

APPENDICES

Appendix-I

List of Chief Commissioners, Lieutenant-Governors and Governors

Chief Commissioners

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|-------------------|----|-------------|--|
| 1) R.H. Keatinge | .. | | 7 February 1874 – 21 June 1878. |
| 2) S.C. Bayley | .. | | 22 June 1878 – 4 March 1881. |
| 3) C.A. Elliott | .. | | 25 March 1881 – 7 July 1883 |
| 4) W.E. Ward | .. | Officiating | 8 July 1883 – 7 October 1883. |
| 5) C.A. Elliott | .. | | 8 October 1883 – 26 February 1885. |
| 6) W.E. Ward | .. | Officiating | 27 February 1885 – 30 October 1887. |
| 7) D. Fitzpatrick | .. | | 31 October 1887 – 15 July 1889. |
| 8) J. Westland | .. | | 16 July 1889 – 21 Oct, 1889. |
| 9) J. W. Quinton | .. | | 22 October 1889 – 24 March 1891
(Murdered At Manipur on 24
March 1891) |
| 10) H. Collett | .. | Officiating | 25 March 1891 – 26 May 1891 |
| 11) W. E. Ward | .. | | 27 May 1891 – 3 July 1894. |
| 12) C. J. Lyall | .. | Officiating | 4 July 1894 – 3 October 1898. |
| 13) W.E. Ward | .. | | 4 October 1894 – 27 November 1896. |
| 14) H.J.S. Cotton | .. | | 28 November 1896 – 30 April 1900. |
| 15) J. B. Fuller | .. | Officiating | 1 May 1900 – 31 July 1900 |
| 16) H.J.S. Cotton | .. | | 1 August 1900 – 28 April 1902. |
| 17) J.B. Fuller | .. | | 29 April 1902 – 26 April 1903. |
| 18) C.W. Bolton | .. | Officiating | 27 April 1903 – 29 July 1903. |
| 19) J.B. Fuller | .. | | 30 July 1903 – 15 October 1905. |

Lieutenant – Governors

- 1) J.B. Fuller .. 16 October 1905 – 19 August 1906.
- 2) L. Hare .. 20 August 1906 – 18 May 1908.
- 3) C.S. Bayley .. Officiating 19 May 1908 – 13 November 1908.
- 4) L. Hare .. 14 November 1908 – 22 August 1911.
- 5) C.S. Bayley .. 23 August 1911 – 31 March 1921.

Chief Commissioners

- 1) Archdale Earle .. 1 April 1912 – 12 May 1914.
- 2) P.R.T. Gurdon .. 13 May 1914 – 8 September 1914.
- 3) Archdale Earle .. 9 September 1914 – 31 March 1918.
- 4) Nicholas Dodd Beatson Bell .. 1 April 1918 – 2 January 1921.

Governors

- 1) Nicholas Dodd Beatson Bell .. 3 January 1921 – 2 March 1921.
- 2) William Sinclair Marris .. 3 March 1921 – 10 October 1922.
- 3) John Henry Kerr .. 11 October 1922 – 10 April 1925.
- 4) William James Reid.. Officiating 11 April 1925 – 5 August 1925.
- 5) John Henry Kerr .. 5 August 1925 – 11 August 1925.
- 6) William James Reid.. Officiating 12 August 1925 – 8 December 1925
- 7) John Kerr .. 9 December 1925 – 27 June 1927.
- 8) Egbert Laurie.. 28 June 1927 – 10 May 1932
- 9) Michael Keane 11 May 1932- 2 June 1935.
- 10) Abraham James.. Officiating 3 June 1935- 11 October 1935
- 11) Michael Keane .. 11 October 1935-3 March 1937

- | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| 12) Robert Neil Reid .. | | 4 March 1937-24 June1938 |
| 13) Gilbert Pitcairn.. | Officiating | 25 June 1938 -24 October 1938 |
| 14) Robert Neil Reid .. | | 25 October 1938- 24 February 1939. |
| 15) Henry Joseph Twynam.. | Officiating | 24 February 1939 – 5 October 1939. |
| 16) Robert Neil Reid .. | | 5 October 1939 - |

Appendix-II

COMPOSITION OF SAADULLA MINISTRIES (1937 - 1946)

First Saadulla (Coalition) Ministry (1st April 1937 - 4 February 1938)

1. Muhammad Saadulla (Premier)
2. Muhammad Waheed
3. J.J.M. Nichols Roy
4. Rohinikumar Choudhury
5. Ali Hyder Khan

Second Saadulla (Coalition) Ministry (5 February 1938 - 11 September 1938)

1. Muhammad Saadulla (Premier)
2. J.J.M. Nichols Roy
3. Rohinikumar Choudhury
4. Munnawwar Ali
5. Abdul Matin Choudhury
6. Akshaykumar Das

Third Saadulla (Coalition) Ministry (17 November 1939 - 25 December 1941)

1. Muhammad Saadulla (Premier)
2. Rohinikumar Choudhury
3. Munnawwar Ali
4. Hirendra Chandra Chakrabarty
5. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhury
6. Mahendranath Saikia
7. Abdul Matin Choudhury
8. Sayidur Rahman
9. Mavis Dunn

10. Rupnath Brahma

Fourth Saadulla (League) Ministry (25 August 1942 - 23 March 1945)

1. Muhammad Saadulla (Premier)
2. Munnawwar Ali
3. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhury
4. Sayidur Rahman
5. Abdul Matin Choudhury
6. Hirendra Chandra Chakrabarty
7. Mavis Dunn
8. Mahendranath Saikia
9. Rupnath Brahma
10. Nabakumar Dutta

Fifth Saadulla (Coalition) Ministry (23 March 1945 - 11 February 1946)

1. Muhammad Saadulla (Premier)
2. Baidyanath Mukherjee
3. Munnawwar Ali
4. Rohinikumar Choudhury
5. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhury
6. Surendranath Buragohain
7. Sayidur Rahman
8. Akshaykumar Das
9. Abdul Matin Choudhury
10. Rupnath Brahma.

Source - Bhuyan, A. C. and De, S. (eds). *Political History of Assam, Vol-II*, Govt. of Assam, Guwahati, 2008, p-367; Bhuyan, A. C. and De, S. (eds). *Political History of Assam, Vol-III*, Govt. of Assam, Guwahati, 2008, p-399-400.

Appendix-III

Muslim members of Assam Legislative Assembly - 1937-46

No.	Name of Member	Constituency
1.	Sir Syed Muhammad Saadulla	Kamrup (South)
2.	Shams-ul-Ulama Maulana Abu Nasr Muhammad Waheed	Sylhet Sadr (Central)
3	Abdul Aziz	South Syhlet (Central)
4.	Abdul Bari Chaudhury	Sunamganj(Smlth) Muhammadan
5	Abdul Hamid Khan	Dhubri (South)
6	Khan Bahadur Hazi Abdul Majid Chaudhury	Karimganj (Central) Muhammadan
7	Abdul Matin Choudhury	Sylhet Sadr (East)
8	Abdur Rahman	Habiganj (South-East)
9	Sayed Abdul Rouf	Barpeta, Muhammadan
10	Md. Abdus Salam	Sylhet Sadr (North)
11	Dewan Muhammad Ahbab Choudhury	Sunamganj (East)
12	Dawan Ali Raja	Habiganj (North-West)
13.	Mohammad Amjad Ali	Goalpara (East)
14	Mohammad Amiruddin	Nowgong Mohhemedan (East)
15.	Ashrafuddin Md. Choudhury	Habiganj (South East)
16	Badaruddin Ahmed	Darrang Muhammedan

17.	Khan Bahadur Dewan Eclimur Roza Choudhury	Sylhet Sadar (West)
18	Fakaruddin Ali Ahmed	Kamrup North
19	Ghyasuddin Ahmed	Dhubri (West)
20	Jhanuddin Ahmed	Dhubri (North Muhammadan)
21	Khan Bahadur Keramet Ali	Sibsagar, Muhammadan
22	Matior Rahman Mia	Goalpara (West)
23.	Muhammad Maqbul Hussain Choudhury	Sunamganj (West)
24.	Khan Bahadur Maulavi Mahamud Ali	Sibsagar Muhammadan
25	Mabarak Ali	Karimganj (West) Muhammadan
26	Mudabbir Hussain Choudhury.	Habiganj (North East)
27	Khan Bahadur Maulavi Mafizur Rahman	Sylhet Sadar (South)
28	Munawwar Ali	Sunamganj (Central) Muhammadan
29	Muzarrof Ali Laskar	Hailakandi Muhammadan
30	Aanwar Ali Barbhuiya	Silchar Muhammadan
31	Naziruddin Ahmed	South Sylhet (West)
32	Sheik Osman Ali Sadagar	Sadagor Muhammadan Constituency. Nowgong.
33	Khan Sahib Maulavi Sayidur Rahman	Lakhipur Muhammadan.
34	Muhammad Ali Haidar Khan	South-Sylhet (east)

(Source: assamassembly.gov.in/mla-1937-46.html)

Appendix-IV

Saadulla's Letter to the Chief Secretary, Assam, dated 20th July, 1925, expressing his views on the Sylhet Transfer Issue

My personal view is that no provincial redistribution should be undertaken now. Opinion, even in Sylhet is not unanimous and I am told that majority of the Moslems there are against the transfer of Sylhet to Bengal.

Although some persons in the Assam Valley seem to think that the transfer of Sylhet to Bengal will be a good riddance, in view of its being a deficit district, but a long view of the matter will convince them that it will not be an unmixed blessing. An advanced form of Government, like the present one, will be out of the question, with a province consisting of the Assam Valley alone. Once the principle of linguistic and revenue settlement affinity-two main planks in the present agitation is conceded, there will be no logic to oppose the transfer of Goalpara as well.

Cachar was an after-thought in the Council at least, and if Cachar goes, my opinion is that the Lushai Hills should also go; for otherwise there will be no way to the Lushai Hills, but through Cachar - a Bengal district. The geographic situation is such that one must follow the other.

Speaking from the communal point of view, the transfer of Sylhet will spell disaster for both the valley Moslems. For the Assam Valley, the power of number will be gone and with it the proportionate share of representation in self government institutions and services dwindle to an enormous extent.

Surma Valley Muslims, in Assam, obtained a dominating voice and share on account of their preponderance, but the experience of neighbouring Moslems in Bengal districts shows that they cannot expect such treatment and results, if they go to Bengal. Recently, Gauhati Anjuman sought my opinion on this question. I

understand that the Jorhat Anjuman has already submitted a representation to Government over the same matter. The viewpoint of these Anjumans is:- Sylhet should not be transferred. But if the transfer is affected, the Assam Valley should also be transferred to Bengal. While leading the Assam Valley Muhammadan deputation before late Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford, at the time of the enquiry Reforms, I said that Sylhet ought not to go over to Bengal, but if in deference to popular opinion, Sylhet is transferred, then the Assam Valley should also be transferred subject to the provision that all the Assam districts are kept intact and the privileges obtained in Assam be continued in Bengal for the preservation of the Assamese nationality, culture and language, which is quite distinct from that of Bengal. I still adhere to that view.

20th July 1925

M. SAADULLA

(Source - The Assam Gazette (Part-VI), January 20, 1926, p-59-60.)

Appendix-V

Report of the Line System Enquiry Committee, 1938, Summary and Conclusion:

Some of us would prefer to see the Line System abolished at once while others would, if they had their way retain it in the present form. As a committee however, we consider it our duty to endeavour to arrive at a compromise between these conflicting views, and find a via media which we may recommend to Government as per taking of both viewpoints while at the same time providing a working solution of an extremely complicated problem. We have therefore, made our recommendations as a united committee instead of presenting majority and minority reports and while some of us still adhere to our original principles, we have agreed to sign the report.

3) As we see the problem we consider it undesirable at present to relax all the restrictions on the immigrant in the matter of where he should or should not take up land. His habits and customs acquired under a completely different system of land tenures and economic life in Bengal conflict very materially with those of the people among whom he has come to settle and for the purpose of better administration and avoidance of collision as well as to protect the interests of the more simple minded and peace loving people especially the tribal races of Assam, it is desirable to retain a certain amount of control in indicating the areas where he may take up land.

4) At first these restrictions took the form of lines in villages but as these tended slowly to disappear we are of opinion that the time has come when a large unit of restriction should be adopted, such as the Mauza or block of Mauzas involving a considerably shorter length of frontier to be protected from encroachment. At the same time the artificial restrictions imposed in the way of the immigrant's acquiring patta land, such as keeping pattas annual which in the normal way would have been made periodic, should be abolished and no bar placed in the way of his acquiring land

by purchase. Steps should be taken to protect local people from petty oppression, and due warning should be given them of the intention to do away with the lines, so as to allow them, if they so wish to migrate elsewhere. We would still reserve large areas of the province for the expansion of indigenous cultivation and would foster it by an extension of Development Schemes, but we would encourage the settlement of those areas which in the past proved unattractive to Assamese with landless immigrants at present seeking land; we would extend the Colonisation Schemes where they exist and if necessary start new ones. The transitional period we would suggest should be one of two years in the districts where the problem is acute and we consider this to be a fair compromise between the two schools of thought. We hope that it will be long time before all the Assamese leave those predominantly immigrant areas, if they ever do, in order that they may provide the handful of leaven to the whole lump and so enable the immigrants in course of time to become assimilated with the Assamese people.

5) At the same time we recognise that the time has come when the haphazard method of settlement by squatting must come to an end, land is becoming more valuable and more and more scarce and uneconomic method of cultivation must be discouraged. The immigrant is undoubtedly a hardier and better cultivator and there is a great deal that the Assamese can learn from him and it is our hope that he will do so to his own advantage, before it is too late in spite of his signal failure to do so up to the present time.

6) All our recommendations, however, will come to nothing without firmness of administration, avoidance of unnecessary interference and an adequate and competent staff to enforce the executive orders which are passed.

(As reproduced in M. Kar, Muslims in Assam Politics, Omsons Publication, New Delhi, 1990, p- 52-53.)

Appendix-VI

This letter was written by Saadulla to Gopinath Bordoli in 1945

My dear Sj: Gopinath Bordolai,

Your letter of 12th July 1945 complaining of alleged non-implementation by Government of the policy adopted in consultation with you, Sj: Rohini Kumar Choudhury, was received by me on 19th July, when I referred ^{you} ^{to} ^{the} ^{press}. But I saw its contents at Calcutta on 17th July, where ^{the} ^{press} gave due publicity as desired by you. Common courtesy, if not moral obligation, ^{required} that the letter should not have been released to the Press before I had seen it and replied to the allegations. ~~Such~~ ^{was} ^{not} ^{to} ^{be} the judge - as you deemed fit by issuing your letter to the Press - they ^{may} ^{have} ^{my} ^{views} ^{also} ^{before} ^{them} - and this common sense view eluded you when you rushed into print prematurely.

The agreed policy adopted on 22.3.45 embraced the following subjects :-

I. Restoration of Civil Liberties :- As this is the most important from your point of view & you have laid great stress on it, I will take up this subject last in this letter.

II. Procurement & supply :- Policy of Govt is to be reviewed & revised with a view to provide adequate supplies to the people, remove corruption, and secure more popular support & co-operation.

Govt has always endeavoured to secure adequate supplies of food stuff but in this matter, they are dependant upon the quotas released for them by the Central Govt.

Salt :- originally Govt of India agreed to give Assam $\frac{1}{8}$ one eighth of all salt imports to the port of Calcutta, on our protests, the quota has been raised to $\frac{1}{4}$ (one-fourth). On normal imports this percentage gives us just sufficient salt for our requirements & we have been transporting our share into Assam regularly.

Sugar :- on account of shortage of cane crop in producing Province Govt of India wanted to reduce the quota to all provinces. We fought hard & Central Govt was pleased not to decrease our quota, though most of the other provinces suffered. Recently the Govt at Simla, I requested the Sugar Controller to increase our quota. He was sympathetic & assured me that he will see if any thing could be done.

Dal :- we have obtained an additional quota of ²⁸ ^{lacs} of maunds over our basic quota.

cloth + yarn :- The gr. sta of cloth + yarn is being imported into the Province but the % centage of Dh. ch. + Sari in the consignments are meagre. This is due to less manufacture of these articles by the Mills themselves. We have represented the matter to Parish quarters and expect some redress.

Thus Govt have done their best to secure and procure as much foodstuffs ^{as they could}, under the present system of control by the Central Govt. We have to refer - as any other Govt - to local officers for its proper distribution. We have not received many complaints on this score from the public.

Regarding removal of corruption, we have appointed one large staff to supervise distribution, and as I told you verbally in mid-July, that I was thinking of constituting a Committee of Enquiry, but before I could formulate the scheme, I fell seriously ill + was out of action for a month, ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~at~~ ^{for} three weeks of which I was in hospital + immediately after that I had to proceed to Simla to attend the Wavell Conference on behalf of Mosam and was absent from the Province for another month.

- III. Land settlement policy :- your complaint on this score was under a misapprehension, for Govt resolution on the subject in the terms of our agreement was issued by the Ministry, ~~and~~ in my absence from the Province ~~on~~ ^{for} duty, on 13th July by a gazette extra-ordinary.
- IV. Local Board seats :- This was revised as agreed in April + elections held under the amended distribution of seats between communities.
- V. Reconstitution of the Cabinet :- This was carried out on 24.3.45.

Now to revert to Civil Liberties :-

you state in your letter that Govt "have virtually left it unimplemented in its most essential details". I am afraid this is a travesty of the truth and I will let the public decide.

Assam, in spite of the fact that she is the nearest Province of India to the seat of war, was the first to withdraw the ban against Congress Committees, - item (d) of the agreement, - to withdraw all restriction orders on M.L.A.s. - item (b) -, and to withdraw the ban on public meetings, assemblies, and processions except in the Sador Subdivision of Dibrugarh + "Protected" areas - item (c). All M.L.A.s and prominent Congress men were released soon after the agreement. item (a).

Your ground is that all security prisoners have not been yet released. Both during the ~~negotiations~~ discussions, as well as, in the statement that I made on the floor of the legislative assembly on 22nd March 1945, I stated that I could not release those who have been convicted of sabotage or other heinous offences, and those who declared themselves to be followers of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the others can be released speedily and in my opinion, probably two thirds of them ~~could~~ (security prisoners) "could be released within the next month (approx)".

vide page 281 of the proceedings of the Assembly.

The total number of security prisoners in the Province was 465. The highest number of them at any time was 349 ^{on 11.11.43} I have been following a process of gradual release; e.g. on 1.7.44, the number was reduced to 208. on 1.1.45, 112. on 24.2.45 when the New Ministry was formed, the number of security prisoners was 83 of whom 70 has been released, leaving a balance of 13 at the present moment. Of these 13, three are those who belong to the Forward block organization of Subhas Chandra Bose and, hail from the district of Sylhet, nine come from the Nowpang district, all followers of Bhagat Singh, one belongs to the Mritya Bhini group, and Haganika, a reputed terrorist, belong to the Mritya Bhini group, and concerned in various gun theft - dacoities and acts of sabotage. One case is from Kaurang district, of a man who led the attack on Sorbhaj Thakur. On the principle announced by me in the House, I can not, in justice to public interest and safety, release them, unless they recant their previous professions. (item (a))

A comparison with other Provinces will show what Assam has done in the matter of release of security prisoners, and what is the ^{position} in regard to ~~the~~ persons convicted for political offences since August 1942. The figures given below are as on 1.5.45 :-

Province	Imprisoned on conviction	Detained as Security Prisoners
Madras	491	83
Bombay	340	171
Bengal	163	41
U. P.	3100	407
Punjab	33	32
Bihar	2363	252
...		
C.P.	334	77
Orissa	120	39
Assam	42	56

I have not been able to get more up to date figures of other Provinces but on 31.7.45, the Assam numbers are 22 and 13 respectively. out of the 22 convicted persons, ^{eleven} have been convicted for heinous offences accompanied by violence, and the balance eleven, for non-violent offences, but two of them absconded from justice and surrendered & were tried and sentenced on 6.6.46 in one case & on 1.5.45 in the other.

It is in the case of the convicted persons only that you can rightly say that Govt has not yet done anything. I was taking up their cases, when I fell ~~seriously~~ seriously ill on 16.5.45 and has been practically out of office work till 19.7.45. The cases of the non-violent, & non-absconding prisoners will be reviewed in due course. (item 6).

You have laid great stress on the allegation that about seventy persons are even now under orders of restriction & this is one of your charges of non-implementation of the agreement. If you read the agreement of 22.5.45 again, you will nowhere find any mention of withdrawal of restrictive orders from any non-M.L.A.s. yet what are the facts? Restriction orders in force in the Province when the new Ministry was formed on 24.5.45 was 142, restriction orders withdrawn by Govt up to 31.7.45 is 118, leaving a balance of 24. out of these two restricted, are absconding and one is a case from Timp Nankar Tract, over which the Ministry has no jurisdiction. It is correct that 32 new restrictions have been imposed by Govt since, of which 7 are upon prostitutes in the Khairi Hills, one was restricted for three months from 8.5.45, and eleven for six months from 25.5.45. Govt is continually reviewing these cases & I am sure more restriction orders will be withdrawn if circumstances and the political situation in the Province permit.

To emphasize your point, I have cited the restriction orders on Purnendu Sen Gupta of Dighit, Hanuman Das of Jorhat, Prafulla Chandra Dasa of Dibrugarh, Sardar Wairam Singh & Dalbir Singh of Dibrugarh.

You are misinformed about Profulla Borna of Sibpur. All restrictions against him was withdrawn by Govt order dated 14.6.45. The cases of Dalbir Singh and Sardar Wariam Singh do not come under the purview of our agreement, which confined ourselves to cases arising out of the political turmoil after August 1942. Both these gentlemen were returned from five districts of Assam Valley in 1941, owing to their ~~part~~^{activities} in the Digboi strike. Both of them took residence in Goalpara, where Dalbir Singh was convicted for attempt to suborn a Police Officer. Govt ~~was~~ however allowed him permission to visit his people at Dibrupur ~~for~~ and stay there for a limited period. He disobeyed order by overstaying & was convicted again for breach of order. Sardar Wariam Singh also was convicted for violation of order for making a prejudicial speech ~~in~~ⁱⁿ 1942. In his case, Govt ~~has~~ ordered ~~restriction~~^{restriction} ~~from~~^{from} Dalkhimpur district only.

Cases of Sri. Puruendu Kishore Sen Gupta & Hari Narayan Borna are under review; the D.C.s concerned were asked to report about them on 13th & 10th July 1945 respectively & the reports are awaited. Both of them have had records, the former ~~was~~ in Bengal & Assam, involved in restriction order, and the latter was found doing propaganda for sabotage in Jorhat jail & had to be transferred to Guwahati jail.

To sum up, I have given you a very detailed account of what the Government has done since our agreement of 22.3.45 and I maintain that Govt has virtually fulfilled all that I agreed to do. You talk of withdrawing support to the Ministry. You may take whatever course your conscience dictates. I never relied upon any support from you or your party, for the simple reason that you are not free agents or that whatever is ordered by your High Command, you have to obey it implicitly. ^{interview tapes} ~~As you intended to~~ ^{published} ~~press~~ your letter of 12.7.45 ^{to the Press} ~~to the Press~~ even before I checked my eyes on it, I have reluctantly ^{to} ~~to~~ follow suit and I am sending up this letter to the Press.

Yours sincerely

Stated Shillong.
15th Aug 1945

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Appendix-VII

British Government's Statement of 3 June, 1947

(Commonly known as the Partition Plan)

- 1) On February 20th, 1947, His Majesty's Government announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948. His Majesty's Government had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to cooperate in the working out of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16th, 1946, and evolve for India a Constitution acceptable to all concerned. This hope has not been fulfilled.
- 2) The majority of the representatives of the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, The United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Provinces, and the representatives of Delhi, Ajmir-Merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new Constitution. On the other hand, the Muslim League Party, including in it a majority of the representatives of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind as also the representative of British Baluchistan, has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly.
- 3) It has always been the desire of His Majesty's Government that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves. This task would have been greatly facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties. In the absence of such agreement, the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has developed upon His Majesty's Government. After full consultation with political leaders in India, His Majesty's Government has decided to adopt for this purpose the plan set out below. His Majesty's Government wishes to make it clear that they have no intention 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.

- 4) It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. Now that provision is made for certain provinces specified below, His Majesty's Government trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those provinces, a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it, will now take their due share in its labour. At the same time it is clear that any constitution formed by the Assembly can not 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 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.
- 5) The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will, therefore, each be asked to meet in two parts one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the province. For the purpose of determining the population of districts the 1941 census figures will be taken as authoritative. The Muslim majority districts in the two provinces are set out in the appendix to this announcement.
- 6) The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the province should be partitioned. If a

simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will be taken place and arrangement will be made accordingly.

- 7) Before the question as to partition is decided, it is desirable that the representative of the 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 European) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join if it were decided by the two parts to remain united.
- 8) In the event of partition being decided upon, each part of the Legislative Assembly will, on behalf of the areas they represent, decide which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt.
- 9) For the immediate purpose of deciding to the issue of partition, the member 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 temporarily nature as it is evident that for the purposes of 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 provinces 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.

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

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

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

13) Though Assam is pre-dominantly a non-Muslim Province, the district of Sylhet which is contiguous to Bengal is pre-dominantly Muslim. There has been a demand that, in the event of 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 Assam Province or should be amalgamated with the new province of 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 East Bengal. The rest of Assam Province will in any case continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly.

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

Province	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

- 15) In accordance with the mandates given to them, the representatives, of the various areas will either join the existing Constituent Assembly or form the new Constituent Assembly.
- 16) Negotiations will have to initiate as soon as possible on the administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon:-
- a) Between the representatives and the respective successor authorities about all subjects now dealt with by the Central Government including defence, finance and communications.
 - b) Between different successor authorities and His Majesty's Government for treaties in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power.
 - c) In the case of Provinces that may be partitioned, as to the administration of all provincial subjects, such as the division of assets and liabilities, the police and other services, the high courts, provincial institutions, etc.
- 17) Agreements with tribes of the North-West Frontier of India will have to be negotiated by the appropriate successor authority.
- 18) His Majesty's Government wishes to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian State contained in the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of 12th May, 1946 remains unchanged.
- 19) In order that the successor authorities may have time to prepare themselves to take over power, it is important that all the above processes should be completed as quickly as possible. To avoid delay, the different provinces or parts of provinces will proceed independently as far as practicable with the conditions of this plan. The existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly (if formed)

will proceed to frame Constitutions for their respective territories; they will, of course, be free to frame their own rules.

20) The major political parties have repeatedly emphasised their desire that there should be the earliest possible transfer of power in India. With this desire His Majesty's Government are in full sympathy and they are willing to anticipate the date of June 1948, for the handing over of power by the setting up of an Independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date. Accordingly, as the most expeditious, and indeed the only practicable way of meeting this desire, His Majesty's Government propose to introduce Legislation during the current session for the transfer of power this year on a Dominion Status basis to 1 or 2 successor authorities according to the decisions taken as a result of this announcement. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Indian Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether or not the part of India in respect of which they have authority will remain within the British Commonwealth. His Excellency the Governor-General will from time to time make such further announcements as may be necessary in regard to procedure or any other matters for carrying out the above arrangements. The Muslim majority districts of the Punjab and Bengal according to the 1941 (Census):

1. THE PUNJAB

Lahore Division - Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhupura, Sialkot Rawalpindi Division - Attock, Gujarat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rowalpindi, Shalpur. Multhan Division - Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan, Muzaffargarh.

2. BENGAL

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

(As reproduced in Azad, M. A. K. *India Wins Freedom*, Orient Longman, Delhi, 1988, p-270-76)

Appendix-VIII

MEMBERS IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY FROM ASSAM

7 General Members (Congress)

Members nominated by Congress:

- (1) Gopinath Bordoloi, Premier of Assam.
- (2) Basanta Kumar Das, Home Minister, Assam.
- (3) J.J.M. Nichols Roy, Minister, Assam (Christian).
- (4) Rohini Kumar Chaudhury, M.L.A., Central (former Minister, Assam).
- (5) Omeo Kumar Das, M.L.A., Provincial (Kuladhar Chaliha was elected in lieu of Omeo Kumar Das after two sittings of the Assembly).
- (6) Dharanidhar Basumatari, M.L.A., Provincial.
- (7) Akshay Kumar Das, M.L.A., Provincial.

3 Muslim Members

- (1) Muhammad Saadulla, M.L.A., Provincial (For Premier of Assam).
- (2) Abdul Matin Chaudhury, M.L.A., Provincial (Former Minister of Assam).
- (3) Abdul Hamid, M.L.A., Provincial.

Members of Different Communities

(1) Hindus (excluding Scheduled Castes).....	4
(2) Scheduled Castes1
(3) Muslims3
(4) Backward Tribes2
	<hr/>
Total	10

Appendix-IX

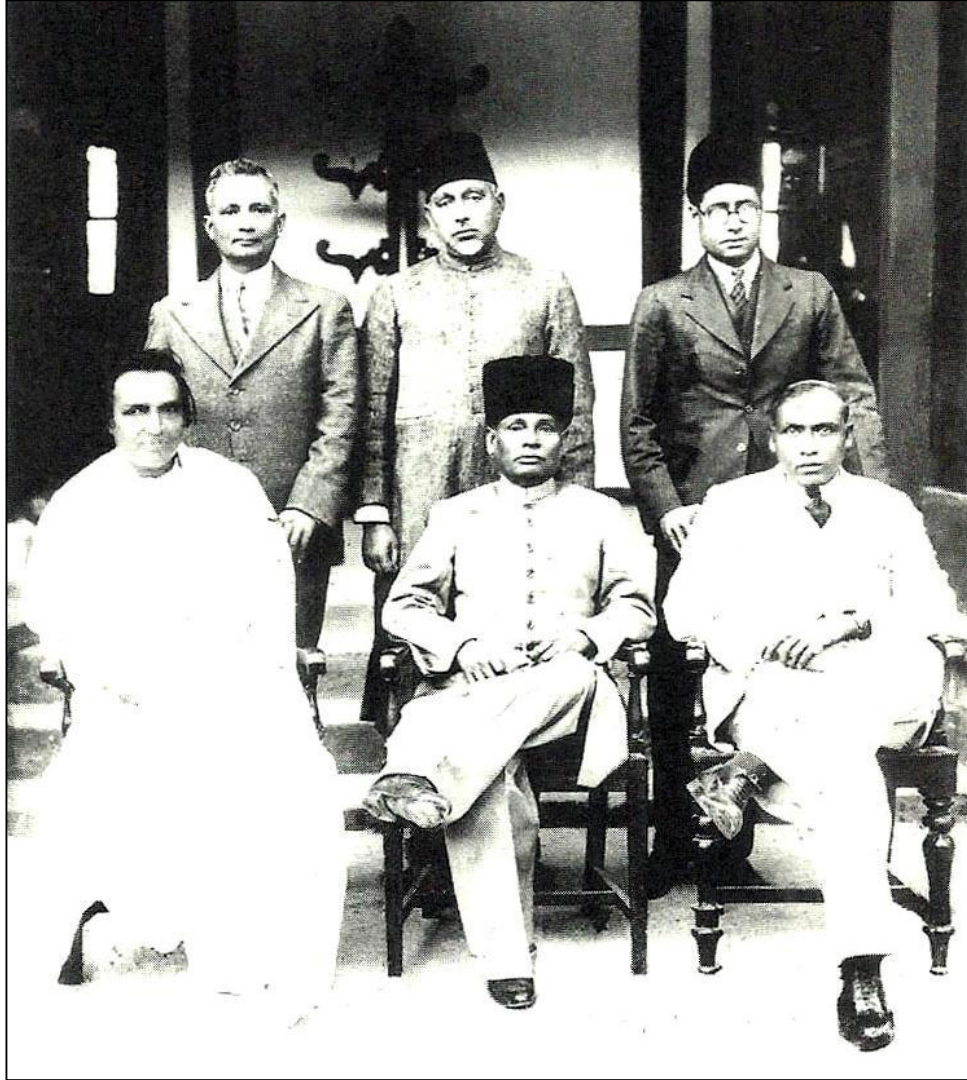
PHOTOS



Syed Muhammad Saadulla

(21st May 1885 - 8th January 1955)

Saadulla with the members of his Second Coalition Ministry



(L to R) Sitting : Rohini Kumar Choudhuri, Munawwar Ali, Akshay Kumar Das;
Standing : Rev.J. J. M. Nicholas-Roy, Sir Syed Muhammad Saadulla (Premier)
and Abdul Matin Chaudhury.



Saadulla with the members of the Drafting Committee for the Constitution of India.



Grave of Syed Muhammad Saadulla in Athgaon Graveyard, Guwahati