sind's provincial headquarters—is that it is but the old town writ rather larger and with a more heavily Muslim content. The British flag has disappeared—except at the High Commissioner's—and the green and white flag of Pakistan floats in the sea breeze in its place, the red fez and the Jinnah cap are as frequent in the streets here as is the Sikh *pugree* in Delhi; otherwise all seems as before. There are no scars; the camel still moves at his imperturbable pace; the most modern super stream-lined cars, so frequent and strident in Delhi, are fewer and better behaved. Only in two ways of misbehaviour are the Dominion capitals similar—Pakistan cyclists also travel at night without lights (but not the motorists, as in Delhi), and many of the *gharry-wallas*, especially the Cutchis, are as dishonest and truculent in Pakistan's capital as the tongawallas of Hindustan. Taximen the world over are apparently uniformly rapacious.

Karachi's hotels are crowded, expensive and with one or two exceptions, shabbily furnished. Air transit traffic partly accounts for the crowding, though the housing shortage, fording the more wealthy homeless into hotels, has helped to raise prices. Housing, as elsewhere, is one of Karachi's major rackets and, as in Delhi, is closely connected with the refugee problem.

Refugees, of whom there are about 100,000, are accommodated in a camp in the old town and at a reception camp behind the racecourse. Some of them spend much of their time bullying Hindus to leave their houses—mainly in the Frere Road-Bunder Road area—and overcrowding in houses is as bad as anywhere in India or Pakistan. Many senior officials are themselves homeless, and 30 to 40 residents in Hindu and

Muslim homes is not exceptional. Beggars, previously rarely seen in the newer streets of Karachi, move around the Secretariat buildings and in the main streets, although not in large numbers.

Pakistan's capital is boom town for the lucky; for the unlucky there is huddled overcrowding in an unsympathetic city with slim chances of employment and urgent official hints to move on elsewhere where work—unpopular with some of the refugees—is more likely to be found.

The Sind Government has profited by the experience of West Punjab in the matter of minorities and takes the view :

Firstly—minority population, Hindus and Sikhs particularly are economically most desirable assets to the country and although more than 600 crores capital has gone out to Bombay and neighbouring States as a result of the Punjab events, it can come back if minorities can be induced to stay or return.

Secondly—minority population are good political hostages.

Thirdly—Replacement of prosperous Hindus by large number of impecunious Muslim refugees will mean that the development of the province will be indefinitely retarded.

Accordingly, the Associated Press indicated on December 13th that the Government of Sind is understood to have expressed its inability to the Government of Pakistan to take the full quota of five lakh of Muslim refugees fixed by the conference of the Premiers of Pakistan provinces recently.

The Sind Premier, who attended the conference held at Lahore the previous week, is said to have agreed that Sind would settle 1,50,000 refugees during the next six months. He would, however take more refugees as soon as there were opening on land and industry.

It may be mentioned that Sind had already received 2,44,000 Muslim refugees.

Mr. Khuhro at an earlier press conference had already made the position of his Government clear.

Explaining the rehabilitation of refugees, he said, there was hardly any room now for more refugees in the province. Only a limited number of people who were in a position to start business on a large or small scale of their own, skilled technicians, qualified Engineers and Doctors, Agriculturists and Labourers could be absorbed.

Concluding, the Premier appealed for active co-operation from the press, particularly the Hindu Press, and hoped that the Press Advisory Committee would be able to exert a healthy influence upon it and help in giving a reorientation to "wayward papers."

It is difficult yet to gauge the success attained by the ex-Premier of Bengal, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, during his two peace missions to Karachi. He addressed meetings of a few communities, but the exodus continued unabated and there is a greater than ever demand for sea passages to Bombay and Kathiawar Ports. The only apparent outcome of his last visit was the formation of a joint committee of Congress, Muslim League, Hindu and Parsi Leaders, whose aim is to "take concerted measures for restoring confidence in the minority community and to stop further exodus of Hindus from Sind."

At the same time, the Sind Governor, Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, resumed his peace mission tour of the city and addressing a meeting in a central place, he told the audience: "I have been asked by Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah to give you a message that he does not want the minorities to leave Sind. He is opposed to exchange of population and even Gandhiji has asked you to stay where you are."

While the Sind Governor and Premier were trying to instil confidence among the minorities, Ministers of the Pakistan Government have begun to address meetings of the majority community and urging Muslims to afford full protection to minorities. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar told a crowded meeting that those Muslims who indulged in unlawful activities were "fifth columnist, enemies of the State, enemies of the Qaid-e-Azam and enemies of Islam." He told them further that it was the

right of every citizen of Pakistan to expect protection from the State, but it was the duty of the majority community to go to the rescue of those who were in danger. If only Abdur Rab Nishtar and other members of the Qaid-e-Azam's Direct Action Committee had realised this point earlier, both India and Pakistan would have been spared the horrors of 1947.

Until the recent wanton and brutal attack on a party of Sikh refugees (women and children) there have been no mass killings in Sind such as there have been in West and East Punjab. But this incident and the massacre in Quetta have been a sharp reminder to the minorities in Sind and Baluchistan that they are hostages.

Quite a number, therefore, have migrated and are migrating for no other reason than panic. As to whether their fears were justified or not, the future can only tell.

Shikarpur has been very largely evacuated and so too Larkhana and Sukkur. Karachi and Hyderabad have also been seriously affected.

It cannot, however, be said that Sindhis have migrated from Pakistan solely in panic. Quite a number were killed at Nawabshah District and there have been some stabbings in Karachi and Hyderabad as well.

But more than the killings, the treatment of minorities has been quite as brutal as in some other parts of Pakistan. At the refugee camp at Chembur (which I was able to visit—thanks to the courtesy of Mr. & Mrs Lalvani of Mafatlal Park Bombay), where there are more than 4,500 refugees from Sind, almost all were previously well settled in life and prosperous. I heard several stories of the way in which minorities in Sind were being treated. One group of women mentioned that they lived together in nearby houses in Hyderabad. One night a number of women visited them and asked to stay on as they were refugees (from East Punjab). On refusal, a hue and cry was raised that they were being molested. The police arrived, took away all the menfolk of the houses into custody. A crowd did the rest of the work, put one set of women out

and another set of women in. There have been a number of evictions in Karachi, the Pakistan Metropolis, where during the absence of menfolk at work, womenfolk have been put on the road and others have walked in and at the point of the revolver or the dagger have taken possession not only of the premises but also of all the belongings. That is how Karachi is meeting its housing problem. Those fortunate not to be yet evicted have made it a rule not to leave their homes as far as possible, and if any of the male members of a family has to go out he endeavours to leave sufficient persons behind to handle a small mob if necessary.

The police is indifferent to reports of forcible eviction. "These are matters for the Civil Courts", they tell the victims. "Go and file a suit."

Eviction is not, however, the only manner of harrassment of non muslims in Pakistan. Officers for whom Government has to provide accommodation are deliberately moved about from place to place at short notice. A striking instance of this kind is the case of Mr. Thadani, a Pusine Judge of the Chief Court of Karachi. Since August 15th, he has had to vacate four houses consecutively on the ground that they were required for Pakistan officials. Mr. Thadani opted for Pakistan inspite of the advice of his best friends.

Some Hindu Government servants, who had sent away their families have been given the option of bringing back their families or being treated as having left the service without leave—an option that is certainly profitable either way for Pakistan. More hostages—and more valuable certainly, are women—or a vacancy for one of the many unemployed officers from Hindustan plus financial gain by forfeiture of pension and provident funds.

Leaving Sind is no easy matter, however. The policy of the Sind Government has not been on a level with the policy of the Pakistan Government. While therefore, the Pakistan Prime Minister has entered into an understanding with the Indian Government representatives, the former in many cases acted without his hosts,

and particularly in the matter of the searches to which refugees were to be subjected. And so, in spite of inter-Dominion agreements searches at Hyderabad and other stations continued. Evacuees from Sind were not allowed to take their spectacles on the ground that they were optical instruments.

The people who have suffered most by the exodus, is the shopkeeping class, who have not been allowed to bring away their stocks. On the whole however, it is the rich and the very poor classes who have migrated, the former to save their wealth and the latter their lives. The former sent away their jewellery and cash balances to Bombay and the Rajputana in good time. A man follows his wealth as he follows his nose.

So there is a large number of wealthy refugees arrived in Bombay from Sind. While they have added to the already difficult housing problem of Bombay and raised the value of the "*pugree*" from 3,000/- to 30,000/- rupees they have brought about immense increase in the City's prosperity. They are an enterprising race, and wherever a Sindhi may find himself, he makes money for himself and remits to Karachi. He will still make money but will not remit to Karachi. He will probably remit to Bombay and to Chembur, which though now a camp of straw huts may one day be the New Karachi.

The Government of Sind like the Governments of Frontier Province and East Bengal has shown a provincialism that does not bode well for the future. Sind has quite openly refused to take more than two hundred and fifty thousand refugees from East Punjab unless they are skilled artisans. In as much as the bulk of the refugees from East Punjab are anything but skilled artisans, the embargo is complete. Sind is afraid that with Punjabi Muslims coming in large numbers in Sind may lose its provincial character. The differences between Khuhro, Premier of Sind, and Liaquat Ali Khan, Premier of Pakistan, on this matter have not been resolved up to this time. Khuhro also wants the Sindhi Muslims to have the benefit of the Hindu

exodus. He does not see why Punjabi refugees should have these in preference to the Muslims of Sind. Khuhro has the same objection to taking non-Sindhi Muslim officers who have opted for Pakistan.

Khuhro's difficulties are emphasised by the fact that as Karachi is the capital of Pakistan and not only of Sind, as Premier of the province he has a secondary importance in a town in which he had a much greater importance in pre-Pakistan days.

The Sind Cabinet today has not the reputation of corruption and dishonesty of some of its predecessors. It is presided over by a man, who gets a pleasurable satisfaction in the exodus of minorities, without having, however, to answer for their lives. Khuhro has been one of Jinnah's right hand men in Sind for several years, an inveterate opponent of Allahbux, a former Premier of Sind. While Allahbux lived, he was a formidable fortress against both Jinnah and the League. The landslide in Sind came only when Allahbux was murdered.

It was widely believed at the time that Allahbux was murdered by his political opponents. After prolonged investigations, the police put up a case in which the approver made the statement that Khuhro had instigated the murder. The Chief Court of Sind enquired why Khuhro had not been put on trial. After that it was imperative that Khuhro should be brought to trial but he was acquitted by the Sessions Judge. Perhaps another Judge would have come to different conclusions on the evidence, but Khuhro lost nothing in Jinnah's eyes.

The Governor of Sind, Ghulam Hussain Hidayat Ullah, has the rare distinction of being the only Pakistani in forty millions, whom the Qaid-e-Azam could trust with a Governorship. At the time of his appointment as Governor, Ghulam Hussain was Premier of Sind. From 1928 to 1934 Ghulam Hussain was member of the Executive Council of the Bombay Government. He was elected to the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1934 and joined Jinnah's Independent Party. He has loyally

followed Jinnah. On the Qaid-e-Azam's return from London at the end of 1946 Ghulam Hussain offered him a sanctuary for several weeks, when top—ranking leaders of the League believed they may be arrested on warrants by the Central Government for subversive activities.

“No warrant from Nehru or Patel will be executed in Sind”, he assured Jinnah.

Sind, also through Ghulam Hussain, offered to declare itself a Sovereign republic if the British Government went ahead with the Cabinet Mission Plan.

Of considerable influence behind the scenes at Karachi is Yusuf Haroon, the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League. Yusuf is the son of Sir Abdullah Haroon, well known millionaire and philanthropist of Karachi. Yusuf has put his fortune to good use. Although he could have a political appointment for the asking, he is more interested in the financial prospects of Pakistan.

If it were not for the political uncertainty that hangs like a thick pall over Pakistan and which is enough to scare away capital, Karachi and Sind would have been set fair for a period of great prosperity.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Baluchistan

SOME matters relating to Baluchistan have already been dealt with. Baluchistan, as already stated, comprises the territory bounded by the borders of Sind and the Derajat on the east, the Arabian Sea on the South, Persia on the West and Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier Province on the North. The most important division of Baluchistan is as follows :

1. The Kalat State, including Kalat proper or the Niabats under the direct control of the Khan; the division of Sarawan, Jhalawan and Kachhi ; Makran with its two divisions of Kech and Panjgur ; and the Chiefships of Las Bela and Khoran.

2. The Bolan Pass.

3. The Marri Bugti tribal area.

4. British (Nalkistani) Baluchistan. 9476 sq. miles.

5. The assigned Niabats of Quetta, Nushki and Nasirabad. 44,345 square miles.

6. Chagai and the Sinjerani country.

7. Bori and Zhob tribal area.

Of these divisions, (1) and (2) are included in the Kalat Agency, Kalat State being under political control while the Bolan Pass is administered by the Political Agent of Kalat in accordance with paras 2, 3 and 4 of the Agreement of 1883.

The territory of the Marris and Bugtis has been administered separately from Kalat by the Agent to the Governor General since the Treaty of Jacobabad in 1876. It is included in the Sibi Agency.

British Baluchistan, including Sibi, Pishin, Chaman and Shorarud, was acquired in 1897 by annexation from Afghanistan after the second Afghan War.

The Kalat Niabats of Quetta, Nushki and Nasirabad are held from the Khan on a quit rent, the latter two in perpetuity, and are included in the districts of Quetta, Chagai and Sibi respectively.

Chagai and the Sinjerani country, which came under British administration by the demarcation of the Indo-Afghan boundary in 1896, and are politically administered, are included in the Chagai Agency.

The Bori and Zhob tribal areas, which came under the British administration in 1889-90, are administered by the Political Agents, Loralai and Zhob respectively.

The administration of Baluchistan under the Govt of India Act, which is still the constitution of Pakistan, is run by the Agent to the Governor General, who is also Chief Commissioner and Resident of the states.

Quetta, which is the seat of the administration and is the principal town in Baluchistan and one of the best laid-out cantonments in the world has been the scene of communal riots since the advent of Pakistan.

The principal occupation of the people is agriculture, care of animals and provision transport. The country is very largely barren, but its fruit gardens are famous, and constitute the main industry of Baluchistan. The advent of Pakistan, however, had a deliterious effect on the fruit trade. The exodus of Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan, who are the great fruit eaters and the disruption of transport on the N. W. Rly. virtually spelt ruin to the fruit trade. Prospects for the next crop are also dismal.

KALAT

Kalat (including Las Bela and Khoran) has an area of 73,000 sq. miles and constitutes the most important section of Baluchistan. The nucleus of the Kalat State was formed from the few tracts of irrigated land in the immediate neighbourhood of Kalat. About the 15th Century the Dehwar inhabitants of the tracts, finding themselves unable to withstand the depredations of Pathan and Brahui tribes, invited Brahui Chief to rule over and

protect them. The dynasty thus formed, brought in five tribes of their own kin, still known as the Khan's Ulus, and later formed a loose alliance with other Brahui tribes and tribes of Pathan origin, which acquired the language and customs and later the name of Brahui.

The first noteworthy Khan of Kalat was Abdulla Khan. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, he affected to be independent of the Delhi empire, and reduced several provinces to his rule. During the reign of his son Mahabat Khan, Nadir Shah invaded India, annexed the whole of the territories west of the Indus. On the dismemberment of the Persian Empire after the death of Nadir Shah, Kalat formed part of the territories over which Ahmad Shah Abdali established his supremacy. Mahabat Khan, who was unpopular with his Chiefs, was disposed of by Ahmad Shah, and his younger brother Nasir Khan was appointed to rule in his stead. From this time the power remained with younger branch of the family, till the attempt which the British Government made after the first Afghan War to change the succession.

In 1862 the Khan of Kalat signed an Agreement by which the boundary between Sind and Kalat was defined. A portion of this boundary, on the border of the Shikarpur district, was for some years disputed, but was finally settled in 1887 by an order of the Government of India.

In 1867 the Ruler of Kalat was granted a permanent salute of 19 guns.

The Telegraph agreements were made directly or indirectly with the Khan in 1861, 1862, 1863, 1869 and 1870, as well as with certain Chiefs of Persian Baluchistan in 1869.

The history of Kalat after the restoration of Khudadad Khan was marked by constant conflicts between the Khan and his turbulent subjects. Taj Muhammad Khan, the Chief of the Jhalawan country, was taken prisoner and placed in confinement, where he soon afterwards died: and the Jam of Las Bela was forced to take refuge in British territory. But in 1871 a combination of the Brahui Chiefs ended in open rebellion. The

causes of their discontent were alleged to be the resumption by the Khan of their hereditary lands and the introduction of changes which deprived them of their share in the administration. Finding himself unable to coerce his subjects, the Khan asked for British aid and delegated to the Commissioner in Sind full powers to mediate a settlement. The malcontents were summoned to Jacobabad, and arrangement was effected by which the Khan consented to restore to the Sardars their confiscated lands; to grant them the allowances customary in the time of Nasir Khan II; and to allow them to live on their estates so long as they paid him proper allegiance. They, on the other hand, were to restore all property plundered during their rebellion, the Khan consenting to forego all claims in regard to his own property. The opportunity was taken to impress upon the Sardars the duty of obedience to the legitimate authority of the Khan, and to warn the Khan that high-handed interference with the rights of his subjects would not be countenanced.

The ruler of the Kalat State is Major His Highness Sir Ahmed Yar Khan G. C. I. E. Baglar Begi, Amir-ul-Amara Ghalib Jung Bahadur, Khan of Kalat. His Highness succeeded to the Khanete in 1933. His state, comprising over 20000 sq. miles was the largest state in India. The population according to the 1931 census was about 3,50,000.

In the course of the constitutional negotiations, the Khan came to Delhi, and later went to Delhi to press for recognition as an independent state. In view of the provisions of the Independence Act and the strategic and international importance of Kalat as lying on the frontier of Persia and the Gulf, the claim of the Khan for Independence was well placed. But he got no encouragement from Mr. Jinnah.

Kalat must be considered to be a territory in which the Pakistan administration has yet to establish its credit.

CHAPTER TWENTY

The Acceding States

ON THE matter of accession of the States there appears to be no consistent policy on the part of Pakistan. One rule has been claimed for Junagadh and another in regard to Kashmir.

The Pakistan contention is that the accession by the Nawab of Junagadh was a valid accession and the "invasion" of Junagadh from Indian territory, a violation of Pakistan territory. In the case of Hyderabad too, Pakistan views that the matter of accession is for the Ruler to decide. A different contention, however, is advanced in regard to Kashmir, where the accession by the Ruler has been regarded as act of treachery. Pakistan has refused to recognise the Kashmir accession, just as the Indian Government has refused to recognise the Junagadh accession.

The position of the Government of India might also appear somewhat debatable if Junagadh and Kashmir are taken together. But there is great deal of fair argument that may be advanced on behalf of India. The Government of India has taken up one definite position, namely, that in the matter of accession it is the will of the people and not the will of the Ruler that has to determine the matter, for according to this view, sovereignty of the States rests in the people and not with the Ruler. Accordingly, the Indian Dominion was no doubt prepared to see Kashmir join Pakistan and expected Hyderabad, Bhopal, Junagadh and other States with a non-Muslim majorities accede to India. Bhopal unwillingly acceded to India. The heart of the Ruler was in Pakistan while the heart of his subjects was at home. Some straight talking by Lord Mountbatten to the Nawab settled Bhopal's accession, although he engaged Sir Zafrullah Khan as Constitutional Adviser and paid a special visit to Karachi for

the purpose of consulting the Qaid-e-Azam. Hyderabad put off the matter of accession on one pretext or another.

Pakistan forced the hands of the Ruler. Fortunately at the time the Maharaja of Kashmir took the wise decision in co-operating with Sheikh Abdullah, the popular leader of Kashmir, in seeking accession to India. Even then the Government of India stipulated a referendum after hostilities on the matter of the finality of the accession. This somewhat unnecessary concession to Pakistan did not, however, bring hostilities to an end. Pakistan preferred a settlement by force of arms.

Taking the cue from Pakistan that accession disputes could be settled by reference to the army, the Government of India took Junagadh after a request from the Prime Minister Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, that they would be welcome. The Nawab had previously fled to Karachi with his family and jewels valued at more than two crores of rupees. He also cashed securities of the value of 49 lacs of rupees.

B A H A W A L P U R

Of all the States that have acceded to Pakistan, by far the most important is Bahawalpur.

Bounded on the North-East by the District of Ferozepur; on the East and South by the Rajputana States of Bikaner and Jaisalmer; on the South-West by Sind; on the North-West by the Indus and Sutlej river. Its area is 20,000 square miles.

The State is about 320 miles in length and about 60 miles wide, is divided lengthwise into three great strips. Of these, the first is a part of the Great Indian Desert; the Central track which is as barren as the uplands of the Western Punjab, has mostly been rendered capable of cultivation by the net work of Sutlej valley canals constructed recently; and the third a fertile alluvial tract in the river valley is called the Sind. The State is a major partner in the great Sutlej Valley Project.

The Ruling family is descended from the Abbasside Khalifs of Baghdad. The tribe originally came from Sind, and assumed independence during the dismemberment of the Durrani Empire. In the Treaty of Lahore in 1809 with Ranjit Singh the State boundary was confined to the right bank of the Sutlej.

The first treaty between Bahawalpur and the East India Company was negotiated in 1823 for regulating among other matters, traffic on the Indus. It secured the independence of the Nawab within his own territories and opened up the traffic on the Indus and Sutlej. During the first Afghan War the Nawab rendered assistance to the British and was rewarded by grant of territory and a life pension. On his death, his heir being minor for a time, the administration of the State was in the hands of the British authorities. The present Ruler is Lt. Col. Dr. Al-Haj His Highness Rukan-ud-Daula-Nusrat-i-Jung, Saifud-Daula Hafizul-Mulk Mukhlisud-Daula, Wa-Muinud-Daula Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan Sahib Bahadur Abbasi, who was born in 1904 and succeeded in 1907. During his minority the State was managed by a Council of Regency which ceased to exist in March 1924, when His Highness the Nawab was invested with full powers. His Highness is now assisted in the administration of his State by a Prime Minister, K. B. Mushtaq Ahmed Qurmani, a capable administrator.

The chief crops are cotton and wheat. The Lahore-Karachi branch of the North Western Railway passes through the State. The State maintains an Imperial Service Unit (1st Bahawalpur Infantry) and other State force units, Garrison Companies, M. T. Company and a Mountain Battery.

There is also a State owned Railway of 168 miles of which 84 miles have been temporarily lifted. This is managed for the State by the North Western Railway.

As a border State, Bahawalpur is most concerned in the event of an Indo-Pakistan War. Bahawalpur, apart from an invasion from the east, would be faced with having its water supply cut off at Sulaimanke Headworks.

The ruler is a sagacious man. He made the only choice open to him. His decision was governed by the award of the Boundary Commission. If Sulaimanke Headworks had been awarded to India, Bahawalpur would have acceded to India.

If the Ruler is a broadminded man, his subjects are not so broadminded. According to a Press note issued by the Information Department of the Government of India, more than 100,000 non-Muslims are unaccounted for in the State, indicating that approximately this number has been murdered or abducted since August 15th

There has been a general exodus of non-Muslims from the State since it acceded to Pakistan.

Like Pakistan, it is more or less a one-denomination State.

STATES OF THE FRONTIER

The States of the North-West Frontier acceding to Pakistan are Amb, Phulera, Dhir, Swat and Chitral. The areas and population are as follows :

Amb area	225	sq. miles	Population	47,916
Phulera	50	"	"	8,757
Dir	3000	"	"	119,477
Swat	4000	"	"	446,014
Chitral	4000	"	"	107,906

1. AMB STATE

Area 225 square miles, including trans-border territory, population; 47,916.

The Ruler is Nawab Sir Mohammed Farid Khan, K.B.E. Headquarters, Shergarh (Summer) and Darband (Winter).

Amb State comprises the following territories :

1. The trans-Indus territory, which lies for a few miles on the right bank of the Indus River, opposite the extreme north-west corner of the Badhuak tract in the Haripur Tehsil of the Hazara District, and comprises a few villages only, of which Amb is the chief

2. The major portion of the tract known as Feudal

Tanawal, which lies on the left bank of Indus, and occupies the centre of the western half of the Hazara District.

2. SWAT STATE

The Ruler is a descendent of the famous Akhund Sahib of Swat. He consolidated his rule in Swat from 1917 to 1922, and was recognised by the Government of India as Wali of Swat in 1926. The area of the State is 4,000 square miles. The Headquarters of the State is at Saidu Sharif about 38 miles from Malakand, and connected with Malakand by motor road.

The Wali has since annexed to his territory the areas of Ranoliya, Bankad, Tijal, Duber, Patan, Kandia, and Seo in the Indus Kohistan. He has built forts in these areas and has connected them by telephone.

There is a High School at Saidu.

3. DIR STATE

The territories of this State, about 3,000 square miles in area, include the country drained by the Panjkora and its affluents down to the junction of the former river with the Bajaur Rud. The Nawab of Dir is the overlord of the country, exacting allegiance from the petty chiefs of the clans. Dir is mainly held by Yusufzai Pathans, the old non-Pathan inhabitants being now confined to the upper portion of the Panjkora Valley, known as the Dir Kohistan. A motor road has been constructed to Dir from Malakand. A private telephone line has been erected from Chakdarra to Dir, and a petrol pump was installed at Timul-Garah in 1939.

4. PHULERA STATE

The State of Phulera comprises the minor portion of feudal Thanawal, It consists of 98 small villages with a population of 8,757 and is situated in feudal Thanawal. The name of the Khan is K. S. Abdul Latif Khan.

5. CHITRAL STATE

Chitral runs from Lowaral top to the south of the Hindu-Kush range in the north, and has an area of about 4,000 square miles. The ruling dynasty has maintained itself for more than three hundred years, during the greater part of which the State has constantly been at war with its neighbours. It was visited in 1885 by the Lokhart Mission, and in 1889, on the establishment of a political agency in Gilgit, the ruler of Chitral received an annual subsidy from the British Government. That subsidy was increased two years later on the condition that the ruler, Aman-ul-Mulk, accepted the advice of the British Government in all matters connected with foreign policy and frontier defence. His sudden death in 1892 was followed by a dispute as to the succession. The eldest son Nizam-ul-Mulk was recognised by Government, but he was murdered in 1815. A war was declared by Umra-Khan of Jandul and Dir against the infidels, and the Agent at Gilgit, who had been sent to Chitral to report on the situation was besieged with his escort and a force had to be despatched (April 1, 1895) to their relief.

The valleys of which the State consists are extremely fertile and continuously cultivated. The internal administration of the country is conducted by His Highness Haji Mohd Muzaffar-ul-Mulk the Mehtar of Chitral and the foreign policy is regulated by the Political Agent at Malakand. The ruler proceeded on pilgrimage to Mecca in February 1939.

Apart from the State of Chitral, the trans-border tribes under the political control of the Political Agent, Dir, Swat and Chitral are the Akozai, Hiaszai and Malizai clans of the Yusafzai: certain sections of the Utman Kheh: The Tarkanri: the Sam Ranizai: and various alien races of which the Baskari of Panjkora Kohistan, and the Torwal and Garwi of Swat Kohistan, are the most important. The Akozai inhabit the Swat Valley and Dir: the Lliaszai and Malizai, collectively known as the Bunerwals, inhabit Buner; the Tarkanri

inhabit Bajaur: and the Sam Ranizai, a heterogeneous mixture of Yusufzai, Utman Khel, etc., inhabit the area which lies between the Malakand range of hills and the border of British India.

Chitral was formerly divided into two States, lower or Chitral proper, and upper Chitral, including Yasin and Mastuj. Both States were governed by members of the same family, claiming descent from a common ancestor named Muhammad Beg. Moharam Shah (Katur I) was Mehtar of lower Chitral, while his elder brother, Shah Khushwakt, was ruler of upper Chitral.

Aman-ul-Mulk, the Mehtar of lower Chitral and head of the Katur branch, for many years acknowledged allegiance to Kashmir. In 1878 he accepted an Agreement (No. I) with the Maharaja, by which he acknowledged subordination to Kashmir and undertook to receive an agent from, and to send one to, the Darbar. Under this arrangement he received an annual allowance of Rs. 12,000 from the Maharaja.

In 1892 Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk died and was succeeded by one of his younger sons, named Afzal-ul-Mulk. His succession was recognised by the Government of India; but shortly afterwards he was murdered by Sher Afzal, his father's brother, who seized the government of Chitral, but was attacked and expelled by Nizam-ul-Mulk, the eldest son of Aman-ul-Mulk.

In January 1895 Nizam-ul-Mulk was shot dead at the instigation of his younger half-brother Amir-ul-Mulk, who then seized the Chitral fort. At this time Sher Afzal, the most popular candidate for the Mehtarship was interned at Kabul, and the Amir had given a written promise that he would not be again permitted to create disturbances in Chitral. The Amir had, moreover, undertaken in the Durand Agreement of 1893 that he would at no time exercise interference in Swat, Bajaur or Chitral. Shortly after Nizam-ul-Mulk's murder, Umra Khan of Jandol, the brother-in-law of Amir-ul-Mulk, invaded Chitral with a force of Pathans and refused to obey the British Agent's orders to with-

draw. The Chitralis at first opposed Umra Khan ; but, owing to the weakness and incapacity of Amir-ul-Mulk, and to treachery, the resistance collapsed. In the meantime Sher Afzal arrived from Kabul and began to make common cause with Umra Khan to induce the British officers, by force if necessary, to quit Chitral territory. As soon as it became known that Sher Afzal was in the country, a few of the Chitralis went over to him, and before the end of February the Adamzadas (the noble class) practically joined him in a body. Amir-ul-Mulk now began to make overtures to Umra Khan. The British Agent therefore took him in custody, and formally recognised Shuja-ul-Mulk, a boy of about 14 years, as provisional Mehtar, pending the orders of the Government of India. On the 3rd March fighting took place outside Chitral fort between Sher Afzal's force and the British Agent's escort which resulted in the latter's 400 men being besieged by Sher Afzal, with the aid of Jandol Chiefs and Pathans, and of Chitralis, from the 4th March to the 19th April. On the night of the 18th, owing to the near approach of relieving troops from Gilgit, the whole force of the enemy quietly withdrew and abandoned the siege. On the 26th April, British troops crossed the Lowarai pass and entered the Chitral territory. Sher Afzal was captured by the Khan of Dir, and with other leading men was sent down to India. Shortly afterwards Amir-ul-Mulk was also deported, and died in India in 1924.

On the 2nd September the present Mehtar Shuja-ul-Mulk, younger brother of Amir-ul-Mulk, was installed as Mehtar of the Katur country in the name of the Maharaja of Kashmir as his suzerain, and with the authority and approval of the Government of India. At the same time the Khushwakt districts, Mastuj and Laspur west of the Shandur pass were taken away from the Mehtar and placed under Governors over whom the Mehtar had no authority.

The Mehtar maintains a force of about 2,500

men, called the "Bodyguard", and an irregular labour corps known as the "Sappers and Miners". In addition to these forces there are 110 Chitral Levies, armed and paid by the Government, and a corps of Chitral Scouts numbering 989 men under two British officers. The scouts are armed by Government and receive pay for only one month in the year when they are called up for training.

The small State of Dir lies to the south of Chitral. The ruling family are Akhund Khel a branch of the Painsa Khel of the Maliszai Akozai Yusufzai. The founder of the line was Mulla Lias, known as Akhund Baba, an old man who flourished in the 17th century; but his grandson, Ghulam Khan, seems to have been the first to acquire temporal power.

In 1911 the Nawab attended the King Emperor's Darbar at Delhi, but was not called upon to do homage.

Fighting took place between Badshah Khan and his brother in 1911 and again in 1912. Mian Gul Jan died at Jandol in June 1914.

Badshah Khan's annual subsidy of Rs. 25,000 was increased to Rs. 50,000 in 1918, when the title of Nawab was made hereditary and the title of Khan Bahadur was conferred on his eldest son Shah Jahan Khan, who was at the same time formally recognised as his heir. The latter years of Badshah Khan's reign were principally spent in an unsuccessful struggle to extend his possessions on the right bank of the Swat River and to maintain what he already held. Under the leadership of Mian Gul Shahzada the whole of the Swat tribes eventually threw off Badshah Khan's rule and in 1919 Gul Shahzada captured the Adinzai Valley. This he was forced, by political pressure in 1922, to relinquish to the Nawab of Dir, and both parties were induced to agree to certain terms laid down by Government as to their future boundaries and mutual relations. These terms were stated in a Murasila issued by the Political Agent, which is known as the Adinzai Agreement (No. XI).

Of the Yusufzai inhabiting the Swat Valley, the most important is the Ranizai division of the Akozai clan, whose fighting strength is about 6,880.

Abdul Ghafur, the Akhund of Swat, was religious leader of great fame and influence at the time of the annexation of the Punjab, his headquarters being at Saidu in Upper Swat. In December 1849 it became necessary to punish the tribes of Lower Swat for complicity in various raids within the British border, and a force was sent against the villages at the foot of the Shahkot and Morah passes. The operations were completely successful; and the Akhund, recognising the strength of the British power, impressed on the tribes that their only chance of resisting it lay in unity under a single leader. He put forward Saiyid Akbar, a descendant of the famous Pir Baba (whose grave in Buner is still one of the holiest shrines in the country) as a candidate. Saiyid Akbar came to be known as the Badshah of Swat.

CHAPTER TWENTYONE

Pakistan's Eastern Partner

THE Cabinet Mission ruled out Pakistan on the main ground that the size of non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan comprising the whole of the six Provinces, claimed by the League, would be very considerable. In the Punjab, N.-W.F.P., Sind and British Baluchistan out of a total population of 36.4 millions, Muslims could claim only 22.6 millions leaving a substantial non-Muslim minority of 13.8 millions or 37.93% of the total population. In Bengal and Assam the argument was even stronger against Pakistan. Out of a total population of 70.5 millions, non-Muslims amounted to as much as 34.1 millions or a percentage of 48.34 as against 51.69 Muslims.

Therefore, as the Cabinet Mission held, these figures showed that "the setting up of a separate Sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem."

Another reason for overruling the idea of a Sovereign Pakistan was that two halves of the proposed Pakistan State would be separated by some seven hundred miles and communication in war and peace would be dependant on the goodwill of Hindustan.

But Mr Jinnah and the League rejected the Cabinet Mission proposals and insisted upon a Sovereign Pakistan, all arguments to the contrary notwithstanding

Meanwhile, Mr. Suhrawardy, Muslim League Premier of Bengal and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose jointly mooted the idea of an independent Sovereign Bengal. This proposal, though it flattered the vanity of the Bengalee, Muslim and Hindu alike, found no favour with either the Congress or the League. The Congress saw in the proposal a dangerous precedent that

might, with equal plausibility be demanded in other parts of India, destroying the very foundation of a United India, a conception to which Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of Congress were deeply wedded. To Mr. Jinnah the idea was equally not acceptable. Without Bengal, Pakistan would hardly be worth having. For, Pakistan could certainly not be, without it, the "largest Muslim State in the World" or the "fifth" largest of the World's States. Mr. Jinnah was certainly not interested in anything second rate.

Of course, if both the League and the Congress could have agreed to a "Sovereign Bengal," there is no doubt that Pathanistan and Khalistan would also have had to be conceded. If great minds could also have been clearer minds, Balkanisation on a cultural and racial basis may have been less injurious than States divided by boundaries of religious fanaticism.

And when Pakistan came into being, East Bengal became its Eastern Partner.

Mr. Jinnah could not get Bengal or the Punjab. Lord Mountbatten was firm enough to see to that. The Independence Act awarded to Pakistan, subject to the award of a Boundary Commission, the districts of East Bengal and West Punjab having a Muslim majority. Districts having a non-Muslim majority were awarded to India—West Bengal and East Punjab respectively.

The Boundary Commission presided over by Sir Cyril Redcliff, however, made some modifications in the boundary lines between the two Dominions after considering the claims of Muslim contiguous areas and "other factors", a term about which there was very considerable debate.

The result of the award of Sir Cyril Redcliff (who had to act virtually as an umpire on the boundaries that divided his colleagues on both Commissions), was that, in the West, India gained the bulk of the Gurdaspur district, and all the Muslim majority areas in Jullunder and Amritsar and Ferozepore Districts, and the City of Amritsar. India lost to Pakistan the city of Lahore,

the claims to which were strongly based and also failed to get Sheikhpura, Lyallpore and Montgomery, areas largely populated by Sikh peasantry. In Bengal the League failed to secure Calcutta and the control of the territory around the Nadia and Kulti rivers upon which the life of Calcutta as a city and port depended. Pakistan was permitted to have the districts of Jessore and Nadia and acquired the district of Khulna, which has a non-Muslim majority. Pakistan was also awarded the Chittagong Hill Tracts having non-Muslim majorities, on the ground they were contiguous to the Chittagong district. The district of Darjeeling was retained by India.

As indicated elsewhere the district of Sylhet in Assam, on a referendum decided to form part of Pakistan.

East Bengal, accordingly, consists of the following Districts :

Dacca
 Malda
 Mymensingh
 Faridpur
 Bakargunj
 Pabna
 Bogra
 Rajshahi
 Rangpur
 Khulna
 Jessore
 Murshidabad
 Nadia
 Tippera
 Noakhali
 Chittagong
 Chittagong Hill Tracts
 Sylhet

East Bengal including Sylhet, although about one fourth of the total area of Pakistan, is the most populated of its provinces. The total population of Pakistan is 67.13 millions of which no less than 44 millions are centred

in the most important area of the Pakistan dominion.

The respective populations, according to the 1941 Census, is as follows :—

<i>Territory.</i>	<i>Muslims</i> <i>(in millions)</i>	<i>Non-</i> <i>Muslims.</i> <i>(in millions)</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>(in millions)</i>
<i>East Bengal ...</i>	31	... 13	44
<i>West Punjab</i>	12	... 4	
<i>Sind</i>	3.2	... 1.2	
<i>N.-W.F. Province</i>	3	... 0.2	
<i>Baluchistan</i>	0.5	... 0.03	
<i>Total</i>			
<i>West Pakistan ...</i>	18.7	... 5.43	24.50

East Bengal has, therefore, 31 million Muslims as against 18.7 in the rest of Pakistan. East Bengal has a very large non-Muslim population of 13 millions. West Pakistan, which had a minority population of about 5.43 millions has, with the exception of a few pockets, almost cleared itself of these.

A greater part of this book deals more with West Pakistan than East Pakistan and this for many reasons.

In the first place, the upheavals due to the new changes have been more apparent in the West than in the East.

East Bengal, which figured somewhat prominently in pre-Pakistan days, has subsided into the background now that Pakistan has been achieved. Perhaps it learnt the lesson first that butchery and arson is a game at which two can play. After Noakhali came Bihar.

Noakhali was not repeated.

East Bengal is also less affected by the torrents of hate poured out by the Pakistan Press and Radio. Dacca is out of range of the Lahore transmitters and the "Dawn" can only give news (and views) a day or two too late.

The Bengalee is more industrious than the Punjabi or the Pathan. Physically he cannot compare with either, but what nature holds back in muscle, it makes up in brains. He has less time and less inclination to pick up quarrels. Diet and climate have perhaps something to do with this.

East Bengal is also economically tied to West Bengal by bonds of jute. While Pakistan grows more than half the jute produced in India and Pakistan, the bulk of the mills are situated in West Bengal.

The major contribution to Pakistan ideology that East Bengal has made is the declaration of the Premier Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din, that any effort to get the two Bengals united will be high treason and treated as such.

Nazim-ud-Din became Premier after defeating H. S. Suhrawardy for the job on the partition of the two Bengals. Although he had some part of his education at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, like most Aligarh men, he is sincerely a Muslim Leaguer. A man of very considerable ability, he made his mark in the political life of Bengal quite early in life. He was appointed a member of the Bengal Executive Council in May 1934 when he was under forty. He joined the Muslim League and was the Leader of the opposition in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, until he became Chief Minister in April 1943. He made way for Suhrawardy in 1945.

Being at some distance from the Qaid-e-Azam he has a freer hand in the administration than some of the other premiers of Pakistan. He has infinitely greater administrative experience than either Mamdot or Abdul Qayum. Hence the fewer mistakes.

One of East Bengal's achievements—achievement it is—is a refusal to substitute Urdu for Bengali as a medium of instruction in schools. Muslim and Hindus in East Bengal, thanks to a little Bengali Muslim, will grow up speaking the same language.

Nazim-ud-Din made it quite clear at the very start that he was not going to permit East Bengal to be the dumping ground for Pakistan optees from the Punjab or the United Provinces. No claims of Islami or loyalty to Pakistan could deviate him from "Bengal for the Bengalis."

Nazim-ud-Din has successfully kept East Bengal to himself. The question that many are asking is "will he successfully keep Pakistan, as Jinnah's constitutional heir." He certainly has brains, and, what is not less important, more than 51% votes in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

Communications is one of the main problems of East Bengal and food another. Although rice is largely grown and fish is plentiful, lack of good roadways and large expanses of water make movements of goods and personnel difficult. East Bengal with its closely headed millions is, therefore, more prone to famine and privation than any other part of Pakistan.

East Bengal has been spared, probably for reasons of transport, visits of Pakistan's great men. The East Bengalee has seen Mahatma Gandhi. Excepting for the favoured few who can make the *haj* to Karachi; the Qaid-e-Azam is only a reputation.

CHAPTER TWENTYTWO

The Tribes of the Frontier

THE TRANS-border tribes which constitute an important problem of Pakistan are severally under the political control of the Deputy Commissioners of Peshawar, Hazara and the various Agencies. Of Peshawar, the chief are the Bunerwal, Chagarzai, (trans-Indus), Chamlawal and Khudu Khel sections of the Yusafzai; the Utman Khel; the Gaduns; the Mohmands; the Safis; and part of the Adam Khel clan of the Afridis.

YUSAFZAI

This tribe is divided into two principal sections, Mandnar and Yusaf, each of which is usually reckoned as a separate tribe. In each section there are divisions and sub-divisions till ultimately the component units of the section are reached in individual families.

Though the Hindustani Fanatics were known to have aided the Hassanzai in an attack made by them in 1852 on the territory of the Nawab of Amb, no actual collision took place with them till April 1858, when, in order to punish them for an attack on the camp of a British officer near the border, a force of British and Indian troops, 5,000 strong, under Sir Sydney Cotton, was despatched against them. The Utmanzai and Kabal and Kaya gave every assistance to this force in its operations, during the course of which the buildings at Sitana and also at Panjtar, Chinglai and Mangal Thana, where the fanatics had been invited by Mukarrab Khan, son of Fath Khan of Panjtar, were destroyed, and the Hindustanis were expelled from Sitana. They subsequently re-settled at Malka in the territory of the Amazai, a section of the Utmanzai division of the

Yusafzai, on the north-western slopes of Mahaban, and in the early part of 1861 occupied Suri in the vicinity of Sitana and resumed their former depredations on British territory. It therefore, became necessary to take steps against them, and the Utmanzai who had permitted the Fanatics to re-settle and to pass through their country when proceeding to and returning from British territory were blockaded. Soon after the institution of the blockade the Utmanzai expressed their willingness to submit to any terms demanded of them; and after some time they agreed to a fine of Rs. 1,000 to close their country against the Sitana Fanatics and other robbers, and to cease from levying certain oppressive dues from traders proceeding up and down the Indus.

MOHMANDS

The Mohmands are a large tribe, occupying the hilly country on the north-west border of the Peshawar valley. They originally owned allegiance to the Amir of Kabul, from whom their Chiefs received cash allowances and the revenue of certain districts in the direction of Jalalabad, amounting to about Rs. 70,000 a year. The tribe can turn out about 20,000 fighting men, and is divided into four main clans—the Baizai, Khwaezai, Tarakzai and Halimzai. Owing to the direct influence exercised by the Amir Dost Muhammad over the Mohmands, it was chiefly through this tribe that he endeavoured, after the annexation of the Punjab, to harass the British border. The Chief, Saadat Khan of Lalpura, was also hostile to the British because during their brief connection with the affairs of Afghanistan in 1841, he had been superseded in the Chiefship by his cousin Torabaz Khan, who was, however, unable to maintain his ground after the British had left the country. The tribe possessed peculiar facilities for causing annoyance as two of the roads leading to Afghanistan pass through their territories.

The principal clans with which Government have

had dealings are the Tarakzai, whose most important Chief is the Khan of Lalpura : the Burhan Khel and Isa Khel, of Pandiali, who were originally branches of the Trakzai but are now quite distinct: and the Halimzai, of Gandab and Kamali. These clans all border on British territory and were in the enjoyment of certain villages within the Peshawar district of the collective value of Rs. 10,000 a year, thus owing joint allegiance to the British Government and to the Amir of Kabul. In 1850 and 1851 their raids and robberies were frequent : and in October 1851 a force was sent against the Tarkzai and Halimzai. It was opposed by the whole tribe, under Saadat Khan, and operations continued for three months, severe punishment being inflicted. After the withdrawal of the force, the whole tribe again combined against the British ; but in April 1852 they were completely routed. The Halimzai, under their Malik Ahmad Sher, at once tendered their submission and entered into an Agreement No. (v). They were allowed to re-settle on payment of an annual tribute of Rs 200, and on condition of loyalty and good service.

Early in 1919, at the time of the Punjab disturbances and when the war with Afghanistan was imminent, some *mullas*, accompanied by a detachment of the Amir's troops, came through Mohmand country as far as Gandab and invited the tribe to rise against the British ; but, under the leadership of Malik Ahmad Nur, Musa Khel, and Malik Anmir, Gandab Halimzai, they refused to send a *lashkar* until they had interviewed the Afghan General. On this the *mullas* held a conference, as a result of which the Amir's troops received orders to retire and the *mullas* dispersed. The Mohmand *jurgas* then hastened to Shabkadr, where they were seen by the Chief Commissioner and their allowances, suspended since the outbreak of tribal disturbances in 1915, were restored to them as reward for the services rendered by them on this occasion.

The Musa Khel of Mitai, the most powerful of the assured clans, had refused to join in the attack and had done their best to break up the *lashkar*. The Govern-

ment of India decided, by securing a more effective control over this clan, to strike a blow at the influence of the Haji of Turangazai, against whose activities it constituted the best bulwark : and they offered to raise their allowances by Rs. 5,000 a year. The offer was accepted ; and in December, 1927 the Musa Khel entered into a renewed and more extensive agreement (No. XI) to maintain friendly relations with the Government of India.

The allowances of the Mohmands assured clans now amount to Rs. 50,323 per annum. Pakistan has promised to pay these allowances.

AFRIDIS

Two of the four divisions of the Adam Khel clan of the Afridis are the Hassan Khel and the Ashu Khel. There are two sub-divisions of Hassan Khel—the Akhorwal and Janakhori, and two of the Ashu Khel—the Ali Khel and Mahmadi. The Kalla Khel section of the Ali Khel is under the political control of the Political Agent, Khyber, and the Akhorwal sub-division of the Hassan Khel under that of the Deputy Commissioner, Kohat, from whose political control the Janakhori Hassan Khel, and the Kandao and Kaudar sections of the Ashu Khel, were transferred to that of the Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar, in 1896 and 1897 respectively.

TRIBES OF HAZARA

The trans-border tribes under the political control of the Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, are the Swathis; the Pariari Saiyids; certain division and sections of the Yusufzai; and the trans-Indus Tanaolis whose chief is the Nawab of Amb.

SWATHIS

The Swathis are not pure Pathans, but appear to be of Indian origin. Retiring before the invasions of

Yusafzai, who wrested from them Swat and Buner, they crossed the Indus and settled in the tracts which they now occupy.

The trans-border Swathi tracts are Allai, Nandihar, Tikri, Deshi and Thakot.

During the Black Mountain expedition of 1868, the Allaiwals attacked one of the survey camps. They were summoned to answer for their conduct, but did not do so. In the same year the Deshiwals took part, with the other Black Mountain tribes, in the invasion of the Agror Valley, and a fine of Rs. 1,000 was exacted from them.

YUSAFAI

The trans-border Yusafzai under the political control of the Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, are the Isazai clan (consisting of the Akazai, Hassanzai and Madda Khel divisions): the Amazai division of the Usmanzai clan: the Basi Khel sub-division of the Chagarzai (who, though properly forming part of the Malizai sub-division of the Khwazozai division of the Akozai clan, are generally reckoned as a separate division of the Akozai) living with the Pariari Saiyids and the trans-Indus Utmanzai whose principal villages are Kabal and Kaya.

In April 1875 a serious raid, in which they were joined by the Nasrat Khel and Basi Khel sub-divisions of the Chagarzai, was committed by the Akazai, and the Khan Khel sub-divisions of the Hassanzai, on the British village of Ghanian in the Agror Valley. Before any measures for the punishment of the tribes could be decided upon, a quarrel took place between the Hassanzai and Akazai, which led, mainly through the influence of the independent Saiyids of Tilli, to the voluntary and complete submission, in September, 1875, of the Akazai, who engaged to abstain from all opposition to Government—a promise which they did not keep. The Nasrat Khel Chagarzai came in at the same time; and in December the Hassanzai and their allies, the Basi Khel Chagarzai, also came in and professed a desire for

pardon. In the meantime Shahtut was occupied and the land distributed among other communities.

Ata Mohammad Khan died in 1875 and was succeeded by his son Ali Gauhar Khan.

In 1882 the question of restoring Shahtut to the Akazai came under consideration. Government were willing to restore it on a tribal guarantee for good behaviour. The majority of the tribe were prepared to give the required engagement: but, as a sub-section of the clan declined, the negotiations fell through for the time. In March 1882 Hashim Ali Khan, the nominal Chief of the Hassanzai, raided a village near Oghi in Agror, but the tribe was not believed to be implicated.

Disputes between the Khan of Agror and his cousin Abdulla Khan, of Dilbori, regarding the latter's land interests in the Agror Valley, culminated in 1884 in active hostility. Abdulla Khan secured the aid of the Saiyids of Pariari with their Chagarzai tenants, and of a section of the Akazai, and these tribes committed numerous raids throughout the summer of 1884 on the villages of the valley. A blockade was established, and in September 1884 a small military force was sent against them while engaged in attacking the village of Ghanian. The tribes were routed and driven out of British territory. Petty raids continued for some months afterwards; but in October 1885 the Pariari Saiyids and the Chagarzai submitted, paid the fines imposed upon them, and gave hostages for future good conduct.

In November 1887 a servant of Hashim Ali Khan of Seri, Chief of the Hassanzai, was charged with several murders in Agror and was arrested and put on trial. Disregarding friendly messages asking him to send in the witnesses named by his servant for his defence, Hashim Ali Khan sent a raiding party into Agror; which killed two men and carried off two others. In the following June Major Battye, with a company of the 2/5th Gurkhas, while making a route march on the Black Mountain, was attacked by a gang of Gujars and others of Akazai villages; Major Battye, Captain Urmston, and a few

Gurkhas were surrounded, overpowered and killed.

NORTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY

The Tochi (now North Waziristan) Agency was established in 1895. The tribes under the control of the Political Agent are the greater part of the Utmanzai clan of the Darwesh Khel Wazirs, as also two small tribes of insignificant importance living on both sides of the Afghan border—the Saidgi and Kharsin, both of Saiyid origin and the Dauris

In 1922, as a corollary to the extended occupation of the Agency, the allowances of the Tochi tribes were increased from Rs. 27,396-10-0 to Rs. 89,000.

WAZIRS

Two of the three divisions of the Utmanzai clan—the Ibrahim Khel and Mohmit Khel—were transferred in 1895 from the control of the Deputy Commissioner, Bannu, to that of the Political Agent, Tochi; and in 1909 the Kabul Khel sub-division of the third (the Wali Khel) was similarly transferred from the control of the Deputy Commissioner, Kohat.

In 1908 the Madda Khel were granted an additional Maliki allowance of Rs. 3,000 a year, and an Agreement (No VIII) was taken from them.

SOUTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY

The tribes under the control of the Political Agent, south Waziristan, are Mahsuds; part of Ahmadzai clan of the Darwesh Khel Wazirs; and the Ghilzai nomads who have settled in the Wana plain. There is also a settlement of Urmars—a tribe of uncertain origin, with a language and customs of their own at Kaniguram in Mahsud country.

MAHSUDS

The Mahsud Wazir tribe consists of three clans—the

Bahlolzai, Alizai and Shaman Khel, numbering about 5,000 and 2,700 fighting men respectively.

For many years the Mahsuds remained hostile to the British Government, and lawless bands, recruited from among the tribesmen living nearest to the British borders, constantly plundered and harried neighbouring British territory, particularly along the Tank border, which was not under direct British management. The conduct of British relations with the Mahsuds, and all powers of political and magisterial jurisdiction, were in the hands of the Nawab of Tank until 1873, when these powers were withdrawn from the Nawab, and Tank was amalgamated with the Dera Ismail Khan district. The Wana (now South Waziristan) Agency was established in 1895.

A question of maintaining these tribes in a state of tolerable economic sufficiency is going to be one of Pakistan's major problems. At present they have been let loose in Kashmir.

CHAPTER TWENTYTHREE

By the Grace of God

“BY THE Grace of God” said Mr. Jinnah in a message to London Muslims, “we shall build a new and the Greatest Muslim Sovereign State in the world, with complete unity, discipline and faith. Muslim India will discharge its responsibility with full credit and make its contribution towards world peace. I whole heartedly share your joy in celebrating this occasion for which there is no parallel in history.”

The message was the high-light of a brilliant function at one of London’s principal hotels on the occasion of the establishment of Pakistan.

Proposing the toast of Pakistan, several speakers voiced their hopes for the new State.

The Turkish Ambassador said: “I feel a great happiness in welcoming the birth of a new Islamic State. On behalf of the Turkish people I wish happiness, prosperity and a great future to Pakistan and the Muslims of Pakistan.”

Hafiz Sheikh Wahba Saudi, Arabian Minister said: “The Star of Islam is again emerging out of the cloud that had veiled it for a while. In our rejoicings over Pakistan, our Indian brothers in Hindustan must not be forgotten. To them I extend my best wishes for a happy future. I sincerely hope that the new States of Pakistan and Hindustan will always co-operate in their efforts to bring happiness to all the people of India.”

Dr. Fadmil Jamali, Finance Minister of Iraq said: “Pakistan will show the world that Islam carries the seeds of peace for the whole universe. Pakistan is a new dawn of liberty, prosperity, peace and happiness. I welcome Pakistan in the name of my country.”

Sirdar Mohammed Ali a member of the Afghan Legation said: "As an Afghan and a representative of the Afghans it gives me great pleasure to be present at the celebration of this historic occasion. We Afghans congratulate our Muslim brethren of Pakistan on their achievement and wish Mr. Jinnah a brilliant future."

Other messages of goodwill and best wishes to the new dominion of Pakistan came from the French and Belgian Ambassadors and the Nawab of Palanpur. The Nepalese Minister was present.

Little did the assembled guests believe that within a few weeks of the occasion for which Mr. Jinnah found no parallel in history, a cataclysm would overtake millions of his subjects for which indeed there was never any parallel in history. Little also did Mr. Jinnah realise that his joy should be so shortlived and he would be taken ill and stricken with defeat and despair. Little did he realise that although on June 3rd, proclaimed as the greatest figure in Islam since Muhammad, his leadership of millions of Muslims would be repudiated in less than a few weeks from the fulfilment of his policy. Millions who followed him blindly along the road of hate, would suddenly, realise to their disillusionment. Jinnah and his Cabinet members, by the Grace of God, sold their properties in India at fancy prices and removed their belongings, their sisters and their wives to Pakistan and left millions behind to pay the price of Pakistan. And this in itself is an outstanding event, though not without historical parallel.

One of the earliest acts of the Indian Constituent Assembly was to abolish separate electorates and communal representations in services in the new Constitution of India. Under several Constitutions the Muslims of India have enjoyed a favoured position. In the legislatures, in educational institutions, in the public services throughout India they have enjoyed a weightage that pure arithmetical numeration did not justify. A great majority of members of the Muslim community entered the services by nomination to fill communal

vacancies and not by competitive examinations. In the legislatures they have been able to return persons who were Muslims first and Indians second. For nearly thirty years it enabled organisations such as the Muslim League and Muslim Conference to flourish separately with the support of the rulers of the day. For thirty years, Muslims in India were able to have separate representation in all provincial and Central Cabinets, in the Council of the Secretary of State and at all International Conferences and at the League of Nations. With the advent of Pakistan, all this has gone. There is no province in India now where Muslims are in a majority. Shall we say by the Grace of God, Muslims have lost all influence in the political life of India ?

If India had been united, the Muslim League would have dominated the governments of Sind, Punjab and Bengal; it would have had a powerful opposition in the United Provinces and Bombay. It would have had a parity with the Congress at the Centre and in view of its autocratic leadership, it might well have ruled the whole of India for many years. Mahatma Gandhi offered Mr. Jinnah a five year Presidentship of India. Perhaps, by the Grace of God, we have been spared all this.

The establishment of Pakistan has directly and indirectly affected the lives of not less than ten million people.

By the Grace of God, therefore, a few people have benefited; they have got houses and property, which they did nothing to deserve. Several officials have had promotion, and many have profited by bribery.

“Pakistan”, says the Qaid-e-Azam “was achieved peacefully.”

True, by the Grace of God, there was no declared war between the Congress and the Muslim League. The Khizar Ministry was overthrown by no more effort than happy picnics in police vans to the countryside. The Congress was brow-beaten into appeasement and

the British Government and British officers assisted the formation of the new State for Imperial reasons.

By the Grace of God, Jinnah promised Britain to remain within the British Commonwealth and so Jinnah was conceded Pakistan. By the Grace of God, Russia was at the time causing England and the United States a headache.

But nothing can be further from the truth than that Pakistan has been occasioned by peaceful means. Direct Action by the League for the establishment of Pakistan was started in Calcutta on Direct Action Day on August 16th, 1946—it took a violent form. The thousands of corpses that littered the streets of Calcutta bore witness to the battles that had been fought, In Noakhali, houses and villages were set on fire and rape and murder stalked at large. Of course having embarked on violence, the League got in reply violence in the same, if not more emphatic language, in Bihar.

To bring about a League Ministry in Punjab in March, the agents of the League committed such outrages on women, on innocent children, and on peaceful friendly neighbours that it made eye witnesses declare that man had never descended to so low a level. Some of the things that happened at Rawalpindi District would "shame even the beasts." And while these things happened, Mr. Jinnah did not shed a tear.

Prior to his departure for Delhi to meet the Viceroy, Mr. Jinnah at an interview had prophesied "terrible consequences" if Pakistan was not conceded. Nobody realised what Mr. Jinnah had up his sleeve. It is not necessary to recapitulate any of the facts sets out in other chapters in greater detail or which are strictly extraneous to this work. But if Mr. Jinnah has himself paid nothing or sacrificed anything for Pakistan, the millions who believed in him and whom he hypnotised have paid no small price for the homeland. India too has paid a heavy price, because unless Pakistan was conceded, India could not be free, In both cases the price fell on the people, who did not ask

for Pakistan and who did not seek the new freedom.

The price that has thus been paid for Pakistan is unique in the annals of all history. The establishment of no State in the whole wide range of the world's history was ever attended by so much bloodshed and so much misery. Figures convey nothing of the magnitude of human sufferings involved. But even the figures are stupendous :—

<i>Murdered</i>	East and West Punjab, Baluchistan, N.-W. F. P. and Sind.	500,000 (Mr. hurchill)C	
<i>Abducted</i>	West Punjab	100,000	(estimated)
	East Punjab	50,000	"
<i>Rape</i>	West and East Punjab	50,000	"
<i>Children</i>	Murdered or maimed for life	100,000	"
<i>Drowned in the Beas</i>	While on the move to Pakistan	60,000	(Tribune)
<i>Died by the roadside</i>		Several thousands	(Press)
<i>Arson</i>	One half of the City of Lahore. One half of the City of Amritsar. Hundreds of cases of arson in other towns and villages of both East and West Punjab. Dera Ismail Khan practically reduced to ashes.		" "
<i>Rendered Homeless</i>	West Punjab Non-Muslims		
	East Punjab	4,000,000	(Gazanfar Ali)
	Muslims	5,000,000	"
	Total	9,000,000	

<i>Loss of Property</i>	Non-Muslims	Rs. 2,000,00,00,000 (2000 crores)	(Press)
	Muslims	300,00,00,000 (300 crores)	„
	Total	Rs. 2,300,00,00,000	„

Died of Cholera West Punjab 20,000 (Iftikharuddin)

Dying of hunger, cold and starvation. West Punjab 5,000 weekly (Gazanfarali)

Unemployed by reasons of transfer from one Dominion to the other and then awaiting retrenchment. West Punjab 50,000 (estimated) „

Skilled labour unemployed. West Punjab 500,000 „

Children's education disturbed 3 millions. „

Whether all this is by the Grace of God is debatable. It looks more like God having gone on long vacation since August 15th, and Satan officiating for the time being.

Many people in Pakistan wonder whether this was

all necessary. Many look back to the good old days. By the God's Grace Pakistan is a free Sovereign State. The only evidence of freedom that people have seen is the liberty with which one can thrust a knife into the belly of another without police interference or the risk of hanging at the end of a rope. Other liberties have gone—the liberty to think, the liberty to speak, the liberty to walk in safety, the liberty to leave womenfolk unprotected, the liberty to travel and the liberty to worship Providence in any odd way.

By the Grace of some one—it is difficult to believe that it is by the Grace of God himself, all this is gone. Almost in every issue of the "Civil and Military Gazette" you will find an announcement like :

"I, Amarnath Prasher, Christian, hereby announce that I have adopted the name of Andrew Pinto."

or "I, Kishendas, have this day embraced Islam and adopted the name of Khuda Dad."

It is impossible for a Christian, with a name smacking of Hindu origin, to live in Pakistan with safety. But that is only a fraction of what is happening.

The Bishop of Lahore is quitting his diocese as soon as he can be relieved. Many missions are winding up their affairs. The shooting of the Nuns of Baramula by Pakistan forces was a grim reminder that in Pakistan only orthodox beliefs would be tolerated.

Pakistan has long forgotten that it was the Christians of Abyssinia, who gave sanctuary to the earliest Muslim refugees from Mecca and that the Prophet had the kindest associations with the Christian monarchs and rulers of his day. By the Grace of God and by ordinance of the Qaid-e-Azam, churches and cathedrals will become the property of Pakistan. A Lahore Shrine, where a God no different than the God of Islam has been worshipped for generations, is today a slaughter house where carcasses proclaim the Grace of the Almighty.

Gandhi taught people to win freedom by sacrifice, self-negation, love and truth.

By the Grace of God, Jinnah did not have need to teach sacrifice or self-negation, love or truth. He found a weapon more effective than all this—*hate*. And, accordingly, in the words of Beverley Nichols, he founded an Empire on Hate.

A village near Quadrabad, in District Gujrat, was attacked by a mob. Almost all the adult males were killed. Women, young children and old men were thrown in the Chenab. They were washed down the river.

That was the new Pakistan way of dealing with neighbours.

A boat man of village Chak Bhatj, District Gujranwala, saw these unhappy people and rescued most of them. After that he rendered them first aid, and escorted them to Rampur Tasar (Gujranwala). He took special care to see that the relatives of those he helped were informed.

By the Grace of God, the old boat man was illiterate. He had not heard of Jinnah and did not care whether Pakistan was established or not.

The Hon. Mr. Mahomedali Carrim Chagla, Chief Justice of Bombay, addressing the 10th Session of the Indian History Congress in Bombay, said that the events of the recent past in India, the two-nation theory and the consequent division of the country represented a foreign trend which did not fit in with the pattern of India's history.

The History Congress was attended by eminent historians from all over the country and outside. The Premier of Bombay, Mr. B. G. Kher, inaugurated it.

Presiding over the Congress, Dr. Mohammed Habib Professor of History, Aligarh University, analysed the recent events in the country and said that the Congress High Command alone, among the political groups, had retained its sanity and balance and that the Nehru Cabinet held forth a fine vision of the future national Government of India.

Mr. Chagla, welcoming the delegates, said :

“Originally, nationalism in India was territorial. It was intended to be a spurt to freedom and it was a weapon of offence against the foreigner with a view to maintaining political liberty. But the foreigner realised the danger and erected barriers against man and man in this country.

“The impending transfer of power made people greedy and power-conscious and nationalism took a communal turn. Instead of having political majorities which would be fluid and change from time to time, we erected permanent majorities and minorities and shut them up in communal water-tight compartments.

“We forgot that democracy could only be based on common citizenship and instead of emphasising our oneness, we began to exaggerate our divisions and differences.

“This fantastic and unreal nationalism reached its culminating point in the two nation theory with all the terrible and bloody consequences which we have been witnessing.

“When the transfer of power did come, the heir to British rule was not a united India, but a divided and truncated country. I venture to say that all that has been happening in the recent past is a foreign trend which does not fit in with the pattern of our history.

“That brings me to what I think is the pattern of our history. Our history, truly visualised, has been a history of unity. Nowhere else in the world has there been such a synthesis of different religions, cultures and ideas as in this country of ours. In varied and manifold diversity there has run like a golden thread the oneness of India. Invaders have come and India has absorbed them. New civilisations have come triumphant and after the passage of time they have taken on an Indian pattern. Our greatest thinkers and greatest statesmen have thought and dreamt about the unity of India, and if historians

must find a rhythm in our history, that is the rhythm to which historical events have marched."

The words of Chief Justice Chagla will be widely quoted as the dictum of a Muslim jurist and historian. By the Grace of God not all members of Jinnah's community have been hypnotised.

But greater than in the wisdom of Chagla is the Grace of God manifest in the City of Bombay (home town of the Qaid-e-Azam) where a muslim can be Chief Justice of a predominantly Hindu Presidency; where there is a Hindu Prime Minister, who can ban Seva Sangh rallies; where Muslim women can walk freely unveiled without fear of molestation; and where Muslim traders can flourish alongside American, Jew or Parsi.

And Bombay is no isolated pin point on India's map of toleration. Sir Akbar Hydari, scion of a famous Muslim family of the Nizam's Dominion, is Governor of India's North East Frontier Province of Assam. The first permanent governorship of a Presidency has gone to a Christian, Sir Maharaj Singh, whose sister Amrit Kaur has a Government of India portfolio; Lord Mountbatten an Englishman has by choice been awarded the highest gift in the hands of a Free India to offer; Asaf Ali to the United States; Ali Zaheer to Teheran; Syed Hussain to Cairo. In Delhi itself, the Chief Commissioner is a Muslim, in spite of Muslim arsenals and a local Pakistan High Commissioner. The Advocate General of India N. P. Engineer, is from the small but patriotic Parsi community.

By the Grace of God, Nehru can mount the band-stand of Connaught Circus and tell a Hindu audience of thirty thousand that he would give his last drop of blood in fighting against the establishment of a Communal State.

By the Grace of God, and the good fortune of forty million Muslims in India, there was Mahatma Gandhi, who in spite of all that Jinnah and Pakistan did, refused to think in any other terms than love and toleration, and who sat and prayed in Delhi, month after month, holding with his frail body the flood gates against hate and

revenge, and achieved the goal at the cost of his own life.

By the Graced of God, Gandhi rebuked the multitudes. A report said :

“In his post-prayer speech on Tuesday evening, Gandhiji said he had heard that several refugees were still trying to occupy vacant Muslim houses and the police was using tear-gas to disperse the crowd. It was true that refugees were faced with great hardship. It was hard to lie in the open in the biting cold of Delhi. When it rained, tents were not sufficient protection. He could understand the refugees clamouring for houses, if they would not make the Muslim houses their target. For instance they could come to Birla House and turn him and the owners including a sick lad out and occupy the house. That would be open dealing, though not gentlemanly. The squeezing out of the Muslims that was going on, was crooked and ungentlemanly.”

Although at his Press Conference on July 13th and in his “Id” message to Muslims, Mr Jinnah expressed his abiding interest in the future and welfare of Muslims outside Pakistan, his erstwhile followers are rapidly giving him the go-bye.

The Agha Khan, who expressed no end of joy at the establishment of Pakistan, within a month of the establishment of the Dominion, cabled followers in Bombay to give unqualified loyalty to the Indian Union. While he thus minimised the importance of the Qaid-e-Azam, by the Grace of Allah, he saved his prosperous Ismaili followers from exile and incidentally saved himself.

Resigning from the Muslim League, the Maharaj Kumar of Mahmudabad in a statement to the Press said :

“The Muslim League has outlived itself. Let it die its own death. To me it seems that to allow the

League to run as an organization is a huge joke now. It must be wound up". He added :

"After the creation of Pakistan what I find is that well-to-do League leaders have gone to their new homeland leaving the Muslim masses to their fate. Muslims look to these leaders for guidance but they do not find enough courage to face them now. The Indian Muslims find themselves between the devil and the deep sea and definitely demand that the League should chalk out a programme for the Muslims of the Indian Union in the light of today's need. But all this has proved to be a voice in the wilderness. These opportunists know that they cannot fool all the people all the time."

Mir Mushtaq Ahmad, Hakim Khalilur-Rehman, Syed Fayyaz Ali Hashmi and Maulana Mohd. Saeed issued a statement of Chaudhari Khaliq-uz-zaman from Karachi.

"Doubts and suspicions are expressed because we Indians have no faith in the declarations of Mr. Jinnah and his henchmen. We, who are determined to die in India rather than live in Pakistan, will gain the confidence of our countrymen by our action and not by declarations of those who are responsible for the division of our country. We do not want any aid from the enemies of United India to plead our cause. We will take care of ourselves. We are not a minority. We consider ourselves an integral part of the Indian Nation."

According to a well-informed article in the "Statesman", nine million Muslims in U.P. are now faced with a turning point in their history, which may determine the future of the entire Muslim population of nearly 35 million throughout the Indian Union.

In many ways, Muslims in the U. P. enjoy a unique position. Outside Pakistan, they form the largest Muslim concentration in any province; politically, their representatives have been in the front ranks of leadership which

worked for the creation of the new State. Their contribution has been acknowledged in public on several occasions by the President and other leaders of the Muslim League. As an effective minority, their voice in the affairs of the province before August 15th was important.

With the division of the country their status changed over-night. The communal weightage in services, local bodies and legislature disappeared fast. Agitation for Pakistan, from which they drew much sustenance as a political organization, is there no more. The majority community's suspicion and distrust, which are rooted in political history, have grown in the past months until they now border on intolerance. It is not only an embarrassing time for the Muslims, but also a phase of painful trial for their leaders.

Much of this uncertainty would not have existed if, like the minorities in the two Punjabs, Muslims in the U. P. had also decided on migration. By an interesting unanimity of purpose, they have been determined hitherto to stay put. When a news agency report from New Delhi earlier quoted Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan as saying (which he has since denied) that no more Muslim refugees except from the East Punjab would be received in Pakistan, it was the more militant among Hindus who were disappointed and not the Muslims. There is little doubt that a large proportion of the Hindu masses, reflecting their own views and those of refugees from Pakistan, would like the province to be cleared of people whom they firmly believe to be disloyal to the Indian Union. That the Government of the province is not giving this point of view any support is matter of general regret which was only doubted by the agency report from New Delhi.

If that is the position of the Muslims of the U. P. it is equally the position of Muslims in the rest of the Indian Union.

A year ago Pakistan was yet a dream. It has come out of the clouds, placed itself on the world's

map with a bang. A year ago, we were anxious to know what the Empire would be really like? Who would be its Caesar and of what stuff would its Cabinet be composed; how it would get on with its neighbours?

To all these questions by the Grace of God we have the answers.

The dream that was so sweet has been something of a nightmare.

According to Alan Moorehead of the London "Observer", everywhere one has the feeling that the political earthquake which began on August 15th is still rumbling and heaving and may not yet have touched its crisis. According to political leaders of Pakistan three things are necessary, if Pakistan is to survive—five years of peace; the survival of Mr. Jinnah during this time and the investment of foreign capital. None of this is likely.

The history of India is crowded with the story of little men, who carved out little kingdoms and went their way. In the great march of time, however, the Unity of India, which Providence and Nature intended has been maintained. There have been scores of kingdoms as big and as small as Pakistan; time has obliterated all these. Hate never made any abiding edifice.

If by the Grace of God we have established a Pakistan in our day, is it too much to hope, that by the Grace of the very same God, our children will see reestablished the Unity and the Glory that was, once, not so long ago, Ind.

Post Script

NO BOOK on current problems can be strictly upto-date when history is exceeding the speed limit.

Much has happened in the course of the three months that the book has been with the printers. It is not possible to chronicle these events except as a general postscript.

I visited the Chembur Refugee Camp (page 220) early in January, and came back with the impression that a large number of refugees from Sind were more afraid of what might have overtaken them, than what actually befell them. At the time it certainly seemed that time might prove that their fears were groundless.

But hardly had the chapter on Sind been written when Karachi witnessed an orgy of murder on the Punjab style—the victims being refugees from Sind, men, women and children awaiting evacuation to India.

Order was restored, however, sooner than expected, as the Kashmir question was subjudice of the UNO.

And when all was peaceful, the Qaid-e-Azam toured the scene of the occurrence.

A few days after Karachi, a refugee train from the Frontier carrying about two thousand Hindu and Sikh refugees from the Frontier Province to India, was attacked at Gujrat Railway station, and most of the refugees were either killed or abducted.

The Gujrat massacre might have had serious repercussions in India and many innocent lives may have been lost, if Mahatma Gandhi had not undertaken a fast unto death to divert the attention of the country from retaliation and revenge.

Within five days Mahatma Gandhi wrung from the Govt. of India fiftyfive crores for the empty treasury of Pakistan and from his people a charter of toleration for the helpless millions of Muslims of the Indian Union.

And for this, the Mahatma paid with his life,

The only tribute that Jinnah could pay for this sacrifice was a personal regret at the passing of a "man of principle" and the "greatest leader of the *Hindu* Community."

But millions of humble Muslims both in India and in Pakistan wept at the passing of perhaps the greatest apostle of love and toleration that the world has ever seen.

In February, the Qaid-e-Azam paid a visit to Baluchistan, which as Governor General, he personally administers. The main objective of the visit was to induce His Majesty the Khan of Kalat to accede to Pakistan. The visit proved a failure. The Khan backed by Persia and Afghanistan holds out for the Sovereign Independence of Kalat. And unless he chooses to accede, that is truly his present status by virtue of the provisions of the Indian Independence Act.

Kalat also seeks the return of Quetta. Both Afghanistan and Kalat are interested in Karachi being declared a "Free Port" much like Danzig and Trieste.

Afghanistan seeks the return of territory ceded after the third Afghan war, the contention being that they were ceded to Britain not to Pakistan.

To press her claims with Authority, Afghanistan has nominated H. R. H. Shah Wali Khan, the Conqueror of Kabul, as Ambassador and Plenipotentiary at the Court of His Excellency the Qaid-e-Azam.

Goodwill combined with discretion governed the withdrawal of Pakistan forces from Razmak and Damdil. Discretion more than goodwill may govern the return of Quetta and "British Baluchistan" to their original owners.

The Ides of March have brought forth the Pakistan Budgets for 1948-49. In spite of deft window-dressing the overall picture is dismal.

	Revenue	Expenditure	Deficit
W. Punjab . (including extra tax on agricultural income)	12 00	18.82	6.73
E. Bengal .	11.75	16.09	4.73
Pakistan .	79.57	89.68	10.11

The high light of the West Punjab Budget are the taxation proposals of Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Pakistan's youngest and perhaps ablest Finance Minister. The proposal to tax agricultural income on a scale rising from 50% to 500% of the Land Revenue is both revolutionary and courageous. It may have far-reaching consequences. It may result, as Raja Ghazanfarali thinks, on the elimination of the landlords. It may, to start with, liquidate Daultana's political rivals—the Noons, Tiwanas and Iftikharuddins.

Greater skill was expended on the Central Pakistan Budget. A too gloomy, otherwise too accurate, a picture of Pakistan economy would scare foreign capital and adversely affect the Pakistan Government loan presently placed on tap. And so Mr. Ghulam Mohd. opened his windows to a care-free optimism. The Army and Navy should cost no more than ten odd crores and the provinces should look after the refugees for the main part.

A little light by one Finance Member on one another was given in the admirable budget oration of Mumtaz Daultana:

“I will remind the House that in the recently presented budget of the Central Pakistan Government, the Hon'ble Finance Minister Pakistan did not burden his revenue resources or inflict a revenue deficit by including the grant of Rs. 150 lakhs to the province for refugee relief in his revenue account but has decided to meet it out of his Capital account. A similar device was open to me.”

The amount estimated by Mumtaz Daultana on refugee relief of 7½ crores was not far out of the estimates formulated in Chapter IX ante.

There is a wide difference in the estimated Defence Expenditure and Railway Receipts forecasted in chapter IX ante and the Budgetary figures shown in Mr. Gulam Mohd, 1948-49 Budget. The revised estimates for the year when presented will, however, show more clearly

how far the optimism was justified.

No great progress has been recorded at the U.N.O. towards the solution of the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir.

Sheikh Abdullah, on assuming office as Prime Minister of Kashmir, in a public meeting at Jammu declared (March 16):

"I have no quarrel with Mr. Jinnah or Pakistan. We are opposed to the principles on which the edifice of Pakistan has been raised. Every one knows that the foundation of Pakistan was laid on greed, hatred and communalism. The two nation theory was a hymn of hate against non-Muslims. This hate was fanned by the British in order to use it as a justification for the division of India.

"With pillage and murder the structure of Pakistan was built. The bones of thousands of innocent Hindus and Muslims form the bricks of this edifice. The God of Sheikh Abdullah is also the God of Hindus but the God of Pakistan is the exploiter. If any one wants to know what Pakistan is he could see Pakistan with his own eyes. In the beginning innocent Muslims were told that their lot would improve by getting a separate homeland. But now when Pakistan has come into being the lot of Muslims has become worse."

"We 40 lakh Kashmiris unitedly resist the aggressors. We shall prefer death rather than join Pakistan. Pakistan is the place where our daughters and sisters were sold for a paltry sum by the raiders. We shall have nothing to do with such a country."

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan representative of the Frontier in the Constituent Assembly took his seat and made his declaration of loyalty to Pakistan. In his maiden oration he denounced the Pakistan administration as more foreign-ridden, corrupt and dishonest than any administration that had preceded it.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan along with seven others including a former Sind Premier G.M. Syed has formed a new party with the primary object of turning Pakistan into a Union of Sovereign and independent Socialist Republics. It is not known what Jinnah thinks of the new blue-print of the proposed Constitution, but the "Dawn" has denounced the move as "The Old Gang Once again."

The struggle for power by Muslim Leaguers *Inter Se* has begun in right earnest. Agha Imdad Ali Shah, a prominent leader of the Lahore City Muslim League has been shot dead by his rivals.

It is quite evident that the scramble for power INSIDE PAKISTAN will not be confined to the ballet box "PAKISTAN ZINDABAD."

Index

- Abductions, Numbers 257
Abdul Ghani, Maulana 182;192.
Abdul Ghaffar Khan 201, 202, 203
Abdullah, Sh. 141;148, Post Script
Abdul Qayyum 164;174;202;207.
Abdur Rashid, Hon. Sir 119;164.
Abdur Rab Nishtar 56;114;201.
Accession of States 209
Acceding States 229 *st seq.*
Acids, use of 15.
Advani & Co. 180.
Afghanistan, Greetings from 254
Afghanistan & India 124 *et seq.*
136.
Afghanistan, relations with Pak.
123, 136.
Agha Khan, H. H. 22;263
Ahmed Din 73.
Alexander, A.V. 34
Ali Zaheer Syed 262
Allahabux, Murder of 223
All India Radio 181
Amb 232
American Loan. 113-114
Amrit Kaur, Raj Kumari 14, 262
Amritsar Dist. 240.
Amritsar-Lahore Communications
73.
Amritsar, Treaty of. 139
Anjuman Himayat Islam. 110.
Anjuman Islamia. 193
Anver, Major K. 149*et seq.* 207.
Army, Pakistan Chapt XI 119 *et seq.*
Army, Reveiw of 118-121.
Arson 257.
Asaf Ali. 268
Ashiq Hussain, late Major 157.
Aslam. Major 150 *et seq.*
Assam. 48,262.
Assasins like Taxis 71
Associated Hotels of India 78
Associated Press of India. 86;87;
218.
Assurances to Minorities :
Jinnah 80,182; Mamdot 82, 84;
Iftikharuddin 82; Shaukat Hyat
82; Begum Shah Nawaz 84;
"Dawn" 81, "Pakistan Times"
84.
Attaullah, Kazi. 201.
Atholl, Duchess of 21
Attlee, Rt. Hon. C 33.
Arabian Minister 253.
Author 60; 199.
Ayub Khan, Brigadier.144.
Azad. Maulana Abul Kalam.182.
Badshah Gul 176.
Bagh-i-Jinnah 64, 67-68
Bahawalpur. 230-231
Bahawalpur Amir of 231
Balak Ram Hospital 91.
Baldev Singh, Hon. Sardar. 91
Banks, Conditions of 69.
Baluchistan 48; 54; 124; 135; 136;
225 *et seq.* and Post Script.
Baluch Regt. 10.
Bartlam, Murder of Principal, 101;
109-110.
Baramulla convent. 152
Bashir Ali, Mohd. 187.
Bashiruddin Mahmud, Mirza. 114.
Beas, Drowned in. 257.
Bengal, East *See East Bengal.*
Bengalee, East. 243.

- Bengal, "Sovereign" 203, 240;
 Representation in C.A. 48, 54.
 Beverley Nichols 63.
 Bhakkar 7.
 Bharat Insurance Co., Ltd. 11.
 Bhopal, Ruler of 229.
 Bhopal, Accession of 229.
 Bhutto, Sir Shah Nawaz 230.
 Bihar 40.
 Bombay 40; 258.
 Bourne, Sir Frederick 53.
 Boundary Commission 51, 143;
 240—242.
 Bray, Sir Denis, 128.
 British Commonwealth, chapt. X,
 et seq. 117, 118.
 Britons and Pakistan 107, 116.
 British Loan, A, 106, 112—114.
 Bustin, F.W. 180.
 Bukhar, Zia-ul-Ahsan, 187.
- Cabinet Mission 33 *et seq.*
 Cabinet Mission Plan 33 *et seq.*
 Cabinet, Pakistan 54—58.
 Calcutta, 40, 240—241.
 Calcutta Miracle, 54.
 Caroe, Sir Olaf 201—2, 207—8.
 Chagla, Chief Justice, 260—262.
 Chakwal 9.
 Chaman, L. 12.
 Chembur Refugee Camp 220.
 Chief Commissioner Delhi 262.
 Children, Murder of 257.
 Chitral 232—235.
 Cholera, deaths by 258.
 Chowdhry, P. C. 3.
 Chundrigar, Hon. Mr. I.I. 57.
 Churchill, Rt. Hon. W., 257.
 Civil & Military Gazette, 77, 76,
 121, 178, 180, 187, 188, 189,
 et seq. 192; 195; 257.
 Cold, Deaths by, 258.
 Constituent Assembly, India, 39,
 53, 54, 254.
 Communal Warfare 15—16.
- "Consequences of Pakistan" 122,
 179, 192—193.
 Convoys, Attacks on, 14.
 Constitution of Pakistan 81, 53.
 Craddock, Sir Reginald 22, 23.
 Cripps, Sir Stafford 34.
- Daultana, *See Mumtaz Daultana.*
 Daulat Ram, Jairam Das, 52.
 "Dawn" The, 81, 178.
 Defence, Muslim League attitude
 121; Pakistan 122 *et seq.*
 Delhi 262.
 Democracy 207.
 Dera Gazi Khan 7.
 Dina Nath 90.
 Dir 232, 233.
 Direct Action 40—41.
 "Direct Action Day" 40, 256.
 Districts, Muslim majority 50.
 Drowned in the Beas 257.
 Durrani 123.
 Dyal Singh College 91.
 Dykes, Lt. Col. & Mrs., 101, 152.
- East Bengal Chapt. XXI, 239 *et*
 seq.; Finances 105; seats in
 CA., 54; Districts 240—242.
 Population and area 238.
 East Punjab, murders in, 90—91,
 93—94.
 Eastern Frontier, Pakistan, 122.
 Economic collapse. 75—76; 90—91;
 186—187.
 Economic development 108 *et seq.*,
 112.
 Eighty Million Blue-Prints 53.
 Enforcement of Law & order 109.
 Englishmen, murders of 107.
 Engineer, Sir N. P., 262.
 Evacuation of refugees, N.W.F.P.
 208.
 Extermination of minorities 86—91.

- Falettis Hotel 77.
 Farrukh Hussain 13.
 Faqir of Ipi 129-130, 131, 170.
 Ferozepur Dist. 240.
 Fida mohd. Khan 206.
 Finances of Pakistan Chapt IX,
 p 98 *et seq*; Centre 99-103; W.
 Punjab 104; N.W.F.P. 104;
 Sind 105; E. Bengal 105 and
 General *See Post Script*.
 Forced Conversion 90.
 Foreign Capital 106 *et seq*, Post
 Script.
 Forman Christian College 71.
 Freedom of Speech 181 *et seq*. 193.
 Freedom of the Press 189 *et seq*.
 Fridays 71.
 Frontier Ministry, Dismissal of, 59.
 Frontier North West, 131-135.
 Frontier Tribes 245 *et seq*.

 Gandhi, Mahatma, 63, 81, 260,
 262-263, 244, and Post Script.
 Ghazanfarali, The Hon. Raja, 56,
 77, 90, 93, 95, 157, 159, 164,
 257.
 Gaznavi, Maulana Daud 164.
 Ghulam Mohd., The Hon. Mr. 55,
 111, & Post Script.
 Gilgit 139.
 Govt. of India 229.
 Govt., His Majesty's 44 *et seq*.
 Governors-General, Powers of, 59.
 Governor-General of Pakistan 59.
 Governors' appointments 52-53,
 131, 252.
 Green Volunteers 69.
 Gulab Singh, Maharaja. 138-139.
 Gulab Singh & Sons, Rs. 5., 181.
 Gulistan-i-Fatima chap VI; 67, 68.
 Gulshan Rai, late Prof. 21.
 Gulsher Khan. 154.
 Gujranwala 6.
 Gujrat Massacre. Post Script.
 Gurdaspur District 50, 143, 240.

 Habib, Dr. Mohd. 260.
 Happy? Are Pakistanis 78-79.
 Hamidullah Beg, Ch. 141.
 Haroon, Yusuf, 164; 224.
 "Has ke lia Pakistan" 70; 176.
 Hidayatullah, H. E. Ghulam
 Hussain, 52; 223.
 Hindu businesses 68.
 Hindu Houses, Scramble for. 13.
 "Hindustan Times" 3, 8, 213.
 His Majesty's Govt. Statements
 15/3/46, 33; 26/5/46, 34 *et seq*.
 Homeless, rendered 257.
 Hooper, Dincan, 182.
 Hospitals, attacks on, 15, 12.
 H. R. Rai Sahib 90.
 Hunger, deaths by, 258.
 Hydari, Sir Akbar 262.
 Hyderabad State 228, 117, 172.

 Ibrahim, Mirza 74, 115-116.
 Ibrahim, Mohd., 144, 199.
 Id. Refugees', 13.
 Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian, 13, 89, 82,
 157, 160, 161, 162, 164, 181.
 Iftikhar Hussain of Mamdot, *See*
 Mamdot.
 Immovable Property 87.
 Inayatullah Khan. 18.
 Ind. Glory that was, 266.
 Independence, India Act, 50, 51.
 Indian Government 39; 40.
 Ipi, Faqir of, 129-130, 131, 170.
 Iraq, Greetings of, 253.
 Islamia College 71.
 Iqbal, Sir Mohd., 18, 22.

 Jagjiwan Ram. The Hon., 57.
 Jai Ramdas Daulat Ram 52.
 Jammu 137.
 Jammu-Pathankot Road, 143-
 144, 146.
 Jhelum 6.

- Jenkins, Sir Evan. 17.
 Jhang 7.
 Jinnah, H.E., M.A. Broadcast 17;
 Pakistan Idea 24-27 Policy of
 the League 31; London 42;
 Mountbatten 44; C. A.
 53; Kashmir 53; 141; Health
 53; 160; an appreciation 59-63;
 Press Conference 80-81;
 Lahore 91, 95; on finance 103;
 Empire 117-118; on minor-
 ities 80-81; Foreign Policy 81;
 War ambitions 166 *et seq*;
 Delhi residence 178; Interview
 182-83; opinion about blood-
 shed 185; appointment of
 Governors 52; Vanity 60;
 marriage 60; Bhopal 229-30;
 240-241.
 Jilani Press 155.
 Jodhpur, Military Commander
 213.
 Jodhpur Railway 212-213.
 Jullundur District 240.
- Kak, Pt. R.C. 141-42.
 Kalat, H.M. Khan of 170, 228.
 & Post Script.
 Kalat State 136, 225, 226-228.
 Kapur, Dr. B.L. 12.
 Kapur, J.L. 13.
 Karachi 211, 216, 224, and Post
 Script
 Karamatali, Hon. Sh. 156.
 Kashmir Chapt. XII 137 *et seq.*
 and Post script.
 Kashmir, H.H. Maharaja of 144,
 145, 147.
 Kashmir National Conference 141
 Kashmir Muslim Conference 141
 Khan Ahmed Khan 23
 Khan Bros 56, 207.
 Khan Abdul Ghaffarkhan 201-
 202, 203. Post Script.
- Khan Sahib Dr. 201, 202.
 Khalikuzzaman, ch. 264.
 Kher, Hon Mr. B.G. 260, 262.
 Khuhro, Hon. M.A. 186, 215,
 223, 216.
- Ladakh 138.
 Lahore 1-4, 64-70, 86-91, 240-
 241.
 Lahore, Bishop of 259.
 Lahore Resolution 29.
 Lakshmi Com. Bk. 9.
 Lal Badshah 155.
 Lalvani, Mr. and Mrs. 22c.
 Lal Belas 136.
 "Le ke Rehange Hindustan" 70,
 118, 176.
 Liguat Ali Khan, Hon. Mr. 8,
 42, 55, 120, 144, 145, 173,
 190.
 Lodhi, Aslam & Shirin 68.
 Lockhart, Sir Rob. 207.
- Madan Gopal Singh, Murder of
 Prof. 10-11.
 Maharaj Singh, Raja Sir, 262.
 Mahajan, M. C. 144, 246.
 Mahmudabad, Raja of. 263.
 Malakwal. 9.
 Mamdot, Hon. Nawab of. 13, 17,
 82, 84, 95, 119, 157, 160,
 162, 170, 190, 202.
 Mamdot, Hon. Jn. 57.
 Manzur Qadir, 11.
 Manki Sharif, Pir of 56, 164, 202
 Matthai, Hon. Dr J. 98
 Massacres. Lahore 193; Sheiku-
 pura 9, Mozang 3, Sind Ex-
 press 195; Karachi,
 Gujrat, Post Script.
 Massacres, estimated total 257.
 Mass Migration 92-93.

- "Milap", Editor of 189.
 Minorities figures 36-37, See Assurances to, and Extermination of.
 Mirzais of Qadian 165.
 Modi Sir H.P. 98.
 Modi-Matthai Report 98-99.
 Mohammed Saeed, Maulana 264.
 Mohsin Shah, Syed 67.
 Montgomery 6, 241
 Moore Head, Alan 266.
 Mountbatten, H E. Lady. 14.
 Mountbatten, H.E. Lord 43-44, 52, 229, 262.
 Mozang 3.
 Mudie, Sir Francis 43, 52.
 Multan 7.
 Mumtaz Daultana Hon. Mian 159, 163, 170, 174 and Post Script.
 Muslim League, All-India 22, 24, 26-27, 31, 40, 41, 81, 184, 189
 Muttaqi, Mr. 13.
 Muzzafargarh. 7.
 Mushtaq Ahmed 264.

 Naidu, H.E. Mrs Sarojini. 61, 52.
 Nanda, M.R. 10.
 National Bank of Lahore 69.
 National Guards 10, 69, 174, 176.
 Nathu Ram, R.S. 11.
 Nazimuddin, Hcn Khawaja 54, 164, 243-244.
 Nazir Ahmed, Brigadier 116.
 Nawabshah District 212-213.
 Nehru, Hon. Pandit. J.L. 8, 36, 42, 43, 202.
 Newspapers, Dawn 178; C.M.G. 178; Pakistan Times 179-88 others 180-82.
 Nizam, H.E.H. of Hyderabad. 63; 142, 172.
 Noakhali 40, 242.
 Noon Malik F.K. 13, 56, 114, 123, 131, 156, 159, 164, 174, 174, 181, 206.
 N.W.F.P Chapt. XVIII 221 *et seq.* disturbances 202; Dismissal of ministry 207; Repression 208; Evacuation 208; Finances Post Script.
 Ref. C.A. 48,54, Historical 124, 131 *et seq*
 Boundaries and population 132, people 134.
 North West Frontier. 131-135.
 N. W. Ry. 75, 86, 194 *et seq.*
 N. W. Ry. Union. 74-75, 199.
 Nurullah, Mian, 13.

 Open Letter to Qaid-e-Azam, 195.
 Organised Murders Chapt I *et seq.*; Lahore 1-4; Sialkote 4-5, Wazirabad 5-6, Gujranwala 6, Sheikhpura 9, Trains 9, Quetta 7, Lahore Ry. St. 10, League Responsibility 15-16, Workshops 86, Noakhali 40, Bihar 40, Calcutta 40, Bombay 40.

 Pakistan Idea 19 *et seq.*, Origin 19-20, population 241-242, Railways Chap XVI, policy see Policy, Pakistan; Territories 50-51, Press 178 *et seq.*, 67. Radio 181, C.A. 53 and Post Script, Finances chapt. IX, other questions see Seperate items; War chapt XIV 166 *et seq.*
 "Pakistan Times". 84, 88, 142, 145-157, 158, 161, 178, 181, 186.
 Pakpattan 7.

- Punjab and Kashmir Bank 9.
 Punjab Muslim League 16, 89.
 Punjab National Bank 9, 68.
 Punjab Safety Acts. & Ordinances 189.
 Punjab University 66, 71.
 Punjab, West see West Punjab.
 Patel Hon. Sardar V. 95.
 Patiala, H.A. Maharaja of 95.
 Pattanistan 202-204.
 Petit, Reti. 61.
 Policy of the Muslim League 25, 26, 27-28; 29; 31; 40-41.
 Policy, Pakistan. minorities 80, democracy 80; Theocracy 80; British Commonwealth 81; Waziristan 131.
 Population 239 to 242.
 Power, Scramble for 157 *et seq.*
 Price of Pakistan 257.
 Queen Marys College 71.
 Quetta 7, 126.
 Qurbanali, Khan 69.
 Quereshi P. W. 76.
 Quereshi 186.
 "Quit Kashmir" 141.
 "Quit India" 141.
 Radcliffe Sir Cyril 143, 240.
 Radio, A.I.R. 181.
 Radio, Pakistan 181.
 Rahim Mr. 145, 192, 193.
 Railways, See Chapt XVI, 196-197; 195;
 Rajagopalchari, Hon. C. 52.
 Rashid Ahmed Haji. 22.
 Ruzmak 128, 131.
 Rehmat Ali Ch. 20 *et seq.*
 Reserve Bank of India 145.
 Riaz Hussan 188.
 Red Shirts 202, 203.
 Refugees 13, 18, 64-65.
 Refugee Camps 65.
 Refugee Problem Chapt. VII 92 *et seq.*
 Roth A. 108, 116.
 Rowlands Sir A. 98, 103, 106.
 Roy. Hn. B. C. 52.
 Sadiq, Sh. Mohd. 18.
 Saeed Quereshi 186.
 Safe Deposit Vaults 69.
 Sapru Committee 98.
 Sargodha 6.
 Sawhu: K R. 69.
 Scramble for Hindu Houses 13.
 Scramble for Power. ch XIII 157 *et seq.*
 Shabir Ahmad 13
 Shafi, Lady. 164
 Shah Baz 180
 Shariat. 162-165
 Sharifpura, 15, 195.
 Sheikhpura 9.
 Shah Nawaz Begum, 83, 84, 157, 164, 206.
 Shaikat Hayat Khan, Hn. 82; 83; 159.
 Shujauddin, Dr. Khalifa 22, 23.
 Sialkote. 4 4, 6, 14.
 Siddiqui Dr. 96.
 Sind ch. XVIII 210 *et seq.* and Post Script.
 Sind Express, 195
 "Sind Observer" 181
 Sohanlal, R.S. 13; 181.
 Statesman 211; 215, 216. 114, 264
 Suhrawardy H.S. 22, 54, 243
 "Sunday Times", Editor of. 189.
 Swat 233.
 Tara Singh, Sardar. 174
 Tassadaq Hussain Dr. 13.
 Tek Chand, Bakshi Sir, 13.
 Thadani, Mr Justice 221.
 Toast of Pakistan 253. 254
 Treaty of Amritsar 139

- "Tribune", The. 4, 11, 21, 178,
 189, 250
 Trouser Test, The. 15.
 Trivedi, H. E. Sir C. 52
 Ticketless Travel 70-71
 Tribes of the Frontier 245 *et seq.*
 Turkish greetings. 253
- Umar Hayat, Dr. Malik. 71
 Union with India. 183-184, 186
 Unemployment. 258
 U. P. Mu-lims 264
- Virmani, Satyapal 85
 "Volga", The 68
- Walton Refugee Camp 17, 69.
- War and Peace chapr. xiv 166
 et seq.
 Wavell, Lord. 42, 43.
 Wazirabad 5.
 Waziristan 126-128, 130-131,
 127-128.
- Yah Yah Jan 201
 Yakub, Sh. Mohd 22
 Yusuf Ali 22, 23
 Yusuf Haroon 164.
- Zafarul Hasan 12, 120.
 Zafarullah Khan, Ch. 22, 23, 15,
 228.
 "Zemindar" 121, 180.

