## Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema Prof. Sarbani Banerjee Department of Humanities and Social Sciences Indian Institute of Technology, Roorkee

### Lecture - 06 History of the Partition of India - VI

Good morning students and welcome to the lecture six of this course, Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema.

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## Riots in the Northern and Central Provinces

- Garhmukhteshwar, 6, 7 Nov. 1946 by 1946-47, local riots were being tied with wider
  political movements and demands. According to official government reports, in the wake of
  the mass killings in Calcutta, Noakhali and Bihar, there was a repercussion as tension
  exploded in Garhmukhteshwar mela visted by people from Western UP and Eastern Punjab.
  An organized Hindu crowd attacked and killed the Muslims and looted and destroyed their
  shops and property in Garhmukhteshwar town. In spite of police firing, the Muslims also
  retaliated.
- In their summary assessment, the monthly security intelligence report of the army headquarters for the UP area – "Calcutta was revenged in Noakhali, Noakhali in Bihar, Bihar in Garmukteshwar, Garmukteshwar in ???" - Calcutta riots in 16 August 1946, touching Bombay from 1 September, spreading to Noakhali in East Bengal (10 October), Bihar (25 October), Garmukteshwar UP in November, engulfing Punjab from March 1947 onwards.



When talking about pre-Partition, we must mention the different riots in the northern and

in the central provinces that actually followed the great Calcutta killings. So, it all started

in Calcutta and what was happening in Hindu majority regions was being retaliated in

Muslim majority regions, and so forth.

It actually spread like a wildfire, which could not be stopped beyond a point. So, next we

see in November 1946 the case of Garhmukhteshwar; by 1946-1947, the local riots were

being tied with the wider political movements and demands.

According to official government reports, in the wake of the mass killings in Calcutta, in

Noakhali and in Bihar...so, in the Eastern regions of India, whatever was happening had

a repercussion as tension exploded in the Garhmukhteshwar fair or mela that was visited

by people from Western UP and from Eastern Punjab.

This was an organized Hindu crowd. So, once again we go back to the key word that we

are using again and again in today's lecture, the term 'pogrom.' We see that an organized

Hindu crowd actually attacks and kills the Muslims and loots and destroys their shops

and property in Garhmukhteshwar town. In spite of the police firing, the Muslims also

retaliate. In the monthly security intelligence report of the army headquarters for the UP

area, in the summary assessment they actually ask a very important.. a crucial question -

Calcutta was revenged in Noakhali, Noakhali in Bihar, Bihar in Garhmukhteshwar, so

Garhmukhteshwar in...?? This goes on like a chain reaction. The Calcutta riots in 16th of

August 1946, which touched Bombay September onward and spread to Noakhali in East

Bengal by October, spread to Bihar by the end of October.

And then finally, to Garhmukhteshwar by November. [It] had engulfed Punjab finally,

from March 1947 onwards.

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## Riots in the Northern and Central Provinces

- Personal investigations and interviews reveal that these riots are all well organized, which were preceded by organized rallies and meetings to incite the common people; in many of such rallies, the police and the military are indifferent and negligent.
- N.B. Depending on the aggressor community in a particular case of riot, the newspapers, following their political and communal backing would play around with information in terms of numbers – either blowing up or diminishing the proportion of arsonage and massacre.



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Personal investigations and interviews reveal different pictures and different interpretations of these riots. They reveal that these riots were all very well organized and they were preceded by organized rallies and inflammatory speeches, meetings that were meant to incite the common masses. In many of these rallies, the police and the military were indifferent. They were not playing any major role. They were not actually delivering the duties. They were negligent, right.

And what is important is the role of the media. So, depending on the aggressor community in a particular case of riot, the newspapers depending on their political and communal backing would play around with the information in terms of numbers. So, for example, if it was a Hindu-backed newspaper, Congress backed newspaper it would actually give an underestimated or a smaller number of deaths for the Muslims and viceversa for a Muslim [backed] newspaper.

So, people were actually tampering and playing around with facts, either blowing up or diminishing the proportion of arsonage and massacre. The chaos was systematically being generated and spread.

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## Riots in the Northern and Central Provinces • How chaos is systematically generated- For instance, Congress backed newspaper The Hindustan Times talks about the attack of a pilgrim train near Meerut causing the death of and injury to a large number of pilgrims; according to UP Provincial Congress Committee Report, the Harpur riot on 9 November saw the Muslims of Shahijahanpur and Dasna avenging Garmukteshwar by attacking pilgrims. Hindus in turn killed Muslims in Harson and Indergarhi. • However, a tour of the Meerut district by INC General Secretary Mridula Sarabhai and Nawaz Khan, member of INA, reveal the loss of lives and property caused by the pilgrims – mainly the Rohtak and Gurgaon Jats - to the villages. Surprisingly, a number of ex-servicemen of INA were joining extremist groups to carry out these arsonages with deft and precision. To further amplify the chaos, the extremists would often wear Congress Party's cap to defame it. Riots justified in the name of avenging a community and defended in the name of Gandhiji – political, communal, class-caste rivalry all motivated the riots, and personal interests caused individuals to shift their political positions.

So for example, the Congress-backed newspaper, The Hindustan Times, talks about the

attack of a pilgrim train near Meerut, which caused the death and injury to a large

number of Hindu pilgrims - that is something that the Congress-backed newspaper

focuses.

Now, according to UP Provincial Congress Committee report, the Harpur riot on 9th of

November saw the Muslims of Shahjahanpur and Dasna avenging Garhmukhteshwar by

attacking the pilgrims. And the Hindus as a way of retaliating kill the Muslims in Harson

and Indergarhi; this is what a Congress-backed newspaper such as The Hindustan Times

has to say.

When a tour of the Meerut district is actually conducted by the INC General Secretary

Mridula Sarabhai and Nawaz Khan, they are members of the Indian National Army, they

reveal another facet of the entire incident. They reveal, for example, the loss of lives and

property caused by these pilgrims who were mainly Rohtak and Gurgaon Jats. The

destruction, the havoc they had wrecked to the local villages...

A number of ex-servicemen of INA were also joining these extremist groups in order to

carry out these arsonages with precision. So, what was worse is that in order to amplify

the confusion, the extremists would often wear the Congress Party's cap to defame the

party. So, riots were actually justified in the name of defending a community and, in fact,

they took the name of Gandhiji.

So, in all these riots we see political, communal, class-caste rivalry all motivating

individuals, and we also see personal interests causing individuals to shift their political

positions.

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## Riots in the Northern and Central Provinces

- These riots remain empty signifiers multiple versions battle over these incidental grounds to claim un/worthiness of certain ideologies. – 'Garhmukteshwar' is no different from Bihar and later East Punjab, as Noakhali is a repetition of Calcutta.
- According to League account as propagated by *Dawn* newspaper, the victims of Garhmukteshwar riots were Congressite nationalist Muslims who came to attend the fair despite knowing about the Bihar riots; the tragedy greatly declined Muslim support in UP for an undivided India.



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So, riots as Gyanendra Pandey would see are empty signifiers. Depending on a person's political leaning or communal identification, a particular version would be supported against another version.

So, multiple versions battled to claim worthiness or unworthiness of a particular ideology. Garhmukhteshwar is no different from Bihar, and in the same way it is no different from East Punjab, just as Noakhali is a repetition of Calcutta. So, according to the League account as propagated by Dawn newspaper, the victims of Garhmukhteshwar riots were Congressite nationalist Muslims that were generationally supporting INC. [They] had dwindled in number, they had shifted their loyalty to AIML in many cases.

The Dawn newspaper says that the Congressite nationalist Muslims that came to attend the fair despite knowing about the Bihar riots, faced the brunt of this entire episode. The tragedy greatly declined the Muslim support in UP for an undivided India. So, the Muslims all the more started supporting the cause of a Two-nation theory.

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## Independence of India and Radcliff Line (1947) Even though both the Indian government and the Congress have been shaken by the events of Direct Action Day, a Congress-led temporary administration was created in September, with Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister of a unified India. Lord Louise Mountbatten was nominated as India's final Viceroy by British Prime Minister Attlee, with the goal of overseeing British India's independence by June 1948.

Then we talk about the independence of India and Radcliffe Line. Even though both the Indian government and the Congress had been shaken by the events of the Direct Action Day, a Congress-led temporary administration was created in September with Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime Minister of a unified India. Lord Louise Mountbatten was nominated as India's final Viceroy by British Prime Minister Attlee, with the goal of overseeing British India's independence by June 1948.

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# Independence of India and Radcliff Line (1947) Vallabhai Patel was one of the earliest Congress leaders to embrace India's partition as a solution to Muhammad Ali Jinnah's developing Muslim separatist movement. Jinnah's Direct Action campaign had enraged him. He was also well aware that Jinnah had widespread Muslim backing, and an open battle between him and the nationalists may devolve into a Hindu-Muslim civil war with disastrous results. Britain indicated in early 1947 that they would hand up control no later than June 1948.

Vallabhai Patel was one of the earliest Congress leaders that embraced India's Partition as a solution to Muhammad Ali Jinnah's developing Muslim separatist movement. Jinnah's Direct Action campaign had enraged him. Patel was also aware that Jinnah had widespread Muslim backing, and that an open battle between him and the nationalists may devolve into a Hindu-Muslim civil war with very dire consequences, with disastrous results.

So, Britain indicated by early 1947 that they would hand over the control no later than June 1948.

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## Independence of India and Radcliff Line (1947)

- The new Viceroy, Louis Mountbatten, moved forward the transfer of power date, providing fewer than six months for a mutually agreed-upon plan for independence.
- The main Hindu and Sikh lands were allotted to the new India, while the majority Muslim areas were assigned to Pakistan; the proposal envisaged partitioning the Muslim majority provinces of Punjab and Bengal.
- The communal violence that precipitated the declaration of the **Radcliffe Line** or the Partition line, was far worse.



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So, the new Viceroy Louis Mountbatten moved forward the transfer of power date, providing less than six months for a mutually agreed upon plan for independence. The main Hindu and Sikh lands were allotted to the new India; whereas, the majority Muslim areas were assigned to Pakistan.

The proposal envisaged partitioning the Muslim majority provinces of Punjab and Bengal. So, the Radcliffe line actually cut across these two provinces - Punjab and Bengal. The communal violence that precipitated, the declaration of the Radcliffe line was actually worse than what could be envisioned at that time.

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## Independence of India and Radcliff Line (1947) Mountbatten Plan

- The actual split of British India between the two new dominions was carried out according to the so-called "June Plan" or "Mountbatten Plan".
   The date of independence, 15 August 1947, was also proclaimed.
- The following were the primary points of the plan:
- In the Punjab and Bengal legislative assemblies, Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims would **convene** and **vote for division**. These provinces would be partitioned if a simple majority of either faction desired it.
- Sindh and Baluchistan were given the freedom to make their own choices.



So, the actual split of British India between two new dominions was carried out according to the so-called June Plan or Mountbatten Plan. The date of independence, which was 15th of August 1947, was also proclaimed. Some of the primary points of the Mountbatten Plan included - (a) in the Punjab and Bengal Legislative Assemblies six Hindus and Muslims would convene and vote for division. These provinces would be partitioned, if a simple majority of either faction desired it. Next, Sindh and Baluchistan were given the freedom to make their own choices.

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## Independence of India and Radcliff Line (1947) - Mountbatten Plan

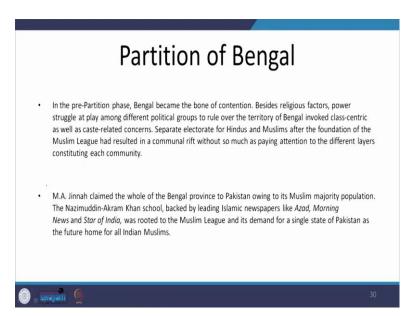
- A referendum was to decide the fate of the North West Frontier Province and the Assam district of Sylhet.
- By August 15, 1947, India would have gained independence.
- The possibility of Bengal gaining a separate Bengal Union was ruled out.
- In the event of a Partition, a border commission would be established.
- On June 2, India's political leaders agreed to the idea. It did not address the
  issue of the princely states, but on June 3rd, Mountbatten pushed them to join
  one of the two new dominions rather than remain independent.



A referendum was to decide the fate of the Northwestern Frontier Province and the Assam district of Sylhet. Next, by August 15th 1947, India would have gained independence. The possibility of Bengal gaining a separate Bengal Union was ruled out. In the event of a Partition, a Border Commission would be established.

And then, on June 2nd India's political leaders agreed to the idea. It did not address the issue of the princely states, but on June 3rd Mountbatten pushed them to join one of the two new dominions rather than remain independent. So, before we actually wrap up our first module discussion on the history of Partition of India, we need to discuss the Partition of Bengal separately.

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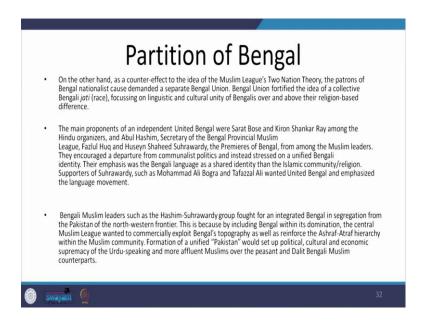


We understand that in the pre-partition phase, Bengal became the bone of contention. So, besides religious factors what other factors came into play need to be examined. So, power struggle at play among different political groups to rule over the territory of Bengal, invoked both class and caste related concerns.

For separate electorate for Hindus and Muslims after the foundation of the Muslim League had resulted in a communal rift without paying attention to the different layers that constituted the Bengali community. Muhammad Ali Jinnah claimed the whole of Bengal province to Pakistan because it had a Muslim majority population. We had the different schools emerging in the case of the Bengal chapter.

The Nazimuddin-Akram Khan school backed by leading Islamic newspapers such as Azad, Morning News and Star of India were rooted to the Muslim League, and they demanded for a single state of Pakistan as a future home for all the Indian Muslims.

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On the other hand, we see that as a counter-effect to the idea of the Muslim League's Two-nation theory, the patrons of Bengal nationalist cause demand for a separate Bengal Union.

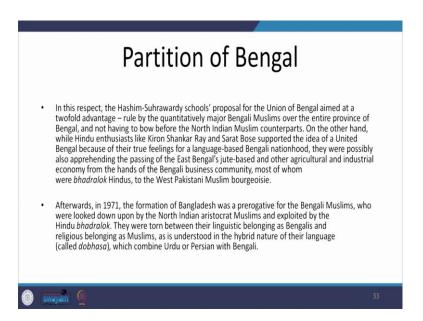
Bengal Union fortifies the idea of a collective Bengali Jati focusing on linguistic and cultural unity of Bengalis over and above their religion based differences. So, the main proponents of an independent united Bengal were Sarat Bose and Kiron Shankar Ray

among the Hindu organizers, and Abul Hashim, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, Fazlul Huq and Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy who were the premieres of Bengal at that time, from among the Muslim leaders.

They encouraged a departure from communalist politics and they instead stressed on a unified Bengali identity. Their emphasis was the Bengali language as a shared identity, rather than [focusing on] the Islamic community or [the Hindu] religion. So, supporters of Suhrawardy such as Mohammad Ali Bogra and Tafazzal Ali wanted united Bangal and emphasized the language movement. Bengali Muslim leaders, such as the Hashim-Suhrawardy group, fought for an integrated Bengal in segregation from the Pakistan of the North-western frontier.

This is because by including Bengal within its domination, the central Muslim League wanted to commercially exploit Bengal's topography and reinforce the Ashraf-Atrap hierarchy within the Muslim community. Formation of a united Pakistan would set up political, cultural and economic supremacy of the Urdu-speaking and more affluent Muslims over the peasant and Dalit Bengali Muslim counterparts.

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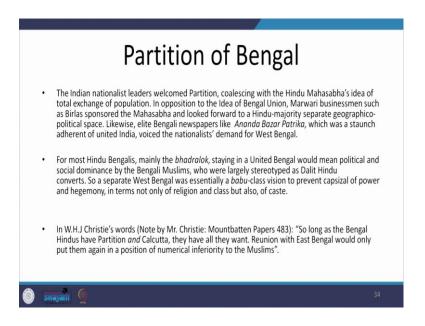


So, in this respect the Hashim-Suhrawardy school's proposal for the Union of Bengal aimed at a twofold advantage - on the one hand, firstly, the united Bengal or a Union of Bengal would be ruled by the quantitatively major Bengali Muslims over the entire province of Bengal and not having to bow before the north Indian Muslim counterparts.

And then again, we see that while the Hindu enthusiasts, such as Kiron Shankar Ray and Sarat Bose support this idea of a united Bengal because of their true feelings for the Bengali nationhood,

at the same time there could be possibility of a kind of apprehension...the apprehension of passing of the East Bengal's jute-based and other agricultural and industrial economy from the hands of the Bengali business community to the West Pakistani Muslim bourgeoisie.

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So, the Indian nationalist leaders welcomed Partition coalescing with the Hindu Mahasabha's idea of total exchange of population. In opposition to the idea of Bengal Union, Marwari businessmen such as the Birlas sponsored the Mahasabha and looked forward to a Hindu-majority separate geopolitical space.

Elite Bengali newspapers such as Ananda Bazar Patrika, which was a staunch adherent of a united India, voiced the nationalist's demand for a separate West Bengal. For most Hindu Bengalis, mainly the refined-class Bengalis called the bhadralok, staying in a united Bengal would mean political and social dominance by the Bengali Muslims, who were largely stereotyped as Dalit Hindu converts.

So, a separate West Bengal was essentially a babu class vision to prevent capsizal of power and hegemony not only in terms of religion, but also in terms of caste and class.

Like we see in Mountbatten paper W.H.J Christie saying, "So long as the Bengali Hindus have Partition and Calcutta, they have all they want. Reunion with East Bengal would only put them again in a position of numerical inferiority to the Muslims".

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## Independence of India and Radcliff Line (1947) - Mountbatten Plan

- The Congress Working Committee approved the division proposal on the 3rd of June, 1947.
- The Indian Independence Act was enacted by the British Parliament on July 18, 1947, completing the partition arrangements.
- The Government of India Act of 1935 was altered to give the new dominions with a legislative foundation.
- Pakistan petitioned for UN membership after being established as a new nation in August 1947, and was recognised by the General Assembly on September 30, 1947.
- The current seat was retained by the Dominion of India, which had been a founding member of the United Nations since 1945.



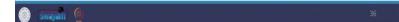
Finally, we need to talk about Independence of India and Radcliffe Line and the Mountbatten Plan. So, the Congress Working Committee approved the division proposal on the 3rd of June 1947. The Indian independence act was enacted by the British parliament on July 18th 1947, completing the partition arrangements.

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## Radcliffe Line (1947)

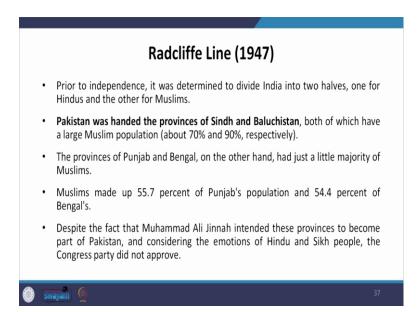
- The Radcliffe Line was the demarcation line that separated the Indian and Pakistani sections of British India's Punjab and Bengal provinces.
- It was named after its architect, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who served as joint head of the two provinces' border committees.
- The demarcation line was published on 17th August 1947 upon the Partition of India.
- Its western side forms part of the present Indo-Pakistan border, while the eastern side forms part of the current India-Bangladesh boundary.



So, Radcliffe Line was the demarcation line that separated the Indian and Pakistani sections of British India's Punjab and Bengal provinces. It was named after its architect, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who served as Joint Head of the two provinces' Border Committees.

The demarcation line was published on 17th of August 1947 after the Partition of India. The western side forms part of the present Pakistan border; whereas, the eastern side forms part of the current India Bangladesh boundary.

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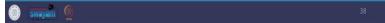
Prior to Independence, it was determined to divide India into two halves - one for Hindus and the other for the Muslims. Pakistan was handed the provinces of Sindh and Baluchistan, both of which have a large Muslim population, about 70 and 90 percent respectively.

The provinces of Punjab and Bengal, on the other hand, had just a little majority of Muslims. So, the Muslims made up 55 - a little more than 55 percent of Punjab's population and a little more than 54 percent of Bengal's population. Despite the fact that Jinnah intended both of these provinces to become part of Pakistan, considering the emotions of Hindu and Sikh people the Congress party did not approve of Jinnah's demand.

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## Radcliffe Line (1947)

- As a result, it was determined to cut through these provinces and divide them between the two countries.
- · It was hard to draw a clear line dividing the people by faith.
- In June 1947, two Border Commissions were established (one for Bengal and one for Punjab). Each Commission comprised five members: Sir Cyril, the Muslim League's two nominees, and the Congress Party's two nominees.
- Sir Cyril was given until the 15th of August to finish the delineation, but the final conclusion was not released until the 17th.



So, as a result it was determined to cut through these provinces and divide them between two countries, and now it was hard to draw clear line dividing the people by faith. In June 1947, two Border Commissions were established - one for Bengal and the other for Punjab, and each Commission comprised 5 members. So, Sir Cyril the Muslim League's two nominees and the Congress Party's two nominees.

Sir Cyril was given until the 15th of August to finish the delineation, but the final conclusion was not released until the 17th.

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## Radcliffe Line (1947)

- In the view of the British, Sir Cyril was a neutral figure who could not be biased toward either India or Pakistan because he had no prior understanding of the country or its problems. (One of the grounds for his appointment was because of this).
- Not only did the border commissioners have to deal with the people, but they also
  had to deal with roads and railway lines, electricity networks, irrigation projects,
  and individual property holdings.
- More than a million people died and 12 million more were displaced as a result of the country's split.

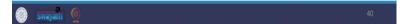


In the view of the British, Sir Cyril was a neutral figure who could not be biased towards either India or Pakistan, because he had no prior understanding of the country or it is problems. Not only did the border commissioners have to deal with the people, but they also had to deal with roads and railway lines, with electricity networks, irrigation projects and individual property holdings.

In the process of crossover, in the process of transferring of a population... exchange of population, more than a million people died and 12 million or more were displaced. (Refer Slide Time 21:44)

## Radcliffe Line (1947) - Violence After Partition

- In the months after the division, massive population exchanges occurred between the two newly constituted nations.
- After partition, India had 330 million people, West Pakistan had 30 million, and East Pakistan had 30 million (now Bangladesh).
- After the lines were drawn, around 14.5 million individuals crossed the border, hoping to find relative protection in a host land with a majority from similar community and faith.



So, in the months after the division massive population exchanges occurred between the two newly constituted nations. After Partition, India had 330 million people, the West Pakistan had 30 million. After the lines were drawn, around 14.5 million individuals crossed the border, hoping to find a relatively more protected existence in a host land with a majority from similar community and faith.

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# Radcliffe Line (1947) - Violence After Partition • The newly created administrations were totally unprepared to deal with such enormous migrations, and on both sides of the border, immense bloodshed and killing ensued. • Estimates of the number of deaths vary, with low estimates at 2 lakhs and high estimates at 20 lakhs. • In East Punjab, there were almost no Muslims, while in West Punjab, almost no Hindus or Sikhs survived.

The newly created administrations were totally unprepared to deal with such enormous migrations and on both sides of the border, immense bloodshed and killing ensued. Estimates of the number of deaths vary, with lower estimates being towards 2 lakhs and the higher estimates more than or almost 20 lakhs. In East Punjab they were almost no Muslims, whereas in the West Punjab almost no Hindus or Sikhs survived. So, with this we come to the end of this lecture and I will meet you again with the next module and the next lecture.

Thank you.