

**BETRAYAL OF SIKH NATION BY MASTER TARA SINGH  
WITH DOCUMENTS OF TRANSFER OF POWER 1947**

**Written and Compiled by:**

**Ram Singh**

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Betrayal of Sikh Nation (*Master Tara Singh Da Sikh Kaum Naal Visahghat* in Punjabi),  
With British Documents of Transfer of Power 1947  
(Written and Compiled) By

**Sardar Ram Singh of The United Kingdom**

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**Sardar Ram Singh, the author of the title, "Betrayal of Sikh Nation By Master Tara Singh,"left) Butahri, B A , B T, of the district Ludhiana, PUNJAB, India, and Allen Campbell Johnson Esq., CIE**

The writer of the acknowledgements and a few words of thanks would like to express his deepest gratitude to Sardar Ram Singh, the author and compiler of the title *“Betrayal of Sikh Nation by Master Tara Singh alias Master Tara Singh Da Sikh Kaum Naal Visahghat (in Punjabi), with British Documents of Transfer of Power 1947.”* The first print of Sardar Ram Singh, a great son of the Guru Khalsa Panth, the 'House of Baba Nanak' alias the **First Sovereign and Secular nation of South Asia region**, the Sikh Raj, the Holy and Historic Homeland of the Sikhs, Punjab or Punjab of a Sikh monarch Ranjit Singh, from 1799 to 14th March, 1849, was **'annexed'** by the British Empire on 14th March, 1849 and remained **'annexed'** until the day the **'unelected'** Brahmin-Hindu clique was made a sovereign country by the British Empire and its agent, Lord Mountbatten, on 15th August, 1947, has exhausted. I can understand the agony felt by Sardar Ram Singh, which is understandable, as to how did he feel when the **'subservient'** of the Afghans, Mughals, Sikhs, British, Portuguese, etc., and so forth, for more than fourteen hundred years, became the master of the first sovereign and secular nation in South Asia. Despite the fact that it was the Sikh nation, the Punjab of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's time, which put a peaceful show of the *Sikhs' Struggled for Sovereignty, Independence and political power.* The peaceful show effort to regain Sikh nation's freedom was the first of its kind, under the leadership of **'uncrowned'** King of Sikhs, Baba Kharak Singh (see *The Times* (London), 29th December, 1929, front page). The Sikhs and the citizens of Punjab, the Sikh Nation, were demonstrated their love for the peaceful use of human as a means of exercising power. I am equally thankful to Sardar Harbans Singh Grewal, one of the presidents, Shepherd's Bush Gurdwara (Sikhs' House of Worship), 79 Sinclair Road, London W 12, United Kingdom, Sardar Sahib's family, his son Sardar P S Grewal in particular and Sardar Sarjit Singh Khalsa, U.K., to make me inspire to go for the second printing of Sardar Ram Singh's title. I would like to express my never ending eternal thanks to one of my younger brothers (who would like to remain anonymous, and no relation to the author) after reading the book, came to see me and told me *“Brother, a nation did not need an enemy when it had a leader like Master Tara Singh.”*

#### **BETRAYAL OF SIKH NATION BY MASTER TARA SINGH**

My brother was absolutely correct. I found the book very interesting, thought-provoking and full of clarity of thoughts. Subsequently, a few of my friends and brothers, who read the only copy of Sardar Ram Singh's title, which I had in my possession, and appreciated Sardar Ram Singh's in-depth analysis of one of the former leaders of the Sikhs, Master Tara Singh. In fact, the author had heard from numerous of his younger and older brothers on the weaknesses of Master Tara Singh and his followers like Harchand Longowal (deceased), one of the successors of Master Tara Singh, Gurcharan Tohra, President, Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandhak Committee (a traitor and conspirator with the Brahmin-Hindu clique of the alleged Indian democracy, Prakash Singh (Sinh) Badal, Chief, Akali Dal Badal Private Incorporation Limited and Chief Minister, Government of Punjab (*under the occupation of the alleged Indian democracy since 15th August, 1947*). Sardar Ram Singh's title helped the writer to a great extent that how a 'brave nation of Sikhs' has been imprisoned under the 'occupation' of the Brahmin-Hindu clique and their pros (merely 14% of a total population of over 1.2 billion hungry mouths of India). These Sikh leaders, so to speak, belonging to the Akali factions and non-Sikh political parties (e. g., Congress, Bhartiya Janta Party, Vishva Hindu Parishad, Rashtriya Swamsewak Sangh, Rashtriya Sikh Sangat formed by Badal and A B Vajpayee, Shiv Sena, Bajrang Dal, Army of the monkey-faced Hindu God, Hanuman Sena, and the Hindu Mahasabha, the mother of all evils) have 'Brahminized' (enemy of Sikhs, according to the founder of the Sikh Religion) the Sikhs, Sikhs' Holy and Historic institutions, Gurdwaras and the entire **'Motherland Punjab'** following 15th August, 1947. Sardar Ram Singh has put it rightly that how a weak leadership make a nation of the brave people, a nation of 'subjugates'. After reading Sardar Ram Singh's title, I came to the conclusion that how a leaderless nation is prone to attacks on its religion, culture, political institutions, and how the *jathedars, granthis, keertanyes* (hymn singers), orators, custodians, fake holy men (*Sadhs, saints, etc.*) destroy their own 'Sovereignty and Independence', for their selfishness.

Master Tara Singh played his very best to betray the Sikh Nation to please the 'Brahmin-Hindu' clique, against the teachings of the founder of the Sikh Religion, Guru Baba Nanak Sahib: "*Mathe Tikka Terrh Dhotti Kakhai Hath Chhurri Jagat Kasai.*" Means the **Brahmin is the Butcher of our peaceful world.** Master Tara Singh and his successors, with the exception of *Shaheed-Bilas* Saint soldier Jarnail Singh Khalsa, was the only political and religious leaders of the masses of Punjab, the Sikh Nation. The latter and more than 260,000 innocent Sikhs had been killed by J.L. Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi, her administration, India's armed forces in an '**undeclared**' war on the Sikh Nation, Punjab, in a brutal military "**Operation Bluestar**" of June, 1984. In this "Operation Bluestar" of June 1984, Prakash Badal, his Akali Dal-Badal, Badal clan, Badal's Akali colleagues, Gurcharan Tohra, Longowal, etc., all conspired against the *Shaheed-Bilas* Saint soldier Jarnail Singh Khalsa and Sikh masses of the Sikh Nation, Punjab, simply to remain in the political power. Sardar Ram Singh is indeed right in his title presented before you that the Sikhs need a leader to look after the interests of the Sikhs' Holy and Historic Homeland and how the naïve, spineless leaders betrayed the Sikhs. The writer is equally indebted to his younger brothers like Dr Harbakhsh Singh Sandhar, Sardar Parmjit Singh Dakha (MD), and many more who would like to remain anonymous. Their wishes have to be respected. I hope the readership will enjoy the second printing of Sardar Ram Singh's title "Betrayal of Sikh Nation by Master Tara Singh."

Awatar Singh Sekhon, Ph D, FIBA, RM (CCM) Associate Professor (Retired), Medical Microbiology and Immunology Director (Former), National Centre for Human Mycotic Diseases CANADA Managing Editor and Acting Editor in Chief

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*BETRAYAL OF SIKH NATION BY MASTER TARA SINGH*

Strictly Confidential, 17 June, 1986  
The Director,  
British Library,  
India Office Library & Records,  
197, Blacfriars Road, London, SE1 ENG.

Dear Sir,

**Re: Permission for publishing the Extracts. 10 R L/P&J/10/81, and others.**

I am greatly thankful to you for allowing me to obtain the extracts from your above referred files.

I am requesting you to grant me the permission to publish the extracts in connection with the negotiations between Lord Mountbatten and the Indian Leaders (including Master Tara Singh) at the time of transfer of powers to India and Pakistan. The grounds on which I apply for this permission are as follows;

Soon after the transfer of power to Pakistan and India the Akali leader Master Tara Singh in his several speeches created the misapprehension among the Sikhs that Lord Mountbatten was responsible for the destruction of Sikhs and thus deceived and betrayed the Sikhs. After a careful and thorough studies of the records at your office I have been left in no doubt that this is not the case. It is evident from the records that Lord Mountbatten tried his best to help the Sikh cause. But it was the treacherous role of Akali leader Master Tara Singh who did not listen to the good and sincere advice of Lord Mountbatten. It is evidently clear that it was Akali leader who betrayed the Sikhs. In view of this I feel it my solemn duty to bring the true facts before the Sikhs that it was not Lord Mountbatten who was responsible for our present plight but it was our Akali leader

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Master Tara Singh who was and is responsible for our present plight. Secondly I wish to restore the good name of Lord Mountbatten and British people among the Sikhs throughout the world, so that his name will command a great respect among the Sikhs.

It is hoped that you will kindly accede to my request

Thanks,

Yours faithfully,

RAM SINGH The British Library India Office Library & Records, 197-Black Friars Road, London S.E. 1-8NG 23 June, 1986

Dear Mr. Singh,

Thank you for your letter of 17 June in which you request permission to publish extracts from certain files relating to Lord Mount-Batten and the Sikhs held in the India Office Records, notably in L/P&J/10/81.

There is, of course, no objection to your publishing extracts from these documents. You should, however, acknowledge Crown-copyright in your publication in the following terms:

Unpublished Crown-copyright documents in the India Office Library and Records reproduced/transcribed in this publication appear by permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. Martin Moir

Deputy Director

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On 9 March 1966 the Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, announced in the House of Commons that the closed period for official records was to be reduced from fifty to thirty years.

A project to publish documents from the India Office Records had been under discussion for some years and on 30 June 1967 the Prime Minister, in replying to written question in the House of Commons, announced that the first of the new series of selected documents to be published was to relate to the Transfer of Power in India.

Secret Telegrams sent to H.M.G. by Mountbatten The Transfer of Power.

Representative of British Government in India

- 1. P.M. Mr. Clemet Aattlee.
- 2. Secretary of State, Earl of Listowel.
- 3. Viceroy. H.E. Lord Mountbatten.
- 4. Chief of Viceroy's Staff, Lord Ismay.
- 5. Principal Secretary to the Viceroy, Sir Evic Mieville.
- 6. Private Secretary to the Viceroy, Mr. Abell.
- 7. Major Short :- Personal Assistant to Sir Cripps.

Deputed to guide Master Tara Singh to get Khalistan.

Special (i.e. Partition) Committee (12-26 June 1947)

- 1. H.E. Mountbatten
- 2. Liaqut Ali Khan
- 3. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
- 4. Dr. Rajindra Prasad
- 5. Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar.

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Partition Council (from 27 June 1947)

- 1. Mountbatten Governor of Punjab,
- 2. Mr. Mohaammad Ali Jinnah Sir Evan Jenkins I.C.S.
- 3. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan Mr. Abbatt Secretary to
- 4. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel the Governor of the Punjab
- 5. Dr. Rajendra Prased

**Transfer of Power Volume IX**

(P. 372) 31-8-1946 Jenkins letter to Lord Wavell.

The congress pact with the Sikhs is welcomed as ensuring protection for the Hindus, especially in the central Punjab. The Hindu News papers are arrogant & most bitterly communal. Underneath the bluster there is (as always with the urban Hindu) an under current of fear; nothing is more likely to bring about a physical conflict than this pitiful combination of arrogance and timidity.

The Sikhs attitude is still uncertain-the community is divided into at least three groups and although it is now officially linked with the congress. Some influential Sikhs would be reluctant to break finally with the Muslims. The chances are, however, that in any serious disturbance the Sikhs would side with the Hindus. The tone of the Sikh-press and of Sikh speakers is anti-British and anti-Muslim and Sikh speakers are among the most violent in the Punjab.

(The Interim Govt.) Sardar Baldev Singh to Field Marshal Viscount Wavell

Mountbatten Papers. Official Correspondence Files: Sikh Problem, Part I (a): f 74

*BETRAYAL OF SIKH NATION BY MASTER TARA SINGH*

**DEFENSE DEPARTMENT, NEW DELHI,**

**7 NOVEMBER 1946**

(page 20)

Dear Lord Wavell,

I have received copy of letter dated the 30<sup>th</sup> October 1946 which Master Tara Singh has addressed to your Excellency.

According to the Statement of May 16 , the Sikhs have been placed on an equal footing with the other two parties and it may just be that the minorities referred to in your correspondence with Mr. Jinnah do not include the Sikhs at all.

Mr. Abell to Master Tara Singh Page 41 Mountbatten Papers. Official Correspondence

Files: Sikh Problem, Part I (a): f 76 No. 592/3 10 November 1946

My dear Master Tara Singh,

His Excellency the Viceroy asks me to acknowledge your

letter of the 30 October.

2. He is sure you will agree that the present Sikh Member of the Interim Government has the confidence of the Sikh community as a whole and he sincerely trusts the question of filling a vacancy will not rise.

Jenkins Letter to Wavell

Page 373. 31-8-1946 Jenkins letter Wavell about Baldev Singh, 31-8-1946. The Sikh is a wealthy industrialist, and was brought up largely outside the Punjab. His business interests are in Bihar. The Sikhs are not easy to control, and he has little real influence over them. His personal sympathies are with the Congress. He is about to join the Interim Government, and his successor in the Punjab is unlikely to be an improvement.

The Coalition Ministry is, in short, an exceedingly weak team. Its Muslim members dislike and distrust their Congress colleagues.

Page 411. 222 Viceroy's House, New Delhi.

23 December 1946.

Sir J. Calville to Lord Pethick Lawrence

In a letter to the Secretary of State, dated May 25, 1946, Master Tara Singh gave expression to the anxiety and apprehensions of the Sikhs and asked for clarification in regard to certain matters. The Secretary of State sent an answer to this letter on June 1, 1946, in the course of which he said: "I have considered carefully the detailed points you raise at the end of your letter. I fear the Mission cannot issue any additions to, or interpretation of the statement."

23-12-1946

Record of Mr. Henderson's Conversation with Master Tara Singh at Government House, Lahore on Sunday, 19 January 1947. P.513

L/PO/12/Henderson Mission Meetings

Master Tara Singh stated that the Sikhs had strong fears of Muslim domination. They desired some safeguards in Section B such as had been provided at the Centre in respect of major communal differences. Sikhs would then willingly co-operate in the work of the section. I asked him whether if no such safeguard was given whether they would refuse to enter into the Section. He said that it was doubtful that they would, although they might take a decision to enter the Section in order to state their case reserving their freedom to leave subsequently.

He stated that if British bayonets were not here the Sikhs would revolt and seek to prevent Muslim domination by seeking control of the Province themselves.

They might as an alternative by the use of force agree to the division of the Province, but only as a last solution. Provided there was no risk of Muslim domination they preferred to keep the Province as at present constituted, but this {was} dependent, as he had already stated, upon the provision of adequate safeguards, and required intercommunal co-operation. If the safeguard for which they asked were given, they would willingly co-operate with the other communities in running the Provincial administration.

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He indicated the possibility of a visit to England in order to put the Sikh case to the British Public. 19.1.1947

P. 680 Sir E. Jenkins (Punjab) to Field Marshal Viscount Wavell. Telegram,

Wavell Papers. Official Correspondence: India,

January 1946 March 1947, P. 241 12 February 1947 Tara Singh has issued statement to the Press to effect that

Sikhs are in grave danger and must revive their "Army" immediately under his command. Demonstrations are not however to be made until he gives the word.

12.2.1947 P. 912 Sir E. Jenkins (Punjab) to Field Marshal Viscount Wavell 10

March 1947, 11.20 p.m.

3. Two police officers who saw Master Tara Singh at Amritsar today say that he is extremely excited; asserts that 'Civil War' has already begun and threatens attacks on police stations and a mass Sikh rising. Murder of Labh Singh a former President for S.G.P.C. in Jullundur recently is probably main cause of his resentment. We are doing what we can to get him off the boil. Anti-Pakistan Day tomorrow may give some trouble but I hope not.

Sardar Baldev Singh to Field Marshal Viscount Wavell 11 March 1947 Page 914 We watched the maneuver with grave misgivings from its

very start; and you will remember how Sikh opinion reacted almost instinctively to declare, as Master Tara Singh did in a press Statement, that the League's move was in fact an attempt to establish its own domination in the Punjab.

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Sir E. Jenkins (Punjab) to Field Marshal Viscount Wavell

11 March 1947, 10.50 p.m. Page 920

On return I had a long talk with Baldev Singh and Swaran Singh. Upshot was that Sikhs would be prepared to join in informal discussion with League under my chairmanship provided League Leaders (a) made open effort to stop

outrages in Rawalpindi, Attock and Multan and (b) obtained authority from the High Command to negotiate freely with minorities. Sikhs are intensely excited and Tara Singh who is now in Lahore though fairly reasonable with officials is still talking in terms of civil war. Mamdot is being contacted tonight and I intend to see him tomorrow morning.

Note by General Messervy to Field Marshal Sir C. Auchinleck.

22 March 1947 Page 1005

When the intensive Muslim League campaign succeeded in forcing the resignation of the Unionist Punjab Government and was followed by militant anti-Pakistan statements by Master Tara Singh and other Sikh leaders, Muslim feelings were roused to a pitch of fanaticism. It only needed a spark to set alight the raging fires of religious passion. This was provided by anti-Pakistan meetings and processions in such places as Lahore, Amritsar, Multan and Rawalpindi. In Multan the Hindu-Sikh processionists were even so madly unwise as to raise the cry of 'Qaidi-Azam Murdabad'. In the predominantly Muslim areas of Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions the fires spread rapidly to the rural areas.

*Minutes of the Meeting of the Viceroy with the Indian Leaders, First Day L/P&J/10/81. ff. 401-9 Telegrams to H.M.G. by Lord Mount-Batten.*

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

Those present at this Meeting held at The Viceroy's House, New Delhi, on 2 June 1947 at 10 a.m. were: Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, Mr. Kripalani, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. Nishtar, Sardar Baldev Singh, Lord Ismay, Sir E. Mieville; Lieutenant-Colonel Erskine Crum (Secretariat).

**The Necessity for Speed**

Before he had left for India in March, he had been given no indication in London of the necessity for speed in formulating proposals for the transfer of power.

Extract of Baldev's Letter to Mountbatten L/P+J/10/81 -3 June 1947. Baldev Singh sends this latter to Mount-Batten that he

accepts the British proposals on 3 June, 1947.

"I (Baldev Singh) must say that judged by this simple test the palm as it stands is far from satisfactory. My Sikh friends and I, however, do appreciate that the principle of the partition of the Punjab has been accepted and the anxiety you have expressed to help the community.

I should like to bring to your notice that though assurances have been given to us that we shall have equal rights with the two other major communities for the safeguard of our communal rights and privileges, nothing tangible has so far been done to give effect to these assurances. Our community is now in danger of being riven in two. We have so far not been assured equal rights with others in either the existing or the proposed new Constituent Assembly. We request you to see that this is done.

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Finally, my Sikh friends and I accept the principle of division as laid down in the plan with the hope that in order to make it fully acceptable to my community, care will be taken to meet the views expressed in this letter when framing the terms of reference for the Boundary Commission.

Assuring you of my endeavour to help you in solving the difficult problems, I remain," Yours sincerely,  
Sgd. Baldev Singh

His Excellency Admrl Lord Mountbatten L/P+J/10/81

**CONFIDENTIAL CODE**

From Viceroy To Secretary of State for India Repeated to All Governors and Governor of Burma  
Dated New Delhi, 22.20 hours, 3 June 1947  
Received 22.50 hours, 3 June 1947

**IMMEDIATE NO. 1284-S.**

Nehru quite openly admitted North West Frontier Province could not possibly stand by itself, and it became clear to me that this was a device to free Khan Sahib's party from the odium of being connected with Congress during the referendum period, since Nehru spoke about Khan Sahib wishing to join Union of India at a subsequent stage. I told Nehru I had no intention of raising this at the meeting, and he accepted my ruling on this.

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5. He also asked that the referendum should be based on adult franchise. I told him that this was quite impracticable in the time available, and rejected it.

7. Baldev Singh wanted instructions to Boundary Commission included in printed plan, and wished them to take Sikh interests more fully into consideration. I rejected this at meeting and he accepted my ruling.

9. At the end of meeting I handed them a copy of a paper on administrative consequences of partition, much on the lines of the one I left with you drafted by Christie to which I had added a preliminary statement to the effect that Parliamentary legislation setting up two Dominions would be introduced in Parliament during the current session and that the Act would contain a provision enabling me to bring it into operation at any time thereafter. It was my intention that the act should be brought into operation not later than August 15th 1947. I purposely mentioned a very early date for tactical reasons as I am anxious to make them realize that they must move quickly and that vital decisions would have to be taken in the very near future. I have given them copies of paper to take away with them and I have arranged to meet them again at 10 a.m. on Thursday morning, June 5, in order to have a general discussion on items contained therein, before taking it in Cabinet at 6 p.m. on Friday.

10. The meeting agreed that Auchinleck should be invited to broadcast in near future a steady message to armed forces giving them a broad outline of their future. I told leaders that the working Committees would have to give Auchinleck answers on several points such as whether the Army was to be divided on a geographical or communal basis, and whether a Moslem soldier living in Bombay would serve in Hindustan or Pakistan Army, and if the latter whether he would have to transfer his domicile. It was clear from reactions at the meeting that none of the leaders present had even begun to think of complications with which we are all going to be faced. Perhaps this is lucky, since it will enable us to hold the initiative in Viceroy's House during the coming difficult period.

*India Office Library and Records Reference Page from Secret File L/J/10/81*

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**Mountbatten addressed the Press Conference**

**On 4 June 1947**

The Sikhs

THE VICEROY, continuing said that he was most distressed about the position of the Sikhs. He did not think that any single question had been discussed at such great length in London as this. He had repeatedly asked the Sikhs whether they desired the partition of the Punjab, as they were so spread over that Province that any partition would necessarily divide their community, and they had repeatedly replied that they did. Different formulae had been tried, but it was apparent that there would be frightful difficulties if attempts were made to work, for the notional partition, on any principle other than division between the majority Muslim and majority non-Muslim areas. It had therefore been agreed that the notional partition would be entirely provisional. The Boundary Commission, on which Sikh interests would of course be represented, would have to work out the best long-term solution.

**EXTRACT FROM VICEROY'S SPEECH AT A PRESS CONFERENCE AT NEW**

**DEHLI JUNE 4 1947 LP+J/10/81**

"Gentlemen, I should like to begin by thanking the Honorable Member for Information and Broadcasting for coming here and taking the chair at this Press Conference today. I have no prepared address to deliver nor have I any notes. I have already delivered my prepared address on the radio last night. Today I propose to confine my few



introductory remarks to clear the background and then answer any question that you may care to ask.

"When I suddenly found myself going to India we had some preliminary discussions in London, and we settled on a programme that I should spend the first six months in becoming acquainted with the problems, and then I should send my recommendations to H.M.G. to enable them in due course to prepare the necessary legislation for introduction early in 1948 in Parliament.

"There are two main parties to this plan, the Congress and the Muslim League, but another community, much less numerous but of great importance -the Sikh community -have of course to be considered. I found that it was mainly at the request of the Sikh community that Congress had put forward the resolution on the partition of the Punjab, and you will remember that in the words of

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that resolution they wished the Punjab to be divided between predominantly Muslim and non-Muslim areas. It was, therefore, on that resolution which the Sikh themselves sponsored, that this division has been provided for. I was not aware of all the details when this suggestion was made, but when I sent for the map and studied the distribution of the Sikh population under this proposal, I must say that I was astounded to find that the plan which they had produced divided their community into two almost equal parts. I have spent a great deal of time both out here and in England in seeing whether there was any solution which would keep the Sikh community more together without departing from the broad and easily understood principle -the principle which was demanded on the one side and was conceded on the other.

"I am not a miracle worker and I have not found that solution. All I have been able to say is that the leaders of the respective communities shall appoint a committee which will draw up the terms of reference of the Boundary Commission which has been suggested in the plan. The Boundary Commission shall have representatives of all the parties so far as it is humanly possible. There will be no interference or dictation by the British Government. If we can be of service in advancing impartial views and helping in this work we shall not be afraid to do so, but this is your country and it is up to you to decide what to do with it.

"The most gratifying part of the whole procedure has been the absolute determination of every responsible leader with whom I have spoken that whatever the solution finally adopted, it was going to be adopted peacefully and without any blood-shed, and they were going to throw all their weight to stop any further trouble. Every single member of my Cabinet individually and together has expressed to me the strongest possible wish that the armed forces of India should be used to ensure that there was no further bloodshed and that is the reason, and the only reason, why the Defense Member, Sardar Baldev Singh, announced last night the transfer of additional troops particularly into the areas about to be partitioned, the most important being the move of the Fourth Infantry Division into the areas which are about to be partitioned in the Punjab. I do not need to tell you that this is not a British move.

"Now comes probably the most interesting of all the developments in the course of these very high speed talks. After a while it became apparent to me that next to an acceptable solution or settlement all leaders wanted speed in the actual transfer of power.

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All leaders were anxious to assume their full responsibility at the earliest possible moment, and I was anxious to let them do so because once the decision has been taken why should we wait? Waiting would only mean that I should be responsible ultimately for law and order, whereas in point of fact, however much you may talk about responsibility, it is never the same thing unless you are really legally and completely in control.

"It may be we shall all be out by the end of this year. It may be that it may be useful for some of the British to stay on, but the one thing that would be wrong to say is that we are going out, and we are going to leave you in this mess, and we are not going to give you any help. That would be inexcusable. This means that the British will stay so long as they can be of use, and when they are not wanted they will go exactly when they are asked to go. I cannot really put it as a fairer proposition.

"I fear that to the people of India now there is a third party to all these negotiations and that is the party which sits in Whitehall and are legally and constitutionally responsible. I refer to His Majesty's Government. So I took the opportunity of flying home to see them. I arrived home at lunch time on a Monday some sixteen days ago. By tea-time I was right in the midst of the India and Burma Cabinet Committee going strong.

**"BRITISH WILL LEAVE WHEN THEY ARE TOLD" Viceroy's Press Conference**

I. and B. Department,

New Delhi, June 4, 1947 L/P+J/10/81

"Power will be transferred as completely this year as it ever would have been by June, 1948," said the Viceroy at his Press Conference here today. He said the British would leave whenever they were told. "It may be we shall all be out by the end of this year."

Lord Mountbatten said one thing on which all parties in India and himself were agreed was the need for speed. The idea of Dominion Status, he said, was completely novel and came to him overnight, when the necessity for speedy approval was introduced. When the decision of the Provinces is known, legislation will be rushed through Parliament in record time.

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In a long explanation of the background to His majesty's Government's plan, the Viceroy said he worked in close consultation with the leaders at every stage of development of the plan, which came as no shock or surprise to them. Referring to the Sikh community, the Viceroy said Congress had put forward the resolution, mainly at the request of the Sikh community, on partition of the Punjab. He sent for a map showing the population of the Sikhs, and he was astonished to find that the plan which they had produced would divide the community almost into two equal halves. He spent a great deal of time to find out a solution which would keep the Sikh community together. But he had not been able to see any solution.

Asked whether the Central Government would be given powers to intervene in disturbances occurred in the Provinces, the Viceroy said; "There are many times more troops in the troubled areas than before. The Centre is already there, intervening in the most effective way possible, by the adoption of unanimous decisions in the Interim Government not to tolerate any more violence."

Questions regarding the Boundary Commission were then put to His Excellency. He said H.M.G. could hardly be expected to subscribe to partition of the Provinces on the basis of landed property "Not, at all events, this British Government." The Governors of the Punjab and Bengal had already received instructions to put into effect Clause 9 in H.M.G.'s statement providing for a notional division.

The Viceroy was asked what provision H.M.G. would make for protection of the minorities. His Excellency said the British Government's decision to quit was not insincere. Since this was so, there was no legal means to enforce any protection for the minorities but he had talked to the leaders and was absolutely certain they would look after the interest of the minorities as a matter of conscience, honour and fair play. While he was here, his services would also be available.

On the question of defense, the Viceroy said the two States were absolutely free to decide whether they wanted to get together for the defense of India or wanted to make separate arrangements. Information Department, India Office (Telegrams B. 407, 407A and 407B from the Press Information Bureau.)

**QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS AT THE VICEROY'S PRESS CONFERENCE<sup>TM</sup> JUNE 1947 LP+J/10/81**

Q. I do not want to embarrass Your Excellency. Even the Congress Working Committee has also to consult the All India Congress Committee and we find that Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, has stated that the statement in not very satisfactory. My point is whether His Excellency has received from each of the three leaders, the Congress, the Muslim League, and the Sikhs, that measure of support which give him the satisfaction that when these matters are referred to their bigger bodies they will receive satisfactory ratification, or whether His Excellency is feeling more satisfied in the case of one and less in the case of the other?

A. Let us put it this way. I am the person who is carrying the responsibility of going ahead with this business. If I have gone ahead it is because I feel that that was the right thing to do. If you are trying to find out what was given to me in confidence I am not going to be taken in for the simple reason that I do not want to prejudice the deliberations that may be carried out by the various parties. The main point is, and I repeat it, that I have gone ahead and I have taken, if you like, a risk in doing so, but I have spent the last five years in taking what you might call calculated risks.

Q. The question is how to keep the integrity of the Sikh community intact. What is the provision that you have made in this plan to keep the integrity of the Sikh people intact?

A. I must point out that the people who asked for the partition were the Sikhs. The Congress took up their request and framed the resolution in the form they wanted. They wanted the Punjab to be divided into predominantly Muslim and non-Muslim areas. I have done exactly what the Sikhs requested me to do through the Congress. The request came to me as a tremendous shock as I like the Sikhs, I am fond of them and I wish them well. I started thinking out a formula to help them but I am not a magician. I am an ordinary human being. I believe that it is the Indians who have got to find out a solution. You cannot expect the British to solve all your problems. I can only help you to arrive at the correct solution. A lot can be done by a chairman but he cannot impose a decision on anyone. It is up to the Sikhs who are represented on the committee to take up the case. It is not I who is responsible for asking for partition. In the other answer Viceroy said, "I am really sincere in my desire to help the Sikhs;

I really believe that the leader of both of the party are equally sincere & intend to do what they can to help them."

**EN CLAIR**

*In Word Telegram L/P+J/10/81*

From Viceroy To Secretary of State for India Dated New Delhi, 13.45 hours, 4<sup>th</sup> June 1947

**IMMEDIATE No. 320 -GT**

Harris from Abell. Dawn leader today Begins. "In humble thanks giving to Almighty Allah the hearts of a hundred million Musalmans rise upwards to Heaven on this great day." The Leader goes on to speak of this hour of triumph and to add "All available talent that the Muslim nation can produce must now be harnessed" and "The time has now come for breathless constructive activity."

**CYPHER (O.T.P.) LP+J/10/81**

From Viceroy To Secretary of State for India Dated New Dehli, 23.20 hours, 7<sup>th</sup> June 1947  
Received 05.55 hours, 7 June 1947

**No. 1348-S**

As a result of recent meeting with Indian Leaders, it has been decided to set up Partition Council as soon as it has been established that there is to be partition.

2. Duties of Council are implicit in title. It will probably consist of Nehru, Patel, Jinnah and Liaquat, with myself as Chairman.

3. I made it clear that I would not arbitrate in cases where the two parties failed to reach agreement. Indian Leaders saw my point and it has been decided to set up an arbitral tribunal for this purpose.

**BETRAYAL OF SIKH NATION BY MASTER TARA SINGH**

*Viceroyalty of Mount-Batten Volume X. 22-3-1947 to 30 May 1947.*

10 March, 1947 Attlee's letter certainly embodies the most formidable terms of reference ever given by a Government to a Viceroy (Mountbatten). 11 March 1947. Mountbatten's appointment had the cordial approval of the King, who had personally appealed to him, on grounds of national duty, to accept it. He had full power to decide the issues at the spot.

P. 9. 24 March 1947. Mountbatten Begins :- Although I believe it is not usual for a speech to be made at the swearing-in ceremony I should like to say a few words to you and to India.

This is not a normal Viceroyalty on which I am embarking. H.M. government are resorted to transfer of power by June 1948; and since new constitutional arrangements must be made and many complicated questions of administration resolved - all of which will take time to put into effect - this means that a solution must be reached within the next few months.

P. 15 Mountbatten's first interview with Pandit Nehru on 24<sup>th</sup> March 1947 for 3 hours. Jenkins wrote to Mountbatten that Giani Kartar Singh said that in (absence) of agreement acceptable to Sikhs between Congress and League, Sikhs must insist on partition of the Punjab and that Sikhs would resist with all their resources any endeavour to set up Muslim Ministry in the mean time. Failing agreement as above partition must be effective and working before June 30 1948.

2 Lord Mountbatten replied in tel. 630-S of 25 March as follow: 'I will certainly keep in mind the importance of consulting Sikhs.' R/3/1/1976 : f 58

V.X. P. 36 28-3-1947. Mountbatten decided on 28<sup>th</sup> March that He would inform Mr. Jinnah that the grant of Pakistan would involve by application of the same principle, the partition of the Punjab and Bengal.

V.X. P. 104 28<sup>th</sup> March 1947. 4 Mountbatten says; "I have recently been reading Jenkins letter to Wavell of the 7 March No. 653 about the political situation in the Punjab and his telegram No. 70-G of

the 24 March. I have also seen a statement by Tara Singh in which he supports partition and says that the Sikhs would not join any ministry which is dominated by the Muslim League.

V.X. P. 138-5 & 6 April (Interview between Jinnah & Mount  
batten)

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Mr. Jinnah claimed that there was only one solution-a "surgical operation" on India, otherwise India would perish altogether. I replied by reiterating that I had not yet made up my mind, and pointed out that an "anesthetic" must precede any "surgical operation."

V. X. On 5-4-1947 P. 159. Mountbatten to Jinnah

I then pointed out that his remarks applied also to the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, and that by sheer logic if I accepted his arguments in the case of India as a whole, I had also to apply them in the case of these two Provinces.

Whilst admitting my logic, he expressed himself most upset at my trying to give him a "moth eaten" Pakistan. He said that this demand for partitioning the Punjab and Bengal was a bluff on the part of Congress to try and frighten him off Pakistan. He was not to be frightened off so easily; and he would be sorry if I were taken in by the Congress bluff.

V.X. In a speech in Bombay on 27 March 1947 Mr. Jinnah appealed for a truce on the basis of Pakistan, the elimination of the British in India and India for Indians. 'I am fighting for Pakistan', Mr. Jinnah said, 'which means I am fighting for the freedom of India... I appeal to Muslims and Hindus and others to examine the position. Do not

be carried away by dreams. Let us be practical. Let us agree to divide...'

V.X. P. 167. 9-4-1947. Mountbatten says that on Jenkins recommendations:-

Mounty says that on Jenkins' recommendation I have decided to call them into consultation, and have asked Baldev Singh to invite Tara Singh and Gyani Kartar Singh to come and see me in Delhi.

V.X. P. 172. 9-4-1947. An appeal purporting to be signed by 18 Sikhs, including Sardar Baldev Singh, for what appears to be a "war fund" of Rs. 50 lakhs.

V.X. P. 177 10-4-1947. Mountbatten decides :

P. 177 (iv) The Punjab and Bengal would be partitioned.

(v) There would be a general election in the N.W.F.P. and possibly in other provinces also.

V.X. P. 187. 10-4-1947. Nehru to be called by Mountbatten to decide the Punjab & Bangal Boundries.

V. X. P. 194. 11-4-1947.

(a) Partition the Punjab

(b) Partition Bengal and Assam;

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#### **BETRAYAL OF SIKH NATION BY MASTER TARA SINGH**

V.X. P. 284. 16-4-1947. Mounty said, Baldev Singh categorically denied in the presence of Sir Evan Jenkins that he had ever signed this appeal, or had agreed to be Treasurer. Sir Evan Jenkins accepted his assurance. Sir Evan Jenkins then left Sardar Baldev Singh and myself alone.

V. X. P. 285. He (Baldev Singh) himself said he thought partition was now the only acceptable solution.

V.X. P. 299. 17-4-1947. Jinnah said to Mounty, "you must carry out a surgical operation; cut India and its army firmly in half and give me the half that belongs to the Muslim League." I told him that if I accepted his arguments on the need for partition of India, then I could not resist the arguments that Congress were putting forward for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. He was quite horrified and argued at great length on the need to preserve the unity of the Punjab and Bengal, pointing out that the Punjabis and Bengalis regarded their Provinces as unified territories which they would hate to see split up.

V.X. P. 320. 18-4-1947. Mountbatten with Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh & Baldev Singh.

V.X. P. 320. 18 April 1947. The meeting lasted from 4.10 to 5.50 p.m.

I welcomed the Sikhs and told them what a warm place they had in my heart, since the Sikh units had fought with such magnificent gallantry in S.E. Asia.

I told them I had seen the Maharaja of Faridkot who had told me something of his ideas (but bearing in mind his request not to refer to their letter to him in front of Sardar Baldev Singh, I did not mention this).

I asked them about the situation in the Punjab, and immediately they began a long tale of woe of how the Sikhs had been gratuitously attacked and beset by the Muslims; how peaceful the Sikhs were, and how they would never again be able to live in peace and harmony with Muslims, and would accept nothing that would put them under their domination.

V.X. P. 324 18-4-1947. Finally they (all the three Sikh Leaders) asked that, if I (Mountbatten) did decide on Pakistan and on the partition of the Punjab, I should publicly give them the choice of joining either Pakistan or Hindustan, so that they might have some bargaining power to gain the best terms. This I agreed was entirely fair.

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V.X. P. 321-322-323. (This interview between Mountbatten & three Sikh Leaders with worth reading). Appendix 'A'

V.X. P. 336-337. Draft Invitation to the Indian Leaders.

I have spent very many hours during the last month in talking over the problems which confront us with the leaders of opinion in India, and you yourself have been good enough to spare me a great deal of your time.

Convinced as I am that an announcement ought to be made at the earliest possible moment as to how H.M.G. propose to transfer authority to Indian hands by June, 1948, I am most reluctant to postpone the submission of my final advice on this matter to London for even a day longer than is necessary. On the other hand, the issues are of such overwhelming importance that I am anxious to have a final check-up on the various alternative solutions which have been suggested to me. I am therefore inviting the following in addition to yourself, to meet me round the table in Delhi for a final series of talks beginning about 5 May.

Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Baldev Singh.

I earnestly trust that you may see your way to accepting the invitation.

I must emphasize that I shall not ask the Conference for advice as to the future constitution of India since that is clearly a matter for the Indian people to settle among themselves. My sole purpose is to arrive at final conclusions as to how authority should be transferred.

It is my hope that the talks should not take more than three or four days.

V.X. P. 346. 20-4-1947. Record of Interview between Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma and the Maharja of Patiala. His highness dined with me, and I had a talk with him from 2100 to 2145 hours.

After referring to my last visit to Patiala, His highness took the usual line of expressing his intense grief that the British were deserting their allies and friends of long standing by their departure from India. He also said that if we were proposing to do that, he thought it had been very unfair of us to weaken the States in the way we had done over the last few years instead of strengthening them so that they could stand on their own legs when we went.

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He told me that he had a large number (I think 20,000) of Sikh refugees from the massacre areas of the Punjab, who were constituting a great problem for him.

He said he was trying to keep Tara Singh and Kartar Singh in order, but they were of course apt to be inflammatory; and he told me that he thought that they and the Raja of Faridkot were being extremely foolish in the plans they were trying to hatch (and about which the Raja of Faridkot had told me). He had warned the Raja of Faridkot that any idea that the departure of the British could be made the occasion of a 19 Century grabbing match was out of the question and could not fail to have the most disastrous repercussions ultimately on the grabbers.

H.H. of Patiala said that although he would do all in his power to preserve peace and avoid strife, he could not but be worried at the prospect of our departure, since he believed that chaos and riot, were the least that could be expected after we had gone, and that they would be lucky if they escaped civil war.

As usual, he asked me whether we would not reconsider our decision to go and I gave him the usual answer.

V.X. P. 405 24-4-1947. Mounty says :

I had my interview last Friday with the Sikhs represented by Master Tara Singh, Gyani Kartar Singh and Sardar Baldev Singh. Any hopes that I still entertained of being able to avoid the partition of the Punjab if Pakistan is forced on us were shattered at this meeting; all three Sikhs made it quite clear that they would fight to the last man if put under Muslim domination. They considered that the Cabinet Mission had let them down badly, and presented me with a book called *The Betrayal of the Sikhs* on this subject, written by Landen Sarsfield.

V.X. P. 426. 25-4-1947. Sardar Patel to Mountbatten.

(b) If the Muslim League did not accept the Cabinet Mission's plan, Congress desired partition.

V.X. P. 427 (ii). The Viceroy decided to speak to the Governor of the Punjab about the report that there were 100 Sikh girls in the possession of the Muslims to Western Punjab.

V.X. P. 451. 26-4-1947. Mountbatten to Jinnah. I (Mountbatten) told him that after my talk with Tara Singh and Kartar Singh, I had become convinced that any attempt to impose a mainly one-community government on the Sikhs would produce immediate armed retaliation which might end in civil war.

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I told him that the Sikhs felt so bitter about the Muslim atrocities that they were only waiting for an excuse for their revenge; and I said that it would be criminal folly to let this occur just before the official discussions and decision on the transfer of power. I pointed out that he knew as well as I did the line that these discussions were likely to take, and the great probability that Pakistan would emerge with a partition of the Punjab. In the light of this, what could be the point of having a brief period of Muslim League Government in the Punjab which only bring about bloodshed and greatly increase the difficulty of negotiating the boundaries in the partition. I told Mr. Jinnah that nothing would induce me to change my mind and that I was proposing to instruct the Governor accordingly.

V.X. P. 467. 27-4-1947

Baldev Singh's Letter to Mountbatten. The Muslim League has made no secret of its plan of the Pakistan State. It will be based on Muslim law. The manner in which they have treated non-Muslims even while the authority of British Government still remained clearly shows that later on there will be no room whatever for non-Muslims in the Muslim State. In any event the life and property of Hindus and Sikhs will be wholly insecure. Therefore in order to free the non-Muslims from the fear of an aggressive Muslim domination and to provide adequate protection for them, the Hindus and Sikhs have finally and unalterably come to the conclusion that the only solution is the immediate division of the Punjab. And the Sikhs particularly expect this division will be so devised as to fill the solemn promises given to them by the highest British authorities to fully secure Sikh interests in the scheme of political settlement now underway. These promises were given to us when Master Tara Singh and I met the British Cabinet Mission and your predecessor. We were then assured that Sikh interests will in no circumstances be ignored and I hope now Your Excellency will keep these assurances in view when making your final proposals in regard to the division of the Punjab.

V.X. P. 470. 27-4-1947. Lord Mountbatten evidently showed this above letter to Sir. E. Jenkins and discussed it with him. The latter minuted as follows: 'This shows why the partition of the Punjab would mean civil war. The Sikhs haven't a majority in any one district. They want -on religious grounds like the Muslims -to take over and dominate areas in which they are in a minority. The Bari Doab -the area between the Ravi and the Beaus comprising Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore and Montgomery- would become a battle-ground, and Beldev Singh evidently wants to go well west of the Ravi. This won't work.

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E. M. J. 29. 4. 1947. Mountbatten Papers, Official Correspondence Files : Punjab, Part I (b). V. X. P. 510. 1-5-1947. His Excellency The Viceroy pointed out that the damage in the Punjab and N.W.F.P. had been inflicted only by the majority community. Sir Frederick Burrows stated that he did not believe that this was always dependent on numbers but also on character and caliber. Many of the Muslims in Bengal were of a very militant nature. He believed that there would be perpetual trouble.

V.X. P. 519. 1-5-1947. Nehru to Mountbatten. In regard to the proposals which, I presume, Lord Ismay is carrying with him to London, our Committee are prepared to accept the principle of partition based on self-determination as applied to definitely ascertained areas. This involves the partition of Bengal and Punjab. As you know, we are passionately attached to the idea of a United India, but we have accepted the partition of India in order to avoid conflict and compulsion. In order to give effect to this partition every effort should be made to meet the wishes and the interests of the people affected by it.

13. Even before and apart from such partition, recent events have made an administrative division of both Bengal and Punjab an obvious and urgent necessity.

On 2 May Mountbatten thanked Pandit Nehru for his letter. He said he had taken note of 'the Committees' acceptance of the principle of Partition based on the will of the Indian people and hoped to have a further discussion with Pandit Nehru on the whole matter at their next meeting. Mountbatten Papers, Official Correspondence Files : Transfer of Power, Part I (b).

V.X. P. 521. 1-5-1947. Baldev to Mounty.

I would reiterate with all the emphasis I command that as the division of India is being planned at Mr. Jinnah's insistence, he cannot be allowed to impose his will of the Minorities. The partition of the Punjab is necessitated by Sikh cases. The Sikhs cannot and will not be dominated by Muslims and no partition will meet the ends of justice if it does not exclude from Muslim area as large a percentage of Sikh population as possible. I have in my last letter shown how best this can be done.

V.X. P. 533. 1-5-1947. Mounty says:-

4. The essence of the plan is to make it apparent to the people of India and to the world in general that we are allowing, so far as possible, Indians themselves to choose how they wish us to transfer power.

V.X. P. 536. 1-5-1947 Mountbatten says:-

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18. Subsequently I received a delegation of six Hindus with a horrible tale of woe against the Muslim League, of murder, rape and violence in N.W.F.P.

V.X. P. 613. 4-5-1947. Finally, His Excellency touched on the Punjab, about which he said he was very worried as he knew that the Sikhs were in a truculent frame of mind. This view was confirmed by talk he had had with the Maharaja of Patiala on the previous evening. His Excellency thought it would be a good thing if Mr. Jinnah would see the Maharaja and have a talk with him. Mr. Jinnah said he would be quite ready to do so and it was left that Sir Eric Mieville should get into touch with H.H. of Patiala and make the suggestion to him.

V.X. P. 613. 3. 14-5-1947. Subsequently, on 14 May, Lord Mountbatten invited the Maharaja of Patiala to dinner and on 18 May, Patiala sent a letter to Lord Mountbatten reporting the 'long talks' he had with Mr. Jinnah adding that it had been his 'constant endeavor to bring about an agreement between the political parties in the country and I was glad to have this opportunity of making a further effort in that direction.' Mountbatten Papers, Official Correspondence Files: Transfer of Power, Part III (a). Patiala's letter is summarized in No. 492.

V.X. P. 618 5.5.1947. Mountbatten said, "Furthermore, the Congress Working Committee had virtually accepted the outline of the plan. The Sikhs presented a considerable difficulty as the partition would divide them into two fairly equal halves; but the Maharaja of Patiala had agreed that there was no alternative but for him (His Excellency) to make a notional partition - although he had been very gloomy about the probable results. If the Sikhs wanted to improve their position they could only do so by negotiation."

V.X. P. 929. 21.5.1947. Balabhai Patel requests E Jenkins to place Lahore under martial law to shoot at sight to crush the communal war.

V.X. P. 620. 5.5.1947. Mountbatten writes to Baldev Singh, "Finally, I have adopted your suggestion of leaving it open to East Punjab to negotiate with either Hindustan or Pakistan to decide which Constituent Assembly they will join.

Record of Interview between Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma and Sardar Baldev Singh (Extract)

V.X. P. 632. 6 May 1947, 12 noon-12:30 p.m.

I (Mountbatten) explained to him that the idea of notional partition in the Punjab - 17 districts to the Muslims and 12 to the non-Muslims - was based entirely on the majority of populations in the districts.

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He expressed the greatest regret at my decision, since he felt that the notional partition might not be understood, and that it would be thought that it was a permanent partition; and further, in the Gurdaspur district, where there was only one percent in favour of the Muslims, and in part of Lahore district on a population basis along, large areas should be given to the Sikhs and Hindus.

Finally, I warned him that if the Sikhs did make serious trouble or tried to start a communal war, I should crush them with all the power at my command, and would instruct him as Defense Member to turn out the Army and the Air Force to fight them.

V.X. P. 646. 7.5.1947. Baldev to Mounbatten. The Sikhs will in no circumstances agree to any discussion with Mr. Jinnah on the basis of being included in Pakistan. The stage has now come for the parting of ways and if he wants his sovereign state and H.M.G. are disposed to concede his claim, the Sikhs must be left out of it. It is for this reason I insist that in any short or long term plan in the case of our home province, every care should be taken to ensure that the Sikhs are not involved in Pakistan as a community.

V.X. P. 693. 8-5-1947 Major Short to crips :- sends copies of letters received from Baldev Singh and Sant Singh; suspects Sikh is beginning to feel neglected and if this is so fears 'he is due to go off with worst bang we have yet had, and entangle all; need for British to urge Congress and League to remove feeling of neglect.

- V.X. P. 694. 1-5-1947 Baldev to Major Short. I hope the letter that I wrote to you the other day was clear. Things are moving fast here. Whether any settlement will be possible, I do not know. What I am concerned at present with is the future of my community. You will remember the assurance the Members of the Cabinet Mission and everybody else gave us of a fair deal for Sikhs. This is the time for the assurance to be fulfilled. In fact it is now or never. I hope, therefore, that you will do your best and persuade your friends to leave no stone unturned to help us.

- Sant is here and I agree with what he writes, as the minimum that Sikhs can be expected to accept. Needless to say that it will also help people of my way of thinking who are so keen on building up cordial relations between England and India.

V.X. P. 695. 26.4.1947. Sant Singh to Major Short. Division and Partition be accepted in principle. If 562 states can exist on the

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map there is room for 15 instead of 11 Provinces. Boundary Commission to be set up later. Let Muslims and Non-Muslims including or excluding Sikhs sit in their own constituent assemblies. The Sikhs may have their own C.A. if they choose. Let these bodies prepare paper Constitutions. It will be interesting to see how each C.A. handles such questions as Defence, F.A., Communications, Finance, Planning and above all the problem of Minorities and Franchise.

V.X. P. 741 Sir S. Cripps to Mr. Attlee  
Public Record Office. CAB 127/150  
Board of Trade, Mill Bank S.W.I.,  
10 May 1947

My dear Prime Minister,

As you know I have been and am very worried about the Punjab part of our plan. I send you in confidence Billy Short's latest letter and enclosures. May I have them back when you have digested them.

I think we have gone a long way to meet Sant Singh's point of view which is apparently also Baldev's but we must remember that the Sikhs can bust this arrangement as well as Jinnah! If we were to adopt Dickie's last alternative and hand over the Punjab to the Muslim that would mean immediate civil war. We must in the last resort divide out the Sikhs somehow or we shall never get through.

Yours

Stafford

1 The reference appears to be No. 356.

V.X.P. 802-3. 13-5-1947. Master Tara Singh to Mr. Abbott. Amritsar, 13 May 1947 Dear Mr. Abbot

Thanks for your letter of to-day received just now (at 8-0-

P.M.) I am sorry I am engaged for tomorrow and must leave for Delhi early in the morning in order to be in time to keep my programme of important business.

I am sorry I am missing this opportunity of placing before His Excellency personally my view point, and expressing my feelings. I may mention here that in these days I keep my programme secret for I know that Muslim League is keenly watching my movements evidently for some mischievous object.

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There are controlling telephone system of Amritsar and Lahore- if not of other stations also-and the telephone operators immediately phone to the Muslim League office the time and direction of my going out as soon as they learn. So as a precautionary measure, I try to keep the time and direction of my going out secret. So when I return from Delhi, I shall suddenly come to Lahore and take any chance of seeing His Excellency. But it is risky for me to give out time of my coming to Lahore previously.

I may say also that I shall not be a party to any hypocritical statement like that issued recently by Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah with the bitter result known to the world. I do not like to see a single innocent person murdered and shall do my utmost to prevent such murders whenever I find the Sikhs as aggressors. But so far the Sikhs have been aggressors nowhere. As regards the renewal of the trouble at Amritsar, I may say that I received information beforehand that the Muslim League had decided to intimidate the Sikhs at Amritsar and had decided upon a certain plan. How can I sit down round a table with the persons who are not sincere now even. None of the Muslim League Leaders unequivocally condemned the unprecedented atrocities, barbarities and murders committed by their followers in the Western Punjab. I hold them responsible for the butchery and heinous atrocities committed upon my innocent sisters, brothers and children. They are even now helping, encouraging and defending the arrested ruffians in the Western Punjab. I do not believe in their sincerity. So I shall not lick the hand besmeared with the blood of my innocent children, sisters and brothers.

The peace of Amritsar is in the hands of the Muslim Leaguers and the Government officials. The Muslim Leaguers have planned to intimidate us and have attacked us. The Government has given the control of the situation in the hands of the Muslim officials. The European Officers are only misled by the Muslim officials who alone are near to them. I believe the Government can control the situation without the cooperation of the Muslim League or anybody else. But if the Government continues its present policy towards the Muslims of Amritsar nobody else will be able to do anything.

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I may repeat that I shall come to see His Excellency as soon as possible with the object of being useful in His Excellency's efforts to reestablish peace; but I shall join no Conference with the Muslim Leaguers held for the purpose of anything, even establishing peace, for I have not the least faith in their sincerity. 2

Yours sincerely,

Tara Singh

V.X. P. 863. 17-5-1947. 1. No. 425. 2. On 15 May a copy of this letter and of No. 425 were sent to the Viceroy. R3/I/7. ff 55-6 Mountbatten to Sir E. Jenkins (Punjab)

V.X. P. 863 17-5-1947 Mountbatten to E Jenkins (Punjab)

2. I have spoken very strongly to Baldev Singh about the way in which Tara Singh has refused to cooperate with you and Muslim leaders in trying to control disturbances, but he says that it is because Tara Singh has had his life threatened by the Muslims that he cannot agree to meet them. Baldev, Patiala and Faridkot have also promised to do all they can to keep the Sikhs peaceful.

V.X. P. 867. 17-5-1947 Congress Comments From Nehru to Lord Mountbatten Paragraph 14 (?16) End-relating to the Sikhs. This is an addition. I think it is desirable that special reference be made to the Sikhs. But whether this paragraph will please them I rather doubt. The last sentence is not wholly correct. It is, of course, impossible to keep any group together 100 per cent in a scheme of partition. But it must be possible to meet any of the Sikh demands by certain variations of the boundary line. As the paragraph stands. I think it will serve no useful purpose and had better be omitted.

All of us sympathize very greatly with the Sikhs and would like to help them as much as possible in their predicament. But I do not feel competent, in a matter affecting them intimately, to say anything on their behalf or to commit them.

Subject to the remarks I have above, I am prepared to agree to the draft announcement.

*BETRAYAL OF SIKH NATION BY MASTER TARA SINGH*

V.X. P. 893. 19-5-1947 Tara Singh to Sir E. Jenkins :-R/3/1/1976. ff 167-9 Master Tara Singh came to see me at his request between 4 and 5 p.m. today. I asked him if any agreement had been reached between the parties at Delhi before H.E. the Viceroy left for London. Master Tara Singh (who has just



returned from Delhi) did not answer my question directly. He simply said that there could be no solution since neither the Muslims nor the Sikhs in the Punjab would submit to communal domination. He intimated that in Pakistan the Muslims would massacre all the Sikhs and Hindus and that in the other part of the Punjab the Sikhs and Hindus would massacre all the Muslims. I observed that this seemed to me a completely hopeless idea.

I then asked Master Tara Singh about the present disturbances in Lahore and Amritsar. He said that the Police actively helped the Muslim League. When I pulled him up he mentioned one incident during the first riot in Amritsar when he himself had seen boys breaking into a shop in the Hall Bazar with two armed policemen watching them. He thought the D.I.G., C.I.D., had witnessed this incident. He had got no satisfaction out of the Kotwal or out of Sardar Ujagar Singh of the C.I.D. It was only when he spoke to Mr. Savage that anything was done. In the circumstances he could hold out no hope whatever of the leaders influencing their communities. The only possible remedy was for Govt. to take really strong action. At present, government were much too weak- he mentioned the Daimgang case in which seven non-Muslims were murdered within a short distance of the Police Station and in broad day-light. He said that the Muslims league agitation had shaken the whole administration and not merely the Coalition Ministry. Like others who discussed questions of law and order, he was not at all clear as to what he wanted done. His only clear statements were that he did not trust the Police and that the political leaders could not help at all. I told him that in my view politicians like himself were responsible for stimulating the lack of confidence in the Police. He replied that this was true- he did not trust the Police himself and advised others not to trust them.

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We then turned to the probable consequences of H.E. the Viceroy's talks with the leaders. Master Tara Singh asked me to help the Sikhs over the partition of the Punjab. I said that this matter would not be decided by H.M.G., but I did not see how the non-Muslims could possibly get more than the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions, the Amritsar district and perhaps parts of the Gurdaspur and Lahore districts. I said that it was most important that we should not have trouble- the Sikhs had committed two outrages in the last 48 hours at Rajraha and Rasulpura, and if they insisted on taking revenge for the Rawalpindi affair, the Muslims would in turn take revenge and there would be no end to the chain of massacres. Master Tara Singh said that he did not intend to take revenge for Rawalpindi now, but he could never be friendly with the Muslims again, and after the British went he would, if necessary; see that the Muslims were dealt with. The Muslim League leaders had never troubled even to condemn the atrocities committed in the Rawalpindi Division, and he could not possibly have anything to do with them. What was wanted was a temporary settlement under which the communities would agree to stop fighting and the Sikhs would get almost immediately an area to which non-Muslims could be transferred. I said that the transfer of population would be a gigantic task. To this Master Tara Singh replied that he would limit the compulsory transfer to property owners. Persons not owning property could do what they liked. I said that the final boundary would necessarily take some time to determine. Master Tara Singh remarked darkly that the Boundary Commission might never report at all since he felt that the Punjab might drift into chaos.

2. Master Tara Singh was quite amiable, but incoherent and obstinate as usual. Before he left I drew attention to the violence of some of his statements and asked him to do his best to keep his community quiet. It is lamentable that at this juncture the affairs of the Punjab should be so largely in the hands of this eccentric old man.

3. Governors Secy. might send a copy of this interview note to P.S.V. for H.E. the Viceroy's information.

V.XI. 31-6-1947 to 7-7-1947 P. 5. 31 May, 1947. His Excellency The Viceroy recalled that Sir Stafford Cripps had suggested, as a Cabinet Committee Meeting, that Mr. Jinnah might be threatened, if he appeared likely to reject the plan, by a suggestion that the notional partition would be drawn more in favour of the Sikhs.

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Lord Ismay have his opinion that such a threat would be striking at the whole basis of the Plan and that Mr. Jinnah would not be taken in by it.

His Excellency the Viceroy said that he considered that he would be more likely to prevail upon Mr. Jinnah by a display of "hurt feelings" rather than by threats. With this view there was general agreement.

His Excellency The Viceroy said that he also intended to pass on to Mr. Jinnah Mr. Curchill's message that it was "a matter of life and death" for him to accept the Plan. He would give

Mr. Jinnah permission to inform his Working Committee of this message so long as it was not quoted in the newspapers.

- V.XI.P. 25.31 May, 1947 Sir E Jenkins in his secret letter to Mountbatten writes that Swaran Singh brought me an astonishing letter from Master Tara Singh.

• I have just had an interesting interview with Swaran Singh, the former Development Minister. I had let it be known that I thought the Sikh leaders, including himself, were far too bellicose, and he assured me that they had no intention of making trouble as long as the Section 93 administration lasted. Like all other leaders, he is bitterly communal, and it is not easy to make him see what a deplorable effect communal attack must have on the services. He brought me an astonishing letter from Master Tara Singh, who now thinks that there is a conspiracy on the part of Muslim Police officers to murder him. I gave this letter back to Swaran Singh and asked him to tell Tara Singh that it was rubbish and that I would pretend that I had not seen it.

V.XI.P. 38. 2 June, 1947 Mr. Thompson to Sir C. Corfield Mountbatten Papers, Official Correspondence Files : Round Table Conference, Indian Political Leaders, etc, Issue of Invitations to Secret Political Department, 2 June 1947

The Raja of Faridkot came to see me at 9:40 a.m. this morning. Giani Kartar Singh, President, Shiromani Akali Dal, is staying with him at Faridkot House and at breakfast time had agreed that if invited to his Excellency's conversations with political leaders today, he would do his utmost to come to an amicable agreement with Mr. Jinnah in regard to the inclusion of "Khalistan" within Pakistan.

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2. Raja argued that since messrs Jinnah and Kripalani, as Presidents of the League and Congress, were invited it was only logical to invite Giani Kartar Singh also. He admitted, however, that there was a split amongst the Sikhs with Master Tara Singh and Sardar Baldev Singh in one camp and Kartar Singh in the other. On the other hand, Mr. Jinnah was agreeable to the inclusion of the Sikh States within Pakistan, giving them a very substantial measure of independent action. Further, Mr. Jinnah had promised not to give any statement on any such question without first consulting the Raja.

J. H. Thompson (Resident Punjab States) Resident on special

duty. Sir C. Corfield put this note up to Lord Mountbatten who minutes : 'I will see Giani Kartar Singh at 2:45 p.m. on 3 M of B 2/6.' For some account of this interview see No. 91, para. 26.

V.XI.P. 45 2 June 1947 His Excellency The Viceroy said that he was willing to take the risk of accepting the words of the leaders and the backing of their Working Committees.

V.XI.P. 47 Mr. Kripalani signified agreement with what Pandit Nehru had said.

V.XI.P. 47 Pandit Nehru said that a letter would be sent in to the Viceroy that evening giving an account of the Congress Working Committee's reaction to the Statement.

Mr. Jinnah said that he felt unable to report the opinions of the Muslim League Working Committee in writing. He would, however, come and see the Viceroy and make a verbal report.

Pandit Nehru also made the suggestion that Sardar Baldev Singh should broadcast. Sardar Baldev Singh at first demurred. He felt that he would have nothing to say. He could not make up his mind about support for the Plan until he knew that Congress and the Muslim League were going to support it. But he eventually agreed to make an appeal for bloodshed to cease.

V.IX. P. 99-3 June 1947 Text of Broadcast by Sardar Baldev Singh on 3 June 1947.

V.XI. P. 99-3 June 1947 Text of Baldev's Broadcast:-It does not please everybody, not the Sikh community, anyway. But it is certainly worth-while. Let us take it. We (Sikhs) accept the plan.

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V.XI. P. 105 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1947 Baldev Singh wanted the instructions to the Boundary Commission included in the printed plan, and wished them to take Sikh interests more fully into consideration. I (Mouny) rejected this at the meeting and he accepted my ruling.

V.XI. P. 117-4 June 1947. Mountbatten said, "The first is that this is your own (Indian's) problem and secondly there is absolutely no desire on our part to interfere in any way with the most suitable method that Indians themselves may adopt for this purpose."

V.XI. P. 122. I, (Mouny) would like to conclude with one more word. I am really sincere in my desire to help

the Sikhs; I really believe that the leaders of both the parties are equally sincere and intend to do what they can to help them. In fact I think there will be a revolution in feeling; whereas before there was mistrust and strife. I think we are going to see the leaders come together in a friendly spirit of co-operation.

V.XI. P. 135-5 June 1947 (a) Boundaries in such a case are not a question of international law to which the Court is confined.

(b) Court can only decide disputes between parties already recognised internationally as States. Reference to U.N.O. would presumably be to Security Council. This would be possible under Article 38 of the Charter but matter would not be free from difficulty for similar reasons to (b) above. The Sikhs, though an interested community, will not be a State and Pakistan will only be in course of becoming a State.

V.XI. P. 136-5<sup>n</sup> June 1947 In a statement on 4 June 1947 Master Tara Singh complained of the 'total lack' of any provision in the plan to give the Sikhs 'any power or status anywhere, or for safeguarding their position and interests'.

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He went on to state that the 'ultimate acceptance or rejection' of the plan by the Sikhs would depend a good deal on the terms of reference of the Boundary Commission that the Sikhs would not be satisfied 'unless the dividing line is the River Chenab,' that they would continue the struggle till their objective was obtained; that the 'very existence' of the Sikhs was at stake; and that the Khalsa would 'prove to the world that the spirit of Guru Govind Singh still lives in them.' Times of India, 5 June 1947, p.7, col. 2.

V.XI. P. 142-5 June 1947 For the Boundary Commission that the Governor-General should not be the Umpire, but that a man experienced in judiciary affairs should be chosen for this appointment and the Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah should send to the Viceroy a list of nominees for this post.

V.XI. P. 158-5<sup>n</sup> June 1947 In Delhi, New Chinese Ambassador's Cocktail Party. Only Pakistani & Congress Leaders were invited as they were the future rulers. Baldev Singh was ignored by Mountbatten .

V.XI. P. 163-5<sup>n</sup> June 1947 26. Mounty says. On Tuesday afternoon, I saw Giani Karta Singh he surprised me by saying that when the bitterness had died down he would be prepared to see Mr. Jinnah and make the best terms he could for the Sikhs, who would come into Pakistan. Needless to say I much encouraged this. He also promised that the Sikh community would not fight so long as the British were present. While expressing my gratification at this, I pointed out that they would be hit just as hard by the Indian armed forces after the transfer of power as before, and I hoped the Sikhs would not be so foolish as to commit virtual suicide.

V.XI. P. 187-7<sup>n</sup> June 1947 His Excellency. The Viceroy said that it had been suggested that he should take the chair for the administrative work of the Partition Council, but he would only agree to do this if the leaders endorsed this request and did not ask him to act as arbitrator.

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Mr. Jinnah said that he would like the Viceroy to take the chair at meetings of the Partition Council. It would work better that way. There was general agreement on this point.

V.XI. P. 189-7 June 1947 BROADCASTS

SARDAR BALDEV SINGH said that the broadcast which he had made on 3<sup>rd</sup> June had been translated entirely

wrong. It was after hearing the incorrect translation that Master Tara Singh had made his statement to the press; he had afterwards apologized for this on hearing the correct version in English.

PANDIT NEHRU stated that his broadcast had also been badly translated. SARDAR PATEL said it was the responsibility of those who broadcast to translate their speeches themselves.

V.XI. P 235-10 June 1947.

P.235 Pandit Nehru told me (Mounty) that Mr. Jinnah had sold his house in Bombay to Mr. Dalmia for Rs. 21 lakhs!

V.XI.P. 561-22-6-1947.

Nehru requests Mountbatten . My mother came from Lahore & part of my childhood was spent there. The fate of Lahore affects me more intimately than other people who are not connected with that city. Amritsar is already a city of ruins. The situation should be put under martial law.

V.XI. P. 594- 24-6-1947. Mountbatten to E. Jenkins. The troops should be empowered (in Punjab) to be utterly ruthless and to shoot at sight.

Mountbatten says. I talked with Jinnah last night and he begged me to be utterly ruthless in uppressing trouble in Lahore & Amritar. He (Jinnah) said "I do not care whether you shoot Muslems or not, it has got to be stopped." Nehru came to see me (Mounty) and talked in the same strain. Nehru suggests (iii) That the troops should be empowered to be utterly ruthless and to shoot at sight.

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- (Mounty) entirely agree with Indian leaders.

(Ram Singh) M. Tara Singh says, "It is a civil war". He is supplying Sikhs as fodder to the Indian and British army.

V.XI. P. 760 30 June 1947 Record of Interview between Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma and Giani Kartar Singh and Sardar Baldev Singh.

2. Sardar Baldev Singh said that neither of the major parties would give any safeguards or weightage.
3. Giani Kartar Singh said that the time for action was now, while the Governor-General still had his powers.

V.XI. P. 884 4<sup>th</sup> July, 1947 Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten Burma to Pandit Nehru Mountbatten Papers.

Official Correspondence Files : Sikh Problem, Part II (a)

Dear Mr. Nehru,

As a result of discussions I have had from time to time with the Sikh leaders' I should like to put to you their point of view.

2. They are naturally worried about the position in the Punjab, where, unless major alterations are made by the Boundary Commission, the Sikh community will be so divided that almost half will remain in the Muslim Province of Western Punjab.
3. They hope that the Boundary Commission will make such major alterations, but that is not a point which immediately concerns the political parties. Apart from this, they ask for assurances that they will receive weightage in the Legislature of Eastern Punjab. They hope also that they will have weightage in the Central Houses of the Union of India and a seat in the Union Government.
4. They have suggested that they should have special representation in the existing Constituent Assembly. Clearly I cannot help them on this point or, indeed, on any of the others except by approaching you, but you may wish to consider the matter.

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5. Finally, they have suggested that the transfer of population should be seriously considered in the Punjab.
6. I expect all these points have been put to you but I should like to tell you how much I sympathize with the Sikhs and how much I hope you will be able to help them.

Yours sincerely,  
M. of Burma

V.XI. P. 884 - 4<sup>th</sup> July 1947 Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma to Mr. Jinnah Mountbatten Papers, Official Correspondence Files : Sikh Problem, Part II (a)

4 July 1947 Dear Mr. Jinnah, As a result of discussions I have had from time to time with the Sikh Leaders' I should like to put to you their point of view.

2. They are naturally worried about the position in the Punjab where, unless major alterations are made by the Boundary Commission, the Sikh community will be divided into two almost equal parts.
3. They have asked for certain special consideration in the Union of India and in the Eastern Punjab but they also urge that the transfer of population should be seriously considered in the Punjab and I hope that at the proper time this will be considered by you, whether as the result of the Boundary Commission or otherwise. They also hope they will have weightage in the Central Houses of Pakistan and a seat in the Pakistan Government.

4. I sympathize with the Sikhs, as I am sure you do, and I hope everything possible will be done to allay their fears. Yours Sincerely, (Mountbatten of Burma) cf. No. 417, para 8. p. 884 No reply to this letter has been traced.

V.XI. P. 951- 7<sup>th</sup> July 1947, Pandit Nehru to Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma E. Mountbatten Papers. Official Correspondence Files : Sikh Problem, Part II (a)

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17 York Road, New Delhi, 7 July 1947 Dear Lord Mountbatten Thank you for your letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> July 2 regarding your discussions with the Sikh Leaders.

We appreciate thoroughly the anxiety of the Sikhs. They have been hard hit by this division. They might be helped somewhat by the decisions of the Boundary Commission. As for assurances in regard to weightage etc., I fear this raises complicated issues. All our troubles, or nearly all, have been due to separate electorates and the system of weightage, I originally introduced for the Muslims. It became clear that this did little good to the minority concerned and only created separatist tendencies. The addition of a seat or two makes no essential difference. But it means the acceptance of a fundamentally wrong principle. Once admitted, this principle leads to far-reaching consequences and ill-will. It is possible, of course, that without weightage and separate electorate some kind of reservation might be given with freedom to contest the general seats also. We should like to help any minorities getting additional seats from general constituencies.

3. The question of transfer of population does not arise immediately. If the people concerned desire it, it must be seriously considered.

Yours Sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

I (Lord Mountbatten ) noted on this letter 'I entirely agree'.  
2 No. 497. document P.884. 4-7 1947.

V.XI. P. 938 -5.7.1947

Mr. Jinnah sends telegrams to Mr. Attlee, Claiming allocations of Andamans & Nicobars to Pakistan and asks for this injustice to be rectified in Parliament.

Campbell Jhoan said to me (Ram Singh)

Lord Mountbatten was instructed not to ignore the Sikhs.

As he (Mountbatten ) was soldier himself, so he loved the Sikhs very much because they were the bravest soldiers.

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On 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1947 he called the meeting of Indian leaders & handed over the proposals (statement) which can be discussed by their Working Committees & discuss it with them that day. The defence Minister, Baldev Singh was there to represent the Sikhs; his working committee had Master Tara Singh & Giani Kartar Singh, (president of Akali Dal). The Sikh Committee consisted of these three men; (Campbell-Johnson told me this thing). (Full high commands of congress & Muslim League were in Delhi but there was no Akali High Command there). Baldev Singh gave that statement to Master Tara Singh who immediately went to Pandit Nehru and requested him to pass the resolution in the congress high command to partition the Punjab between Muslims & Non-Muslims. The Congress High Command passed this resolution the same day Master Tara Singh instructed Mr. Nehru to tell Lord Mountbatten on behalf of the Sikhs that they (The Sikhs) also accept the Viceroy's statement of 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1947. Mr.

Nehru went to Mountbatten and gave him Master Tara Singh's message. Mountbatten said to Nehru, "you are not the spokesman of the Sikhs. You go, I must see them myself". Mountbatten called these three Sikh gentlemen in his office at the table. He ordered for the Map of the Punjab and spread it on the table. He drew the dividing line on the map and said to the three Sikh Leaders (mentioned above), "If you accept this statement, 50% of the Sikh population comes under Pakistan and 50% of the same (Sikhs) come under Congress rule. Do you accept this?" Master Tara Singh said, "yes". He was astounded to hear this. He asked the same question again and again, but they did not give in. (He repeated these words in his press conference as well). It is you people who want it and not we the British." This will be done as you say.

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#### ***BETRAYAL OF SIKH NATION BY MASTER TARA SINGH***

'Ram Singh :- Master Tara Singh did not attend the Mountbatten's meetings with Indian leaders because he (Master Tara Singh) wanted to save his own life. On 15 August he gave the statement, "Oh, Sikhs, do not sleep on the Charpai beds, but sleep on the ground at night, and put black straps on the arms to morn this day. The British have deceived us. Nankana Sahib has been given to Muslim League."

On latter dates Mouny could not do for any minority community as it would interfere internal affairs of Pakistan and India. This he told Baldev Singh and Giani Kartar Singh. Master Tara Singh never saw Mountbatten after 3 June as he (M. Tara Singh) knew that Mouny could not do anything as his own bite (Tara Singh's bite) could not be undone.

Jinnah was Muslim League. He created Pakistan. Master Tara Singh was Akali Dal and he created Partition of the Punjab. He was in League with Nehru. He disclosed this secret Pact to Akali High command but not the terms before the June 1947. (Mr. Joginder Singh Maan told me (Ram Singh).

Mr. Campbell Johnson told me that Master Tara Singh was not a politician and he knew nothing about politics. He was caught in a Trap

i.e. Partitioning of the Punjab which he himself proposed. I (Ram Singh) told Campbell-Johnson that Master Tara Singh was a politician of the first order. Being a son of (Nanak Chand son of Gopi Chand) a Hindu gentlemen, he established a big Hindu Empire in South Asia. He accepted Pakistan as well without which Hindu Empire could not be established. Mr. Campbell-Johnson did not give me any answer.

Now I remember the words of Baba Kharah Singh at Sabo-Ki-Talwandi (Damdama Sahib) addressing a large gathering of the Sikhs (Kuku Kufar-TOR Conference) in 1942 at Baisakhi, "O, Singho! You have made Master Tara Singh your leader, the time will come when you come to know who that man is." "Dr. Sohan Singh gave me the answer in 1982, "Master Tara Singh was a Traitor," at Chandigarh. When asked about his opinion.

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#### ***BETRAYAL OF SIKH NATION BY MASTER TARA SINGH***

Partition of the Punjab was the biggest blunder of the Akali Sikh Leaders, Mr. Campbell-Johnson told me and which they put forward themselves with the help of the Congress. In the absence of agreement between Congress and Muslim League, the congress could save the Punjabi Hindus with the help of the Sikhs. But the Akali Leaders (Baldev & Giani Kartar Singh) did not know its consequences.

After 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1947, Mr. Patel (18 June L/P+J/10/81) spoke in the Congress High Command at Delhi that no weightage, concession & Priority will be given to any Minority in India, as no Government does this in any part of the world, as it is a great injustice to the Majority Community. Pandit Nehru spoke and wrote the same thing when Mountbatten asked for some concessions for the Sikhs. P. 951 V.XI Transfer of Power 1947.

This Trap of Partition was made by Master Singh and Pandit Nehru in March 1947. Master Tara Singh spoke in the meeting of Akali High Command that I (Master Tara Singh) have settled about every thing for the Sikh Nation with Nehru; so there is no need to ask the British Govt. for any thing for the Sikh Nation. This he (M. Tara Singh) said in an answer to a question from S. Joginder Singh Maan (M.L.A.) during the session. S. Joginder Singh Maan said to Master Tara Singh, "The English are quitting India, and they are giving us our share of ruling the land by ourselves, this chance should not be missed by us." Then Master Tara Singh a newly converted Sikh (Nanak Chand S/o Gopi Chand) gave the above mentioned answer. No body in the Akali High Command took courage to ask what the settlement was with Nehru. All kept quiet. Now we see the result now. S. Joginder Singh Maan told me this himself at Nankana Sahib in 1982 when he was there with his friends. Major Billy Short who had a very great influence with the Sikhs, tried his best to guide Master Tara Singh to save the Sikh Nation from this Trap of Partitioning of the Punjab. Major Billy Short was appointed to advise Master Tara Singh and Baldev Singh in political negotiation by the British authorities. Billy Short said, "Take this course and you get it from us what you actually want i.e. your share of the Raj in the Punjab.

**BETRAYAL OF SIKH NATION BY MASTER TARA SINGH**

"The Congress and Muslim League could not get any thing without the consent of the Sikh Leaders as all the three parties had Veto Power. Their (Sikhs) position was Unique. This was told by Campbell Johnson when I met him in London. So the Sikh Nation was thrown in this Trap i.e. Partition of the Punjab by Master Tara Singh.

*From (Mission with Moutbatten) by Campbell Johnson.*

P. 45 Campbell Johnson says : 25-3-47 Perhaps the most significant commentary on Nehru's Punjab proposals was a telegram from Sir Even Jenkins, the Governor of the Punjab, to which Mieville drew attention at the Staff Meeting. Jenkins reported that Giani Kartar Singh, an influential Sikh leader, had stated that in the absence of an agreement between Congress and the League acceptable to the Sikhs, the Sikhs must insist on the partition of the Punjab and would resist with all their resources any endeavor to set up a Muslim League Ministry there in the meanwhile. This speech has additional authority in that the Sikhs have already persuaded Congress to put up a resolution- accepted, incidentally, by Wavell only a week before Moutbatten arrived -in favour of partitioning the Punjab." Partitioning of Punjab was discussed between Giani Kartar Singh and Jenkins, Moutbatten .

P. 141 25-7-47 Moutbatten in his full uniform addressed the twenty five major ruling Princes and seventy four states representatives, "you cannot run away from the Dominion Government which is your neighbour any more than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible."

P. 167 16-8-47 Liquat's dismay at the inclusion of the Gurdaspur District in East Punjab was offset by Patel's anger over the Cittaogong Hill Tracts passing to Eastern Pakistan, while resentment of both was blanketed by Baldev's dumb depression. None of the Leaders, however, saw fit to carry their criticism to the point of repudiating their unconditional pledge made in advance to accept the Award whatever its terms might be.

P. 176 28-8-1947 Lady Moutbatten at once returned to the Victoria Memorial Hospital (Amritsar) to see the victims, many of them horrible mutilated. At 10:30 p.m. she was in close session with Tara Singh, who is at last beginning to tremble at the wrath he has so readily invoked at Amritsar.

**BETRAYAL OF SIKH NATION BY MASTER TARA SINGH**

P. 181 7-9-47 Nehru and Patel stood firm about the Sikhs, and there is to be a ban on all weapons. "I will not tolerate Delhi becoming another Lahore," Patel declared, and Nehru added, "I am certain in my mind kirpans may have to be taken away." Jeeps also are to be stopped from plying the streets Nehru speaking of them as "a source of much mischief."

P. 188 12-9-47 After the Diplomatic Corps had left I was called in for a talk with Nehru and Moutbatten on the subject of an alleged statement by Tara Singh which was being given currency in Pakistan. He is described as using words to the effect that "This is war." General Thimayya, Area Commander, is to make a report on what really happened. Nehru is not unduly disturbed, but Moutbatten stressed; the peril of letting inflammatory phrases or reports of phrases in the present crisis pass unchecked.

P. 191 15-9-1947 V.P.'s son said, "Tara Singh, he felt, was essentially a frightened man."

P. 204 23-9-1947 After boldly denouncing shameful attacks upon women and children, they (Tara Singh and Udhm Singh) added fiercely, "We do not desire friendship of the Muslims, and we may never be-friend them. We may have to fight again, but we shall fight a clean fight, man killing man."

P. 211 29-9-1947 At lunch to-day Trivedi told us that Sikhs and Muslims pass each other on the road and show fraternal unity in criticizing their own Governments !

P. 205 23-9-1947 Billy Short has been working with the energy of a beaver to secure a Sikh-Muslim truce, and there is to be a meeting at Lahore to-morrow at which it is hoped Tara Singh will be present. ISMAY is ready to play a mediating role should the occasion warrant it.

P. 118 14-6-1947 Nevertheless, Sikh unrest in the Punjab is growing hourly. The implications of the 3 June are now all too clear to the Sikh people. They see that the Partition of India means substantially and irrevocably the partition of the Sikhs, and they feel themselves to be sacrificed on the alters of Muslim ambition and Hindu opportunism.

Mr. Mosly in "Last Days of the British Raj" says :- Lord Wavell said, "The time will come when Sikhs would one day follow the Muslim into separation" in 1946.

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P. 55 They (Sikhs) supplied some of the bravest soldiers to that remarkable instrument of the might of the British

Raj, the Indian Army. In the Punjab they built a system of canals, which spread out from the Five Rivers in a great irrigation network which made the land smile and turned the province into the granary of India. They were not only good farmers but, unlike their neighbours, good with machines and they had a corner in most of the transport (as well as providing drivers, mechanics and policemen for the rest of India).

Religiously the Sikhs differ both from the Muslims and the Hindus and are fiercely proud of the difference.

P. 57 The two political leaders of the Sikhs in the Punjab were Baldev Singh, who had been given the portfolio of Defense in the interim Government, and Giani Kartar Singh. But the man to be reckoned with in the days to come was neither of these, but an old man with a white beard, twinkling brown eyes, a voice like a dove in conversation and like a hawk in public speech with a fierce hatred of the Muslims. His name was Master Tara Singh.

It will be seen later in this story that Master Tara Singh did not always follow these tenets himself, and could, when the occasion presented itself, be an extremely bloodthirsty old man. He was 62 years old in 1947.

P. 130 On 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1947 the Leaders sat around the round table in the Viceregal study, with Nehru on Mountbatten's right and Jinnah on his left, and the others, Patel and Kripalani, Nishtar and Liaquat Ali Khan, edged close to their leaders, with the Sikh delegate, Baldev Singh, not inappropriately in the middle. Baldev Singh did not seem to be aware that he would shortly be the meat in the sandwich that was being cut.

P. 131 The trouble with the Hindus is that they always try to get seventeen annas for their rupee.

P. 132 The only delegate who might possibly have had something of genuine moment to say at the meeting- other than the words, 'I agree'- was Baldev Singh, the Sikh. For in the Plan the partition of the Punjab was implicit. Baldev Singh, who was never one of the most brilliant minds produced by his people, did not seem to realize what this was going to mean. The Sikhs were spread all over the Punjab. They had been there for generations. They built the great system of canals. Their shrines and places of pilgrimage were in western rather than eastern Punjab.

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It might have seemed likely that any far-seeing Sikh, realizing the situation which would probably result from partition, would have cut his throat or gone to war rather than accept it. But then, as an English man later on bitterly remarked, 'is there any such thing as a far-seeing Sikh.' Baldev Singh was acting under instructions from his committee. {The Sikh committee in Delhi was of three leaders, Master Tara Singh, Baldev Singh and the Giani Kartar Singh (president of Shromani Akali Dal). They were divided into two groups. Master Tara Singh and Baldev Singh in one and Giani Kartar Singh in the second group. (By Ram Singh) No Akali High Command was there in Delhi}. The committee, who were obviously as astigmatic as he was. But he kept largely silent during the all-important meeting, not going to agree to the Plan that would cut the jugular vein of his people. "Baldev Singh wanted the instructions to the Boundary Commission", reported the Viceroy, coolly, "included in the printed plan, and wished them to take Sikh interests more fully into consideration. I (Mounty) rejected this at the meeting and he accepted my ruling."

Confronted by the actual approach of independence or, perhaps in one or two cases, guilt-ridden by the vivisection to which they were being a party-the Indian leaders were actually too stunned to wreck anything now. The last phase of the second day's meeting was made particularly piquant by a gesture-thought up by an Indian Civil Servant named John Christie- to present them, the moment they agreed to the Plan which gave them their freedom, with a document entitled The Administrative Consequences of Partition.

P. 134 On 3 June evening, Jinnah was clipped, dry and cold. If this was a great occasion for him-and, of course, it was-he was certainly not going to betray it to a radio audience. 'It is for us to consider.' He said, 'whether the Plan as presented to us by His Majesty's Government should be accepted by us as a compromise or as a settlement.' And, except for a crisp cry of 'Pakistan Zindabad!' That was all he was prepared to concede to the drama of the occasion.

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(On the Radio) Baldev Singh, in spite of what the plan would do to his people, had no doubts about it. This was not a compromise, he said, but a settlement. 'It does not please everybody not the Sikh community, but it is certainly something worth while. Let us take it at that.'

There. It was achieved. The Indian Leaders had accepted the plan. The Government at home had accepted the Plan. And even Winston Churchill and the Conservative Opposition had accepted the Plan. But did all of them know exactly what it was that they had accepted?

There is much evidence to confirm that even Mr. Attlee was shocked when the Viceroy announced, at a Press conference held in Delhi on 4 June 1947, that the transfer of power would actually be made on 15 August, 1947 only nine weeks ahead- in other words, some ten months earlier than he had first calculated when he first appointed Mountbatten to the Viceroyalty.

P. 135 The Draft Bill was drawn up in record time and cabled to Mountbatten on 22 June. The British



parliamentary machinery had rarely had to revolve so quickly.

P. 206 10 July, 1947 Gianni Kartar Singh said to Jenkins, The 'Punjab Governor. "The British had said for years that they intended to protect the minorities and what had happened? The present situation was a clear breach of faith by the British."

"I (Jenkins) replied that I realized that the Sikhs were dissatisfied, but when independence came to any country some classes, who had formerly regarded themselves as protected, inevitably suffered. At the same time, I thought that the Sikhs had only themselves to blame for their present position. The Gianni himself had insisted on partition and Baldev Singh had accepted the Plan..."

'Gianni then said neither had viewed partition as being based on population alone. The Sikhs were entitled to their own land just as much as the Hindus or the Muslims. They must have their shrine at Nankana Sahib, at least one canal system, and finally arrangements must be made so as to bring at least three-quarters of the Sikh population from West to East Punjab. Property must be taken into account as well as population in the exchange, as the Sikhs on the whole were better off than the Muslims.

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Gianni said that unless it was recognized by His Majesty's Government, the Viceroy and the Party leaders that the fate of the Sikhs was a vital issue, there would be trouble... they would be obliged to fight... that the Sikhs realized that they would be in a bad position, but would have to fight on revolutionary lines by murdering officials, cutting railway lines, destroying canal headworks and so on.

I (Jenkins) reiterated that this would be a very foolish policy, to which Gianni replied that if Britain were invaded, no doubt my feelings would be much the same as his... The Muslims were now putting out some conciliatory propaganda about their attitude towards the Sikhs in their midst, but their intention was that of a sportsman who is careful not to disturb the birds he means to shoot. He believed the Muslims would try to make the Sikhs of West Punjab feel secure and then set about them in earnest.'

Sir Evan Jenkins ended his dispatch:

'Finally, the Gianni appealed to me to do all I could to help the Sikhs during a period of great trial. He said I surely could not wish to abandon the Punjab to tears and bloodshed. There would be tears and bloodshed here if the boundary problem was not suitably solved. The Gianni was matter of fact and quiet throughout our conversation but wept when he made his final appeal.

P. 207 This is the nearest thing to an ultimatum yet given by the Sikhs.

On 13 July Jenkins wrote yet another letter to Mountbatten, reinforcing his warning of the dangers of the situation. 'The communal feeling is now unbelievable bad,' he said. 'The Sikhs believe that they will be expropriated and massacred in West Punjab and smothered by the Hindus and Congress generally in East Punjab. They threaten a violent rising immediately...'

P 212 Sir Even Jenkins urged the Viceroy to go even further. He asked him to contact the political leaders immediately and ask them to make concessions at once, without waiting for the Boundary Award. Nehru and Patel could, for instance, be persuaded to say publicly that they were waiving their claim to Lahore. It would be by no means an expensive gesture, for it was almost certain that Lahore would be awarded to Pakistan, but to concede it beforehand would create the maximum good-will. He asked Mountbatten to approach Jinnah for an important concession too.

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'I believe there is quite a lot in the claims of the Sikhs and, for that matter, of the other residents of the East Punjab for a share in the canal colonies of the West,' he wrote, 'and the Gianni's idea that the Montgomery district should be allotted to the East is by no means as ridiculous as it sounds. The district if so allotted to the East could be recolonised so as to concentrate the non-Muslims there, and transfer Muslims to Lyallpur.'

But this, he emphasized, could not be decided by the Boundary Commission. Though Montgomery and district, for instance, contained nearly a million Sikhs to only a quarter of a million Muslims, it was geographically indubitably in West Punjab. Its fate should be settled, like all the other problems, by negotiations 'out of court'. And he asked the Viceroy to bring the parties together at once.

It was a mission which, two months earlier, Mountbatten would have relished as a supreme challenge to his powers as a persuader. To reconcile the two brothers at the moment of parting by cajoling them into a final act of mutual goodwill would have filled his beaker of achievement to the brim. Why then did he not attempt it?

There is evidence that, in the case of Nehru and Patel, he did make an approach, though without much conviction. The Congress leaders were certainly in no mood to make even empty concessions to Jinnah. Having given him Pakistan, their mood was to say : 'Enough! Begone! And do not dare ask for more!'

Jinnah was in a mood too, but there is evidence that, at this particular moment, it was a serene rather than an intractable one. Having achieved what he had always secretly regarded as impossible, and seen the birth of Pakistan by his own hand in his own lifetime, he might well have been susceptible to a last appeal to his magnanimity.

During the last months of the British Raj & on into independence Master Tara Singh carried out.

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P 214 'Oh Sikhs,' he cried, 'know that our brethren are threatened in the West by those who call us infidels. Our lands are about to be overrun, our women dishonoured, our children forced to take alien vows. It is time for our warriors to arise and once more destroy the Moghul invader. Remember Rawalpindi! Revenge our people! Spare no one who stands in the way of Sikh rights in our land.' In the golden Temple & else where.

It was language which the Sikhs took seriously, and Master Tara Singh was well aware of it. The Golden Temple at Amritsar was not only a Sikh shrine but also a great communal centre at which the Sikhs gathered to talk and plan as well as pray. A Sikh Gurdwara, of which the Golden Temple is a particularly blessed and hallowed example, is more of a community centre than a simple temple for worship. In it the passing stranger can always find food and lodging for the night. In it the locals gather for their political meetings. And in it, the Sikh leaders conspired in the last days of July and the first days of August 1947, in a belated attempt to wreck the plan for the partition of the Punjab.

P. 215 Nehru, who was to fling the fiery old Sikh Tara Singh into jail five times in the next ten years. Early in March, 1947 after the murder of Babu Labh Singh (a former President of Shromani Gurdawara Prabandhak committee) in Jalandhar Master Tara Singh was so much terrified that he never took courage to sit with the Muslim League Leaders to save half of the Sikh Nation in Pakistan. E. Jenkins invited him (M. Tara Singh) to save the worst situation for the Sikhs in Pakistan under his (E. Jenkin's) chairmanship along with Muslim League Leaders. Mountbatten also tried his best to do the same but he (Mounty) failed. Mounty tried again through Baldev Singh, who said, "Master Tara Singh has had his life threatened by the Muslim leaders that he can not agree to meet them"

(P. 863 Volume X. 17.5.1947). Now the Sikh nation should think, "How a brave and courageous leader he (M. Tara Singh) can be." He threw the Sikh Nation into the trap on 3<sup>rd</sup> June, 1947 when he ordered Baldev Singh to accept the Notional division of Punjab on that day without consulting the Akali High Command. He never wanted Sikh Raj but he established India and Pakistan.

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After the division of India, Mater Tara Singh's driver Jaspal Singh Grewal, living at Hussainpura a few miles from Ludhiana, told me (Ram Singh) that he (J.S. Grewal) used to take Master Tara Singh to a barren place at midnight to consult Partp Singh Karon about 50 yards from the two cars. Mr. Karon used to give the Masterji some secret instructions. No other person could join them. In the same was he met the Raja of Faridkote. When Master Tara Singh made the Sikh-Veto zero, he declared before the other Sikh leaders, "Our Baldev Singh now controls all the Indian armies, we can do anything we like." This S. Joginder Singh Mann told me and he said, to Tara Singh, "Baldev can do nothing without the orders of Nehru who is the Prime Minister of India." Master tried to deceive his Co-Sikh leaders. He tried his best to wreck the British Proposals which he himself accepted in spite of the warnings given by Lord Mountbatten and Major Short who gave the Master knowledge of the consequences of his (Master) acceptance on <sup>st</sup> June 1947. Mr. Jaspal Singh Grewal also told me that Master Tara Singh used to say by laughing, "Oh, we can get anything from the Hindus by threatening them."

S. Joginder Singh Mann told me, I went to England with my wife after partition. We were sitting among our old English friends in the party. I said to them, "British Govt. did not give us anything when they partitioned India." Suddenly one of my friends rose up and gave such a hard-blow at the back of my shoulder and said, "We gave you (your Sikh Nation) the same status as given to congress and Muslim League. We are not at fault. You can not complain." Mr. Mann said, "I still feel that pain now." Mr. Mann told me this on 26 December 1992 at Fatehgrh Sabhib. I (Ram Singh) am very sorry to say that no religious leader (Sant and Mahants) of the highest order asked Master Tara Singh why he gave away all historical gurdwaras to Pakistan without consulting the PANTH after partition of India. The news-paper "Statesman" had disclosed all the proposals of the British Govt. to the India people.

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Dr Awatar Singh Sekhon salutes  
to Sardar Ram Singh, the author  
of the title,  
*“Betrayal of Sikh Nation by Master Tara Singh,  
with British Documents  
of Transfer of Power 1947,  
means  
Master Tara Singh Da Sikh  
Kaum Naal Visahghat  
(PUNJABI).”*