

**Riots, Refugees and Rehabilitation:
A Case Study of Punjab 1946-56**

A THESIS

**PRESENTED TO THE
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES OF THE
PUNJABI UNIVERSITY, PATIALA
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

HISTORY

Supervised by:

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Submitted by:

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February 2010**

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **Riots, Refugees and Rehabilitation: A Case Study of Punjab 1946-56** embodies the work carried out by **Ms. Kanwaljit Kaur** herself under my supervision and that it is worthy of consideration for the award of the Ph.D. Degree.

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DECLARATION

I here by affirm that the work presented in this thesis entitled **Riots, Refugees and Rehabilitation: A Case Study of Punjab 1946-56** in the present form of my Ph.D. thesis is exclusively my own.

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**Dedicated to
Almighty
and
Loving Parents**
**'Who invested their present
for my future'**

Preface

The national movement in 1940s presented a contrast of interests. On one side there was a popular nationalist movement, unique in the annals of world history for ousting the British Imperialist through non-violent means, on the other side, there was a counter movement of the partition marked by violence, cruelty, bloodshed and massacres. If one was the course of celebrations the other caused deep anguish, anger and indignation. If one was the assertion of the nation's independence the other was, dividing of the continent on religious lines.

Historical problems generated over generations do not get solved in a jiffy. There are no short-term or instant solutions to such problems. The introduction of separate electorates in 1909 and their subsequent continuation prepared a fertile ground for rivalries and antagonism between the two communities i.e. Hindus and Muslims. This divide was apparent in Moplahs revolt in Malabar (1921) where Hindu Landlords were attacked by Muslim landless '*Kashtkars*'. Although these bitterness remained subdued for intermittent periods during Lucknow Pact and non-cooperation movement yet the divide was never bridged. The *Khilafats* alleged Congress of betrayal with the withdrawal of non-cooperation movement by Gandhi.

The consistent policy of divide and rule of the British manifested through Communal Awards further divided these communities into abysmal depth.

Rehmat Ali's Pakistan scheme, published in Cambridge in January 1933 caused much political embarrassment back home and was dismissed as impracticable. The experience of contesting the elections of 1936-37, revealed the inner dynamics of Indian politics. Jinnah and Muslim League went into elections as idealists but emerged as political realists. Of the 1585 seats, the Congress won 716 of the Muslim seats, Muslim League only secured 26 of the total. On the basis of the results, neither the Muslim league nor the

Congress could be regarded as the sole representative of Muslims. The results further showed that Congress had little control or influence on Muslims. No Muslim candidate got elected on a Congress ticket from Muslim constituencies in Bengal, Sindh, Punjab, Assam, United Provinces, Bombay, Central Provinces and Orissa. These election results had proved the belief that Congress party was a predominantly Hindu party only to serve the Hindu community, was widely held by the Muslims. It was in this atmosphere that in March 1940, in Lahore session the claim for a separate home land for Muslims was resolved. By 1942, Jinnah actually assumed a position like Gandhi as far as Muslims were concerned. He was a sword of Islam resting in a secular scabbard.

The prospects of League in Punjab was always in doldrums because of the Unionist Party. The League's prospects further narrowed down after the collapse of Jinnah-Sikander Hayat Khan pact in 1944 (April). In Punjab, during 1945-46, communal politics burst into villages and they were aroused and inspired by the message of Pakistan; the cries of '*Allah-o-Akbar*', '*Pakistan Ban Ke Rahega*' were raised in political meetings in Punjab. The proposals of Cripps and Cabinet Mission plan ultimately brought 'Direct-Action day' and riots started in big way in the country.

Pakistan was won, but people on both sides of the fence were tormented by killings, loss of families and by the scale and magnitude of this tragedy.

Communal riots occur because there is a development of communal ideology in society. When religion moves out of the bounds of the private and enters the realm of the public, it becomes the basis for the organization of political and economic interests along with the religious lines.

As an ideology, communalism refers to the belief that people belonging to one religion also share common socio-economic, political and cultural interests.

The nation-state system often ignores the emotional bonds which unite citizens of particular nation states with some of the sub-state national communities. This alienation among the minority Ethnic group gives rise to Ethno-Nationalism.

The South Asian societies are threatened by the lack of cultural homogeneity and the lack of a strong state or (a biased state Government like British Government in India) fails to ensure order in society. In such situations, the religious bigotry leads to communal frenzy and results in riots. During the course of Indian independence movement, the Muslims always had a fear of majority Hindus, who could dictate them. Occasionally the fear of minority led them to rioting.

In such deteriorating situation, on June 3, 1947, Mountbatten announced the division of the country into India and Pakistan on the basis of religion. When the rest of India was celebrating the coming of independence on August 15, 1947, the unhappy land of the five rivers was undergoing the sufferings of looting, arson and migration. It has been estimated that over 12½ million people have been uprooted from their settled homes and cut off from their old moorings. Upto June 15, 1948, about 55 lakhs non-Muslim are estimated to have been brought over to India from west Punjab and other provinces of Western Pakistan and during the same period about 58 lakhs Muslims were moved into Pakistan from East Punjab, Delhi, U.P., Ajmer-Marwara, Alwar, Bharatpur, Gwalior and Indore. During the same period about one and a quarter million non-Muslims crossed the borders from Eastern Pakistan into West Bengal.

The rehabilitation and resettlement of refugees raised several complex problems. The occupational structure of non-Muslim refugees was completely dissimilar to that of the Muslim emigrants to Pakistan. Out of the 5½ million refugees who arrived in India from Western Pakistan about 3½ million were from rural areas and the

rest from urban areas. East Punjab could not absorb more than three million evacuees; and as the standard of living of the Muslims who lived in this region before migration was much lower than that of Hindus and Sikhs pouring from West Punjab, it was felt that even the settlement of that number would create difficulties. The East Punjab Government set up 21 refugee camps in different districts in the state. Several plans were made for the welfare of refugees. Rehabilitation was going on for several years.

The study brings out various theories of nationalism and how ideologies brings out national consciousness and formulates a type of attitude. It justifies that people living in an Ethnic group having common heritage, language, history, tradition do get influenced of Ethno-nationalism.

In brief, this study concentrates to analyse the question of Ethnicity and Ethno-nationalism related to the deep rooted hatred among the communities. It also have a dig on the role of Hindu fundamentalists, whose activities further aggravated the Muslim community.

The economic depravity among the Muslim middle and lower class community, the concept of violence, the role played by the Muslim communalists in the *Pir Dargahs* and religious places, the role played by the Aligarh Muslim University in the creation of Pakistan and the separatist concept, add new dimensions to the study.

The present study is in the shape of four chapters and conclusion. First chapter is about **Ethnic Violence, Communal Frenzy and Partition of India** the political and religious struggle of communities which resulted in partition. Second chapter **Riots and Migration in Punjab and Princely States** deals with the communal massacres and evacuation of refugees from disturbed areas of both sides and also discusses the means of communication adopted during the partition. Third chapter **Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons** concentrates on the critical process of rehabilitation of the

different strata of society. Fourth chapter **Impact of Rehabilitation: Social, Cultural and Economic** discusses the Punjab's prosperity and changed patterns of society, and also highlights the positive and negative effects of partition. Last but not least is the **Conclusion**, based on the findings in the above chapters.

The objectives of the study are:

- To study the concept of ethnicity
- To study how the concept of ethnicity led to ethno-nationalism – as primarily the Muslims wanted a separate nation.
- To study the communal tangle of pre-partition days.
- To study the social and economic behaviour of the lower strata of Muslims who wanted to become the landowners in case Pakistan becomes reality.
- To study the principles of rehabilitation such as urban, rural, industrial, agricultural, recovery of abducted persons etc. To discuss the important schemes started for the prosperity of the East Punjab.
- To study the impact of rehabilitation on East Punjab.

This work is based on both primary and secondary sources. There are some significant works on this period which provide a wide knowledge on the subject. Some of these studies are as follows:

After Partition, Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi, 1948. This booklet contains about riots, political meetings and propagandas about partition, migration of population, camps and rehabilitation of refugees. It covers the period from 1946-48 and tells little about the future of the country.

J. Nanda, *Punjab Uprooted: A Survey of the Punjab Riots and Rehabilitation*, Bombay, 1948. It contains the partition riots and rehabilitation of refugees in the Punjab. The writer gives the detail account of anarchy and day to day happenings during partition.

Sir Malcolm Lyall Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, Oxford, London, 1949. This contains day to day account of the author's ride from Peshawar to Jubbulpore in the winter of 1946-47 when India stood at freedom's door.

L.R. Nair, *Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab*, Simla, 1950. The booklet contains a survey of the efforts of the Punjab Government in the spheres of administration of Relief to the displaced persons in the relief camps and of their rehabilitation in the urban areas.

A.N. Bali, *Now It can be Told*, Akashvani Prakashan, Jullundur, 1950. This book contains a remarkable account of the happenings of partition days in Western India particularly, and it helps in evolving a rapid review of the story of the partition of India.

G.S. Talib, *Muslim League Attacks on Sikhs and Hindus in Punjab*, SGPC, Amritsar, 1950. This book contains the story of 7 million Hindus and Sikhs who were uprooted from their homes in the West Punjab, the North-Western Frontiers, Sindh and parts of Kashmir. It tells the story of political parleys that preceded this event, their inevitable failure, and the barbarity that immediately followed - barbarity that had elements of pre-planning. The book records the atrocities of this period and biggest mass migration of humanity.

Millions on the Move – The Aftermath of Partition, Delhi, n.d. This booklet contains a survey of refugee camps, army efforts, both kinds of rehabilitation - urban and rural, loans to refugees and the whole process of settlement.

Horace Alexander, *New Citizens of India*, Oxford, 1951. This book contains the problems during the years of partition, East Punjab disturbances, land settlement, rehabilitation and Bengal's situation in 1947-49.

Leonard Mosley, *The Last Days of the British Raj*, Weidenfield and Nicolson, London, 1962. This book contains the answers of the questions which are ultimately led to the partition of the country. It

discusses the role of Lord Wavell and Lord Mountbatten in India and it gives the reasons of the questions regarding partition without passion and partiality.

H.V. Hodson, *The Great Divide: Britain-India-Pakistan*, Anchor Press, London, 1969. This book contains the material of answers to the questions relates with the partition like how did the population happen? And what was the role played by British viceroys? The writer discusses from the background of British empire in India to the end of the British Raj in 1947.

Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, Harper and Row, New York, 1971. It critically deals with the principal theories that have been advanced nationalist movements both in the Europe and the developing countries. The author creates a new typology of nationalist movements which describes the definition of nationalism and its varieties. The author also explains nationalism in the context of reaction to modernization or form of anti-colonialism. Finally, he has come up with the new theory of ethnic nationalism.

Kirpal Singh, *The Partition of Punjab*, Punjabi University Patiala, 1972. This book contains the factors leading to the partition of the Punjab, it contains the partition machinery and discusses the causes of subsequent mass migration and its consequences.

Penderal Moon (ed.), *Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal*, Oxford University Press, London, 1973. This book contains information about Lord Wavell's Viceroyalty in India from 1943 to 1947. The writer discusses day to day information of Wavell's working in India and also give immense detail of circumstances which are responsible to partition.

Penderal Moon, *Divide and Quit*, Chattos & Windus, New Delhi, 1985. It contains day to day account of the disturbances that occurred from the end of August 1947 onwards in the state of Bahawalpur. There are incidental references to the disorders and

migrations that were simultaneously in progress through out the Punjab.

Satya M. Rai in her work entitled *Punjab Since Partition*, Delhi, 1986 has made an effort to study the state of confusion and chaos generated as a consequence of the partition and the efforts made by the government to stabilize and rehabilitate the economic and administrative life in the state. She tries to analyse the evacuation process and its impact on the administration apart from focusing on rural and urban rehabilitation and the difficulties encountered in this venture. She brings to light the change in land relations and uneven development generated by the green revolution and the fact as to how the *Jat* landlords who were the major beneficiaries of the green revolution began to nurse political ambitions.

Alfred Lyall, *The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India*, Sameer Prakashan, Chandigarh, 1988. This book contains information about the rise of British Dominion in India, and to relate the circumstances that led to the gradual extension of territorial possessions upto 1858, when the crown superseded the East India company in the direct Government of the country.

Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Select Documents on Partition of Punjab – 1947: India and Pakistan*, National Book Shop, Delhi, 1991. This book contains the study of documents pertaining to the genesis of the idea of partition of Punjab, formulation of the partition plan, its implementation and the aftermath of partition of Punjab.

S.K. Ghosh, *Politics of Violence: Dawn of a Dangerous Era*, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1992. This book contains the economic, social, religious and political motives that are responsible for spread of violence. But the Communal riots according to him are more dangerous, they are generally organized and cause innumerable loss of human lives, besides tearing apart the society.

Verinder Grover and Ranjana Arora (eds.), *Violence, Communalism and Terrorism in India: Towards Criminalisation of*

Politics, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1995. This book contains systematic piecing together of articles contributed by scholars and specialists. The period under review (1983-88) is the watershed in Indian politics. More and more politicians took to violence or used religious symbols to harass the Government and achieve their undesirable goals.

Patrick French, *Liberty or Death: India's Journey to Independence and Division*, Harper Collins, London, 1997. This book contains the rise of India's freedom movement in the early part of this century, the growth of Congress and the Muslim League and the final, fateful struggle that led to the collapse of British rule and the transfer of power into Indian hands. It offers a radical reinterpretation of the events surrounding India's independence and partition, including the disastrous mistakes that were made by politicians, and the bizarre reasoning behind many of their decisions.

D.A. Low and Howard Brasted (eds.), *Freedom, Trauma, Continuities: Northern India and Independence*, Sage, Delhi, 1998. This book focuses on the crucial decade of the forties in the history of the subcontinent. It includes essays on the train killings in Punjab during partition, images of horror as reflected in the literature, the abduction of women, mass migration, efforts of the resettlement of refugees in Punjab, Bengal and Sindh and lingering memories of homes abandoned.

Ian Talbot, *Inventing the Nation; India and Pakistan*, Arnold, London, 2000. This book provides a historical understanding of the chequered process of nation-building in the subcontinent. In particular the writer examines the role of 'parochial' loyalties and the impact of contemporary processes of economic and cultural globalization on national and local allegiances.

Birinder Pal Singh, *Violence As Political Discourse: Sikh Militancy Confronts the Indian States*, Shimla, 2002. This book contains the history of Sikh militancy during 1980s. But it has

historical bearing on the subject of 'Violence', that how violence takes place and its implications. It deals with the concept of 'Violence' among the Sikhs.

Ram Puniyani, *Communal Politics: Facts versus Myths*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2003. This book contains the partition of India in 1947 and the demolition of Babri Masjid on 6 December 1992. It contains about the communal violence which is the major weapon of communal politics, myths against the minorities and mancovert sanction to the organizers and executioners of the violence.

Madhav Godbole, *The Holocaust of Indian Partition: An Inquest*, Rupa, New Delhi, 2006. This book surveys the critical eighteen-month period preceding the transfer of power which saw widespread communal hatred and violence. The book vividly brings out the holocaust, makes a clinical and thorough inquest, and concludes that, with foresight and planning, its extent and severity could have been reduced substantially. It argues that Nehru and Patel must have been aware of the seriousness of Jinnah's illness and still pressed for partition.

Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Reporting to the Partition of Punjab 1947: Press, Public and Other Opinions*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2006. It deals with the partition events, as seen through the columns of important newspapers and other sources which have played a limited and selective part. It builds on the basis of reading of a wide spectrum of news publications which appeared in the Punjab in 1947.

Tushar A. Gandhi, *Let's Kill Gandhi: A Chronicle of His Last Days, The Conspiracy, Murder, Investigation and Trial*, Rupa, new Delhi, 2007. It deals with facts gleaned from verbal history from books earlier published, records of murder, trial and investigations, books written by defence lawyers, and judges and from what the author grew up hearing in the family and from witnessing the bewilderment of Gandhi's loved ones. It thoroughly discusses the

political upheavals in 1940s, violent conflicts, independence and conspiracy of Gandhi's murder and trials.

Rupinder Kaur, *Since 1947: Partition Narratives among Punjabi Migrants of Delhi*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007. It deals with the series of events that collate and condense the British departure from India, the inauguration of the post colonial Indian nation-state and an unprecedented flow of forced migration across the newly carved borders between India and Pakistan. Most important, it summarize a nearly six-decade long period of post partition personal and governmental efforts at restoration of loss experienced through loss of homes, livelihoods and national territory in 1947.

Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India Partition Independence*, Rupa, New Delhi, 2009. The writings of this book has been a grave responsibility as sensitivities are acute and just below the surface of the skin. Why did partition took place at all? Who was responsible – Jinnah? The Congress party? Or the British? He attempts to find an answer, his answer for there can perhaps not be a definitive answer yet the author searches. Jinnah's political journey began as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity, but ended with his becoming the sole spokesman of Muslims in India; the creator of Pakistan, the Quaid-e-Azam. How and why did this transformation took place?

To pursue this research, I started with studying the secondary books, which are listed in bibliography. I also studied the government records such as Rehabilitation Ministry Branch Records, Liaison Agency Records, Punjab Administrative Records, Partition Branch Records, East Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Pamphlets by Rehabilitation Branch, Five Year Plans and other official documents. I also consulted various newspapers such as The Tribune, The Civil and Military Gazette, The Statesman, The Times of India, The Hindustan Times, The Dawn, etc. They are housed in NMML, Tribune Office, Chandigarh, The SGPC Golden Temple

Library, Amritsar and Sikh Research Library Khalsa College, Amritsar.

During the course of the study, I was fortunate to have immense cooperation and inspiration from various sources and I take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to the concerned persons and agencies.

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Above all it is God, the Almighty with whose grace, I have moved through this venture.

Kanwaljit Kaur

RIOTS, REFUGEES AND REHABILITATION : A CASE STUDY OF PUNJAB 1946-56

ABSTRACT

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**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
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2010

ABSTRACT

RIOTS, REFUGEES AND REHABILITATION:

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Keywords: Partition, Communities, Ethno-Nationalism, Violence, Rehabilitation

The Partition of India was neither the result of the allegedly inevitable clash between Hindus and Muslims ways of life nor was it due to any inherent inability of Islam to co-exist with other religions. It was largely due to the policy of British imperialism encouraging, sometimes openly and often with a consummate sanctimonious mask of impartiality and conflict of interests between the economically powerful and politically ambitious classes of both communities. At the root of partition lay distinct antagonism between the two principal communities of the sub-continent.

The study brings out various theories of nationalism and how ideologies brings out national consciousness and formulates a type of attitude. It justifies that people living in an ethnic group having common heritage, language, history, tradition do get influenced of Ethno-Nationalism.

In brief, this study concentrates to analyse the question of Ethnicity and Ethno-Nationalism related to the deep-rooted hatred among the communities. It

also have a dig on the role of Hindu fundamentalists, whose activities further aggravated the Muslim Community.

The economic depravity among the Muslim middle and lower class community the concept of violence, the role played by the Muslim communalists in the Pir-Dargah and religious places, the role played by the Aligarh Muslim University in the creation of Pakistan and the separatist concept, add new dimensions to the study. It also concentrates, on the communal Massacres and evacuation of religious communities from disturbed areas through various means of communication adopted during the partition. The critical process of rehabilitation of the different strata of society, and Positive and Negative effect of partition have also discussed.

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Riots, Refugees and Rehabilitation: A Case Study of Punjab 1946-56

A SUMMARY

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SUMMARY

The partition of India was neither the result of the allegedly inevitable clash between Hindus and Muslims ways of life nor was it due to any inherent inability of Islam to co-exist with other religions. It was largely due to the policy of British imperialism encouraging, sometimes openly and often with a consummate sanctimonious mask of impartiality and conflict of interests between the economically powerful and politically ambitious classes of both communities. At the root of partition lay distinct antagonism between the two principal communities of the sub-continent.

The division of humans into mutually exclusive group identities of tribe, nation, caste, religion and class seems to serve two important psychological functions. The first is to increase the feeling of well being in the narcissistic realm by locating one's own group at the centre of the universe, superior to others, and second the shared grandiose itself, maintained by legends, myths and rituals, seems to demand a conviction that other groups are inferior. Ethnic groups that use ethnicity to make demands in the political arena for alteration in their status, in their economic well being, in their civil rights, or in their educational opportunities are engaged in a form of group politics. They demand a major say for the group in the political system as a whole or control over a piece of territory within the country, or they demand a country of their own with full sovereignty. A nation, therefore, may be seen as a particular type of ethnic community or, rather as an ethnic community politicized, with recognized group rights in the political system. Nation-states are the subjects and creators of a global network or ethnic minorities as political actors. In modern times, especially 20th century ethnicity has become important in politics and ethno-nationalism has been the distinguishing characteristic of nationalism. Nationalism is both an ideology and a form of behaviour. The ideology of nationalism build on peoples awareness of a nation or national self-

consciousness to give a set of attitudes and a programme of action. These may be cultural, economic or political. So nation (as a group of people who feel to be a community bound together by common, history, religion, common descent and citizenship) can be defined in ethnic, social or official sense. Nationalism can also take these forms also. The use of word ethno-nationalism suggests that there is a distinction between an ethnic group and a nation.

It may be pointed out that in plural societies, prevalence of a dominant group, politically and economically, regulates other smaller ethnic groups into a secondary position. It results in discontent in the society in a large or small number because policies of the state become beneficial to few and harmful to others. The process of modernization unfolding social change inserts ethnic consciousness and group solidarity among the desperate ethnic groups. This indeed give rise to a conflictual nationalism. The principle dangers of violent conflict arise when all routes to power in an existing system seem closed to an organized force and when the possibility of changing the political arena is a real one. The existence of one of these conditions is often sufficient to be conducive to ethnic conflict. The existence of both is particularly dangerous. One or both of these conditions have existed in such far-flung places of India in 1947, in Nazi Germany and recently in Yugoslavia and the Hutu-Tutsi killings in Rwanda.

Some historians, both Indian and Pakistani, suggest that the Hindus and Muslims in colonial India constituted two separate nations can be projected back into medieval history. They emphasise that the events of 1947 were intimately connected to the long history of Hindu Muslim conflict throughout medieval and modern times. Communal identities were consolidated by a host of other developments in the early twentieth century. During the 1920s and early 1930s tension grew around a number of issues. Muslims were angered by music before mosque, cow protection movement, and by the efforts of the Arya Samaj to bring back to the Hindu fold

(*Shuddhi*) those who had recently converted to Islam. As middle class publicists and communal activists sought to build greater solidarity within their communities, mobilising people against the other community, riots spread in different parts of the country. Every communal riot deepened differences between communities and create violence.

The prospects of League in Punjab was always in doldrums because of the Unionist Party. The League's prospects further narrowed down after the collapse of Jinnah-Sikander Hayat Khan Pact in 1944. In Punjab, during 1945-46, communal politics burst into villages and their passions were aroused and inspired by the message of Pakistan; the cries of *Allah-o-Akbar*, *Pakistan ban ke rahega* were raised in political meetings in Punjab. The proposals of Cripps and Cabinet Mission Plan ultimately brought 'Direct-Action Day' and riot started in big way in the country. Pakistan was won, but people on both sides of the fence were tormented by killings, loss of families and by the scale and magnitude of this tragedy.

Communal riots occur because there is a development of communal ideology in society. Communalism refers to a politics that seeks to unify one community around a religious identity in hostile opposition to another community. In order to unify the community, communalism suppresses distinctions within the community and emphasis the essential unity of the community against other communities. Communalism nurtures a politics of hatred for an identified "other Hindus" in the case of Muslim Communalism and "Muslims" in the case of Hindu Communalism. This hatred feeds a politics of violence. As an ideology, communalism refers to the belief that people belonging to one religion also share common socio-economic, political and cultural interests. The South Asian societies are threatened by the lack of cultural homogeneity and the lack of a strong state or (a biased state government like British government in India) fails to ensure order in society. In such situations, the

religious bigotry leads to communal frenzy and results in riots. During the course of Indian independence movement, the Muslims always had a fear of majority Hindus, who could dictate them. Occasionally the fear of minority led them to rioting.

In such deteriorating situation, on June 3, 1947, Mountbatten announced the division of the country into India and Pakistan on the basis of religion. Sixteen districts comprising of 55 percent of population and 62 percent of the area were allotted to the West Punjab. In comparison to it, the East Punjab obtained 13 districts, 5 princely states, 45 percent of the population, 33 percent of the area and 31 percent of the income of the united former provinces. When the rest of India was celebrating independence on August 15, 1947, the unhappy land of the five rivers was undergoing the sufferings of migration.

Under the religious garb, anti-social elements came on the surface and paralysed humanitarian efforts. On the one hand administrative machinery collapsed and on the other hand civic organisations failed to fill vacuum. Moreover, the failure of the Radcliff Boundary Commission to submit its final report on August 12, created entire central Punjab as a red zone. Flags appeared on the villages indicating the positions in an uncertain situation. People stayed out and started indulging in murder and arson. When the report was submitted on August 17, much damage had already been done. The terror stricken people took to roads, railways and whatever means of transport were available for life. But every passage was infested by bands of murderers and hooligans out to loot and kill.

It was impossible to make an accurate estimate of the total loss of life or the extent of damage to property caused by riots. The census return of 1941 were not accurate even at the time they were compiled. It became hopelessly wrong at the end of six years when a general increase in population and local movements made it impossible to determine with any degree of accuracy how many non-

Muslims were living in the West Punjab, nor was it impossible to know the total number of Hindu and Sikh refugees prepared.

The magnitude of the problem of such a huge transfer of population came to be realized when people in large numbers started migrating in trains, motor vehicles, bullock carts and even on foot as caravans. While the trains carried out the speedy transfer of refugees on both the sides, it was the organization of foot convoys which proved to be the most effective form of evacuation for the tough peasants of the Punjab. Twenty-four foot convoys varying in strength from 40 to 60 thousand were organized.

To prevent the situation from deteriorating further and on account of the failure of the leadership to check exodus, both the dominions realized the need to set up machinery for the evacuation of the displaced persons. Inter-Dominion Conferences were held between the two countries to sort out the sensitive questions and issues related to the partition. High level organizations of both the dominions were entrusted with the arduous task of deciding the policy with regard to evacuation. While matters of broad policy were tackled by the Partition Council, the Joint Defence Council was given the back breaking responsibility of supplying military services and defining their functions and jurisdiction in the evacuation work. Evacuation movement plan was chalked out well with joint rehabilitation board laying down policies with regard to the reception and rehabilitation of the refugees. East Punjab Liaison Agency comprising of Chief Liaison Officer was especially set up for ensuring the safe migration of people across the border. Yet, bloodshed, communal carnage and extreme hardships marked the process of migration.

As early as the end of August 1947, the Government of India also facilitated the transportation of refugees by air from certain inaccessible points in Pakistan by mobilizing ten aircrafts and carrying out six or seven flights daily to convoy refugees.

Torn from their families environment and occupations these people were bewildered at the catastrophe, which had overtaken them. They had lost their bearings and many of them did not know what to do. The Government of India and Punjab proved equal to the occasion and set up camps at a number of places where these unfortunate people were given rest and shelter.

Although the harshest of words were often used by the displaced masses to describe the state of affairs in the refugee camps, yet it was these camps that were also the symbol of stupendous efforts that was put in by the cash-starved governments of both sides, to give some solace, comfort and security.

The Government of India set up a women organization under Miss Mridula Sarabhai to recover the abducted women. Lady social workers were deputed to all the districts of the West Punjab to assist in the recovery of abducted women. The District Liaison Officers were to supply information regarding abducted persons to be recovered. In spite of the elaborate arrangements, liberal expenditure and efforts many were left behind. East Punjab Liaison Agency recovered 11,129 women and children, whereas West Punjab recovered only 5,616. It was however, claimed by the East Punjab Government that they took up recovery work more honestly in this province than their counterparts in Pakistan.

Another problem caused by the partition of the country was the exchange of prisoners and mental patients. The East Punjab Government built a new mental hospital at Amritsar in 1948. The most important event in the working of this hospital for the year 1950 was the transfer of 450 Indian mental patients from mental hospitals in West Pakistan. And in the case of prisoners, with the determined efforts of Indian Government, 4088 non-Muslim prisoners repatriated from Pakistan. Indian Government repatriated 3761 Muslim prisoners to Pakistan.

It has been estimated that over 12½ million people have been uprooted from their settled homes and were cut off from their moorings. Upto June 15, 1948 about 55 lakhs non-Muslims were estimated to have been brought over to India from West Punjab and other provinces of Western Pakistan and during the same period about 58 lakhs Muslims had moved into Pakistan from East Punjab, Delhi, U.P., Ajmer, Marwara, Alwar, Bharatpur, Gwalior and Indore. During the same period about one and a quarter million non-Muslims crossed the borders from Eastern Pakistan into West Bengal.

Since the influx of evacuees appeared to be an unending stream as an aftermath of the partition of the country, steps were taken to settle the rural population on evacuee lands where *Kharif* crops were ripe for harvesting. Sending the evacuees to villages was placed on the top of the priority list of the Government. To rehabilitate displaced farmers, land was allotted to them on temporary basis for sustenance in groups. A rough and ready scheme of distribution of land for the first harvest was drawn. In the absence of agricultural statistics and decisive agreement with Pakistan on evacuee property, permanent settlement could not be worked out immediately. To ensure quick distribution of land the agriculturist evacuees were asked to proceed to the tehsils and acquire lands in the villages. Quasi-permanent settlement replaced the temporary allotment scheme. The announcement of the new scheme in this regard was made on February 7, 1948. According to it, the holdings of the evacuees in West Punjab was to be taken into account for the allotment of land. In order to standardize the claimant right, the tenure of land in different kinds of soil and in different tracts were classified and evaluated. The area of every claimed was then converted into the newly evolved term 'standard acre'. Formula of 'graded cuts' was applied while allotting the land to evacuees farmers in a bid to rehabilitate them. The final account

showed that displaced persons due for settlement in East Punjab could receive in quasi-permanent allotment 2,448,830 standard acres against 3,935,131 standard acres abandoned in West Pakistan.

The scheme of model villages was started. Factors like the area and shape of the village site, the situation of large trees and standing *pucca* buildings were certain common features in all these villages.

About 5,00,000 displaced families of land holders were settled in villages. Besides these families, landless persons, *harijans*, tenants, village *kamins* and shopkeepers were provided with shelter. There were about 3,18,000 evacuee houses in living conditions in rural areas. 2,25,000 houses were no longer fit for repairs and 1,25,000 evacuee houses needed repairs. Many *kacha* houses collapsed due to heavy rains and floods. Houses belonging to evacuee land holders were given to the allottees of land. Houses of evacuee *kamins* were given to displaced *kamins*. Evacuee shops were given to displaced shopkeepers. Houses were reserved for common purposes such as *panchayat ghars*, schools and dispensaries.

Urban rehabilitation in the Punjab, broadly speaking was the problem of providing about 11 lakh displaced persons of urban characteristics with houses and urban land claimed to have been abandoned in urban areas of West Pakistan was 22,972 standard acres while the urban area available in East Punjab and PEPSU was 19,273 standard acres. Out of which 13,444 standard acres were in East Punjab and 5,729 in PEPSU.

An urban allotment section was started under a *tehsildar* with 56 clerks. The first and immediate need of evacuees was house where he could shelter himself and his family. While the number of urban houses left on this side was much smaller than those left in Pakistan, they were also poorer in quality and capacity as compared to non-Muslim houses in Pakistan.

For the lower middle class the government evolved the scheme of cheap housing colonies. It was decided to set up houses of small

specification on 8 *marla* sites. In these colonies sites had been provided for religious buildings and schools. Rather more serious was the problem of the lower class displaced persons who were so poor that they could not afford to spend anything for roofed shelter. For them mud hut colonies were set up. Sites were also provided for services industries to make them self-sufficient to the maximum possible extent. The earliest effort in this direction was the construction of 12 townships called model towns. All the houses in model towns were of uniform designs.

Another scheme to provide shelter was the construction of 4,200 houses at the laying out of 9800 building in new township colonies built at various places in the Punjab. In PEPSU, 10,000 Bahawalpurias were earmarked for Patiala. Of these some were to be housed in the town itself either by repairing the *kholas* or in new barracks which was constructed for displaced persons. The bulk of the population was to be housed in a new township in close precincts of the town at Tripuri where 1800 new houses were planned for construction. Nearly 8,000 Bahawalpuria evacuees were planned to settle in Jind. 400 houses were planned to build in Phagwara. The PEPSU Government planned six model townships near Patiala, Phagwara, Basti Nau, Bhatinda, Kotakpura and Barnala. A cheap house scheme was prepared for the working classes and the low income groups. This scheme aimed at providing building sites at various places in the Union.

To provide displaced shopkeepers a ready means of earning their living, it was decided to allot evacuee shops and factories only to displaced persons. There were nearly 17,000 evacuee shops. All of these were allotted to displaced businessmen from West Pakistan. The total number of evacuee factories and industrial establishments in the province was 1,392 of these 1,114 had been leased through auction.

To provide financial aid to the poor and middle class evacuees for rehabilitation in business, the government sanctioned a scheme of loans and grants. In the beginning all loans to urban evacuees were granted individually. Later on it was decided that loans, should as a rule be given only to co-operative societies or groups of displaced persons. The Punjab government had by the end of November 1949, sanctioned Rs. 1,25,00,000 as loans and 18,00,000 as grants to displaced persons.

Displaced students from West Pakistan were given financial assistance by the government in the form of loans and grants. Relief was granted to college as well as loans and to school students from 5th to 10th class. They were given other concessions also, like fee, books and etc. Exception was however, made in case of those students who had secured admission to engineering, medical, veterinary or agricultural colleges, recognized by the East Punjab University in which case assistance was to continue till the completion of the full course. The Punjab government disbursed to displaced students Rs. 15,22,000 as loans and Rs. 19,48,000 as grants in the year 1948-49.

The Industry Department of the Punjab Government had also started 32 training centres in which both boys and girls trainees received instruction in various trades and crafts. These centres were located at different towns in the province. To help rehabilitation of the displaced industrialists and to provide gainful employment to other displaced persons new industrial areas were developed in important cities. To restrict the shifting of factories under Factory Act, East Punjab Act, March 1948 'Control of Dismantling Act' was passed by the East Punjab Government. To make up for the loss of capital and skilled labour, the Government of India set up a Rehabilitation Finance Administration for meeting the financial requirements of small and medium level migrant businessman on medium and long term basis.

The industrial development in the East Punjab was based on an economic system under which private enterprise controlled almost the entire industrial field. However, the Punjab government rendered the maximum possible assistance to private enterprise to encourage the growth of industries. The future plans of the state government for the industrial development were in the different directions. These efforts were expected to change the face of Punjab state and to achieve a healthy, happy and prosperous future of urban East Punjab.

The evacuee gardens were reserved for allotment to displaced garden owners. Horticultural facilities were provided by the Government through introduction of a garden colony scheme. Earmarking of certain compact areas in every district was an important step taken by the Government in this direction. Educated persons with gardening experience who were ready to undertake the planting of gardens in conformity with official regulations were allotted units. These units were of the size between 10 to 20 acres of land.

After the partition, the East Punjab was a deficit state in food grains and cotton. The East Punjab government started development schemes like supply of better seeds, agricultural implements, fruit nursery production, compost schemes, tubewell scheme, mechanical cultivation and land reclamation schemes, etc. on a 'no profit no loss' basis. The agricultural education and research work was carried on first in Khalsa College, Amritsar and subsequently, since August 1949, at Ludhiana.

The Punjab's economy received a fillip with the inception of first Five Year Plan, 1950-51. The programme of agricultural development was given the highest priority. These included programmes for increasing agricultural production, developing animal husbandry, dairying, forests, fisheries and cooperation. During the plan, irrigation was made available for about 6.3 million

acre of land but the area actually cultivated was a little over 4 million acres. The bulk of the central assistance was devoted to minor irrigation programmes. Under the Indo-US Technical Cooperation Programme, three projects for the construction of 2650 tubewells and for drilling of 350 exploratory tubewells had been undertaken at the cost of rupees twenty-five crores. Forty-five tubewells and five borings out of 350 exploratory tubewells were to be located in the Punjab and PEPSU respectively.

The greater attention was paid to the developmental work. The consolidation of holdings and prevention of their fragmentation, improvement of cattle wealth, use of pure seeds of improved varieties, maintaining the fertility of soil, eradication of weeds and control of insects, pests and diseases, provision of irrigation facilities, supply of improved agricultural implements at reasonable costs, reclamation of cultivable waste lands and mechanical cultivation and general improvement in the methods of agricultural were the main area of concentration. With partition, Punjab inherited a legacy of increasing economic pressure in form of reduced holdings and poorer lands, fall in number of actual workers on the soil, insufficient irrigation facilities, slender capital resources and the rise of tenant interests. However, it had a healthy outcome in the form of migration of the rich farmers of West Punjab into the Indian territory. These enterprising farmers had shifted to the irrigated tracts of the West Punjab from the interiors of the Punjab a few decades back where they engineered the agricultural transformation. The partition marked the return of these displaced Sikh and Hindu farmers of Pakistan. Being mobile in character and well versed with the mechanics of agrarian experiment, they were conscientious innovative and more receptive to new and novel ideas. They were the ones who spearheaded the Green Revolution in the province.

The scheme of sinking wells continued to run on subsidized basis. *Taccavi* loans for 4,150 wells were advanced upto June 1950.

Since the partition upto December 31, 1950 about 23 lakh implements had been supplied to farmers. Panchayat Raj gave an opportunity to the masses to manage their own affairs. After independence, the Punjab government started the experiment of Panchayati Raj. The introduction of the Punjab Bill in the state legislature was the first step towards the establishment of the Raj.

As the result of the partition, there was a sharp decline in the morals of the people. The serious economic crisis created by the forced migration brought immorality in large number. The prevailing lawlessness common in the East and West Punjabs removed all social restraints and scruples. About fifty thousand women were abducted in both the Punjabs. The violent communal riots, murders and heinous crimes brought the people's morale to the lowest ebb.

The partition gave a severe blow to the common village traditions. Persons belonging to the same *biradari* were scattered over different villages and towns in the same and even different districts, with the result that social restraint exercised by the *biradari* got relaxed. People were invariably strangers to their neighbours, because belonging as they did to different places, they had settled at one place. There was so much antipathy among the refugee settlers in the same village that it sometimes resulted in thefts and abduction of women in East Punjab.

People from both the Punjabs intermingled and it led to many new social developments. A large number of the Sikhs and Hindus from Rawalpindi and Multan division who were engaged in trade resettled in the backward towns and villages of East Punjab. This quickened the pulse of social life. The free and easy culture of the West Punjab had a liberalizing influence on the women of East Punjab, who emulating the example of their counterparts from West Punjab began to discard the *pardah* and were becoming co-sharers of their husband's business.

Due to partition of Punjab, the Pakistani Punjabi began to develop on different lines with large number of Persian words and Punjabi in India began to absorb Hindi words.

The partition caused an upheaval in the social structure. The refugees found themselves aliens in their new surroundings. The very places, the physical and geographical environment and people among whom they were required to spend their lives and develop new relationships were unfamiliar. In the West Punjab, this led to the evil practices of beggary, prostitution, delinquency and crime.

'Refugees' everywhere in the world have generally found at first a warm response from those among they are placed, but with the lapse of time they develop a feeling that they are not really getting what they had counted upon, their sufferings have not been properly appreciated, and that they are generally misunderstood. In the case of evacuees from West Pakistan a similar complex had developed. The sudden uprooting from their homes due to political reasons led the refugees to believe that the Republic of India was the direct outcome of the immense sacrifices made by them. Hence they legitimately expected more consideration from the local population. This led to the development of more aggressive attitude among them.

It is beyond doubt that partition dealt a severe blow to the economy of Punjab. It adversely affected the condition of both agriculture and industry. The entire economy of the nation including that Punjab could be seen in a shattered and disintegrated state. Independence brought with it a change in the dynamics of political power game. It signified the transfer of power from the hands of the colonial masters to the national elite. In the Punjab, rural elites came to wield power in the political set up. The political and economic compulsions led the state to divert its energy in the rehabilitation of the province. A series of challenges were posed before the newly formed state. Rehabilitation process could be accomplished largely

owing to the patience, perseverance, will power and mobility displayed by the Punjabis in their character.

The collaborative efforts of the state and overwhelming response of its people cumulatively, resulted in gradual recovery of the agricultural, industrial and economy of the province from the hard hitting blow of partition.

Abbreviations

A.D.	:	Anno Domini (in the year of Lord Christ)
a.m.	:	Anti Meridian
AICC	:	All India Congress Committee
ASI	:	Assistant Sub Inspector
BOAC	:	British Overseas Airways Co.
CAIL	:	Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative)
CLO	:	Chief Liaison Officer
CWC	:	Congress Working Committee
DAV	:	Dayanand Anglo Vedic
DLO	:	District Liaison Officer
DP	:	Displaced Person
DSP	:	Deputy Superintendent of Police
Etc.	:	Et cetera (and other things)
G.T. Road	:	Grand Trunk Road
GOI	:	Government of India
Govt.	:	Government
i.e.	:	Idest; that is
IAR	:	Indian Annual Register
Ibid.	:	Ibidem
INC	:	Indian National Congress
Indo-Pak	:	India-Pakistan
JEM	:	Joint Evacuation Movement
LC	:	Linlithgow Correspondence
MAO	:	Mohammedan Anglo Oriental
MLNG	:	Muslim League National Guard
NAI	:	National Archives of India
No.(s)	:	Number(s)
NWFP	:	North West Frontier Province
op. cit.	:	Opere Citato
p.m.	:	Post Meridian

PEPSU	:	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
Ph.D.	:	Doctor of Philosophy
PLA	:	Punjab Legislative Assembly
PM	:	Prime Minister
PSA	:	Punjab State Archives
PVS	:	Punjab Vidhan Sabha
PWD	:	Public Works Department
RIAF	:	Royal Indian Air Force
RSS	:	Rashtarya Swayam Sevak
SGPC	:	Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee
SP	:	Superintendent of Police
Sr. No.	:	Serial Number
TB	:	Tuberculosis
TOP	:	Transfer of Power
UP	:	United Provinces
US	:	United States
Vol.	:	Volume

GLOSSARY

<i>Abadi</i>	:	Village site.
<i>Ahrar</i>	:	Literally, the free, Muslim political party founded in Punjab in 1931 by Mazhar Ali Khan and Maulana Ataullah Shah Bukhari.
<i>Anjuman</i>	:	Assembly, Society.
<i>Annas</i>	:	Old coin now obsolete, one sixteenth of a rupee in value.
<i>Arians</i>	:	A cultivator caste in Punjab.
<i>Arya Samaj</i>	:	A socio-religious reform movement among the Hindus, which profoundly influenced the society of Punjab in the late nineteen and early twentieth centuries.
<i>Azad</i>	:	Independent, Free.
<i>Bania</i>	:	A Hindu from the shopkeeper or merchant caste.
<i>Banjar</i>	:	The barren or waste land.
<i>Barani</i>	:	Land watered by rains only.
<i>Batai</i>	:	Mode of assessment of land revenue by division of produce between the cultivator and the state.
<i>Bazaar</i>	:	Market, group of shops in urban centres.
<i>Biradari</i>	:	Literally brotherhood, used to refer to patrilineal kingship groups.
<i>Dargah</i>	:	Tomb, shrine.
<i>Dhagga</i>	:	Thread
<i>Dharma</i>	:	A religious duty.
<i>Din</i>	:	The Islamic religion
<i>Fatwa</i>	:	A legal opinion delivered by a Muslim qualified to interpret Islamic law, namely, an Alim or Mufti
<i>Gaddar</i>	:	A traitor.

<i>Ganpati</i>	:	An elephant headed Hindu God.
<i>Gita</i>	:	A celebrated episode of the Mahabharata, in the form of a metrical dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna.
<i>Goonda</i>	:	A potentially violent criminal hooligan.
<i>Gurdwara</i>	:	A Sikh temple.
<i>Hadis</i>	:	The collection of reports or a single report relating the words and deeds of the Prophet Mohd.
<i>Halal</i>	:	An animal slaughtered as prescribed by Islamic law.
<i>Halqa</i>	:	Division, Ward, Constituency.
<i>Hind</i>	:	India.
<i>Hindu Mahasbha</i>	:	A political organisation based on Hindu revivalism.
<i>Imam</i>	:	Head in prayers.
<i>Ittehad</i>	:	Unity.
<i>Ittehad-i-Millat</i>	:	Unity among a religious community (Islamic)
<i>Jamabandi</i>	:	Cadastre.
<i>Jamait</i>	:	Congregation, collective body.
<i>Jat</i>	:	Name of a tribe.
<i>Jatha</i>	:	An organized band or squad.
<i>Jihad</i>	:	The religious duty of Muslims to establish, of necessary by force, the sway of Islam over the non-Islamic world.
<i>Ji</i>	:	A suffix added to names to indicate reverence and affection.
<i>Jowar</i>	:	Great millet.
<i>Kafir</i>	:	Unbeliever, non-Muslim.
<i>Kanal</i>	:	One eighth of an acre, a unit of a land area.
<i>Kanungo</i>	:	A revenue official who supervises the work of the Patwaris.

<i>Kashtkar</i>	:	Cultivator, agriculturist, farmer.
<i>Khadi</i>	:	Coarse cloth of home-spun cotton.
<i>Khaksar</i>	:	Literally humble, a para-military organisation led by Allama Mashriqi.
<i>Khans</i>	:	Title used generally by the Pathans to refer to the landlords or tribal leaders.
<i>Kharif</i>	:	The autumn harvest sown in April-May before the commencement of rains and reaped in October-November.
<i>Khasra No.</i>	:	Serial or reference number of a plot or field.
<i>Khilafat</i>	:	Opposition.
<i>Killa-bandi</i>	:	Demarcation of land in killas.
<i>Kohlu</i>	:	Oil press.
<i>Kotha</i>	:	Room.
<i>Kuchha</i>	:	Here, the well unlined by bricks.
<i>Lambardar</i>	:	Village headman.
<i>Lathi</i>	:	A sturdy stick, usually made of bamboo.
<i>Mahabhart</i>	:	The great (war of the) Bharatas, the great epic poem of the Hindus probably the longest in the world.
<i>Maharaja</i>	:	A Hindu or Sikh princely ruler.
<i>Mahatma</i>	:	Great soul.
<i>Majlis</i>	:	Assembly, meeting, gather, party.
<i>Malik</i>	:	A title of respect used by certain Punjabi communities. For example the Tiwanas and the Noons.
<i>Marla</i>	:	A unit of area measuring 6/160 th of an acre.
<i>Masjid</i>	:	A mosque.
<i>Maulana</i>	:	A title of respect reserved for Muslims reputed for their religious learning.
<i>Maulvi</i>	:	Muslim learned man.
<i>Millat</i>	:	Religious community (Muslim).

<i>Mir</i>	:	A chief or leader.
<i>Mirasi</i>	:	A caste of Muslims generally employed as musicians, bards and genealogist.
<i>Mohajir</i>	:	A migrating Muslim, usually used to denote an Urdu speaker who moved to Pakistan in 1947.
<i>Mohalla</i>	:	The residential parts of a town or city.
<i>Muharram</i>	:	The first month of Hijri calendar, anniversary of Hussain's martyrdom.
<i>Mullah</i>	:	A Muslim teacher or reader of the Quran and traditionally an expert in Islamic law.
<i>Murdabad</i>	:	Down with death (a slogan).
<i>Mussalman</i>	:	A Muslim.
<i>Nallah</i>	:	Rivulet, stream, brook.
<i>Naqalias</i>	:	Used to provide fun and enjoyment to the tired farmers after their toil.
<i>Nawab</i>	:	The Muslim equivalent of a Maharaja, originally used to denote a senior official in the Mughal Empire.
<i>Panchayat</i>	:	Village council or commune
<i>Patwari</i>	:	The village accountant.
<i>Pir</i>	:	A Muslim spiritual guide.
<i>Pucca</i>	:	Baked, built of concrete or bricks.
<i>Purdah</i>	:	Curtain.
<i>Quaid-i-Azam</i>	:	A great leader, a title bestowed upon Muhammad Ali Jinnah by his followers.
<i>Rabi</i>	:	The spring crop generally sown in October-November and reaped in April-May.
<i>Ramayana</i>	:	Biography of Lord Rama.
<i>Sajjada Nashin</i>	:	Literally one who sits on the prayer carpet, custodian of a sufi-shine.
<i>Sanatan Dharam</i>	:	Eternal religion or traditional way of life.
<i>Sarkanda</i>	:	Thick growth of elephant grass.

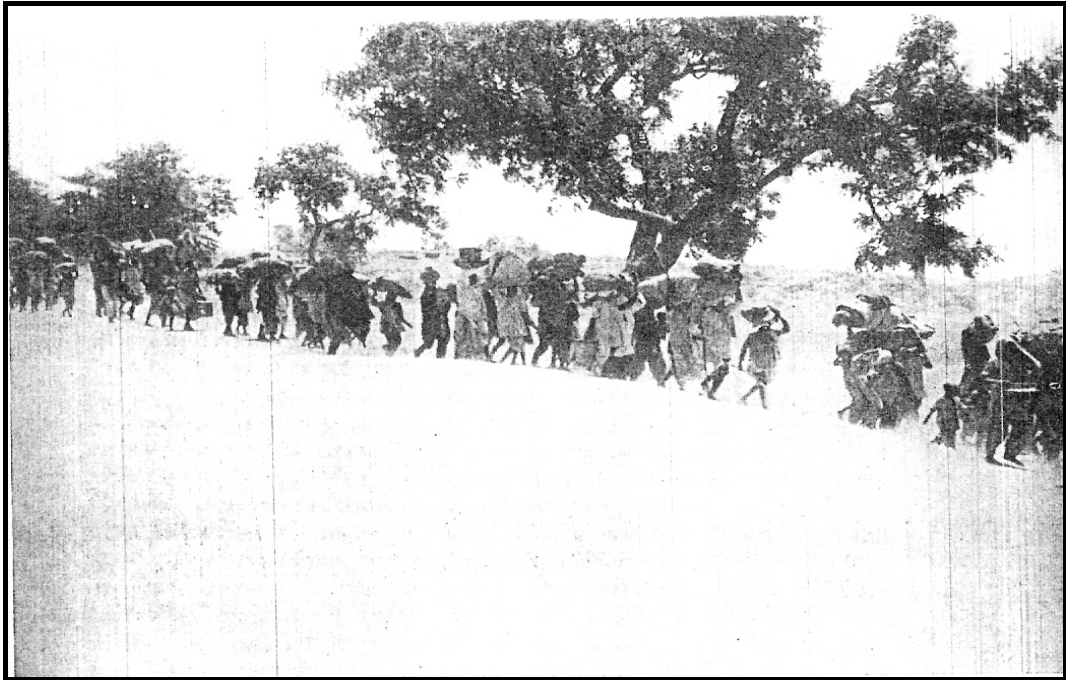
<i>Sena</i>	:	Army.
<i>Seva Sadan</i>	:	Service-House
<i>Shariat</i>	:	Islamic law, derived from the Quran and Hadis literally chain.
<i>Shuddhi</i>	:	Purity.
<i>Sirki</i>	:	Mat made from reed or split bamboo.
<i>Sufi</i>	:	A Muslim mystic, so called after the early ascetics in Islam who wore garments of coarse wool.
<i>Swaraj</i>	:	Self-rule.
<i>Takavi</i>	:	Literally means strengthening or assisting, the money (loans) advanced to cultivators for productive purposes such as purchase of implements, seeds and digging well etc.
<i>Taluqdar</i>	:	Used for landlord in UP who collected revenue for his own and other estates.
<i>Tanga</i>	:	Cart.
<i>Tehsil</i>	:	Revenue and administrative division of a district.
<i>Tehsildar</i>	:	Officer in-charge of a tehsil, a revenue sub-division of a district.
<i>Ulema</i>	:	Person versed in Islamic religious sciences.
<i>Vedas</i>	:	Four ancient scriptures of the Hindus.
<i>Verandah</i>	:	Porch, An entrance to a building.
<i>Zaildar</i>	:	Office in-charge of a group of villages.
<i>Zamindar</i>	:	Term is used loosely to refer to any landlord, large or small.
<i>Zindabad</i>	:	Long live, a slogan of victory.



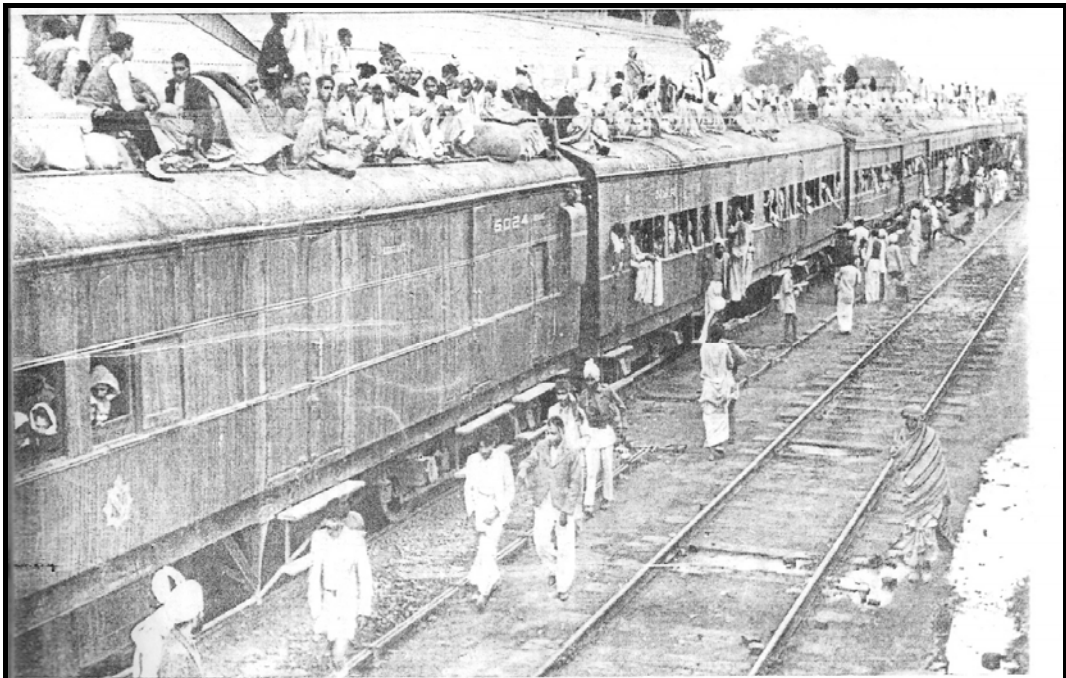
The man waiting to die by the road side on the way to India



A Caravan of bullock carts resting after the day's march



Foot columns of displaced persons fleeing Pakistan



Evacuation by trains



Evacuees on the move



Displaced persons piled high on motor trucks



Reunion of father and daughter.



A widow who lost all her family members.

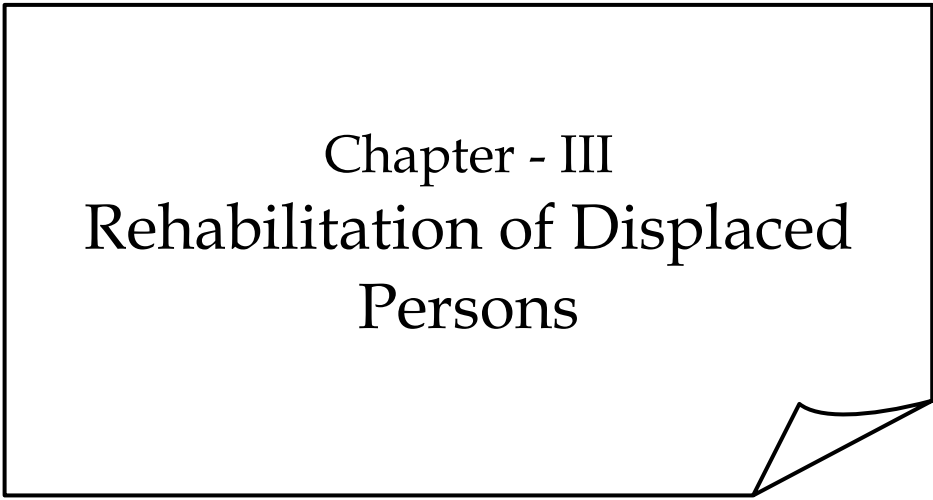


CONTENTS

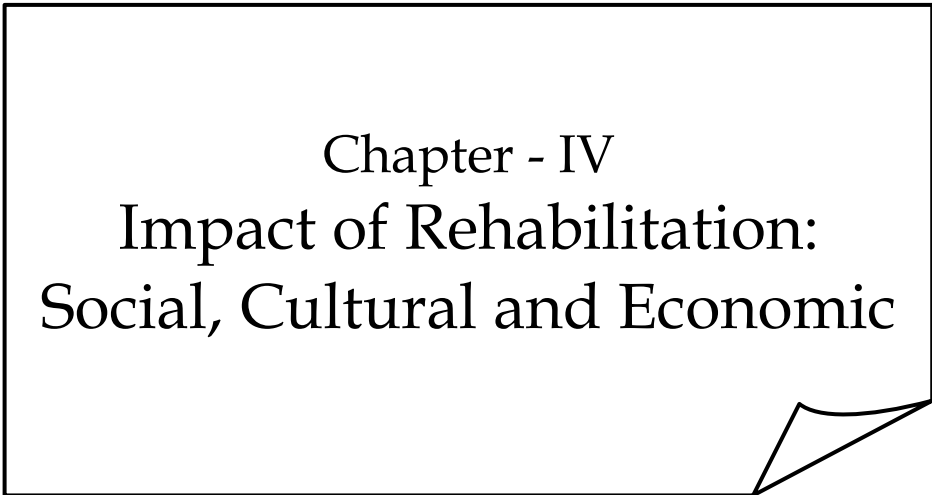
Title	Page No.
<i>Preface</i>	<i>i-xiii</i>
<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>xiv-xv</i>
<i>Glossary</i>	<i>xvi-xx</i>
Chapter – I	
Ethnic Violence, Communal Frenzy and Partition of India	1-45
Chapter – II	
Riots and Migration in Punjab and Princely States	46-101
Chapter – III	
Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons	102-161
Chapter – IV	
Impact of Rehabilitation: Social, Cultural and Economic	162-200
Chapter – V	
Conclusion	201-215
Bibliography	216-244

Chapter - I
Ethnic Violence, Communal
Frenzy and Partition of India

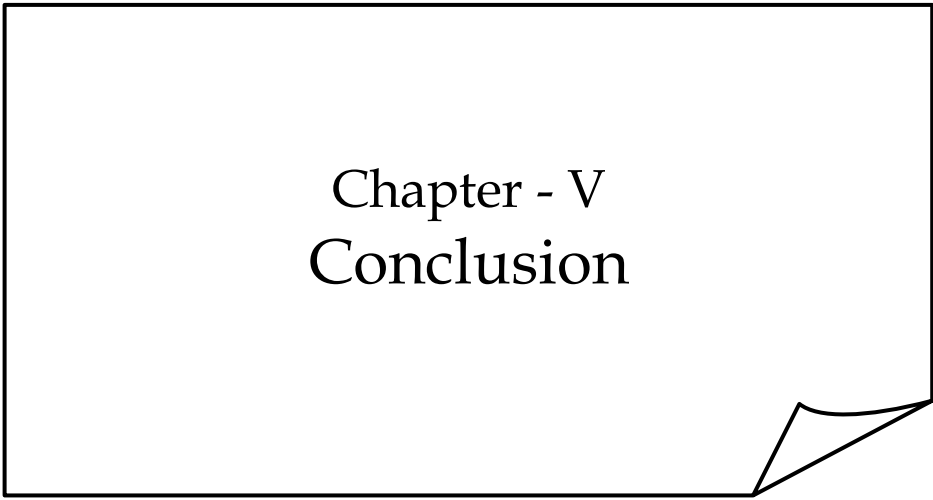
Chapter - II
Riots and Migration in Punjab
and Princely States



Chapter - III
Rehabilitation of Displaced
Persons



Chapter - IV
Impact of Rehabilitation:
Social, Cultural and Economic



Chapter - V
Conclusion



Bibliography

Chapter – I

Ethnic Violence, Communal Frenzy and Partition of India

The chapter starts with the religious history of India, prior to the establishment of British colonial rule. It explores how the Indian responses to the colonial impact laid the basis for the construction of communal and ethnic as well as of national identities. It also discusses the articulation of community and national identities to wider sections of society. It examines how these ideas were institutionalised by socio-religious movements in the Hindu, Muslim societies. It discusses the political as well as religious struggle of communities which ultimately resulted in partition.

The liberation of India from the British regime in 1947 was the result of a long drawn struggle carried on by different sections of the Indian people irrespective of caste, creed or regional affiliations by forging a united front against the colonial rule. This magnificent moment, however, was marred by the colossal tragedy of Partition. At the root of partition lay distinct antagonism between the two principal communities of the sub-continent, Hindus and Muslims. From the point of view of Pakistan, their nation state was formed in opposition to a Hindu-majority India. The reason for the formation of Pakistan was that the Muslims, as a minority, would be forever at the mercy of the Hindu majority in a democratic polity. This seemed a fate they could not abide and, therefore, Muslims needed a country of their own, specially as they came to view themselves as a nation different from the Hindus. Thus, for Pakistan, the partition of India represented a division of the sub-continent between a Muslim Pakistan and a Hindu India, a division between those parts of India which were predominantly Muslim and those which were predominantly Hindu.¹

India came in contact with the Islamic civilization long before it was actually invaded by the Muslims. The *Arabs* who last became

¹ Ira Pande (ed.), *The Great Divide; India and Pakistan*, Harper Collins, New Delhi, 2009, p.23.

followers of Islam had been carrying on a brisk trade with South India for a centuries before the origin of Islam.²

In 660 A.D, the second caliph,³ Umar sent the first Arab expedition to Sindh, and in 712 the province was conquered by Mohammad Ibn Qasim.⁴ Along with advanced military power came missionaries and traders, and the process of conversion to Islam began. After its conquest by the Arabs in the eighteenth century, Sindh did become a conduit of scientific and cultural links between India and the Arab world.⁵ South Indian Hindu kingdoms began their exploration and domination over large parts of South Asia.⁶

In the early 11th century Muslim invaders arrived in India's North-West, with the Mongols following in the thirteenth century. By then Indo-Islamic states had been established in north and north-West India. Some invaders were seasonal based in present day Afghanistan and were influenced by Persian political and military models. These Central Asians came to loot and convert but eventually stayed on to rule.⁷

By 1290, nearly all of India was under the loose domination of Muslim rulers. Two and a half centuries of internecine war among various Indo-Islamic Hindu states followed, after which the Mughals established an Empire in the early 16th century that stretched from

² The religion of Islam founded by Prophet Mohammad (570-632) in 622 A.D. It emphasizes the sovereignty and the oneness of Allah. The word 'Islam' means 'submission to the will of Allah'. For his followers, Mohd. is the final Prophet. Muslims practice ritual prayers five times a day. It divided into two main sects – Sunnites and Shiites. Geddes Machgregor, *The Everyman Dictionary of Religion and Philosophy*, J.M. Dent and Sons, London, 1990, pp.343-344; See also, A.B.M. Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Central Books, Allahabad, 1976, p.2.

³ The term derived from the Arabic term *Khalifah*. It was the title used by Islamic Empire. It can also mean representative or Deputy. Matthew S. Gorden, *Islam: Encyclopediadia of World Religions*, Vol. VII, Crest Publishing, New Delhi, 2004, p.124.

⁴ S.M. Ikram, *Indian Muslims and Partition of India*, Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi, 1967, p.2

⁵ Satish Chandra, *History of Medieval India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2007, p.7.

⁶ A.B.M. Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, *op. cit.*, p.2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.18; See also, S.M. Ikram, *Indian Muslims and Partition of India*, *op. cit.*, p.2.

the North-West Frontier Province to Bengal and down to the Deccan. The attempts of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb to extend his control to South India coupled with his brutal treatment of his subjects led to a crisis of empire.⁸ The Empire lasted until 1858, when it was finally eliminated by the British.

There is a great difference between the Hindus and Muslims in tradition, in history and in their attitude towards life political, social and economic. The Muslims derive their inspiration from the *Quran* and *Hadis*,⁹ and the Hindus from the *Vedas*. The Muslims have got their traditions from the Prophet, the Caliph and *Imams*,¹⁰ while the Hindus have inherited them from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabhart*a and the *Gita*.

The construction of fearful Hindu beliefs about Muslims and in opposition the emergence of Muslims ethno-religious idiom and practices, religiously justify social segregation and theories of Hindu Nationalism in India. The division of humans into mutually exclusive group identities of tribe, nation, caste, religion and class seems to serve two important psychological functions. The first is to increase the feeling of well being in the narcissistic realm by locating one's own group at the centre of the universe, superior to others. The shared grandiose itself, maintained by legends, myths and rituals, seems to demand a conviction that other groups are inferior.

Every social group in its tales, rituals and other literature portrays itself nearer to a purer, divine state while denigrating and banishing others to the periphery. It is also undeniable that sharing a common ego-ideal and giving one's own group a super individual

⁸ Pringle Kennedy, *A History of Great Mughals*, Shiva Publications, Delhi, 1974, p.155.

⁹ Hadis - the collection of reports or a single report relating the words and deeds of the prophet Mohammed. The words and deeds themselves are known as the *Sunnah* or way of acting. Mathew S. Gordon, *Islam: Encyclopaedia of World Religions*, *op. cit.*, p.124.

¹⁰ *Imam* - used by Muslims to refer to the leader of a session a prayer or a religious teacher. The Shiite use the term for special individuals viewed as the religious and political leaders of the community. *Ibid.*

significance can inspire valued human attributes of loyalty and heroic self sacrifice. For the psychoanalyst it is the second function of division into ethnic groups, namely the need to have other groups as contains for one's disavowed aspects¹¹ which is of greater significance. The term 'ethnic' and 'ethnicity'¹² are used here to include religious, racial, linguistic, tribal and similar divides which have been activated in socio-political conflict in the present and past age. The use of a single generic term is justified by the palpable fact that the common features of these conflicts greatly overshadow the specificity of their religious, racial etc. character. A religious conflict in one area may have more in common with, say, a linguistic problem in another place, than with another religious conflict.¹³ The power of *language* is always greater than that of *parole*.¹⁴

To make matters more complicated the communal divisions of Indian society in many respects overlapping the class divisions. Muslim community, having lost political power, was reduced to general state of impoverishment, whereas the Hindu retained their hold on trade and commerce. The Indian bourgeoisie was predominantly Hindus, and although there were millions of poor

¹¹ Sudhir Kakar, Some Unconscious Aspects of Ethnic Violence in India, in Veena Das (ed.), *Mirrors of Violence: Communities, Riots and Survivors in South Asia*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1992, p.137.

¹² "Ethnicity", derived from the Greek word 'Ethnic' the term ethnic referred to a group, the component of which were race, descent and culture. In the modern usage, while the earlier attributes of this term have survived, there has been an increasing emphasis on its cultural components as they have evolved from time to time. Thus, an ethnic group is defined as a social collectivity which possesses, and is aware of, certain shared historical experience as well as certain objective attributes such as race, descent, tribe, language, region, dress, diet etc. – a combination of which endows it with a differentiated character vis-à-vis other group as they perceived it and perceives them. David Taylor and Malcolm Yapp, *Language, Religion and Political Identity in South Asia*, Curzon Press, London, 1979, pp.11-15; See also, Ganganath Jha, *Ethnic Politics in South East Asia and Quest for Identity*, National Books, New Delhi, 1997 p.1.

¹³ Kumar David, "Ethnic Conflict: Rethinking the Fundamentals", in Kumar Rupersinghe and Khawar Mumtaz (eds.), *Internal Conflict in South Asia*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1996, p.1.

¹⁴ Ira Pandey, *The Great Divide; India and Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p.276.

Hindus, the Muslim community remained economically backward. It was only too easy to transform an economic resentment into a communal issue. In the conversion of class antagonism into communal struggle, capitalism, both Indian and foreign, naturally played a very decisive role. Just as the Anglo-Indian political conflict was basically cultural, the Hindu Muslim communal antagonism was mainly economic. If Indian nationalism had taken positive steps to remove social stratification and economic inequalities instead of heaping denunciations on the British disruptive attitudes, communal differences could have had less disastrous results.¹⁵

The rise of Muslim separatism was rooted both in the north Indian Muslim responses to the loss of political power and Hindu resurgence. Its standard bearer was the Aligarh movement of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.¹⁶ Sir Syed linked the strengthening of the consciousness and corporate will of the Indian Muslims with the wider advancement of Islam. If Indian Muslims were degraded, Islam itself would be weakened. In order to build up the community, Sir Syed exhorted its members to educate and economically advance themselves. Material impoverishment threatened Islamic culture.¹⁷ It may be pointed out here that in plural societies, prevalence of a dominant group, politically and economically, regulate other smaller ethnic groups into a secondary position. It results in discontent in the society in a large or small number because policies of the state become beneficial to few and harmful to others.¹⁸

¹⁵ Damodar P. Singhal, *Nationalism in India*, Oriental Publishers, Delhi, 1967, pp.23-24.

¹⁶ Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *Inventing Boundaries: Gender Politics and the Partition of India*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, p.136.

¹⁷ Ian Talbot, *Inventing the Nation; India and Pakistan*, Arnold, London, 2000, pp.113-114.

¹⁸ Kumar David, *Ethnic Conflict: Rethinking the Fundamentals*, *op. cit.*, p.41.

From the formation of the Congress in 1885,¹⁹ Sir Syed resolutely warned Muslims of its dangers.²⁰ Further steps towards political community were provided both by the short lived Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association which, significantly, was set up immediately following the rash of cow protection riots in 1893, and Syed Ameer Ali's Central National Mohammadan Association. The latter became moribund when its founder departed for England in 1904, but at its peak in 1888 it boasted 53 branches throughout India.²¹

Syed Ahmed Khan's Mohammadan Educational Conference advanced still nearer to the threshold of politics.²² It provided Muslims with an opportunity where educated Muslims belonging to different areas of the country could assembled at one place and put their heads together to think, plan and work in cohesion for the betterment of their community. This was a clear symptom of their awakening to their ethnic identity.

In the movement to create greater internal cohesion and to press more effectively ethnic demands against rival groups, ethnic

¹⁹ Indian National Congress, which had been floated in 1885 began to play a vital role in mitigating the grievances of the Indian people through press and platform. A branch of the Indian National Congress was also formed in the Punjab but its activities did not amount to anything more than annual gathering in which a few interested in the movement participated, the organisation had no contact with the people and could strike roots in the province throughout the late 19th century because the Hindus and Muslims felt that more could be gained by promoting the interests of their communities than by joining the Congress. Satya M. Rai, *Legislative Politics and the Freedom Struggle in the Punjab 1897-1947*, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, 1989, p.2; See also, Harminder Singh, "The Congress in the Punjab", *Punjab History Conference Proceeding*, Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1979, p.272.

²⁰ His communitarian approach to political representation was expressed most clearly in a speech in December 1887: *Now let us suppose that we have universal suffrage, as in America, and that all have votes. And let us supposed that all Muslim voters vote for a Muslim member and that all Hindu voters for a Hindu member and now count how many votes the Muslim member will have and how many the Hindu. We can prove by simple arithmetic that there will be four votes for the Hindu to every one vote for the Muslim. Now how can the Muslim guard his interest? It will be like a game of dice in which one man had four dice and other only one.* H. Malik, "Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's Contribution to the Development of Muslim Nationalism in India", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1970, p.145.

²¹ Ian Talbot, *Inventing the Nation; India and Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, pp.113-114.

²² M.S. Ahmad, *The All India Muslim League: From the Late Nineteenth Century to 1919*, Bahawalpur, 1988, p.60.

and nationalist elites increasingly stress the variety of ways in which the members of the group are similar to each other and collectively different from others. The effort, however, creates its own problems because the selection of additional symbols inevitably involves either the loss of potential adherents or the need to persuade or coerce group members to change their language, religion, behaviour or dress.²³

It also may lead nationalist leaders expansionist military adventures and conflicts with other states when they drive to achieve multisymbol congruence. It is important to recognize that this striving for multisymbol congruence is pursued by ethnic group leaders as much as by state builders. If the process is more or less successful the nationality created out of an ethnic group is sure to be quite a different social formation from the initial group. However, both processes of nationality-formation and state-building may be pushed beyond pluralist accommodations to extreme, to expulsions, the exchange of population groups and even to genocide.²⁴

Nation-building is a “process of political coherence for ethnically divided societies if only they could succeed in transcending traditional group loyalties in favour of an abstract sense of community called nation.”²⁵ Nation-building has to be seen in terms of holistic process. It fosters awareness among the people and creates a legitimate public authority and build upon an integrated national commitment. It obviously involves a change in social, economic, political and psychological sphere, so that a cohesive national society is built up.

The first important religious movement to succeed in creating a sense of a Hindu nation as opposed to Muslims and the British was

²³ Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, Harper and Row, New York, 1971, p.171; See also, Urmila Phadnis, “Ethnicity and Nation Building in South Asia: A Case Study of Sri Lanka”, *India Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 3, July 1979, p.329.

²⁴ Paul R. Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism; Theory and Comparison*, Sage, New Delhi, 1991, pp.20-21.

²⁵ D.L. Sheth, “State, Nation and Ethnicity: Experience of Third World Countries”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 24, 1989, p.620.

the Cow Protection Movement²⁶ in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Large numbers of people were mobilized through the networks of local marketing systems. In the case of Saran district in Bihar, it was the transit of cattle intended for slaughter which led to widespread rioting. Not only cattle was on the move, but Hindu monks travelled the countryside as well as to organise people against the slaughter of the cow-goddess. Circular letters were used to spread the message of the Hindu nation. While the movement to protect mother cow from Muslim butchers and British barbarians concentrated on the Punjab, U.P. and Bihar, riots also took place elsewhere, notably in Calcutta and Bombay. The great success of Bombay Cow Protection riot of 1893 led Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the Maharashtrian Hindu leader, to continue to develop new ritual strategies for mass mobilization. The most striking among those was the reinvention of the festival for *Ganapati*, the elephant-headed Hindu God, and a series of rituals connected to the all but forgotten founder of the Maratha Empire, Shivaji (1627-80).²⁷

The first reported riot occurred incidentally, in Ahmedabad in 1730 on a trivial issue of throwing colours by *Holi* revellers on the Muslims. Between 1730 and 1924 – A long period of 134 years only 39 riots are recorded which occurred in 28 cities in Northern India.²⁸

The issue of communal violence is a very grave in the history of any nation. Violence is a part of man's social activity. It will be appropriate to begin with the view point of social scientists. They maintain that man as individual is seldom hostile. He neither commits murder nor go for war. Social man does both. It is only after men get together as the individual interests when they are organised

²⁶ Roger D. Congleton, "Ethnic Clubs, Ethnic Conflict, and the Rise of Ethnic Nationalism", in Albert Breton, Gianluigi Galeottio, Pierre Salmon, Ronald Wintrobe (eds.), *Nationalism and Rationality*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, p.74.

²⁷ Ian Talbot, *Inventing the Nation; India and Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p.115.

²⁸ Yogesh Atal, "Violence and the Conner for Communal Harmony", in D.P. Singh and Manjit Singh (eds.), *Violence: A Concern for Peaceful Coexistence*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2008, p.3.

into groups. Then group interests collide and conflict follows. Ancient Sages had praised the violence as manifestation of life force and specifically its creativity.

Violence is also defined as the use of great physical forces. It also involves excessive, unrestrained or unjustifiable force, outrage profanation, injury or rape. The threat of use of force that results, or is intended to result, in the injury or forcible restraint or intimidation of persons or the destruction or forcible seizure of property.²⁹

There are widely differing views on the precise origins of violence but there is at least – one point that is common to all the theories, which is that the conditions of life by their very nature tend to promote violence. Konard Lorenz³⁰ considered weapons as having overridden the natural inhibitions that exist in nature against killing. The population problem was a contributory factor to violence.³¹ Technology also had dehumanizing influences which provoke frustrated individuals to violence.³²

The major focus of cultural approach of ethnic violence has been of the cultural construction of fear with the help of rhetorical processes, symbolic resources and re-presentational forms and demonized, dehumanized or threatening, ethnically defined ‘other’ has been constructed. Culturalist approach specifies the manner in which fears and threats are constructed through, narratives, myth, rituals, commemorations and other cultural representation.³³ Once such ethnically focused fear is constructed, the ethnic violence no longer seems random or meaningless but all too horrifying.

²⁹ The United States National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Homer in the Illiad, ponders the meaning of violence, “In a word striving to be civilized”. Hobbes presents a model of man which is essentially brutal and selfish.

³⁰ Konard Lorenz, *The Phylogeny of Violence*, Harcourt, 1966, p.31.

³¹ Arthur Koestler, *Darkness at Moon*, Bantam Books, New York, 1944, p.22.

³² Arnold Toynbee, *The Discourse of Others: Eminists and Postmodernism*, Bay Press, Port Townsend, 1983, p.90.

³³ Rogers Brubaker and David D. Latin, “Ethnic and Nationalist Violence”, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 24, 1998, pp.442.443.

An entrenched ethno nationalist movement weaken states common identity, which had controlled the centrifugal action of different identities. Consequently, a cultural conflict is erupted because culture is considered to be the totality of the values, beliefs, traditions and heritage that confer an identity on each individual. In its potential for explosive violence, culture could be compare to a nuclear reactor. A chain reaction would be started when a moderating influence of heavy water (a common project or authority) is removed. When the conflict reaches on certain intensity, a certain temperature, then violence is erupted. Violence can quickly destroy relationship between groups. Violence has generally been conceptualized as a degree of conflict rather than as a form of conflict. It is not a quantitative degree of conflict but a qualitative form with its own dynamics.³⁴

Various inductive, rational action and culturalist approaches applied for describing ethnic violence. Ted Robert Gurr outlined an *integrated theory of political violence* as the product of the politicization and activation of discontent arising from relative deprivation.³⁵ Some recent theories of ethnic conflicts explained that the ethnic violence is a direct consequence of primordial antipathies among groups.

The ethnic groups are often characterized by relatively dense social networks and low-cost access to information about the past history of individual behaviour. It has an important consequence for intra versus inter group relations. Within groups people who exploit the trust of others can be identified as individuals sanctioned with relative ease by the response of ethnic community.

The most terrible feature of ethnic violence is genocide and ethnic cleansing, genocide areas the destruction of nations or ethnic

³⁴ Mircea Malitza, "Ten Thousand Cultures: A Single Civilization", *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 21, January 2001, p.77.

³⁵ Ted Robert Gur, "Why Minorities Rebel: A Global Analysis of Communal Mobilization and Conflict Since 1945", *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 14, April 1994, pp.161-201.

groups. Ethnic cleansing means the forcible expulsion of masses from their living places. This creates acute problem of refugees and displaced persons in the world.

Violence occurred mostly when some leaders had driven hard to consolidate a particular community or ethnic group into a politically solidary force, as Jinnah did with the Muslim League in the pre-independence period, when politics were more elitist than they are today.

Lord Morley announced in 1905 that the government would consider proposals for reform to solve the tussle within Congress. This was unwelcome news for Muslim leaders in the main centres of Hindu population. They had already seen the very limited powers devolved to Municipal Committees used by Hindu revivalist to their advantage. This process was especially marked in the towns of the Western U.P. Newly elected Hindu leaders introduced municipal regulations to control butchers shops and slaughter houses and to alter procession routes at festival times. In Agra almost immediately after the passage of the 1883 Municipalities Act, Hindu leaders had claimed the right to hold festivals which clashed with the *Shia* Muslim period of mourning (*Muharram*). In Moradabad, the new found powers were used to force Muslim butchers to dry their hides outside the city, while in Chandpur a ban on cow slaughter was introduced. For the North India Muslim elite which already felt itself under pressure because of the assertion of Hindi over Urdu, such actions were straws in the wind.³⁶ Muslim leaders were not just concerned with how Hindu representatives used their new found powers; they also feared that the situation at the local level would be reproduced in the provincial and all India arenas of politics. Muslims had been consistently under represented in Municipal Committees because they lacked the educational and property qualifications to vote.

³⁶ Ian Talbot, *Inventing the Nation; India and Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, pp.114-115.

Actually, the process of modernisation unfolding social change inserts ethnic consciousness and group solidarity among the desperate ethnic groups. This indeed gives rise to conflictual nationalism.

As the conflictual tendencies aggravate further, separate group identity and interests are articulated in the arena of state in the nature of elite competition for power. This deprivation caused due to state policies of discrimination develops self-consciousness among ethnic groups. Thus in plural societies when ethnic groups start competing in the arena of state, it results in a conflict between group interests and the state policy. In this process these groups naturally assert on the basis of their ethnic identity.

The final transition of Muslim political community reflected growing self-consciousness and fears arising from the spread of Hindu revivalism. The ideology of nationalism builds on peoples awareness of a nation or national self-consciousness to give a set of attitudes and a programme of action. These may be cultural, economic or political. The emerging forms of group consciousness were greatly varied within as well as between religious communities. Ethnic groups that use ethnicity to make demands in the political arena for alteration in their status, in their economic well being in their civil rights, or in their educational opportunities are engaged in a form of interest group politics.

In October 1905, Bengal was partitioned at the behest of Lord Curzon, who had statutorily formulated and established the dormant official connivance to forge and legitimize regional identity of the Muslim community. Soon after the partition of Bengal, Nawab Mohsin-ul-mulk persuaded the British Government, to create a separate political party for the Muslims of India as a parallel organization to the Congress. On December 30, 1906, the All India

Muslim League was formed at Dhaka.³⁷ Though, the Muslim League formally adopted the two-nation theory as its political ideology in the 1940's, it was born to foster the religio-communal approach for seeking concessions and privilege for the Muslim minority.³⁸

Right at the beginning the League repeated Mohammedan allegiance to the government and their differences with the Congress. Their purpose was very clear viz. to advance the political rights of the Muslims and register their opposition to the possible political unity in the country. This led to the isolation of the Muslim community from the mainstream of the Indian National Movement.³⁹

Up to the annulment of the partition of Bengal 1911, Muslim League leadership was confined to the landed aristocracy, and the Aligarh Muslim College was the Centre for shaping the League's policies and programmes. Extending Syed Ahmad Khan's approach, Syed Ali Imam, in his presidential address at the Amritsar session of the Muslim League (1908) put forward the demand for separate electorates identifying and magnifying beyond recognition, religio-cultural differences between the Hindus and Muslims. The Muslim League's demand for separate electorate was conceded by the British Government under the Act of 1909.⁴⁰

Religious nationalism had received official validation through the linking of religion with political representation, power and patronage. In reality the Muslim community was not monolithic.

³⁷ Motilal Bhargava, *History of Modern India*, Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow, 1977, p.465; See also, K.K. Aziz, *A History of the Idea of Pakistan*, Vol. I, Khalid Imran Printers, Lahore, 1987, p.71; *Paisa Akhbar*, December 3, 1907.

³⁸ V.V. Nagarkar, *Genesis of Pakistan*, Allied, New Delhi, 1975, p.82.

³⁹ C.H. Philips (ed.), *The Partition of India; Policies and Perspective, 1935-47*, p.322; See also, Bipan Chandra, *Freedom Struggle*, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1972, p.99.

⁴⁰ Under the Act of 1909, the Panjab Legislative Council was to consist of three classes of members – the officials, the nominated non-officials and the elected. The strength of the council was raised to a maximum of 30 with an ordinary strength of 25, of whom fourteen were non-officials and five elected and the rest were official members. *Punjab Administrative Report, 1909-10*, Lahore, 1912, p.82; See also, Pawan Kumar Singla, *British Administration in Punjab and Its Reaction 1887-1919*, National Book Organisation, New Delhi, 2003, p.237.

Separatism was of far more interest to those Muslims living in Hindu dominated areas than in the main centres of Muslim population, in which support for the Muslim League was muted. Much was to depend on whether separate electorates were seen as the answer to the demand for Muslim safeguards in an increasingly democratic India, or merely as the beginning of a much wider quest.

Once communalism was discovered as an instrument to achieve power, it snow-balled by itself. The enfranchised Muslims and members of other sections were made to “vote communally, think communally, listen only to communal election speeches judge the delegates communally, look for constitutional and other reforms only in terms of more relative communal power and express their grievances communally.”⁴¹ The separate electorates became a political barrier in a society already beset by social and economic differences and prepared a fertile ground for rivalries and antagonism between the two communities.⁴²

During the period 1914-18, there appeared in India a potentially convulsive situation, World War I injected a new and disturbing influences into it. In Punjab⁴³ there occurred a series of revolutionary activities during the war. These activities were significant in two ways. First they showed that there was discontentment among the Punjabi's as was prevalent in other parts of India and secondly, they were responsible in creating political consciousness among the Punjabi's. In this way, it can be assumed that during the war years Indian Nationalism nurtured.⁴⁴

⁴¹ W.C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India; A Social Analysis*, Victor Gollancz, London, 1946, p.7.

⁴² Bipan Chandra, *Ideology and Politics in Modern India*, Delhi, 2003, p.145.

⁴³ Punjab is a Persian compound word meaning 'five waters' and strictly speaking the word denoted the country between the valley of Jhelum and that of Satluj. The intermediate rivers from the West to East were the Chenab, the Ravi and the Beas. Sir James Dowie, "The Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir", in T.H. Holland (ed.), *Provincial Geographies of India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1916, p.1.

⁴⁴ S.D. Pradhan, "Revolutionary Activities in Punjab, 1914-18", *Punjab History Conference Proceeding*, Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1981, p.271.

In the first half of the World War I, two movements namely the Ghadar Movement and the Pan-Islamic Movement were born which aroused the suspicion of the British administrator. The Ghadar Movement was secular in character and militant in its views. Jawala Singh, Sohan Singh Bhakna and Lala Hardyal took the initiative in organising the emigrants and set up the *Hindustan Association of the Pacific Coast* in the summer of 1913.⁴⁵

The party leaders urged the Punjabis to remove the foreign yoke and to start a mutiny. The discriminatory immigration orders and the act passed by the Canadian Government in 1910, the unsympathetic attitude of the natives towards immigrant Indians to the harsh treatment meted out to the Indian travelling by the Kamagatamaru further complicated matters.

The Pan-Islamic Movement had not only become a radical movement with a great appeal to Muslim youth all over the world but also had become anti-British. The First World War saw Turkey and the British in opposite camps. Muslims had helped the British and had sent soldiers to fight Turkey on the promise that the British would not impair Turkey's unity. But with the collapse of Turkey all kind of rumours of her probable dismemberment exercised the Muslim mind in the Punjab as well as all over India.

While the circumstances were forcing the Government to see things from a new angle, a way was shown by the Lucknow Pact which was materialized between the congress and the Muslim League in December 1916.⁴⁶ According to it Muslims were conceded separate electorates in seven states in which they were in a minority, given half the elected seats in the Punjab and one third of the elected seats in the central legislature (elected by a purely Muslim electorate).⁴⁷

⁴⁵ The party released a weekly paper namely *Ghadar*. Therefore, the organisation came to be known as Ghadar Party. Gurcharan Singh Shensara, *Ghadar Party Da Itihas* (Punjabi), Desh Bhagat Yadgar Committee, Jullundur, 1963, pp.90-91; See also, Bipan Chander, Amal Tripathi and Barun De, *Freedom Struggle*, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1972, pp.115-116.

⁴⁶ S.H.V. Seshadri, *The Tragic Story of Pakistan*, Bangalore, 1982, pp.250-254.

⁴⁷ Craig Baxter, "The People's Party vs. The Punjab Feudalist", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. VIII, 1990, p.167.

Although, the Congress-League entente was held as a significant step towards national solidarity, it had a dark side too. The submission to league communalism and a compromise on the fundamental issue of Indian nationality proved disastrous for the country.⁴⁸ The communal demands once conceded continued to figure in all later constitutional schemes like the act of 1919,⁴⁹ the Communal Award (1932) and the act of 1935. Perhaps the Lucknow Pact was made without the slightest thought for its fatal consequences. All the same, the Lucknow Pact was regarded a landmark in Indian political history.

A great deal of awareness had come among the Muslims of India on the Turkish question. The tension among the Muslims of India soon manifested in the Khilafat Movement.⁵⁰ Khilafat movement was essentially a movement to express the Muslim support for the Caliph of Turkey against the allied powers particularly Britain. However the Khilafat meetings in Malabar incited so much of communal feelings among the Muslim peasants (the Moplahs) that it took an anti Hindu turn in July 1921.⁵¹ The Muslim peasants, excruciatingly poor, had set up a Khilafat of their own, attacking the police and the military, the landlords and money-lenders (almost all Hindu), attacking everyone in sight, for they were

⁴⁸ S.D. Pradhan, *Revolutionary Activities in Punjab, 1914-18*, *op. cit.*, p.271.

⁴⁹ The Act of 1919 recommended the continuation of separate electorates. It recognized the Sikhs as a separate community but did not give them the weightage as a minority which the Muslims were given where they were in minority. The division of the provincial subjects into transferred and reserved parts came to be known as Dyrachy. Law and order, land revenue, irrigation, development of mineral resources etc. were reserved subjects which were under the direct charge of the Governor and his Executive Council; while education, agriculture, public health, local government etc. were called transferred subjects and were to be controlled by minister responsible to the legislatures. The Governor of the province headed both. *The Civil and Military Gazette*, August 7, 1919; See also, Harinder Singh Dilgeer, *Shiromani Akali Dal, 1920-2000*, Punjab Book Co., Amritsar, 2000, p.47; R. Coupland, *The Constitutional Problem of India (1833-35)*, Clarendon Press, London, 1968, p.62.

⁵⁰ Ajeet Javed, *Left Politics in Punjab, (1935-47)*, Durga Publications, Delhi, 1988, p.71.

⁵¹ H. Mukerjee, *Gandhiji – A Study*, People Publishing House, Calcutta, 1928, pp.61-62; See also, Ashima Jahangir, *States of Violence; Nature of Terrorism Guerilla Warfare*, Dominant Publishers, New Delhi, 2000, p.168.

“bitter, bitter against the world which give them misery” and combined the ardour of an oppressed class and of religious fanaticism. The British rejoiced that on this occasion Muslims and Hindus had not fraternized and defended a terrible enormity, the despatch of a hundred Moplah prisoners in a goods van where sixty-six of them died of thirst and suffocation, a diabolic instance of imperialist inhumanity beside which the so-called “Black Hole”⁵² tragedy, touted all over the globe, pales away.

The Congress working committee, while condemning Moplah excesses, asserted that, “provocation beyond endurance” rated had been given to them and official reports of violence were exaggerated. A jolt had been given, however, to Hindu-Muslim solidarity, which was an evil portent for the future.

A spectacle of Hindu-Muslim unity was also witnessed during the non-cooperation movement. Congress proclaimed its goal of *Swaraj* and non-cooperation with the Government as a sequel to the Rowlatt Act,⁵³ Jallianwala Bagh⁵⁴ massacre and the Khilafat movement. On February 5, 1922, an agitated crowd gheraoed the police station at chaura-chauri in U.P. and set fire to it. Seeing it turning violent Mahatma Gandhi announced the suspension of the movement.⁵⁵ The Muslim felt betrayed by the Hindu Congress at a critical juncture. The communal amity which was restored to an appreciable extent broke, and communal tension and ill-will took place.

⁵² Hiren Mukerjee, *Recalling India's Struggle for Freedom*, Seema Publications, Delhi, 1983, p.109.

⁵³ Rowlatt Act Proposed by Sir Sidney Rowlatt in 1919. The drastic changes he proposed, were summed up in the slogan, *Na dalil, Na vakil, Na Apil*, (No argument, No lawyer, No appeal) The Bills became law in March 1919. Khushwant Singh, *A History of Sikhs, Vol. II (1939-1947)*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1966, p.162.

⁵⁴ Jallianwala Bagh Massacre occurred in April 13, 1919, on Baisakhi day at Amritsar on the instance of General Dyer. In it 379 persons were killed and over 2,000 wounded. *Disorders Inquiry Committee Report*, Calcutta, 1920, p.48; See also, Mohinder Singh, *The Akali Struggle*, Atlantic Publication, New Delhi, 1988, p.4.

⁵⁵ V.C. Joshi, *Autobiographical Writings of Lajpat Rai*, Vol. II, Delhi University Publishers, Delhi, 1966, p.93; See also, A.C. Banerjee (ed.), *Indian Constitutional Documents*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1949, pp.108-109.

The British perception that Hindus and Muslims were two mutually antagonistic monoliths, a notion that rooted in facts, became an important basis for their conflicts. In 1926, Lord Irwin referred that, "*Hindus and Muslims are two distinct and highly organized societies.*"⁵⁶

In 1930, the Report of Simon Commission⁵⁷ referred to the basic opposition between the two communities. At the Round Table Conference⁵⁸ where the Report was presented the entire discussion was organized within the ambit of communal digits thereby making any solution of the basic problem of political advance impossible. The joint select committee on Indian Constitution (1934) went even further, "*Hindus and Muslims may be said indeed to represent two distinct separate civilizations.*" British officials also constantly egged on the Muslim community to stick to the track and ran the full course.⁵⁹

Between the First and Second Round Table meetings in London, there was an interlude when memorable things happened,

⁵⁶ *The Tribune*, September 13, 1926.

⁵⁷ The Commission was appointed in 1927 under Section 84 of the India Act of 1919. It was appointed by the conservative Government two years ahead of time. It was presided over by Sir John Simon. Its all seven members were Englishmen. The Commission was boycotted by the nationalists on the ground that it had no Indian member. R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People: Struggle for Freedom*, Vol. X, Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1988, p.454.

⁵⁸ On May 12, 1930, Lord Irwin announced November 12, 1930, as the date for the Round Table Conference. Without the Congress, 89 distinguished statesman represented the British political parties, Indian Labour Federation, Muslim League, Hindu Maha Sabha, Depressed classes and Indian states gathered in London from November 12, 1930 to January 19, 1931, for the conference. It held for the constitutional reforms. Congress participated in the second round table conference which held from September 7, 1931 to December 1, 1931. Mahatma Gandhi went London. The main issues for discussion were the future constitutional structure for India and representation of minorities. On November 17, 1932, the third session of RTC was held lasting till December 24, 1932. This time only 46 delegates mostly comprising communalists and liberals were invited. *First Round Table Conference, November 12, 1930 –January 19, 1931*, Central Publication Branch, Calcutta, 1931, pp.3-4; See also, *Third Round Table Conference*, November 17 – December 24, 1932, London, 1933, pp.99-102.

⁵⁹ The results of the Round Table Conference were published in the form of 'white paper' in March 1933. A joint select committee on the two houses of the British Parliament was set up under Lord Linlithgow (Later Viceroy of India) to work out the details of the future administration of India. *Third Round Table Conference*, *op. cit.*, pp.99-102.

like the martyrdom of Bhagat Singh (1931) which electrified Hindu and Muslim alike, the martyrdom also of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi in the communal riots which had broken out in Kanpur. It is clear that renunciation of struggle in the name of non-violence drove the people into despair which often found vent in communal violence. However, Gandhi never saw this link (which Jawaharlal Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad could discern) between political frustration and communal distemper. Gandhi's pact with viceroy, Lord Irwin involved suspension of the movement and his journey, as sole spokesman of the Congress to the Second Round Table Conference in London.⁶⁰

The British policy of communal divide became more visible when Ramsay Macdonald (PM of England) announced Communal Award. In this award separate electorates were allowed not only to Muslims but extended to Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo Indians and Europeans. Besides Labour, Commerce, Industry, Landlords and Universities were given separate constituencies and fixed seats. It also averted a threat to a permanent split in the Hindu community.⁶¹

The Poet-Philosopher Mohammed Iqbal⁶² (1873-1938) also highlighted the communal issue. In his presidential address at the Allahabad session of the Muslim League in 1930, he presented a concrete scheme of autonomous Muslim state in the north-western region of the Indian Subcontinent,

I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self Government within the British empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated

⁶⁰ Hiren Mukerjee, *Recalling India's Struggle for Freedom*, *op. cit.*, p.122.

⁶¹ *Home Political*, File No. 41/1/1932; See also K.L. Gauba, *Inside Pakistan*, Raj Kamal Publication, Delhi, 1948, p.19.

⁶² Born in 1877 at Sialkot in a poor family, but with the help of the scholarships which he won at school and college, he was able to receive very good education. After preliminary studies at Sialkot, he joined the Government College, Lahore. He graduated in 1897, winning a scholarship and two gold medals for proficiency in English and Arabic and finally took M.A. degree in Philosophy in 1899. S.M. Ikram, *Indian Muslims and Partition of India*, *op. cit.*, pp.166-167.

*Northwest Indian Muslim state appears to me the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India.*⁶³

Iqbal further strengthened the notion of two-nations⁶⁴ in the subcontinent. In his opinion the crux of the problem of India was that the Hindu-Muslim conflict was a much deeper ideological cleavage Islam versus nationalism. For him, the formulation of a polity on national lines meant a displacement of Islamic principle of solidarity, and hence was unthinkable. In lending support to the 'two-nation' theory, Iqbal was chiefly concerned with the consolidation of the Muslims in the North-West of India where they were a predominant majority. Iqbal projected the view that Muslims were not prepared to accept the notion of the congress in respect of nationality as it could only mean submerging them under Hindu majority. In the later phase of his life, Iqbal rejected the territorial concept of nationalism as projected by the western thinkers. In his opinion, Muslim nationalism was based on religion and not on territorial nationality and racial prejudices. Until 1930, Iqbal was still labouring under the vague hope that a formula for Hindu-Muslim conciliation could be found to establish the status of Hindustan as a subcontinent, where in different nations could live together and yet maintain their separate entities.⁶⁵

On May 28, 1937, Iqbal wrote to Jinnah that there could be no enforcement and development of the *Shariat* of Islam which was the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to

⁶³ H.D. Sharma, 100 Significant Pre-Independence Speeches, *op. cit.*, p.240; See also, Rajinder Parsad, *India Divided*, New Delhi, 1986, p.184; Reginald Coupland, *The Constitutional Problem of India*, *op. cit.*, p.198; K.B. Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase*, OUP, London, 1968, p.103; C.M. Naim, Iqbal, *Jinnah and Pakistan*, Jinnah Publishing House, Delhi, 1982, p.41; Satya M. Rai, *Punjabi Heroic Tradition (1900-1947)*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1995, pp.161-162.

⁶⁴ Rehmat Ali in 1933, advocated the total separation of 'Muslim India' from the rest of India and the creation of new Muslim State (Pakistan). Kamlesh Sharma, *Role of Muslim in Indian Politics*, Inter-India Publishers, Delhi, 1985, p.219; See also, Gwyer and Appadorai, *Speeches and Documents on the Indian Constitution, Vol. II*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1957, p.435.

⁶⁵ *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, Lahore, 1956, pp. 23-24; See Also, K.K. Aziz, *A History of the Idea of Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p.193.

secure a peaceful India. The only other alternative is a civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for sometime in the shape of Hindu Muslim riots, in certain parts of country, e.g. North-Western India.⁶⁶

Proceedings of Round Table Conference and the writings of the Rehmat Ali two nation theory provided Iqbal food for thought. The Iqbal-Jinnah correspondence during 1936-37 bring out the kind of ideological feedback that Iqbal had been constantly providing to Jinnah impelling him to strike an independent course of political action for the Muslim League. In his letter of June 21, 1937, Iqbal wrote to Jinnah,

*“In these circumstances it is obvious that the only way to a peaceful India is a redistribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities... To my mind the new constitution with its idea of a single Indian federation is completely hopeless. A separate federation of Muslim provinces, reformed on the lines, I have suggested above is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims.”*⁶⁷

While the rest of the Muslim-leaders fought for seats, weightage and concessions. Iqbal came out with an ideology which became the basis for the future political struggle of the Muslims.

The 1935 Act had for the first time opened up the prospect of the British giving Indians substantial power at the centre on the basis of electoral success in the province.⁶⁸ The Government of India Act, 1935, provided two alternate constitutions for the central Government. One contemplated the establishment of a federal union

⁶⁶ *Letters of Iqbal* (Compiled and ed. by Bakshi Ahmed Das), Lahore, 1987, pp.253-55; See also, P.N. Chopra, *Towards Freedom*, New Delhi, 1985, Document No. 282.

⁶⁷ Letters from Iqbal to Jinnah, *op. cit.*, pp.23-24.

⁶⁸ Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan Polity, Economy and Defence*, Cambridge, 1990, p.11; See also, A.C. Banerjee, *The Constitutional History of India*, Vol. III, Macmillan, Delhi, 1978, pp.137-151.

consisting of the whole of India, the British Indian provinces, and the Indian states. The second alternative was the Government of India Act, 1919,⁶⁹ with some minor amendments would remain in force. The first alternative of the Act of 1935 never came into force as the requisite number of states did not accede.⁷⁰

This act provided for the establishment of full responsible Government subject to 'safeguards' in the eleven provinces of British India; It provided also for a federation of India, comprising both provinces and states, with a federal central Government and legislature for the management of all subjects except foreign affairs and defence.⁷¹ Nehru had described the act as a charter of bondage; and a congress resolution of 1936 stated that the future constitution of India could only be framed by a Constituent Assembly based on adult franchise.⁷² The league had criticized the Federal part of the act as most reactionary but decided to work the provincial part for what it is worth.⁷³

Unlike most of the other provinces, the act gave a unicameral legislature to Punjab, although with a changed destination: the Punjab Legislative Council was now styled as the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Its strength was increased to 175 elected members from different communities.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. IV, Publication Division, New Delhi, 1972, p.204.

⁷⁰ It gave electorates to 36 million, as compared to an electorate of 7 million in 1920, and representing 30 percent of the adult population, would elect 1585 representatives to the provincial legislatures. *Government of India Act*, New Delhi, 1936; See also, Tara Chand, *History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. IV, Publication Division, New Delhi, 1972, p.204; *Indian Franchise Committee Report*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1932, p.33.

⁷¹ C.H. Philips (ed.), *The Partition of India; Policies and Perspective 1935-1947*, *op. cit.*, p.188.

⁷² Anita Inder Singh, *The Origins of the Partition of India (1936-1947)*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1987, p.2. See also, M. Gwyer and A. Appadorai (eds.), *Speeches and Documents on the Indian Constitution 1921-47*, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, p.386.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ K.C. Yadav, *Elections in Punjab (1920-47)*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1987, p.16.

Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the elections in the Punjab were held in the beginning of 1937. The Unionists,⁷⁵ Congress and Akalis⁷⁶ were the major political parties contesting elections.⁷⁷ The Unionist party had put up candidates in 112 out of the total of 175 constituencies of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. In these elections unionist party secured great victory.

Party wise position was as follows:

Unionist	-	95
Independent	-	19
Congress	-	18
Ittihad-i-Millat ⁷⁸	-	2
Khalsa National Party ⁸²	-	14
Ahrars ⁷⁹	-	2
Hindu Election Board	-	11
Socialist	-	1
Shiromani Akali Dal	-	10
Congress – Nationalist	-	1
Parliamentary Labour Board ⁸³	-	1
Muslim League	-	1

⁷⁵ The Unionist Party was formed by Fazl-i-Hussain and Chaudhri Chhotu Ram in 1923. The main aim of the Unionist party was to free the peasants from the laws of the money lending classes and improve the lot of the agriculturists. Azim Hussain, *Fazl-i-Hussain: A Political Biography*, Longman, London, 1946, p.9.

⁷⁶ Shiromani Akali Dal was formed in 1920. In these elections Akalis joined hands with congress. The main leaders of Akali Dal were Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh, Giani Dhanwant Singh, Ganga Singh, Harnam Singh Advocate, Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir, Ishar Singh Majhail, Gopal Singh Quami, Darshan Singh Pheruman and Sohan Singh Jalalusman. The main Akali contestants were Giani Kartar Singh, Sardar Joginder Singh, Sardar Avtar Singh Barister, Sardar Sarwan Singh Wakeel, Sardar Harnam Singh Wakeel, Raghbeer Kaur etc. *The Akali*, January 20 and 25, 1937; See Also, K.C. Yadav, *Elections in Punjab (1920-47)*, *op. cit.*, p.17; *The Tribune*, April 2, 1937.

⁷⁷ *Home Public*, File No. 305/1937; See also, *Ibid.*, p.16.

⁷⁸ Ittehad-i-Millat played no significant role in the elections of 1936-37. The party had no say in the politics of the Punjab as it officially estimated to number 200 in the election year of 1937. Its members included those Muslims who had supported the Shahidganj Mosque agitation. Though Ahrar party and Ittehad-i-Millat had reached an electoral adjustment in May 1936, yet their relations continued to become strained after a conflict of Gujranwala. Nicholas Mansergh (ed.), *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol. I, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1970-80, p.362.

⁷⁹ The Ahrar's a religious body of orthodox *Sunnis*, formed their organisation during the First World War with the avowed purpose of restoring the original purity of the Quran and working for 'Muslim revival', against the *Ahmadias* and *Shias*. Until 1930, the Ahrars constituted an independent Congress group led by Punjab intellectually closely connected with minor Zamindars and small scale manufacturers (owners of Khadi workshops etc.). Y.V. Gankovsky and L.R. Gordon Polonskaya, *A History of Pakistan*, Nauka Publication, Moscow, 1964, p.62.

The new ministry in Punjab took over on April 1, 1937. Sir Sikander Hayat Khan⁸⁰ became the Premier of Punjab.⁸¹ The Punjab Muslim League was in an even weaker position than the Congress to challenge the Unionist party's predominance.⁸² The Punjab Muslim League thus remained a small clique of Lahore lawyers rather than being a political party. Moreover, its parent body was almost entirely dependent on the unionist party's support in all India politics. From Oct. 1937 onwards, Sikander exacted a high price for this support – the complete subordination of the Punjab Muslim League to his party.⁸³

However, there was a strong communal tension in the province at that time. In Punjab the new Government, after taking office found itself confronted with an outburst of subversive activity. Forces of communal fanaticism and of violence were openly or secretly set in motion by some of those who, for one reason or another, wanted to embarrass the new Government. Consequently, there was a series of eight communal riots – most of them traceable to political no less than to communal motives – at Kot Fateh Khan, Ala and Amritsar during the first four months of the Unionist Government's regime. These riots resulted in seven deaths.⁸⁴ Communal issues like music before the mosque, religious processions, *Jhatka* and *Halal* and the slaughter of cows were being exploited by those who wanted to serve their vested interests. All this fanned communal fire in the province.

In spite of Sikander Hayat Khan's efforts, communal violence, could not be contained and together with other circumstances,

⁸⁰ Unionist Party leader after 1936. S.M. Ikram, *Indian Muslims and Partition of India*, *op. cit.*, p.251.

⁸¹ K.C. Gulati, *The Akalis; Past and Present*, Asha Janak, New Delhi, 1974, p.76; See also, *The Tribune*, April 2, 1937.

⁸² Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule; The Origins of Pakistan Polity, Economy and Defence*, *op. cit.*, p.12.

⁸³ *Five Years of the Provincial Autonomy in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1944, pp.8-9; See also, Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj (1849-1947)*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1988, p.123.

⁸⁴ *18 Months of Provincial Autonomy in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1944, p.31; See also, H.N. Mitra and N.N. Mitra (eds.), *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 121, 1938, Gian Publishing House, New Delhi, 1990, p.224 (Hereinafter quoted as *IAR*).

started posing a challenge to the stability of his Government. The most serious threat came from Jinnah's⁸⁵ anger due to Muslim League's very poor performance in the Punjab and other Muslim majority provinces like United Provinces, Sind and Bengal in the election of 1937. The party was not in a position to install a Government in any of these provinces. Uncertainty also prevailed in the Muslim League ranks in U.P. after the elections, when Congress refused to make it a partner in the Government, for it (Muslim League) declined to accept certain humiliating conditions laid down by the Congress.⁸⁶ As a result, the claim of the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Indian Muslims, and Jinnah's standing in all India politics suffered a rude setback.⁸⁷ So Jinnah was both in panic and despair and he was watching for an opportunity to retrieve his own lost honour as well as of the League at the earliest.

The year of 1937 was a turning point in the history of the Muslim League. It saw not only the beginning of a definite rupture between it and the congress but also witnessed the foundation of a new demand. The new demand was for a separate nation – Pakistan. Pakistan and the two-nation theory on which it was based germinated and developed between 1937 and 1940.

⁸⁵ Born in Karachi on December 23, 1876, Jinnah belonged to the small Khoja community. After matriculation he proceeded to England for higher studies, and returned to India as a barrister at the age of 20. He was a close colleague of Pherozshah Mehta and a protégé of Gokhale, he regarded as a great political '*rishi*'. He joined the Indian National Congress in 1906 and worked as private secretary to Dadabhai Naorji. He had won great admiration when he defended B.G. Tilak in the sedition cases against him in 1908 and 1916. In 1910, he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council by the Muslim electorates of Bombay, which was repeated in 1916. But between 1917 to 1920 many of the developments in Indian politics went against Jinnah's brain, such as Gandhi's capture of the Congress in 1920 with the help of pro-Khilafat Muslims. His ideology got changed with the passage of time. Shakir Moin, *Khilafat to Partition*, Kalamkar Parkashan, New Delhi, 1970, pp.14, 15, 182, 208, 203; See also, S.M. Ikram, *Indian Muslims and Partition of India*, *op. cit.*, p.354.

⁸⁶ Y.P. Bajaj, "Sikander-Jinnah Pact: Motives and Genesis", *Punjab Past and Present*, Vol. XIX-I, Patiala, 1985, pp.195-196.

⁸⁷ Satya M. Rai, *Legislative Politics and the Freedom Struggle in the Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.239.

While the Muslim community was getting away from the mainstream of Indian nationalism, some sections of the Hindu populace under the leadership of Hindu Mahasabha and other Hindu wings (RSS) were becoming more and more chauvinistic and militant. For instance, in December 1937, V.D. Savarkar, the President of Hindu Mahasabha declared that *“the aim of his organization was maintenance, protection and promotion of the Hindu race, Hindu culture and Hindu civilization and advancement of the glory of the Hindu Rashtra. India cannot be assumed today to be a homogenous nation; there are two nations in India in the main the Hindu and Muslim”*.⁸⁸ In a similar vein, Guru Golwalkar of the RSS wrote in his book, ‘We – Our Nation Defined’ (1939), *“Hindustan is the land of the Hindus and is the terrafirma for the Hindu nation alone to flourish upon... the foreign races in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but the glorification of the Hindu race and culture; i.e. of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deriving no privileges, facilities or any preferential treatment not even citizen’s right”*.⁸⁹ The utterances and other activities of Hindu communalists thrust more and more of Muslims into League fold and led to Hindu-Muslim tension during 1938-39, and several communal riots took place. Consequently, the fear of Hindu domination, real or imaginary, gave an added appeal to the idea of partition.

However by 1937 the League was not a party with mass base nor its leader, Mr. Jinnah was considered a popular leader. But in the meantime the Muslim League secured the support of Fazlul Haq

⁸⁸ V.P. Verma, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, Laxmi Narain Aggarwal Education Publishers, Agra, 1979, pp.317-318.

⁸⁹ Parkash Chandra, *History of the Indian National Movement*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1997.

of Bengal⁹⁰ and Sikander Hayat Khan of Punjab.⁹¹ Thus, the idea of partition began to develop and take shape in the minds of Muslim League politicians after the disillusionment in 1937 when the Congress, “flushed with success” ignored the Muslim demand for composite cabinets in U.P. This “tactical error of first magnitude” on the part of the congress greatly contributed to the adoption of the Pakistan Resolution three year after. The League leadership began to feel that separate electorate, statutory safeguards and even autonomous provinces had proved unsatisfactory, and they began to realize that these artifices would not protect them from the rule of the “Hindu Majority” at the centre in an All-India federation. They, therefore, began to assert that the Muslims were a separate nation and only as a nation they could develop their spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life to the fullest extent in accordance with their own ideals and according to the genius of their people and enjoy the right of self-dominance.

By 1939 the idea of partition began to acquire a concrete shape. In the summer of 1939, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan published a scheme for the loosest of federation with regional or zonal legislatures to deal with common subjects.⁹² In January 1940, Dr. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad outlined a plan for a minimal federation of homogenous cultural zones.⁹³

In March 1939, Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman had discussed the possibility of partition with Lord Zetland.⁹⁴ In September 1939,

⁹⁰ KPP President in 1936; joined Muslim League in 1937; Prime Minister of Bengal, 1937-43.

⁹¹ IAR, 1938, Vol. I, p.386; See also, Penderal Moon, *Divide and Quit*, Chattos and Windus, New Delhi, 1985, p.17.

⁹² S.R. Mehrotra, “The Congress and the Partition of India”, in Philips and Wainwright (eds.), *The Partition of India; Policies and Perspective 1935-1947*, *op. cit.*, p.201; See also, Sikander Hayat Khan, *Outlines of the Scheme of Indian Federation*, Lahore, 30 July, 1939; Anita Inder Singh, *The Origins of the Partition of India, 1936-47*, *op. cit.*, p.56.

⁹³ M. Gwayer and A. Appadorai (eds.), *Speeches and Documents on the Indian Constitution 1921-47*, *op. cit.*, pp 435-465.

⁹⁴ Secretary of State for India, 1935-40.

Jinnah had suggested the same to Lord Linlithgow⁹⁵ as a political alternative to federation.⁹⁶ In February 1940, Aurangzeb Khan⁹⁷ told Cunningham⁹⁸ that the league proposed to press for a Muslim homeland in the North-West and North-East.⁹⁹ On 4 March 1940, Jinnah told Edward Benthall (Finance Member) that “Muslims would not be safe without partition” and twelve days later he told the viceroy that, “*If the British could not resolve the political deadlock, the league would have no option but to fall back on some form of Partition.*”¹⁰⁰

The Congress leadership was getting disappointed over the political climate. They felt that the goal of complete independence could be attained only if all the people presented a united front. Hence efforts were made to this effect by Subhash¹⁰¹, Nehru and Gandhi. But Jinnah’s demand was that congress should recognize the league as the one and only authoritative representative organisation of the India Muslims.¹⁰² After the declaration of the war, different political parties exhibited different attitudes towards it. With the outbreak of war, Sir Sikander, the Punjab Premier and the leader of the Unionist Party, forgot all other pursuits and devoted himself completely to an all out effort to win the war. He extended to Great Britain, as the representative of the martial classes of the Punjab, his hand of cooperation and friendship. With the outbreak of World War II on September 3, 1939,¹⁰³ the situation radically changed, and the

⁹⁵ Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1936-43.

⁹⁶ Chaudhry Khaliqazzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, Brothers Publishers, Lahore, 1961, pp.205-208.

⁹⁷ Prime Minister of N.W.F.P. 1943-45.

⁹⁸ Governor of N.W.F.P.

⁹⁹ Anita Inder Singh, *The Origins of the Partition of India, 1936-47*, *op. cit.*, p.56; See also, Chaudhry Khaliqazzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, pp.205-208.

¹⁰⁰ Viceroy to Secretary of State (T), March 16, 1940, *Linlithgow Correspondence*, Vol. 19; See also, Anita Inder Singh, *The Origins of the Partition of India*, *op. cit.*, p.57.

¹⁰¹ Congress President 1938-1939; Organised Indian National Army, 1942.

¹⁰² Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada (ed.), *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah’s Correspondence*, Metropolitan Books, New Delhi, 1981, p.98.

¹⁰³ Hitler attacked on Poland on September 1, 1939. In retaliation against this attack, Britain and France defaced war on Germany on September 3, 1939. S. Gopal (ed.), *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. X, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1972-77, p.118.

empire needed the help of the rulers and British India for men, money and material. When India was declared a belligerent country by the British Government, the Indian Nationalist leaders were indignant at the declaration being made without any consultation with them and the provincial ministries headed by the congress party resigned from office in protest. Since the nationalist leaders and the British Government could not reach on any agreement where by the Indian leaders could play an honourable part in the war effort. The Congress party decided to pursue a policy of non-cooperation with the British.¹⁰⁴

Meanwhile, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan's ardent war efforts in the Punjab suffered a rude setback due to the serious collision of the Khaksars with the police in Lahore city on the March 19.¹⁰⁵ In this clash thirty two Khakars¹⁰⁶ lost their lives and fifty six were injured in firing. The incident had excited the feelings of the Punjab Muslims and had driven them to frenzy. The position of Sir Sikander Hayat Khan had become rather awkward. Muslim opinion from which he drew most of his support had been excited against him. The Khaksars and their sympathisers insisted that the League must take up the matter and deal with the Punjab premier in a befitting manner. The lieutenants of Jinnah suggested that he should interview some of the Khaksar leaders. Jinnah condemned the incident in strong words and expressed sympathy with the families of the deceased persons.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Baldev Raj Nayyar, *Minority Politics in Punjab*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1968, p.80; See also, *The Tribune*, March 18, 1940.

¹⁰⁵ On February 28, 1940, the Unionist Ministry had banned the carrying of arms under the Defence of India Act, and the police had fired on the Khaksars, a semi-military organization of Muslims, who had defied the ban orders.

¹⁰⁶ The Khaksar is a compound Persian word, made up of *Khak* and *Sar*. *Khak* is dust and *Sar* is like, that is to say one who is a Khaksar must be humble as dust. So in 1930, Mashriqi, the founder of the movement named it after the word Khaksar and devoted all his energies to its propagation. It was purely a religious movement. Y.B. Mathur, *Muslims and Changing India*, Trimurti Publications, New Delhi, 1972, pp.116-119; See also, Ikram Ali Malik, *The History of Punjab (1799-1947)*, Neeraj Publications, New Delhi, 1970, p.562.

¹⁰⁷ Fortnightly Report for Punjab for the Second Half of March, 1940, *Home Political*, File No. 18/3/40-poll (1).

When the Congress Governments resigned, Jinnah was so relieved that he declared October 22, 1939, as the 'Deliverance Day' a relief from congress rule meaning thereby Hindu rule.¹⁰⁸ During the months of 1940 the league whipped up its campaign for Pakistan. Finally on March 24, 1940 its Annual Session was held at Lahore, which resolved, "*The Hindus and Moslems have different religious philosophies, social customs, literature, they neither inter-marry nor dine together and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions;*¹⁰⁹ *their views on life and of life are different*". It is quite clear that Hindus and Moslems derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different and they have different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the Government of such a state."¹¹⁰

Muslim League emphatically reiterated that the scheme of federation in the Government of India Act, 1935 is totally unsuited and it is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.¹¹¹

This came as a shock to the political parties in India. The Lahore resolution made no mention of 'Pakistan' but many newspapers started referring to it as the 'Pakistan Resolution'.¹¹²

However the League Resolution was unpalatable to the Hindu and Sikh Unionists of the Punjab as well as the Akalis and others. The Indian National Congress opposed to the idea of Pakistan.

¹⁰⁸ Syed Sharifudin Pirzada (ed.), Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence, *op. cit.*, p.96.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.341.

¹¹⁰ IAR, Vol. I, 1940, p.309; See also, *Khalsa Smachar*, March 28, 1940; Maurice Gwyer and A. Appadorai (eds.), Speeches and Documents on the Indian Constitution, *op. cit.*, pp.443-444; Jamil-ud-Din Ahmed (ed.), *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Ashraf, Lahore, 1958, p.138.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.312.

¹¹² *Khalsa Smachar*, March 28, 1940.

Rajagopalachari¹¹³ described the ‘two-nation theory’ as ‘a mischievous concept that threatens to lead India into destruction.’¹¹⁴ Hindu Mahasabha leaders conjured up-prophetically-vision of civil-war.¹¹⁵ Nehru¹¹⁶ declared that the congress would not have anything to do with the scheme of the Muslim League and ruled out the possibility of any settlement or negotiations.¹¹⁷ Gandhi¹¹⁸ expressed the emotion of Indian nationalism with an idealism which was denied by his understanding of his religion: *I am proud of being a Hindu, but I have never gone to anybody as a Hindu to secure Hindu-Muslim unity. My Hinduism demands no pact.*¹¹⁹ Even Muslims outside the League opposed it.¹²⁰

Sikander Hayat Khan denounced it and denied that the ‘two-nation theory’ was his doing. He wanted to tell the rest of India, ‘we in Punjab stand united and will not appreciate any interference and to tell busybodies from outside to keep their “*hand off the Punjab.*”¹²¹ However the demand for Pakistan began to become firmer as the days passed. On 10 January, 1941, Jinnah declared that if the country were partitioned between them, Hindus and Muslims could regard each other as friendly neighbours and say to the world, “*hands off India*”. In April 1941, at the Madras Session, the League made Pakistan its creed. Jinnah called it a matter of “*Life and death*”. He declared, “*Either we achieve Pakistan or we Perish*”.¹²² So nation (as a group of people who feel to be a community bound

¹¹³ Congress Prime Minister of Madras, 1937-39.

¹¹⁴ *The Bombay Chronicle*, March 27, 1940.

¹¹⁵ *The Tribune*, March 25, 1940.

¹¹⁶ Congress President 1936-37; Member CWC 1936-47; played leading role in negotiations for transfer of power in 1946-47.

¹¹⁷ *The Tribune*, April 14, 1940.

¹¹⁸ The father of Indian Nation; made personal efforts to promote communal harmony in 1946-47 and only reluctantly accepted partition.

¹¹⁹ *The Harijan*, March 30, 1940.

¹²⁰ Punjab Unionist Party, Bengal’s Krishak Praja Party or the dominant Muslim Party led by Allah Bure in Sindh described it harmful and fanatic. Despite its emotive appeal the two nations idea made no sense to the rank and file of other Muslim parties. The Scheme was opposed by the Jamait-Ul-Ulema-I-Hind, the Majlis-I-Ahrar, the All India Shia Conference, *The Tribune*, April 28 and 29, 1940.

¹²¹ *The Times of India*, February 4, March 5, 1941.

¹²² *Home Political*, File no. 4/8/41.

together by common history, religion, common descent and citizenship) can be defined in ethnic, social or official sense. Nationalism can also take these forms also. The use of word ethnonationalism¹²³ suggests that there was a distinction between an ethnic group and a nation.¹²⁴

In 1941, Sikander Hayat Khan resigned from the National Defence council to which he had been nominated as member of the Muslim League without Jinnah's approval.¹²⁵ Sikander's resignation raised Jinnah's prestige as the sole-spokesman of Muslims, including of Punjabi Muslims. On 6th February 1943, Jinnah asserted that the North Western states of Pakistan would be connected by a corridor running along the borders of U.P and Bihar.

Meanwhile the proposals brought from the British Government by Sir Stafford Cripps¹²⁶ in 1942 had been found inadequate and unacceptable to both Congress and the League.¹²⁷ These proposals were in brief promise of the dominion status of India, protecting of minorities and setting up of a constituent Assembly etc.¹²⁸ During the negotiations regarding the proposals, Jinnah was satisfied with the modest tactical gains that the League

¹²³ Ethno-nationalism is defined as a form of particularism and exclusively. It is a mean for certain group to gain political power and control over resources and to create ethnically homogeneous states alien to pluralistic democracy and civil society. It is found in two varieties, one the national self-awareness of ethnic groups concentrated in compact geographical areas, and two territorially scattered ethnic minorities, which nevertheless claim to possess "National identity". Adeel Khan, *Politics of Identity; Ethnic Nationalism and the State of Pakistan*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2005, pp.29-30.

¹²⁴ Shinder Purewal, *Sikh Ethnonationalism and the Political Economy of Punjab*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, p.6.

¹²⁵ Linglithgow to Amery, September 1, 1941, LC. Vol. 10

¹²⁶ Member of War Cabinet and deputed by it to India in 1942.

¹²⁷ All India Congress Committee met in Bombay on August 7-8, 1942 and rejected the Cripps after mainly because there was no responsibility of the executive to the legislature. The resolution of the Muslim League, too rejecting Cripps proposals was released to the press on April 10, 1942. It rejected the proposals because they did not explicitly recognise the Pakistan scheme. R. Coupland, *The Cripps Mission*, Longmans, London, 1942, p.11; See also, Manzoor Ahmed, *Indian Response to the Second World War*, Intellectual Publication House, New Delhi, 1987, p.7.

¹²⁸ TOP, 1942-47, Vol. 1, Document No. 396, p.496.

had achieved in the sense that the possibility of Pakistan was recognized by implication in the proposals that the Muslim League had emerged as a principle political party.¹²⁹ But a greater triumph was achieved during the Gandhi-Jinnah talks in 1944 when the two leaders met to reach a settlement on the issue of Pakistan.¹³⁰

Between 9 and 27 September, 1944, both met daily and in all, 14 interviews took place between them. Jinnah insisted that Pakistan must include the whole of six Muslim majority provinces. He was opposed to giving non-Muslims the right of participation in the plebiscite. Further he wanted only province-wise plebiscite. He was also opposed to joint control of the suggested subjects. In addition, he demanded a corridor to connect the two distant parts of Pakistan. These talks established Jinnah as the only spokesman of Muslim League and 'Pakistan' became an important issue of onward discussions.

In the Simla Conference which was held during June-July 1945 Jinnah took a strong position even though the viceroy's proposals had conceded parity of representation in the Executive Council between the Muslim and Hindu members. The Simla conference failed because Jinnah would not agree to a non-League Muslim being included in the Executive Council.¹³¹ He made it clear to the Congress Government of India only Muslim League has the right to nominate "Muslim" in the Executive Council. Jinnah wanted to impress upon all the Muslim leaders that they were not likely to get any prize offices by remaining outside the Muslim League.

¹²⁹ U.P. for the first half of April 1942, *Home Political*, 18/4/42.

¹³⁰ These talks were held on the basis of the formula of C. Rajagopalacharia. Rajaji's formula envisaged a plebiscite in contiguous Muslim majority district in North-West and East India to decide on separation from India. This would be after the war and would allow League participation in an Interim Government and support to independence. Rajaji believe that an understanding with Jinnah was necessary before the establishment of a National Government at the Centre. He was confident that Jinnah could be defeated within his own organisation, but British support to him made this difficult. Anita Inder Singh, *The Origins of the Partition of India*, *op. cit.*, pp.109-110; See also, *AICC Papers*, vide File No. 6/1947; *I.A.R.*, Vol. II, 1944, pp.51-52, 129-130, 130, 132.

¹³¹ Wavell to King George VI, 19 July 1945, *Top*, Vol. V, p.279.

It was in this atmosphere that the elections of 1946 were held. In these elections Muslim League won on 73 seats while the Unionist party won only eleven seats (All rural), Panthic Sikhs won 21 seats.¹³² The League got 66.4 percent of the votes. The unionists secured only 26%.¹³³

Although the Muslim League was the single largest party in the Punjab Assembly, but it was not in a position to form the ministry. In the end the Governor, Glancy, invited Khizar-Hayat Khan to form the ministry and he managed to do so with the help of the Congress and the Panthic Sikhs.¹³⁴ The Muslim League now declared its determination to establish undiluted Muslim rule in Punjab and directed all its energies towards overthrowing the new Coalition.¹³⁵

On March 15, 1946, Lord Attlee made a historic announcement in the House of People, where the Indian's right to self-determination and training of a constitution were conceded.

Consequently, three members of British Cabinet; Sir Pathick Lawrence,¹³⁶ Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander¹³⁷ were sent to India. It came to be known as Cabinet Mission, as per this plan first a provision was made for three groups of provinces to possess their separate constitutions, which it was hoped would retain the political unity of India, comprising both the British India and the princely states, which would remain in charge only foreign affairs, defence and communications leaving the residuary powers to be vested in the provinces.¹³⁸ Secondly, Till the new constitution was framed

¹³² *Return showing the results of the elections to the Central Legislative Assembly and the provincial Legislatures 1945-46*, New Delhi, 1948, p.73.

¹³³ *Results of the Provincial Elections*, 1946.

¹³⁴ *The Tribune*, March 9, 1946.

¹³⁵ Panjab Fortnightly Report for the First Half of March, 1946, *Home Political*, File No. 18/3/1946.

¹³⁶ First Baron, Secretary of State for India, 1945-47.

¹³⁷ First Earl Alexander of Hillsborough, Labour M.P. 1935-50; First Lord of the Admiralty 1940-45.

¹³⁸ Paper relating to the Cabinet Mission Plan in India, p.16; See also, Kirpal Singh, *The Partition of India*, *op. cit.*, p.18; *The Tribune*, June, 11, 1946.

adopted, there would be an interim Government of all major political parties.¹³⁹

It appeared to the Muslim League that the basis and foundation of Pakistan as all the Muslim provinces were grouped in one group had been conceded and at a later stage the Muslim League would demand secession of provinces or groups from the union. It seemed that Jinnah was again bargaining very shrewdly. The Cabinet Mission probably felt that since they had rejected the League's Pakistan scheme, the League should be placated by providing for the compulsory grouping of provinces.¹⁴⁰ They made another major concession to the League in their proposal regarding the formation of Interim Government. In the statement issued by the Cabinet Mission and Viceroy on June, 16, 1946 regarding the formation of the Interim Government the names of those leaders who were being invited to join the govt. were also announced. From this announcement, it was clear that all Muslim members were from the Muslim League.¹⁴¹

On June 6, Muslim League and on June 25, 1946 the Congress accepted the plan.¹⁴² Jinnah accepted the proposals in the hope that they would ultimately result in the establishment of an independent Muslim state. The Sikh however rejected the proposals outrightly and refused to be persuaded that with dexterous manoeuvring they could hold the balance of power in the Punjab.¹⁴³

In the meantime, Nehru took over the presidentship of the Congress from Azad¹⁴⁴. The Congress was under the leadership of Nehru and Patel. Although they were consulting Gandhi on every

¹³⁹ Penderal Moon, *Divide and Quit*, *op. cit.*, p.46; See also, *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Meeting between Cabinet Delegation and Wavell on June 13, 1946, *Top*, Vol. 7, pp.913-914.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* pp.1044-1045.

¹⁴³ *Home Political*, File No. 2077/Ero/30/8; See also, Khushwant Singh, *A History of Sikhs*, Vol. VII, *op. cit.*, p.263; See also, S. Gopal, *Selected Works of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. XV, *op. cit.*, p.122.

¹⁴⁴ Congress President 1940-46.

point, but they were responsible directly for their negotiation. At the Press Conference in Bombay in July, Nehru declared that the Congress would not be bound by any British imposed settlement and claimed that his party would change the plan at will by virtue of its majority in the Constituent Assembly. Nehru's remark and the Congress victory in forming the Constituent Assembly stirred Jinnah's anger. Jinnah frequently mentioned the said statement to prove that the Congress cared little for the Muslim rights. Many historians interpret Nehru's remark as unwise, and it was perhaps the worst of all indiscreet statements that was ever made by any politicians.¹⁴⁵

On July 29, 1946 in Bombay the Muslim League passed a resolution revoked its decision to support the Cabinet Mission Plan.¹⁴⁶ On this day, Jinnah announced that the League should bid goodbye to constitutional methods and take 'direct action'.¹⁴⁷ The sixteenth day of August 1946 was earmarked as, "Direct Action Day."

The Council of League called on Muslims to resort to 'Direct Action to achieve Pakistan... to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated future caste – Hindu domination'. As a protest against 'their deep resentment of the attitude of the British', the League called upon Muslims to renounce the titles 'conferred upon them by the alien Government'.¹⁴⁸

What the League intended by 'Direct Action' is unclear – Jinnah himself refused to comment – 'I am not going to discuss

¹⁴⁵ S.K. Majumdar, *Jinnah and Gandhi – Their Role in India's Quest for Freedom*, Calcutta, p.228; See also, A.K. Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, Oriental Longman, Madras, 1988, p.170.

¹⁴⁶ S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, *op. cit.*, p.558; See also, *The Statesman*, August 1, 1946.

¹⁴⁷ V.P. Menon. *The Transfer of Power in India (1942-47)*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1979, pp.234-235; See also, Sharif al Mujahid, *Quaid-I-Azam Jinnah: Studies in interpretation*, B.R. Publishing, New Delhi, 1981, p.502; Tushar A. Gandhi, *Lets Kill Gandhi: A Chronicle of His Last Days, The Conspiracy, Murder, Investigation and Trial*, Rupa, New Delhi, 2007, pp.250-251.

¹⁴⁸ League Resolution of July 29, *Top*, Vol. 8, pp.138-139.

ethics'.¹⁴⁹ Liaquat Ali Khan¹⁵⁰ described it as 'action against the law'.¹⁵¹ Most provincial league leaders called for peaceful demonstrations, and on August 16, itself, Jinnah enjoined upon Muslims 'to carry out the instructions and abide by them strictly and conduct themselves peacefully and in a disciplined manner'. An advertisement in Muslim League papers on 16 August read:

*"Today is Direct Action Day. Today Muslims of India dedicate themselves to the cause of freedom. Today let every Muslim swear in the name of Allah to resist aggression. Direct Action is now their only course because they offered peace but peace was spurned. They honoured their word but were betrayed. They claimed liberty but are offered Thralldom. Now might alone can secure their right".*¹⁵²

In Calcutta, it resulted in about 10,000 deaths. Hindus were massacred on a very large scale and about 7,000 persons were done to death with the police observing the holocaust passively. The Calcutta happening had a spinoff effect. Thousands left their towns to seek refuge in Bihar. The news about these ghastly events aroused among Hindus of Bihar, a spirit of revenge and retaliation and the Muslims of Bihar had to meet the same fate.¹⁵³ The province of Bihar produced the largest butchers bath." Some 20,000 Muslims were estimated to have lost their lives, soon after, trouble spread to other parts of the country. The Mahatma left on November 6, 1946 for Bengal to restore communal harmony and Nehru visited Bihar to put

¹⁴⁹ *Morning News*, August 2, 1946.

¹⁵⁰ General Secretary Muslim League, 1937-47.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *The Dawn*, August 16, 1946; See also Anita Inder Singh, *The Origins of the Partition of India*, *op. cit.*, p.181.

¹⁵³ Penedral Moon (ed.), *Wavell: The Viceroys Journal*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1973, p.370.

an end to week-long horrors apart from similar appeals from different quarters.¹⁵⁴

The communal riots made it necessary to seek by negotiation a solution satisfying Jinnah. The compromise suggested by the three ministers had fallen through; Jinnah's proposal for partition was being pushed forward. The British Government was against it. If a partition was to come they did not want to be called upon to execute it.

Meanwhile the Congress working committee, presided over by Nehru on the 9th August, had accepted the invitation extended by the viceroy to form an Interim Government.¹⁵⁵ It also appealed to the Sikhs to reconsider their decision of boycotting the Constituent Assembly. On Pandit Nehru's appeal, the Pratinidhi Panthic Board at their meeting on the August 14, while reiterating that the cabinet Mission scheme was unjust to the Sikhs, retracted their boycott to it.¹⁵⁶ But the Congress failed to win over the Muslim League. Its Committee of Action concluded its deliberations by passing a formal resolution assuming the All India Muslim League's determination not to recognize the interim Government.¹⁵⁷ After the decision of the League not to join the interim Government. Nehru assumed the charge of it on the 2nd September, Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister for development in the coalition Government of the Punjab, took over the portfolio of defence.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ The Bihar Killings resulted in reaction in places as far away as Attock in the Punjab. The Hazara border of NWFP too became the lamentable pattern of communal slaughter of India, of this killing, highest was in the Punjab, 3024 dead and 1200 injured. File no. 18/12/1946, *Home Political (I)*; See also, File No. 27/2/1947. Pol.I; B.R. Nanda, *The Making of a Nation: India's Road to Independence*, Harper Collins, New Delhi, 1998, p.306.

¹⁵⁵ Baldev Raj Nayyar, *Minority Politics in the Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.93; See also, Tushar A. Gandhi, *Lets Kill Gandhi*, *op. cit.*, p.255.

¹⁵⁶ *TOP*, Vol. VII, p.243; See also, Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1983, p.189.

¹⁵⁷ *Fortnightly Report for Punjab for the First Half of September, 1946*, Home Political, File No. 18/9/46 poll (1); See also, Tushar A. Gandhi, *Lets Kill Gandhi*, *op. cit.*, p.256.

¹⁵⁸ Baldev Raj Nayyar, *Minority Politics in the Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.93.

However, on October 26th, League joined the Interim Government. Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, League Member of the interim Government at a press conference at New Delhi explained the League's intention of joining it in the wider interests of the subcontinent.¹⁵⁹

Liaquat Ali Khan, Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar, Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar¹⁶⁰, Ghazanfar Ali Khan¹⁶¹ and Mr. Joginder Nath Mandal were inducted into the Government at Jinnah's proposal and were given the portfolios of finance, commerce, post, air and health respectively.¹⁶²

However, the arrangement of an Interim Government proved unworkable. The nationalist leaders became convinced that no Government, which included the Muslim League could function and thought that the partition of India alone would be the solution. Outside the Government with the Hindu and Muslim communities poised against each other, the country stood on the verge of civil War.

Meanwhile there had been a marked deterioration in the situation in Punjab. The responsibility for this rested largely on the communal disturbances in the other parts of the country. In this surcharged atmosphere both the Muslim League Guards and the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, a Hindu organization, had become more popular with their respective communities, stronger more active and more belligerent.¹⁶³

Jinnah, sensing the sentiments of the Muslims of the province, declared at New Delhi on the November 14, that the only solution of the Indian problem was a division of British India into Pakistan and Hindustan whose constitutions should be drawn up by two

¹⁵⁹ IAR, Vol. II., 1946, p.270.

¹⁶⁰ Minister of Finance in N.W.F.P. 1943-45.

¹⁶¹ Member Punjab Legislative Assembly 1937-45.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p.275; See also, Sir Maurice Gwyer and A. Appadorai (ed.), Speeches and Document in the Indian Constitution, 1921-1947, Vol. II, *op. cit.*, pp.654-655.

¹⁶³ Fortnightly Report for Punjab for the First Half of November, 1946, *Home Political*, File No. 18/11/46. poll (II).

constituent Assemblies. He further said that as soon as this was achieved, this tension would cease.¹⁶⁴ His declaration caused communal Strife and the situation in the province rapidly worsened.

Therefore, it decided to promulgate the Punjab Public Safety ordinance, under Section 89 of the Government of India Act, for a period of six months. The order prohibited drilling, processions, demonstrations public meetings and carrying of lethal weapons.¹⁶⁵

The announcement of British Prime Minister Lord Attlee¹⁶⁶ declared on February 20, 1947 of his intention to transfer power to responsible Indian hands by June 1948, emboldened the Muslim League to intensify the struggle in an all out bid to get its demands of Pakistan conceded.¹⁶⁷

On the 24th February, the demonstrations of the League in the Punjab were marked by clashes between the police and demonstrators at Amritsar and Jullundur.¹⁶⁸ However, Sir Evan Jenkins¹⁶⁹, the Governor of the Punjab, who did not want the fall of Khizar's Ministry, made strenuous efforts to bring about a settlement between the League and the coalition Government ultimately, negotiations between the Punjab Government and the Muslim League resulted in the conclusion of a compromise on the February 26. The Khan of Mamdot President of the Provincial Muslim League

¹⁶⁴ I.A.R., Vol. II, 1946, p.275.

¹⁶⁵ Fortnightly Report for Punjab for the Second Half of November, 1946, *Home Political*, File No. 18/11/46- poll I.

¹⁶⁶ First Earl, Opposition leader 1935-40; Lord Privy Seal 1940-42; Deputy Prime Minister 1942-45; Prime Minister of England 1945-51.

¹⁶⁷ On February 29, 1947, he stated on the floor of the House of Commons that, "Britain intended to transfer power to responsible Indian hands not later than June 1948, that if an Indian Constitution had not by that time been worked but by a fully representative Indian Constituent Assembly, His Majesty's Government would consider handing over the powers of the Central Government either to some form of Central Government for British India or to existing provincial Governments or in some other way as may seem reasonable and in the best interests of Indian people". Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman Jinnah*, *op. cit.*, pp.243-244; See also, Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*, *op. cit.* p.190; Tushar A. Gandhi, *Lets Kill Gandhi*, *op. cit.*, p.308; Anita Inder Singh, *The Origins of the Partition of India*, *op. cit.*, p.212; Anders Bjorn Hansen, *Partition and Genocide; Manifestation of Violence in Punjab, 1937-47*, India Research Press, New Delhi, 2002, p.107.

¹⁶⁸ IAR, Vol. 1, 1947, p. 223.

¹⁶⁹ Private Secretary to Viceroy 1943-45.

called off the Muslim League agitation following the compromise.¹⁷⁰ In the terms of the settlement the Government agreed to remove the ban on public meetings in all places where they were prohibited.¹⁷¹

But compromise failed to service its purpose. Communal clashes continued unabated and the law and order situation went out of control in the Punjab due to the mounting anger of the Muslim masses. So Khizar could no longer withstand, he resigned from the premiership on the March 2, without even consulting his non Muslim colleagues.¹⁷² On the same day, he announced that he was taking this step because he felt that His Majesty's Government pronouncement of the February 20, made it incumbent on him to leave the field clear for the Muslim League to come to some arrangement with other parties.

The Nawab of Mamdot expressed his desire before the Governor to permit him for the formation of a Muslim League Ministry in the Punjab. He added that he had the support of 90 members in the Assembly including Muslim League 80, other Muslim 3, scheduled castes 4, Indian Christian 2 and European.

On the March 3, the Governor invited the leader of the League to explore the possibilities of installing a Government either on his own or in collaboration with any other party.¹⁷³

However, this move of the Governor sent a wave of resentment among the Sikhs and Hindus who felt their interests would get jeopardized.

When the Governor found that the League could not form a ministry without the backing of the Hindus and Sikhs, a proclamation was issued on the March 5, under the Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, transferring all responsibility to the Governor.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*; See also, Fortnightly Report for Punjab of the Second Half of February, 1947, *Home Political*, File No. 18/2/47-poll. (1).

¹⁷¹ *The Tribune*, February 27, 1947.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, March 3, 1947.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, March 4, 1947.

Thus the state of Punjab was in utter chaos and confusion. It led to murders and arsonage. According to an official statement, it was claimed that 1,036 got killed and 1,110 were seriously injured.¹⁷⁴ Nehru himself visited the riot affected areas of Rawalpindi, Multan, Amritsar and Lahore during March 14-17. He assured help to the families of riot victims and promised that a solution would be found soon.¹⁷⁵

But the situation in the Punjab became worse with communal virus. By March 20, according to an official announcement the number of killed increased to 2,049 persons and 1,103 seriously injured in the disturbances in the Punjab.¹⁷⁶ Undoubtedly, it was this alarming situation in the Punjab that convinced Lord Mountbatten¹⁷⁷ for speedy action.¹⁷⁸ These massacres forced Mountbatten to think of immediate transfer of power.

Accordingly, the Viceroy and Mr. V.P. Menon left New Delhi for England on May 18, and reached London on May 19.¹⁷⁹ Staying for ten days in London, Lord Mountbatten came back to India on the May 29, after securing the approval of the British Government to his plan of transfer of power.¹⁸⁰ On the June 2, the Indian leaders, who held the power to decide the destiny of the sub-continent, gathered at the Viceroy's House in New Delhi. In this conference with the Viceroy, Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan and Abdur Rab Nishtar represented the Muslim League, While Jawaharlal Nehru,

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; See also, Fortnightly Report for Punjab for the First Half of March 1947, *Home Political*, File No. 18/3/47-Poll-I; See also, *I.A.R.*, Vol. 1, 1947, p.231.

¹⁷⁵ *IAR*, Vol. I, 1947, p.223; See also, S. Gopal (ed.), *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p.297.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ First Earl, Chief of Combined Operations 1942-43; Supreme Allied Commander South-East Asia 1943-46; Viceroy of India March-August 1947.

¹⁷⁸ Penderal Moon, *Divide and Quit*, *op. cit.*, p.81.

¹⁷⁹ *IAR*, Vol. I., 1947, p.248.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

Vallabhabhai Patel¹⁸¹ and Acharya Kripalani¹⁸² represented the Congress. The Sikhs were represented by Sardar Baldev Singh.¹⁸³

The viceroy placed his plan of partition before them. As the conference continued till next day, these leaders assembled at viceroy's House on June 3, and the representatives of the Congress, League and the Sikhs intimated the Viceroy of the acceptance of the proposals.¹⁸⁴

As a result of these fruitful negotiations with the Indian leaders, Lord Mountbatten announced His Majesty's Government's plan of June 3, and its salient features were:

- (1) The British would transfer the power on the 15th August, 1947 to one or two successor authorities as the case might be:
- (2) There would be two constituent Assemblies and
- (3) Bengal and Punjab would be divided provided there legislative Assemblies so decided and a referendum would be taken in N.W.F.P. to decide whether it would participate in the existing constituent of representatives of area.¹⁸⁵

In pursuance of the procedure laid down in the British plan of partition, the Punjab Legislative Assembly met on June 23, to vote whether to join the constituent Assembly at Delhi or a new one; the Muslim majority, as expected it turned the scales in favour of the later course.¹⁸⁶ The two sections of the Punjab Assembly-western and Eastern-met separately. Members from the Muslim majority area of western Punjab voted against the partition of the province by 69 to 27 votes. But the members from the non-Muslim majority areas of East Punjab voted in favour of the partition of the Punjab by 50 to 22

¹⁸¹ Leading Congressman and member of Interim Government, 1946-47.

¹⁸² General-Secretary of Congress 1934-46 and President in 1946.

¹⁸³ Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1975, p.154.

¹⁸⁴ *IAR*, Vol. I, 1947, p.249.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.249-250.

¹⁸⁶ Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*, *op. cit.*, p.202.

votes.¹⁸⁷ Consequently, the Western Sections decided to join the existing constituent Assembly for India.

The liberation of the Indian subcontinent was accompanied by a holocaust of unconscionable horror that bit deeply into the memories of its inhabitants. 'The Psychological Legacy of Partition', wrote Ayesha Jalal, 'has left a much deeper impact on people's minds than the social, economic and political dynamics that led to the division'.¹⁸⁸ That was the irony of Jinnah's dream of a Muslim homeland: its consequences were far worse than its causes. As the historian Mushirul Hasan has suggested, the carve up of India was not inevitable, but was 'a man-made catastrophe brought about by cynical and hot-headed politicians who lacked the imagination to resolve their disputes and the foresight to grasp the implications of dividing their country along religious lines'.¹⁸⁹

However, neither Mountbatten's plan nor Punjab Assembly's decisions to divide the province put an end to the ongoing communalism; the period from June to August was full of murders, arson and looting. The communal virus tore apart the century old cultural and social ties of the Punjabi-society. On both the Indian and Pakistan Sides horrible atrocities were committed. Foot weary caravans of refugees were attacked till the roads were clogged with corpses trains were attacked and sent across the borders with bogies packed with slaughtered passengers. Even the sick or the aged or infants were not spared by the brutal murders. Young women were occasionally spared only to be ravished. The fear of death persisted in the mind of every migrating person. Never in the history of the world was there bigger exchange of populations attended with so much bloodshed.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ Ayesha Jalal, "Secularists, Subalterns and the Stigma of Communalism: Partition Historiography Revisited", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 30, Part 3, July 1966, p.681.

¹⁸⁹ Mushirul Hasan, *India Partitioned: The Other Face of Freedom*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1995, p.10.

The Congress did not accept the logic of the two-nation theory but, nonetheless, accepted partition as a lesser evil to delayed independence and prolonged and bitter communal strife. The hope was that once the two countries gained independence they would come together as good neighbours and live side by side in a spirit of peace, amity and co-operation. That hope was regrettably belied, though it remains a cherished goal.

Chapter – II

Riots and Migration in Punjab and Princely States

The chapter deals with the communal violence that accompanied partition in the Punjab during August 1946 to November 1947. First section examines in detail the massacres which occurred in East Punjab and second section discusses the communal disturbances in West Punjab. Third section explores riots in Princely States and highlights the abduction of women during migration. It also discusses the means of communication during partition and about the different names given to displaced persons such as refugees and Mohajirs, which lives on to this day. Almost all the major cities right across the old pre-partition northern India bear to this day the character of refugee cities.

The partition of Punjab in 1947 is one of the unique events as it enforced the movements of the people on the scale absolutely unparalleled in the history of world. There must be many examples in the bloody history of mankind where the extent of violence has been as great or even greater but it is probably true that there has never been such a huge exchange of population.

On Direct Action day August 16, 1946 in Calcutta¹ the violence had begun and it spread to the Bengal countryside resulting into large number of deaths. From there it moved on to Bihar, then on to the United Province and finally to the province of Punjab, where the scale of the violence and the extent of the killing exceeded even the horrors that had preceded it.

According to the fortnightly report of October 1946,

*Most district officers in Punjab continued to sound a grave note of warning and to say that a situation which is so essentially unstable may deteriorate quickly and dangerously without any adequate warning being given.*²

Yet another disturbing development during this time was the rapid growth of volunteer forces of various political parties, which

¹ According to official estimates about 5,000 persons killed and 15,000 injured. Penderal Moon, *Divide and Quit*, Chattos and Windus, London, 1961, p.58; See also, Madhav Godbole, *The Holocaust of Indian Partition*, Rupa, New Delhi, 2006, p.34.

² *Home Political (I)*, File No. 18/10/1946.

were called private armies by the British, and open defiance of law by them in several provinces. There was marked increase in the activities of both the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and the Muslim League National Guards (MLNG) in the Punjab. The strength of the latter had increased from 3,000 at the end of 1945 to 10,000 in July 1946.³ The announced aim was to increase it to half a million by the end of 1946. The government of Punjab was of the view that “*both these were trouble-spreading agencies and for this reason and others which are obvious, are potentially very dangerous*”.⁴

The working committee of Provincial Muslim League also decided to launch a civil disobedience movement including the non-payment of taxes and revenue, violation of law and order, boycott of non-Muslim traders and the boycott of goods manufactured by the non-Muslims.⁵

The government of Punjab was getting increasingly worried about provocative speeches made in Muslim places of worship. It said,

*Muslim are being exhorted to be prepared, not for a political campaign, constitutional or otherwise, but for a crusade. It further noted, unfortunately, the Calcutta riots do not seem to have made the communities pause and think of the grave need to avoid further bloodshed. Rather civil war is still accepted as being preferable to the abandonment of any principles and the Calcutta casualties are regarded as little or nothing compared with what is likely to happen if agreement is not reached.*⁶

In Punjab by the beginning of 1947, the RSS membership had reached the figure of 47,000 and that of MLNG 23,000.⁷ The Sikhs also decided to form *Akal Fauj* or *Sena*. In view of the increasing law

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, File No. 18/7/46.

⁵ *The Eastern Times*, February 2, 1947.

⁶ *Home Political*, File No. 18/8/1946.

⁷ Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj, 1849-1947*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1998, p.333; Jenkins wrote to Pethick Lawrence on January 26, 1947, that the MLNG had a written constitution of their own and commander had military titles, Nicholas Mansergh (ed.), *The Transfer of Power (1942-47)*, Vol. X, UBS Publishers, New Delhi, 1976, pp.227-278 (Herein after quoted as *TOP*).

and order concern on January 24, 1947, the Government of Punjab banned the Muslim League National Guard (MLNG) and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). The Punjab government had inadvertently offered a challenge to the League without the strength to go through with it.⁸ Viceroy Wavell noted in his journal on January 27: *the action taken in the Punjab against the Muslim Guards seems to have raised a storm....* The Muslim League leaders in Punjab seized the opportunity to stir up agitation.⁹

The ban followed routine searches of the offices of the two organisations. Though nothing really objectionable was found, workers who tried to protest and obstruct the raiding parties were arrested on January 25, when they defied a ban on processions and meetings.¹⁰ The League seized the opportunity and organised a massive defiance of the order.¹¹ Demonstrations were held by Muslim crowds in different parts of the city. In the evening a Muslim crowd staged a demonstration in front of the Civil Lines Police Station where the League leaders were lodged. However the demonstrators were scattered by the police, resorting to lathi charge, resulting in injuries to over a dozen persons.¹²

Khizar Hayat Khan, the Punjab Premier was really in a fix. He said in a communiqué that he had no desire to attack the Muslim League or to arrest its members, but he could not permit deliberate defiance of the ordinary law or of emergency order which had been issued solely to maintain communal peace in the province.¹³

⁸ Penderal Moon, *Divide and Quit*, *op. cit.*, p.75.

⁹ Penderal Moon, *Wavell, The Viceroy's Journal*, Vol. II, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1973, p.271.

¹⁰ *TOP*, Vol. IX, pp.556-557; See also, N.N. Mitra and H.N. Mitra (eds.), *The Indian Annual Register (1940-47)*, Vol. II, Gian Publishing House, New Delhi, 1990, p.275 (Hereinafter quoted as *IAR*).

¹¹ Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs (1839-1947)*, Vol. II, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1978, p.271.

¹² *IAR*, Vol. I, 1947, p.220.

¹³ *The Tribune*, January 26, 1947.

Of course, the problems Khizar faced at that time were awful. The Premier headed a non-Muslim Government in a province where a large number of officers and employees were Muslims and had secret or even open sympathy for the League. An overwhelming number of officers and men in the police force being Muslims, were also more loyal to the League than to the government and thus Jinnah's mass movement received indirect support from all such quarters.¹⁴ Keeping in mind the gravity of these problems, the Premier held a conference on the January 26, with his colleagues to discuss the situation arising out of the ban on the National Guards and also on the RSS. On that day, many Muslim League leaders were released to pacify the Muslim masses.¹⁵ After consultation with his ministers, he issued a statement on the January 28, withdrawing ban on the MLNG and RSS.¹⁶ But he made it clear that the ban on processions and meetings would continue as the government in the present state of situation considered it essential.¹⁷ He further appealed to the members of all communities to support the Punjab Government in maintaining peace and communal harmony.¹⁸

But, the League leaders were re-arrested on the January 29, 30 and 31, when they indulged in the acts of violence. The Hindu and Sikh papers supported the action taken by the coalition ministry against the Muslim League agitation and held that agitation was unconstitutional, undemocratic and undoubtedly communal.¹⁹

Unfortunately, to the dismay and disappointment of the Punjab government, the British Prime Minister, Lord Attlee's declaration on the February 20, expressing his intention to transfer

¹⁴ Manmath Nath Das, *Partition and Independence of India: Inside Story of the Mountbatten Days*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1982, p.157.

¹⁵ *The Tribune*, January 27, 1947.

¹⁶ Fortnightly Report for Punjab for the Second Half of January 1947, *Home Political*, File No. 18/1/47 - Poll (I).

¹⁷ *TOP*, Vol. IX, p.572.

¹⁸ *IAR*, Vol. I, 1947, p.222.

¹⁹ Fortnightly Report for the First Half of February 1947, *Home Political*, File No. 18/2/47 - Poll (I).

power to responsible Indian hands by June 1948,²⁰ emboldened the Muslim League to intensify the struggle in an all out bid to get its demand of Pakistan conceded.²¹ In view of Attlee's declaration, it became more important for the League to oust Sir Khizar Hayat Khan and take the reins of government into its own hands.²² On February 24, the demonstrations of the League in the Punjab were marked by clashes between the police and demonstrators at Amritsar and Jullundur.²³

In a letter to the King dated February 24, 1947, Wavell had stated that the state of affairs in the Punjab was causing considerable anxiety. He minded no words when he said,

*The situation is dangerous, since the Hindus and Sikhs are getting restive, the rival communities are not unequally balanced, and trouble in the Punjab is likely to take violent forms.*²⁴

Jenkins was also of the view that,

*On a long view the Punjab Muslims have already done themselves incalculable harm by their disregard of the very large non-Muslim communities.*²⁵

The report also cited that Sikh leader Master Tara Singh for the first time said that Sikhs were organising their own army in response to the challenges given by MLNG.²⁶

²⁰ On February 20, 1947, he stated on the floor of the House of Commons that, "Britain intended to transfer power to responsible Indian hands not later than June 1948, that if an Indian Constitution had not by that time been worked out by a fully representative Indian Constituent Assembly, His Majesty's Government would consider handing over the powers of the Central Government either to some form of Central Government for British-India or to existing provincial governments or in some other way as may seem reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people". Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, The Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1985, pp.243-244.

²¹ Satya M. Rai, *The Partition of Punjab*, Asia Publishing House, Delhi, 1965, p.327; See also, Tushar A. Gandhi, *Lets Kill Gandhi: A Chronicle of His Last Days, The Conspiracy, Murder, Investigation and Trial*, Rupa, New Delhi, 2007, p.308.

²² Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*, Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1983, p.191.

²³ IAR, Vol. I, 1947, p.223.

²⁴ TOP, Vol. X, pp.277-278.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *The Tribune*, March 2, 1947.

Under the influence of communal bugbear and the Muslim League politics, the Premier Khizar Hayat Khan felt so helpless that he resigned from the Premiership on the March 2, without even consulting his non-Muslim colleagues.²⁷ On the same day, he announced that he was taking this step because he felt that His Majesty's government pronouncement of the February 20, made it incumbent on him to leave the field clear for the Muslim League to come to some agreement with other parties.²⁸ Meanwhile, the Nawab of Mamdot expressed his desire before the Governor to permit him for the formation of Muslim League ministry in Punjab.²⁹ Demonstrations were taken out by non-Muslims to mark their protests against the proposed League Ministry which culminated in a riot situation in the same evening.³⁰

The Governor found that he could not allow a purely Muslim League ministry, without any support whatever from Hindus and Sikhs, to be formed in the Punjab. The Muslim league having lost the confidence of Hindus and Sikhs due to its past conduct of several years and its creed of hate and violence, got no support from them. The Governor suspended the constitution and the Punjab from March 5, 1947 was to be governed directly by the Governor under Section 93 of the Government of India Act.³¹

Just as Punjab was rapidly being overrun by violence, Jenkins (Punjab's Governor) noted the specific reasons of why a League ministry was not possible at that point:

²⁷ *Ibid.*, March 3, 1947.

²⁸ Fortnightly Report for Punjab for the First Half of March 1947, *Home Political*, File No. 18/3/47 – Pol (I).

²⁹ He stated that he had the support of 90 members in the Assembly including Muslim League 80, Other Muslims 93, Schedule Castes 4, Indian Christians 2 and European 1. *TOP*, Vol. IX, pp.866-867.

³⁰ *The Tribune*, March 5, 1947; See also, Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana: The Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India*, Curzon, Richmond, 1996, p.161.

³¹ Fortnightly Report for Punjab for the First Half of March 1947, *Home Political*, File No. 18/3/47 – Poll I.

private information suggests that Mamdot commands only three votes outside the League including, Muslim and two Scheduled Castes. Risk of installing a League Ministry of this kind with parliamentary majority is enormous... (and would) be a fraud on the constitution.³²

Jenkins then pointed out how the installation of a League Ministry was bound to be opposed by the Sikhs and Hindus and how police troops and myself (the British) would immediately be involved on the Muslims side in what would in fact be a civil war for possession of Punjab.³³

In 1947, Muslims and non-Muslims in West Punjab, East Punjab and Princely States according to 1941 census were as under:³⁴

Districts or States		Percentage in total population of		
	Districts of East Punjab	Muslims	Sikhs	Rest
1.	Hissar	28.2	6.0	64.8
2.	Rohtak	17.2	0.1	81.7
3.	Gurgaon	33.5	..	66.8
4.	Karnal	30.6	2.0	67.0
5.	Ambala	31.6	18.4	48.7
6.	Simla	18.2	2.7	74.3
7.	Kangra	5.1	0.6	94.3
8.	Hoshiarpur	32.5	16.9	49.8
9.	Jullundur	45.2	26.4	27.6
10.	Ludhiana	36.9	41.7	21.4
11.	Ferozepur	45.1	33.7	20.2
12.	Amritsar	46.5	36.1	15.4
13.	Gurdaspur	50.2	19.1	25.2

³² *TOP*, Vol. IX (493), pp.868-869.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Census of Punjab, 1941*, Vol. II, Punjab, Simla, 1941. The united Punjab was divided into five administrative divisions, known as Commissionaires and 29 Districts, *District and State Gazetteer of the Undivided Punjab*, Vol. XXIX-A, 1930, B.R. Publishing, Lahore, 1932, p.1.

	East Punjab States	Muslims	Sikhs	Rest
1.	Kapurthala	56.4	25.9	16.3
2.	Faridkot	30.7	57.7	10.9
3.	Patiala	22.6	47.3	30.9
4.	Jind	14.1	11.3	74.2
5.	Nabha	20.7	36.0	42.9

	Districts of West Punjab	Muslims	Sikhs	Rest
1.	Lahore	60.7	18.3	16.8
2.	Sialkot	62.1	11.7	19.4
3.	Gujranwala	70.4	10.9	11.9
4.	Sheikhupura	63.6	18.9	10.5
5.	Gujrat	85.6	6.4	7.7
6.	Shahpur	83.7	4.8	10.2
7.	Jhelum	89.5	3.9	6.5
8.	Rawalpindi	80.0	8.2	10.5
9.	Attock	90.5	3.0	6.4
10.	Mianwali	86.2	1.4	12.4
11.	Montgomery	69.1	13.9	15.9
12.	Lyallpur	62.8	18.8	14.6
13.	Jhang	82.6	1.5	15.8
14.	Multan	78.0	4.2	16.9
15.	Muzaffargarh	86.5	0.8	12.8
16.	Dera- Ghazi Khan	88.9	0.2	11.7

SECTION – I

Riots³⁵ broke out in Lahore on March 4. The Hindu and Sikh Students of Lahore took out a big procession to demonstrate their resolve not to tolerate a Muslim league ministry. This perfectly non violent procession was fired on by the Muslim police, which had stood hooliganism and law breaking from Muslim mobs for over a

³⁵ Word "Riot" is derived from the old French 'Riote' which means debate, dispute, quarrel, from which is derived the verb 'r' (uihoter) which means to quarrel and which is diminutive of huir which means to make an uproar. It is the element of quarrel that leads to the disturbance and the disturbance is uproarious. Being uproarious it eventuates in violence against person or property.

month in the province. In this firing on procession of Hindus and Sikhs, 125 were injured and 10 were killed.³⁶

On March 5, under the leadership of Master Tara Singh,³⁷ Sikhs, Hindus and the Congressmen got united on the same front. He appealed to every Sikh and Hindu to rise against the occasion and be ready for supreme sacrifice. The Sikh, Hindu and the Congressmen gathered and fixed March 11, 1947 as 'Anti-Pakistan Day' when flag will be hoisted, hartal observed and public meetings held.³⁸

By the morning of March 5, the major towns across Punjab including Amritsar, Jullundur, Rawalpindi, Multan and Sialkot were up in flames.³⁹ Most North and West bound trains out of Lahore were cancelled.⁴⁰ The sale of petrol and diesel was banned in many cities of Punjab.⁴¹ Outgoing phone calls and telegrams from Lahore too were banned.⁴² In district Gujarat Muslim mob started murdering, burning, raping, looting and abduction.⁴³ The Lyallpur which was a richest spot the Sikhs possessed in the Punjab, also affected with riots.

The March disturbances had rocked the very foundations of Punjab but it was Rawalpindi that suffered most.⁴⁴ The story of Rawalpindi district killings was most brutal and inhuman the world has ever witnessed anywhere on the surface of the earth. Sikhs were

³⁶ All the students were from D.A.V. College. Later reports indicated that Principal G.L. Dutta had encouraged the students of his college to counter the League supporting youth. Some sections of the press, sympathetic to the League, prominently displayed appeals by Mamdot to League activists not to organise counter demonstrations. *Eastern Times*, March 2, 1947; See also, *The Tribune*, March 5, 1947; *The Dawn*, March 6, 1947; Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj (1849-1947)*, *op. cit.*, p.227; *TOP*, Vol. IX (481), pp.850-851.

³⁷ Master Tara Singh (1885-1967), leader of Sikh Akali Dal; opposed inclusion of Punjab in Pakistan, after independence led the movement for the creation of Punjabi-speaking state in East Punjab. Harbans Singh, *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, Vol. IV, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1998, pp.312-313.

³⁸ *The Tribune*, March 6, 1947.

³⁹ *Ibid.*; *The Hindustan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, March 6, 1947.

⁴⁰ *The Dawn*, March 8, 1947.

⁴¹ *The Tribune*, March 8, 1947.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, March 14, 1947.

⁴⁴ *The Dawn*, March 17, 1947; See also, Patrick French, *Liberty or Death; India's Journey to Independence and Division*, Harper Collins, London, 1997, p.334.

murdered by Muslim gangs in the villages including Thamali, Doberan and Choa Khalsa.⁴⁵

On the March 5, 1947 on hearing of the firing on the Hindu and Sikh students of Lahore, the Hindu-Sikh students of Rawalpindi took out a procession protesting against the Muslim attempt at the formation of a communal ministry in the Punjab, and the police firing the non-violent procession of Hindu and Sikh students. There were a free fight in which the Muslims got the worst of it. Then a huge Muslim mob from the countryside, incited for attack on Hindu and Sikhs by the *Pir* of Gojra, a Muslim religious head and a leader of this area.⁴⁶ Young women were molested and raped in open, frenzied hooligans were looting and setting fire to houses.⁴⁷

While Punjab was burning, the Congress Working Committee ultimately decided to divide the State of Punjab on communal lines on the basis of two nation theory. On March 8, the Congress working Committee concluded its session adopting the resolution on political situation.⁴⁸

The draft of the Resolution to divide the Punjab prepared by Nehru.⁴⁹ Nehru wrote two letters to Wavell on the day after the crucial CWC meeting. In one of the letters he announced the Resolution a having been passed by the CWC. He also referred to the possible division of Punjab in case the League continued to stay away from the Constituent Assembly.⁵⁰ The resolution added that the violence had demonstrated that a way out to be found that would involve 'The least amount of compulsion'. This would necessitate a

⁴⁵ Robin Jeffrey, "The Punjab Boundary Force and the Problem of Order, August 1947", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. VIII, 1974, p.494.

⁴⁶ Gurcharan Singh Talib, *Muslim League Attacks on Hindus and Sikhs of Punjab*, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, 1950, p.122

⁴⁷ On March 7, savage communal rioting in the Punjab was reported in which 1036 killed, 1110 injured and 40,000 rendered homeless. *TOP*, Vol. IX, p.879.

⁴⁸ *The Tribune*, March 9, 1947; See also, Durga Das, *India: From Curzon to Nehru and After*, Rupa and Co., New Delhi, 1975, p.239.

⁴⁹ S. Gopal (ed.), *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. II, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1982, p.291.

⁵⁰ *TOP*, Vol. IX, pp.897-899.

division of Punjab into two provinces, so that the predominantly Muslim part may be separated from the predominantly non-Muslim part.⁵¹

Upto March 11, 9000 houses were destroyed and loss of property estimated to rupees 8 crore.⁵² On March 13, conditions in both Rawalpindi and Attock districts outside the main town were still very much unsettled.⁵³ On March 14, reports were received of riots, arson and murder from village in Chakwal tehsil in Jhelum district. Dhudial was attacked by a mob of 2500 men, a grim exchange of fire took place between the looters and army stationed there. In the end the army was able to evacuate most of the people of Dhudial to safer places.⁵⁴

The narration of atrocities by district officers to Nehru and Liaquat Ali on the joint tour of several districts of East and West Punjab were unnerving.

Nehru after going through their stories of violence remarked,

*I think the disturbances will end completely within a few days.... A man who is panicky is a useless citizen and a danger to others... all that has happened is intimately connected with political affairs.... The Punjab has had a lesson, let it learn from it.*⁵⁵

But the Governor Jenkins was not happy with his tour. He wrote to the viceroy and said that political leaders particularly members of the Interim Government were putting a great strain on the administration by their travels in Punjab.⁵⁶ The complaint did not mention Nehru by name, but the fact that the letter to Wavell followed almost immediately after Nehru had visited Punjab and that some journalists too had been touring Punjab at the time possibly

⁵¹ S. Gopal (ed.), *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, op. cit., p.291.

⁵² *The Tribune*, March 12, 1947.

⁵³ Many villages in the police station of Multan, Sadar, Shujabad and Malchdunpur Rashid reported incidents. Nearly 164 goondas were rounded up in Lahore city. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1947.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *IAR*, Vol. I, 1947, p.233; See also, *The Hindustan Times*, March 16, 1947.

⁵⁶ *TOP*, Vol. IX, p.969; See also, *The Dawn*, March 15, 1947.

indicated that the Government was not too keen to see Nehru in this part of country. In fact, Nehru had met Jenkins in Lahore on March 14, and even as the meeting was on, a message was received at Government house, Lahore from the Viceroy for Nehru requesting, him not to visit Peshawar. Nehru agreed not to go, but only grudgingly.⁵⁷

There had been numerous complaints across Punjab against officials of the Punjab police who were said to be under the Muslim League's influence. One police official in Multan even brought along camels to take away looted goods.⁵⁸ Not a single temple remained in the vicinity of Rawalpindi and Multan.⁵⁹

Punjab had become the 'Ulster of India'.⁶⁰ In March 1947, over 18,000 troops, in addition to two squadrons of Air Force and Parachute, were in action to suppress communal violence in Punjab.⁶¹

Penderal Moon observed, "*What had been seen in Punjab in March 1947 was only a curtain raiser. The main tragedy was still to come.*"⁶²

By April 13, over 8,000 arrests had been made in Multan alone.⁶³ The government initiate many measures, one was its old and tried method of collective fines. A fine of Rs. 10 lakh was imposed within the Municipal limits of Multan. Those families who had lost members as killed or suffered serious damage of property were exempted.⁶⁴ On May 14, in Lahore, 9 persons were killed and 20

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.953.

⁵⁸ *The Dawn*, March 20, 1947.

⁵⁹ *The Hindustan Times*, March 15, 1947; See also, Urvashi Butalia, "Community, State and Gender on Women's Agency during Partition", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 17, April 1999, p.14.

⁶⁰ *The Dawn*, March 17, 1947.

⁶¹ *The Hindu*, March 24, 1947.

⁶² Penderal Moon, *Divide and Quit*, *op. cit.*, p.83,94.

⁶³ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 13, 1947.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, April 3, 1947.

injured.⁶⁵ On May 19, 1947, the early hours of Sunday, saw most serious incidents which had taken place in Lahore since disturbance took place on May 14. The entire province of Punjab had declared a disturbed area on May 31, 1947.⁶⁶

The tension in the Punjab at the end of May and in the beginning of June was so acute that most people kept a night vigil on housetops, or slept with their hands on the trigger of the pistol under the pillow. Lord Mountbatten sensed this tension, not only did he increase military precautions in the tense districts, but he arranged broadcasts from Nehru, Jinnah and Baldev Singh appealing of peace and communal harmony.⁶⁷

On June 23, the communal situation in Lahore was worst with widespread arson, bomb explosions, life in the city being completely paralysed, firing by troops and mobs running amuck to kill people of different religion. The NWFP too was declared a 'disturbed area' with the Governor and the leaders of political parties making an appeal for peace.⁶⁸

On June 23, the Punjab Legislative Assembly adopted a resolution in favour of the partition. The partition committee gave way to a more powerful Partition Council and latter agreed to invite Sir Cyril Radcliffe to become Chairman of the Boundary Commission.⁶⁹

In the beginning of July 1947, Sir Cyril Radcliffe arrived in Delhi to demarcate boundaries. His only qualification was that he did

⁶⁵ A Muslim mob armed with hatchets, swords and lathis invaded the Shalimar gate area and set fire to a shop. Early morning gunshots, during night brick-battle and exchange of explosive materials were reported. Nearly 17 stabbings at Lahore were reported. G.D. Khosla, *Stern Reckoning: A Study of the Events Leading upto and Following the Partition of India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1949, p.114; See also, *The Tribune*, May 15, 1947; *The Mountbatten Papers*, File No. 125; Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, *op. cit.*, p.229.

⁶⁶ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, May 19, 1947.

⁶⁷ J. Nanda, *Punjab Uprooted*, Hind Kitab's Ltd., Bombay, 1948, p.57.

⁶⁸ Lionel Carter, Mountbatten's Report on the Last Viceroyalty, *op. cit.*, p.179; See also, *The Hindustan Times*, June 23, 1947.

⁶⁹ Manmath Nath Das, *Partition and Independence of India*, *op. cit.*, p.107.

not know anything of Indian reality.⁷⁰ In July attacks on the life and property of Hindus and Sikhs were going on as usual. Gujranwala, Sargodha and Sialkot too had started in right earnest the process of the elimination of minorities.⁷¹ In his visit to Lahore on July 20, Mountbatten was told that 50% of the Hindu population were believed to have left the city. By the beginning of August there were 80,000 refugees in Delhi itself.⁷² It has been estimated that nearly 21 lakhs of Muslim refugees had move into West Punjab since August 1, 1947, and during the same period 20 lakhs of non-Muslims had left for East Punjab.⁷³

In the beginning of August 1947 rioting broke out all over the Punjab and situation worsened as the date of transfer of power drew nearer. The Pakistan Government subsequently brought a number of brochures to prove that mainly the Sikhs were responsible for these riots. It was argued that in order to carve out their state, the Sikhs had plans to kill Muslims in an organised manners.⁷⁴

It has been estimated that nearly 21 lakhs of Muslim refugees had moved into West Punjab since August 1, 1947, and during the same period 20 lakhs of non-Muslims had left for East Punjab.⁷⁵

Nehru sent a telegram to Liaquat Ali Khan on August 9, 1947, expressing his anxiety at the rapidly deteriorating situation in West Punjab. He referred to the happenings in the previous week in Gujranwala, Wazirabad and Lahore.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Leonard Mosley, *The Last Days of the British Raj*, Jaico Publishing House, Bombay, 1971, pp.220-223.

⁷¹ By July 20, the figure of riot affected refugees, who had come over to India, was assessed in the neighbourhood of one million. Gurcharan Singh Talib, *Muslim League Attacks on Hindus and Sikhs of Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.124.

⁷² Madhav Godbole, *The Holocaust of Indian Partition: An Inquest*, *op. cit.*, p.12.

⁷³ Satya M. Rai, "Socio-Economic Condition of the Punjab on the Eve of Independence and Partition", in A.K. Gupta (ed.), *Myth and Reality: The Struggle for Freedom in India*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1987, p.289.

⁷⁴ Kirpal Singh, *The Partition of Punjab*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972, p.103.

⁷⁵ Satya M. Rai, "Socio-Economic Condition of the Punjab on the Eve of Independence and Partition", *op. cit.*, p.289.

⁷⁶ Durga Das (ed.), *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. IV, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1977, p.247; See also, Swarna Aiyar, "August Anarchy; The Partition Massacres in Punjab, 1947", *South Asia*, Vol. 18, 1995.

As the date on which Pakistan was to be established that was August 15, was drawing nearer Muslims everywhere in the Muslim majority districts and in some places even in the East were growing aggressive. With the line of demarcation between Eastern and Western Punjab still unknown and uncertain Muslims of districts like Amritsar, Jullundur and Ferozepur held strong hopes of these districts or anyway some portions of them, being awarded to Pakistan. The attitude with which the Muslims looked upon non-Muslims was that the latter were to be held by them as a subservient people from whom a less than human treatment would just be good enough. Shri Kiron Shankar Roy, the well known leader of Bengal, in a statement to the press on July 22nd said about the temper of East Bengal Muslims:

There is a notion among ordinary Muslims in the Eastern Pakistan region that after August 15 houses and land of the Hindus will automatically pass into the possession of Muslims, and that the Hindus will be a sort subject race under the Muslims of that area.

What Mr. Roy said about the Muslims of Bengal, applied with still greater force to the Muslims of the Punjab, about whom the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore said in its issue of the December 30, 1947 that each one of them thought that he had become a *Nawab*.⁷⁷

After August 12-15, people started migrating from West towards East Punjab and the Muslims towards the West Punjab.⁷⁸ Causes of mass migration were many; some writers are of the view that Sikhs and Hindus left Pakistan in order to cripple it economically as they held important positions in the west Punjab.... L.F. Rushbrook William writes that in Lahore and Lyallpur exodus not only concentrated of men of substance but also clerks and minor officials. Even prosperous Sikh farmers said to have left their land on assurance that they would be able to return within six weeks.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.124-125.

⁷⁸ Kirpal Singh, *The Partition of Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.96.

But the west Punjab government was determined to drive them out. Giani Kartar Singh stated that Jinnah had instructed the Governor of west Punjab to expel all the Sikhs from Pakistan. This was confirmed by the letter Sir Francis Mudie (Governor, West Punjab) addressed to Jinnah and interpreted by the East Punjab police. Sir Mudie frankly declared that he was telling everyone not to care how the Sikhs get across the border, the great thing was to get rid of them as soon as possible.⁷⁹ The Muslim refugees in order to avail themselves of houses and business of the non-Muslims created panic and disorder to turn out Hindus and Sikhs.⁸⁰ On August 14, Pakistan was officially born. The advent of Pakistan was signalled by hundreds of fires raging in various parts of the city.⁸¹

The Punjab situation was getting worse. There were deserted tracts and town in West Punjab for miles and miles and town after town, the entire countryside from Lahore to Gujranwala lying along the G.T. Road presented a picture of desolation, smouldering ruins, empty houses and closed shops.⁸² In the last days of August, Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan decided to fly to Lyallpur and Lahore to study the refugee problem.⁸³

When the first wave of blind violence had passed in the West Punjab, the lure of loot was the chief motive for violence; calculated homicide succeeded indiscriminate violence, it was no longer a fanatic's leap in the dark but an adventurer's firm foothold on a house, a shop, or a factory.

In his book *An Australian in India*, Mr. Casey, the ex-Governor of Bengal, writes:

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.118.

⁸⁰ Allan Campbell-Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten*, Jaico Publishers, New Delhi, 1951, pp.131-132.

⁸¹ A Sikh Gurudwara, which had been especially preserved for this day was set alight as morning heralded the first day of freedom. Numerous places of Hindus and Sikhs had been burnt of which one finds no records in daily newspapers. K.L. Gauba, *Inside Pakistan*, Raj Kamal Publications, Delhi, 1948, pp.2-3.

⁸² *The Hindustan Times*, September 2, 1947.

⁸³ Durga Das, *India from Curzon to Nehru and After*, *op. cit.*, pp.263-264.

In other words I believe that the principal present day motive behind Pakistan is the economic urge on the part of the Muslims (particularly in the cities) to advance themselves economically.... I believe that when the Muslims in a village or a small town think of Pakistan, they think in terms of the little village or town store being owned by a Muslim and not by a Hindu. When the city Muslims think of Pakistan, I believe he thinks largely in terms of the mills and shops and business houses being owned by Muslims instead of by Hindus.... But the fact remains that Pakistan or no Pakistan, Hindus and Muslims have got to continue to live together.... Pakistan would not result in the village store being owned by a Muslim. It would not put the mills and the business houses into Muslim hands. The only way Muslims can advance themselves economically is to achieve education, and to learn how to complete successfully with the Hindus, which means a vast amount of hard work and the passage of time. It can not be achieved by political means.”⁸⁴

It must be admitted that the milk of human kindness did not dry up all at once. There were extraordinary instances where neighbourly attachment was not shaken by popular passion or even the fear of the mob. J. Nanda wrote:

I have feared of men and women who were hidden under haystacks or cold ovens by kind neighbours. I can picture the scene when the hooligans arrived to check-up; the beating hearts in the oven and the hay stack must have stilled as the assassins suspiciously scored the place for the ‘condemned’ men; the protectors, perhaps a little pale, are likely to have put on a considerable amount of bravado and righteous indignation at not being taken at their word. Such steadfastness was, however, the exception because the hooligans were better organized and better armed than the majority of peaceful citizens in villages and towns; neighbours are generally kind folks but not of the stud from which martyrs are made.”⁸⁵

Some raiding parties brought camels, donkeys and carts to carry off the booty. Inevitably, old personal scores were paid off in a few cases, but as a rule the raid on the minority of a village was not made by the majority community of the same village, but of a different village. In the district of Western Punjab it was not uncommon for a false alarm to be raised in the villages that a Sikh

⁸⁴ J. Nanda, *Punjab Uprooted*, op. cit., p.36.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.54.

band (*Jatha*) was around the corner; and this alarm signal was doubly useful in collecting women and children in one place and in forming the male adults into a party for raiding villages in the vicinity.⁸⁶

At Lahore on September 25, a Muslim mob of several thousand strong, attacked a Sikh-Hindu refugees train at Kamoke, about 25 miles west of Lahore killing 340 Sikhs and Hindus and wounding 250.⁸⁷ About 1000 abducted women were recovered from Sheikhpura district by military evacuation.⁸⁸

On October 1st, a convoy of lorries from Lakki to Bannu were attacked. Attack on Muslim columns, 9 miles west of Amritsar and a Hindu and Sikh refugee camp at Tandianwala (Lyallpur) were the main incidents reported by the military spokesman. Nearly 115 refugees had been killed, 45 wounded in the attack at Tandianwala.

Penedral Moon had pointed, on the whole, a somewhat rosy picture of situation in Bahawalpur state, adjoining Punjab because, “*we escaped the worst scenes of misery.*”⁸⁹ But this assessment was not shared by the Hindus and Sikhs. Neogy, Minister for rehabilitation, told to Constituent Assembly of India (CAIL) on November 18, 1947 that, “a rough estimate of migration from

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.18-19; See also, M.L. Darling, *At Freedom's Door*, Oxford, Bombay, 1949, p.78.

⁸⁷ Escorting troops killed 78 attackers and wounded about same numbers. Despite heavy fighting by escort, the mob attacking from the rear forced its way into the last four bogies. The attack lasted 40 minutes. *The Tribune*, September 26, 1947.

⁸⁸ On September 25, figures of exchange of Muslims and Hindus issued by West Punjab:

Montgomery: 3,25,000 Sikhs and Hindus evacuated and 4,50,000 Muslim settled.

Lyallpur: 1,75,000 Sikhs and Hindus evacuated and 2,50,000 Muslims settled.

Sheikhpura: 3,50,000 Sikhs and Hindus were evacuated and 4,75,000 Muslims settled.

Sialkot: 1,25,000 Sikhs and Hindus evacuated and 2,15,000 Muslims settled.

As regards the killings of the non-Muslims, till September 25, 1947, about 1,98,000 non-Muslims had been killed 100,000 converted to Islam and 12,000 women were abducted. There were still about 10 lakh non-Muslims who wished to be evacuated to India. Durga Das (ed.), *Sardar Patel's Correspondence, 1945-50*, Vol. IV, *op. cit.*, pp.278-279.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

Bahawalpur is 80,000”. During the debate on refugee matters repeated pleas were made by the members to the government to take speedy measures to ensure early evacuation of refugees from that state.⁹⁰

In October 1947, the refugee population from West Punjab in Indian camps was well over 7,20,000.⁹¹ On October 3, 1947, according to the government’s report following number of refugees were awaiting for evacuation.⁹² Hindus and Sikhs:

Rawalpindi	3,66,500	Muzaffargarh	1,05,000
Sargodha	32,500	Dera Ghazi Khan	50,000
Sialkot	90,000	Multan	1,48,000
Gujranwala	32,000	Montgomery	8,500
Sheikhupura	2,59,600	Lyallpur	1,67,500
Jhang	59,000	Lahore	8,000

SECTION – II

After the resignation of Khizar Hyat Khan, riots broke up in United Punjab’s two main cities – Lahore and Amritsar. Amritsar was the main affected city from March onwards. It faced huge communal massacres in its inner area. This was the second most populous and commercially developed city after Lahore of the colonial Punjab. From March to August 1947, it experienced endemic communal conflict.⁹³ The Muslim League’s six week agitation from January 24, 1947⁹⁴ ostensibly in the name of civil liberties, but in reality designed

⁹⁰ Supplementary questions on starred question “arrangements for evacuation of non-Muslims left in Bahawalpur State”, on January 28, 1948, Government of India, *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. I, 1948.

⁹¹ *The Tribune*, October 4, 1947.

⁹² *The Hindustan Times*, October 11, 1947.

⁹³ *The Tribune*, March 5, 1947.

⁹⁴ Ian Talbot, “Violence, Migration and Resettlement: The Case of Amritsar”, in Ian Talbot and Shinder Thandi (eds.), *People on the Move: Punjabi Colonial and Post-Colonial Migration*, Oxford, 2004, p.81.

to unseat the Unionist coalition government⁹⁵ heightened communal tension in Amritsar. This had already been raised by the election campaign which the Muslim League had presented as a referendum on Pakistan. The death of a Sikh constable in the city on February 24, led the Akali leader Master Tara Singh to claim that the Muslim League was fighting a communal, rather than a political campaign.⁹⁶

Rioting begun in Amritsar on March 5, and rapidly became more serious than Lahore.⁹⁷ By the evening of March 6, the city was completely out of control.⁹⁸ The SGPC report blames the Muslims. It was in Chowk Moni in Hall Bazaar that the first Sikh, Bhai Mangal Singh got killed. The report maintains that Muslims from the neighbouring areas congregated at the Khair-ud-Din Mosque and at the nearby MAO College before setting fire to Hindus and Sikh shops in the Hall Bazaar and the adjoining Katra Jaimal Singh. Students and the Muslim National Guards⁹⁹ organisation which boasted some 8,000 numbers played a leading role in orchestrating the violence. Weapons were stockpiled in Muslim schools and colleges, notably at MAO College and at the textile mills of such notables as Shiekh Sadiq Hasan, the President of the Amritsar District Muslim League.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *The Tribune*, March 6, 1947.

⁹⁸ Ian Talbot, *Violence, Migration and Resettlement: The Case of Amritsar*, *op. cit.*, p.82.

⁹⁹ The Muslim National Guards recruitment proceeded with very increased speed during all the months after the Direct Action Resolution of the Muslim League was passed. So great and ubiquitous was the organisation of the League Private Army, the Muslim National Guards, that every Muslim Mohalla, every small town, sometimes very considerable village, had its own National Guard contingent and its commander called *Salar*. The guards collected arms and petrol almost everywhere. They received secret instructions from headquarters and had a quasi-military, fascist kind of organisation, with the rule of implicit obedience to the orders of the leader. G.S. Talib, *Muslim League Attacks on Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.57.

¹⁰⁰ *The Tribune*, March 6, 1947.

In his report dated March 7, to Wavell, Jenkins (Governor) gave horrendous accounts of communal conflagration in Amritsar,

By the evening of March 6, the city was completely out of control. There was some difficulty in securing reinforcements. We also so tied up now that neither the area commander nor I wish to commit reserves until we are quite sure about the need for committing them. The death toll does not seem to be very high. Most of the population seem to have produced arms, including fire-arms, and many buildings are burning. Masses of people, including many women and children, running away from the city added to the confusion with the looting.¹⁰¹

Peace was restored only after British, Gurkha and Indian troops were deployed in the region.¹⁰² On April 11, reported a clash between Muslims and Sikhs outside the ruins of the Chowk Pragdas mosque in Amritsar in which nineteen persons were killed and more than sixty injured. The aim of the communal war of succession in both Lahore and Amritsar was to make it impossible for a rival community to continue living in a territory claimed for the majority.¹⁰³

On March 6, nine cases of stabbing were also reported from Ludhiana. After this extensive police patrolling took place during the night with a curfew from 6 p.m. to 7 a.m. Companies of troops were sent to Ludhiana, to control the situation.¹⁰⁴ The curfew extended for one week. The superintendent of police visited a number of villages to re-assure the population.

Jullundur was also highly affected by communal riots.¹⁰⁵ On March 6, a large Muslim mob gathered, shouting slogans and molesting individual Hindus and Sikhs, though as yet no widespread attacks had begun. Babu Labh Singh (former President of Akali Dal) appeared among Muslims requesting them with folded hands to keep

¹⁰¹ *TOP*, Vol. IX, p.879.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, April 9, 1947.

¹⁰³ Ian Talbot, *Violence, Migration and Resettlement: A Case of Amritsar*, *op. cit.*, p.84.

¹⁰⁴ *The Tribune*, March 6, 1947.

¹⁰⁵ In 1943, one of the biggest Muslim Conference, presided over by Mr. Jinnah was held in Jullundur. Sharifudin Pirzada (ed.), *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, Metropolitan Book Company, New Delhi, 1981, p.88.

away from fighting and try to save Punjab from destruction. This appeal fell flat on Muslims, who continued their shouting and attacks, and stabbed Babu Labh Singh to death.¹⁰⁶ His murder sent a wave of horror among the Hindus and Sikhs of Jullundur and the situation became tense. Incidents of loot and murder took place. The Governor of Punjab accompanied with Inspector General, visited the Northern areas of Jullundur, withstand by order to military to meet any emergency.¹⁰⁷

He underlined that in the past, communal trouble had seldom occurred in two important places at the same time Lahore and Amritsar. He also brought out two special factors in these riots. The first was that the Sikhs were likely to retaliate for the losses they had suffered when they were taken unaware. The second was the Congress Working Committee's resolution demanding the partition of the Punjab which was likely to be treated as an affront by the Muslims.¹⁰⁸

In the northern Mewat, the trouble started about March 26, when some Meos stole a buffalo from Nurpur, a Hindu Ahir Village. When they recovered buffalo, they were attacked by the Meos, on their way back. On March 29, Hindus assembled in large number near Hasanpur. An attempt to hold a *Panchayat* on March 30, failed and burnt the Gujar village of Koha Khandelwala. Next day the Hindus retaliated by burning four Meo villages – Sakatpur, Ghairatpur, Dehri and Gangani. On the April 1st, the Meos responded by burning Badgujar, Bisal, Akabarpur, Kharki and Baghanki. Up to the point all villagers had been evacuated before being burnt.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Darbara Singh, *Punjab Tragedy*, Amritsar, 1949, p.84.

¹⁰⁷ Gurcharan Singh Talib, *Muslim League Attacks on Hindus and Sikhs of Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.48.

¹⁰⁸ *TOP*, Vol. IX, pp.901-906.

¹⁰⁹ Francis Tucker, *While Memory Serves*, Cassell and Company, London, 1950, pp.164-165; See also, Madhav Godbole, *The Holocaust of Indian Partition*, *op. cit.*, p.79.

By the end of April, over 50,000 refugees had reached Haridwar and every major railway station in East Punjab bore the look of a refugee township. Shortage of food and clothing and lack of sanitation were acute. Before the national boundaries were drawn, Hindus and Sikhs had starting leaving the areas that had witnessed the worst violence.¹¹⁰

It was about this time (May, 1947), that the Hindus and Sikhs in Amritsar and Lahore began to hit back.¹¹¹ Sikhs made no attempt to conceal their warlike preparations. Master Tara Singh was exhorting his followers to go out and smite the Amalekites. In one of the speeches in the Golden Temple at Amritsar, he declared, '*remember Rawalpindi: revenge our people: spare no one who stands in the way of Sikh rights in our land*'. Inflammatory leaflets were being distributed and instructions sent to various Sikh communities to prepare themselves for action. Trains were to be attacked, the headworks of the canals dynamited, refugees ambushed and Muslims were to be driven from their homes. Michael Edwards was in the Punjab at that time and when he was passing through a village a few miles from Amritsar, he was actually invited to watch an assemblage of about three hundred Sikhs drilling with rifles and tommy guns.¹¹² In April and May, 1947, Michael Edwards, saw the actual spots of trouble of Northern India but also some of these places which were as yet untouched by the spectre of communal violence. He saw armouries of weapons some stolen, some bought, some manufactured in secret workshops. In one place, he even saw light artillery, mortars and a small tank. Some of the Princes were engaged in increasing the strength of the state forces and not only for the purpose of defending themselves.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Reporting to the Partition of Punjab 1947: Press, Public and Other Opinions*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2006, p.151.

¹¹¹ G.D. Khosla, *Stern Reckoning*, *op. cit.*, p.116.

¹¹² Michael Edwards, *The Last Years of British India*, Cassell, London, 1963, p.157.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p.213.

The Commissioner, Ambala Division, reported on June 10, that, strength of the troops... (was) inadequate to deal with armed bands roaming about the district.¹¹⁴

On July 10, armed gang attacked villagers in Ferozpure. Seven persons were killed and 4 seriously injured in village of Tarewala as a result of attack of 19 persons armed with guns, pistol and spears.¹¹⁵ Garhshankar in Hoshiarpur saw a major communal clash on July 19, leading to 20 deaths. It started when a women of one community was abducted, leading to retaliation from the other side.¹¹⁶

By the beginning of August, there were 80,000 refugees in Delhi itself. In the UP, no less than thirty three out of the forty-nine districts had reported influx of refugees numbering over 100,000. Thousands of others had found temporary homes in the towns and villages in East Punjab.¹¹⁷

In his letter dated August 15, 1947 to Jinnah, Mudie (Governor of West Punjab) wrote,

*“A serious incident is reported from the Gurdaspur-Sialkot border, where Muslims attacked a train and are said to have killed 100 Hindus and Sikhs...”*¹¹⁸

At the joint defence council meeting Nehru raised his concern as to why the trains were being attacked despite being provided with a military escort. Auchinleck (Commander-in-Chief Field Martial) described the *modus operandi* of the gangs as either entering the train on a station and then attacking suddenly, *“or put one man on the train to pull the chain at the spot where the rest of the gang was*

¹¹⁴ TOP, Vol. IX, p.260.

¹¹⁵ *The Tribune*, July 11, 1947; See also, Parkash Tandon, *Punjab Century (1857-1947)*, Orient Paperbacks, New Delhi, 1961, p.244; Narinder Iqbal Singh, “Communal Violence on the Eve of the Partition of the Punjab 1947”, *Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1993, p.64; Satya M. Rai, “Partition and Women: The Case of Punjab”, in Amrik Singh (ed.), *The Partition in Retrospect*, Anamika Publishers, New Delhi, 2000, p.179.

¹¹⁶ *The Hindustan Times*, July 20, 1947.

¹¹⁷ Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight*, Tarang Paperbacks, Delhi, 1983, p.183.

¹¹⁸ Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Select Documents on Partition of Punjab, 1947: India and Pakistan*, National Book Shop, New Delhi, 1991, pp.488-489.

ready.”¹¹⁹ Auchinleck said that protection of railways was imposing a heavy strain on the troops. In the Jullundur, Hoshairpur and Gurdaspur rural areas the situation had deteriorated.¹²⁰

August 15 was strongly celebrated in the Punjab, during the afternoon a Sikh mob paraded a number of Muslim women naked through streets of Amritsar, raped them and then hacked some of them to pieces with *Kirpans* and burnt the other alive...”¹²¹

Wolpert had stated,

*In and around Amritsar, bands of armed Sikhs killed every Muslim they could find, while in and around Lahore, Muslim gangs sharpened their knives and emptied their guns at Hindus and Sikhs. Entire trainloads of refugees were gutted and turned into rolling coffins, funeral pyres on wheel, food for bloated vultures who darkened the skies over the Punjab and were sated with more flesh and blood in those final weeks of August than their ancestors had enjoyed in a century.*¹²²

According to Penderal Moon casualties in the East Punjab were heavier than the West Punjab.¹²³ Though the Radcliffe Award was ready on August 9, 1947, the government withhold it to avoid repercussions and responsibility. Sir Cyril Radcliffe left India on August 15, and the Award was published on August 17, 1947.¹²⁴ This also enhanced violence. On August 17, the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan met at Ambala to bring peace, order and security to the Punjab and made joint appeal for peace.¹²⁵

Ian Morrison, who had previously been its war correspondent in North America, Burma and elsewhere, after his tour of about three

¹¹⁹ Minutes of the Joint Defence Council Meeting, August 16, 1947, *Ibid.*, pp.489-494.

¹²⁰ Madhav Godbole, *The Holocaust of Indian Partition*, *op. cit.*, p.142.

¹²¹ John Connel, *Auchinleck: A Biography of Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck*, Cassell, London, 1959, p.906; See also, Kirpal Singh, “The Partition of Punjab 1947 and Women”, *Punjab History Conference Proceedings*, Patiala, 1993, p.233.

¹²² Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1984, p.342.

¹²³ Penderal Moon, *Divide and Quit*, *op. cit.*, p.293.

¹²⁴ Leonard Mosley, *The Last Days of the British Raj*, *op. cit.*, pp.183-184.

¹²⁵ S. Gopal (ed.), *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. IV, *op. cit.*, pp.11, 21-22.

weeks in riot affected areas in the Punjab, sent the following cable to his newspaper on August 24, 1947:

*More horrible than anything we saw during the war is the universal comment of experienced officers, British and Indian on the present slaughter in East Punjab. The Sikhs are clearing East Punjab of Muslims, butchering hundreds daily, forcing thousands to flee westwards burning Muslim villages and homesteads, even in their frenzy levels of Sikh leadership, and it is being done systematically, sector by sector. Some large towns like Amritsar are quarter, because there are no Muslim left. In a two hours air reconnaissance of the Jullundur district at the week-end I must have seen 50 villages aflame.... The Sikh Jathas, armed mobs from 50 to 100 strong, assemble usually in the Gurdwaras, their place of worship, before making a series of raids.*¹²⁶

Towards the end of August, a camp for about six thousand Muslims was set up in Hansi, district Hissar which was attacked by *Jats, Rajputs* and *Banias*. It resulted in heavy loss of Muslim life. There were several attacks on trains between Jullundur, Ludhiana and Rajpura.¹²⁷ It will be remembered that by this time Sikhs had become the special targets of Muslims attacks in the West Punjab. A Sikh was not safe anywhere and was killed at sight.¹²⁸

On August 31, Patel went to Jullundur in a bid to protect and evacuate East Punjab Muslims. In his letter to Nehru the next day, he wrote, *Both on my onward and return journeys, I saw several villages on this side of the Sutlej in flames.*

In the beginning of September, the ethnic cleansing had reached gigantic proportions. According to Mudie, the number of refugees crossing the border daily was between 100,000 and 150,000. He blamed the Sikhs particularly for this mass migration.¹²⁹

On September 25, situation in the East Punjab again worsened. From Alwar state, 45,000 Muslims started their journey to

¹²⁶ Ian Stephens, *Pakistan*, London, 1963, p.183.

¹²⁷ G.D. Khosla, *Stern Reckoning*, *op. cit.*, p.278.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ Mudie to Jinnah, September 5, 1947 in Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Select Documents on Partition of Punjab*, *op. cit.*, pp.511-512.

Lahore by train. In the way, 3000 Muslims were mercilessly killed.¹³⁰ In Gurdaspur district a village was attacked by a Muslim mob, including men in police uniform. Several looters were arrested in Hoshiarpur. A refugee camp was attacked between Doraha and Sahnewal. The escort shot dead about 150 attackers, two sub-inspectors were suspended for failing to protect Muslim refugees in Ferozepur district. A large number of illicit weapons were recovered at Karnal district.¹³¹ After the communal broke up of the provincial services the police force in East Punjab had divided from 17000 to 3000. It could not protect refugee camps like the one at Kurukshetra with 2,70,000 refugees from Pakistan.¹³²

The movement of Hindu and Sikh refugees coming on foot from Pakistan to India had been seriously affected by the floods that had breached roads and damaged bridges. Nearly 2100 Hindus and Sikhs were brought to Amritsar from Khanewal and 100 Muslim refugees left Beas on October 3.¹³³

On October 12, 1947 Lady Mountbatten concluded her two days tour in the East Punjab. She saw herself the pitiable state of sufferers coming from Pakistan. At the indo-Pakistan borders, she complained to the Pakistan authorities of searches carried on and properly snatched by them. She learnt that Muslims from across Pakistan side made 27 raids and 16 minor attacks on Indian villages with the help of Pakistan police, army and national guards.¹³⁴ On

¹³⁰ Zia-ul-Islam, *Eastern Bloodbath*, *op. cit.*, p.22; See also, *The Tribune*, December 27, 1992.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, September 26, 1947.

¹³² Durga Das, *India from Curzon to Nehru and After*, *op. cit.*, p.265.

¹³³ There were also reports that 100 Muslims from Sewami, i.e., 8 miles South-West of Hissar attacked a village and killed 15 Hindus and Sikhs. On October 3, 1947, according to the government's report following number of refugees were awaiting for evacuation.

Muslims

Delhi	1,60,000	Hoshiarpur	2,88,000
Patiala	20,000	Simla	3,000
Jullundur	3,89,300	Ludhiana	1,04,000
Amritsar	42,300	Faridabad	18,000
Ambala	10,000		

¹³⁴ Ganda Singh, *A Diary of Partition Days*, *op. cit.*, pp.470-71.

October 13, about 500 Sikh and Hindu refugee were killed out of the convoy of 2400 refugees bound for the East Punjab.¹³⁵

On 1st week of October, an attack was made on a Muslim foot convoy in Ferozepur. Casualties were 500 and 1000.¹³⁶ The Government of Punjab by its telegram dated October 23, 1947, conveyed their anxiety to Government of India at the increasing number of reports of Muslim passengers being thrown out of trains on Bina-Katni and Jhansi-Itarsi railway lines.¹³⁷ According to Hodson, in four days (22-23 September), 2700 Muslims and 600 non-Muslims were killed or injured in railway trains alone.¹³⁸

In his reply to the debate in CAIL, N. Gopaldaswamy Ayyangar, minister without Portfolio, said that on the October 20, 1947, about 28 lakh Muslims were in India awaiting evacuation and about 11 lakh non-Muslims had to be brought over to India from West Punjab and the NWFP. In the first ten days period from October 21-31st, 6 lakh Muslims entered India. From November 1-10, 6.5 lakh Muslims entered Pakistan and 1.3 lakh non-Muslims entered India. Such massive movement continued and by about November 25, the balance that remained to be moved was about 4 lakh Muslims from India and about three lakh non-Muslims from Pakistan.¹³⁹

This insubordination was greatly fuelled by a complete breakdown in the communications network. So bad was it that in many cases orders from state headquarters could not be conveyed even by Deputy Commissioners.¹⁴⁰ Ch. Lehri Singh, Food Minister of East Punjab said that, "*Smooth working was impossible because of the practical non-existence of communications, particularly the telephone network*". It was only around the first week of November

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ G.D. Khosla, *Stern Reckoning, op. cit.*, p.286.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ H.V. Hodson, *The Great Divide: Britain-India-Pakistan*, Hutchinson, London, 1969, p.412.

¹³⁹ Madhav Godbole, *The Holocaust of Indian Partition, op. cit.*, p.189.

¹⁴⁰ *The Tribune*, October 16, 1947.

that telephone calls from Simla could be put through to Amritsar.¹⁴¹ A transmitter of the All India radio became operational in Jullundur from November 1.¹⁴² Interestingly on many occasions the government of East Punjab began conveying orders to its field officers through the radio, with officers being instructed to keep their sets tuned for messages between regular radio programmes. Governor Trivedi even believed that one fallout of the poor communications was that peace appeals made by senior leaders did not reach the grass-roots workers in time.¹⁴³

Reports of looting by the police and other officers were routine. Jogendar Singh, sub-inspector of police, Beas Police Station was arrested by SP, Amritsar, Ch. Ram Singh, for possessing vast amounts of looted goods.¹⁴⁴ While participating in a debate in the East Punjab Legislative Assembly, Sardar Sajjan Singh remarked that, *there was hardly a policeman in entire Amritsar district, except one head constable who had not been a party to loot. It was only after the present SP Ch. Ram Singh (came) that things had changed.*¹⁴⁵

Among the Amritsar police, there was another problem which, in fact led Governor Trivedi to initiate a special drive to overhaul it.¹⁴⁶ The problem was that over 70% of the Amritsar force had been Muslim, who to the last man had left East Punjab. These vacancies were filled by people who came from the Western Punjab districts, many of whom as chance would have it had suffered personal tragedies. As a result they were filled with hatred and a desire for revenge and therefore rarely lost an opportunity to loot Muslim property or even facilitate attacks on Muslims.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, November 7 and 17, 1947.

¹⁴² *The Civil and Military Gazette*, November 4, 1947.

¹⁴³ Trivedi to East Punjab Home Minister Swaran Singh, September 4, 1947, *Mountbatten Papers*, File No. 129.

¹⁴⁴ *The Tribune*, October 5-6, 1947.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, November 5, 1947.

¹⁴⁶ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, October 12, 1947.

It was only towards the end of November 1947 that Swaran Singh, Home Minister of East Punjab, could declare in a press conference that there was complete peace in East Punjab.¹⁴⁷ *Any man can go about anywhere in East Punjab without any escort or fear. We have fully recovered from the shock of partition and our administration is now well tuned.* He said (of the thirty-two lakh non-Muslims in West Punjab and NWFP) only 2,58,000 Hindus and Sikh evacuees were left in West Punjab. Some of them desired evacuation and some did not.¹⁴⁸ He emphasised that no one will be forced to evacuate in spite of the formal decision for total exchange of population between the two Punjab. The Governor of East Punjab assured that evacuation would be over by the end of November 1947. A broadcasting station started functioning in Jullundur on November 1, 1947, followed by a relay station in Amritsar thereafter. All schools and colleges in East Punjab reopened on November 17, 1947.¹⁴⁹

SECTION – III

Princely states also faced the disaster of partition violence. *The Dawn* in an article addressed to the Viceroy, reported that the state of Faridkot had distributed over 1,000 firearms to the Sikhs in the state and that every Sikh household had been adequately fortified. The report said that the ruler had done this in the belief that the exist of the British would be followed by chaos in the region, during

¹⁴⁷ But crime continued to rose till the year 1949, but there was an appreciable decrease in the year 1950. In 1948, total murders were, 877, in 1949 – 706 and in 1950 – 607. Figures collected from *The Police Administration Reports* from 1947-50.

¹⁴⁸ Stories of how rich families buried their valuable in the ground in the hope of recovering them later were widespread in the months that followed partition. Many such treasures were recovered in later years by families who came to possess evacuated properties. This happened on both sides. One such report said that Naib Tehsildar Jaswant Singh who had gone to village Ajnala conducted a survey of land noticed that a pit near a big Muslim Haveli had been freshly filled with soil. When the pit was dug up, it yielded a rich haul of gold and silver. *The Tribune*, December 13, 1947.

¹⁴⁹ *The Hindustan Times*, November 25, 1947.

the course of which the lands of weaker neighbours could be grabbed as had happened in the 19th century.¹⁵⁰

In Patiala state, Muslim population of the state was 1/3, which had been virtually rather wiped out or had been expelled out.¹⁵¹

In the city, on August 15, 500 rioters including police and troops in uniform attacked Mohalla Kucha Rangrazan and killed 1000 Muslims. Muslims took refuge in Bahadurgarh Fort numbering 23,000. Nearly 14,000 Muslims had been butchered in Patiala state. The number of refugees in other was as such: Dera Bassi camp - 15,000, Sirhind - 60,000, Samana - 10,000, Talwandi - 10,000 and Nauli - 40,000. Out of total Muslim population of 4,36,539 nearly 1,88,000 Muslims shifted to the refugee camps. A large number of Muslim girls were forcibly married.¹⁵² On August 22, City Muslim League President of Ludhiana reported that at Doraha Railway Station, UP-Bombay Express had detained on August 21, by Sikhs. About one thousand Muslims were attacked and butchered with swords and Bhalas.¹⁵³ But when enquires were made by the state these allegations proved false and baseless, and made to calculate to execute communal bitterness.¹⁵⁴ Again City Muslim League President of Bhatinda reported that in Tappa Mandi, a general massacre of Muslims had taken place and in Patiala five Muslims had murdered at Railway Station on 25 August.¹⁵⁵ In reaction the State Government imposed a 24-hour curfew.¹⁵⁶

Yadwinder Singh was worried about these incidents. He wrote to Patel,

¹⁵⁰ TOP, Vol. X, p.184.

¹⁵¹ G.D. Khosla, Stern Reckoning, *op. cit.*, p.289.

¹⁵² Zia-ul-Islam, Eastern Bloodbath, *op. cit.*, pp.11-22; See also, *Ibid.*, p.288.

¹⁵³ Copy of Letter dated 22-8-47, from Vice President City Muslim League to His Highness Maharaja Patiala. *Ijlas-i-Khas*, File No. 2014, Basta No. 169.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ All India States Muslim League to Patel, dated 26.8.47. *Ijlas-i-Khas*, File No. 2010, Basta No. 170.

¹⁵⁶ Office Copy of the Sub-divisional Magistrate Bhatinda, *Ibid.*

*“As regards minorities I have assured them many times that their interests will be safeguarded and they shall be protected but what are we to do with certain people or groups who always want to create mischief and want nothing settled”.*¹⁵⁷

On August 29, Ghazanfar Ali expressed anxiety to Patel,

*“Over the reported murder of Muslims and loot and arson in Patiala between Rajpura and Ludhiana and Rajpura and Bhatinda requested Maharaja to take necessary steps to end the upheaval”.*¹⁵⁸

But in response Maharaja Patiala stated that allegations of extensive loot, arson and murder in Patiala state territory grossly exaggerated. Maharaja added that every effort being made to protect life and property of Muslims but our endeavours greatly handicapped by gruesome stories of Muslim atrocities on minorities in West Punjab brought by refugees and coming otherwise.¹⁵⁹ To protect the Muslims, State deployed army to travel with the trains running between Ambala and Bhatinda. In September, the Patiala State Government issued a press communiqué:

It said that communal disturbances broke out in certain parts of Patiala state and city proper, where the situation took a turn for the worse. On September 3, Sikhs decorated a special train with Pakistan flags and picked up thousands of Muslims under pretension for the Pakistan. Armed military Sikhs attacked train at Fatehgarh station and killed many. A few survivors escaped through the dead bodies, and reached Karachi.¹⁶⁰ Though the authorities took all precautions and imposed curfew and military patrolling to prevent communal clashes yet certain elements got out of control. The military had to open fire on several armed groups. As a result of

¹⁵⁷ Correspondence with the Government of India regarding communal situation in the states. *Ibid.*, File No. 2029, Basta No. 171.

¹⁵⁸ Letter from Patel to Yadwinder Singh, dated 26.8.47. *Ibid.*, File No. 2007, Basta No. 170.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Copy of Letter No. 2172, Camp-47-oct, 1947 from Chief Secretary to East Punjab Jullundur to Maharaja Patiala. *Ibid.*

widespread rioting and military action several hundred persons were killed and wounded. Patiala state forces also sustained casualties. It was decided that small pockets of one community should be segregated to places predominantly inhabited by their own community. This was executed by the military authorities, with the result that no further loss of life and property was reported.¹⁶¹ In the 2nd week of September, Maharaja Patiala issued ordinance in Punjab States Banning Assembly of more than five armed persons and giving authority to escorts both army and police whether of Indian or East Punjab States to shoot those who contravene this regulation.¹⁶²

Of the total of 24,000 Muslims, nearly 18,000 were evacuated to Bahadurgarh fort, where a refugee camp was opened under military guard. Arrangements for free board and lodging were provided by the state. More than 2000 persons left Patiala on their own. A few reported missing.¹⁶³ A Pakistan special was attacked by a Sikh armed band near Sirhind on September 21.¹⁶⁴

On October 10, a refugee train carrying mostly Muslim Kashmiri coolies was attacked near Koti Railway Station, 5 miles from Kalka, 5 Muslim men were killed and 25 were missing.¹⁶⁵ In retaliation Muslim from Malerkotla attacked village Darogwala, near Dhuri on the night of October 5, murdered 3 persons and injured

¹⁶¹ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, September 17, 1947.

¹⁶² Maharaja Patiala issued following orders to prevent the state from disturbance:

- (1) An assembly of more than five persons in any public place, through fare or public building is prohibited for any purpose except for religious worship or a marriage or funeral procession.
- (2) Carrying of all unlicensed arms in public except sheathed kirpans by Sikhs is prohibited.
- (3) Any one refusing to surrender such arms may be shot.
- (4) All public servants and army personnel acting bonafide for enforcing the provisions of this ordinance are indemnified from all criminal and civil liability for their such acts.

Patiala State Public Safety (2nd Amendment) Ordinance, *Ijlas-i-Khas*, Vide order no. 1112/X/446AR of 13.9.47.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Secretary Governor East Punjab to Maharaja of Patiala, in Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Select Documents on Partition of Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.523.

¹⁶⁵ Private Secretary to State Hind, New Delhi. *Ijlas-i-Khas*, File No. 2008, Basta No. 170.

one with fire arms.¹⁶⁶ Near about 15,000 Muslims collected in villages Shergarh, Galauli, and Thana Arno. 50 armed Muslims attacked Bareta village. Muslims of Daska attacked villages in small parties resulting looting murder.¹⁶⁷ Mohammedans also burnt and ruined the village Lehra Mohabbat.¹⁶⁸

By his letter dated September 23, 1947 to Maharaja of Patiala, Secretary to Governor East Punjab, urged,

*It is obviously most essential in the interests of Sikhs and Hindus awaiting evacuation from West Punjab, if on no other ground, the attacks like these must not only cease forthwith but that any other unlawful activities of armed bands operating in and from Patiala state should be swiftly suppressed.... Situation is serious and unlawful incidents this side only lead to reprisals in West Punjab.*¹⁶⁹

An observer who watched the progress of column of Muslim refugees from Kapurthala state, said,

*I saw a long column of Muslim men, women and children proceeding from Kapurthala to Jullundur. The column was guarded by a few military sepoy. The women and children walking in the centre, flanked on either side of the road. Every now and again one of these groups would make sudden sally at the column of Muslims, drag out two or three Muslim women and run away with them. In this process, they would kill or injure the person who tried to resist them. The military sepoy did not make serious attempt to resist. By the time column arrived at Jullundur almost all the women and young girls had been kidnapped in this manner.*¹⁷⁰

A Madras based weekly observed that:

*A five mile caravan of Muslim refugee crawling at a snail's pace into Pakistan over the Sutlej bridge. Bullock carts piled high with pitiful chattels, cattle being driven alongside. Women with babies in their arms and wretched little tin trunks into the promised land not because it is the promised land, but because bands of Hindus and Sikhs in state in Ferozepur district had hacked hundreds of Muslims to death and made life impossible for the rest.*¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁶ Copy of Telegram, 13.10.1947 from Master Mangathai Ramdhorai, Headman Kaithal to Maharaja Patiala, No. 2535, dated 16.10.47. *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Copy of Telegram 19.9.47 from Panchayat Village Phaler, Lehragaga to Maharaja Patiala, *Ijlas-i-Khas*, File No. 2009, Basta No. 170.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.533.

¹⁷⁰ G.D. Khosla, *Stern Reckoning*, *op. cit.*, p.289.

¹⁷¹ *The Swatantra Weekly*, October 4, 1947.

The worst sufferers of partition were women. The attacks on the women were made on two levels: firstly, women as an embodiment of the community honour and secondly, their bodies as the site of community reproduction.¹⁷² The modus operandi included gang rapes, stripping, parading naked women through the town, branding the breasts and genitalia with slogans like *Pakistan Zindabad* or *Hindustan Zindabad*, amputating the breasts, knifing open the womb and killing the foetuses. The rape especially was used as a weapon not just to humiliate the 'other', but also to sow one's own seed in the enemy womb. Thus each community acknowledged the role of women as the bearers of future generation. Those women who were impregnated with the 'bad seed' were at times forced to undergo abortion to maintain the purity of the community. It has, however, been pointed out that women were not only victims but also sometimes provided "moral support or backing for at least a proportion of the violence that occurred."¹⁷³

This was not limited only to women alone but also brought men in its orbit. The men were either castrated or forcibly circumcised in many cases. Likewise the attack on children was based on a similar premise and the perpetrators showed no mercy to a generation which could become belligerent in future. Many women were abducted, they were mercilessly treated with inhuman activities i.e. either raped or forcibly married.

On the night of August 25, 1947, a scene so dreadful, which illuminated the outskirts of Gurgaon itself, and consuming their

¹⁷² S. Gopal (ed.), *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. 4, *op. cit.*, p.660; See also, G.D. Khosla, *Stern Reckoning*, *op. cit.*, p.343.

¹⁷³ Sometimes retaliation was a motive: for instance, in Sialkot district, women were abducted by refugee men whose own women had been taken by Sikhs in East Punjab, while Sikh leaders asserted that Sikh atrocities upon Muslim women and children were revenge attacks. Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Select Documents on Partition of Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.231; See also, "Joint Statement by Master Tara Singh and Oodham Singh", n.d., *Mountbatten Papers*, File No. 131B, NMML; Urvashi Butalia, "Community, State and Gender, on Women's Agency during Partition", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 17, April 1949, p.14; Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India's Partition*, Kali for Women, New Delhi, 1998, p.36.

inmates men, women and children. Two dainty teenaged girls, daughter of a well known Muslim lawyer of Hissar were on their way to Delhi by train, expected to be included in refugee convoy going to Pakistan. The lustful gang attacked the train and dragged the girls out. The two were then taken to P.W.D. rest house where they were repeatedly raped by Magistrate and his accomplice.¹⁷⁴

On September 10, 1947, Muslims carried out mass conversion of Hindus and Sikhs, forcible marriages and organised loot in Jhelum district and in the surrounding villages of Pind Dadan Khan tehsil. The Muslim *Pir* called 'Shahzada' was responsible for the marriages of a number of Brahmin girls to Muslims. The converted Hindus and Sikhs were made to eat one meal at his house.¹⁷⁵ On October 3, Muslim soldiers accompanying Muslim convoy at Amritsar kidnapped five Hindu women.¹⁷⁶ On October 1, 1947, a refugee convoy that started from Risalpur in military trucks was suddenly attacked near Khairabad, 240 women were said to have abducted.¹⁷⁷

In one village of Rawalpindi, some ninety women committed suicide by throwing themselves into a well, while at another place thirty-two women were put to the sword by their own men when their capture by Muslim attackers was seen to be imminent.¹⁷⁸ In East Punjab 'large scale' abduction of Muslim women was blamed on the Sikh *Jathas* and on refugees from the West. But here, too, the local police and military frequently participated in the abduction and distribution of women.¹⁷⁹ Anis Kidwai, later recalled what generally became of these women:

¹⁷⁴ Anis Kidwai, *Azadi ki Chhaon Mein (Hindi)*, New Delhi, 1990, pp.139, 309-10; See also, *S.P. Mookerjee Papers*, 2nd Instalment, No. 95, p.1, NMML; *The Tribune*, December 27, 1992.

¹⁷⁵ Ganda Singh, *A Diary of Partition Days*, *op. cit.*, p.463.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.465.

¹⁷⁷ *The Tribune*, October 3, 1947.

¹⁷⁸ *S.P. Mookerjee Papers*, *op. cit.*; See also, *Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha Papers*, M-17, 1947, NMML.

¹⁷⁹ *Mountbatten Papers*, File No. 129, NMML.

*The 'better stuff' would be distributed among the police and army while the 'small coin' would be given to the rest (of the attackers). After this the girls would go from one hand to another, and after being sold four or five times would become showpieces in hotels, or they would be kept in safe-custody in the house for the enjoyment of police officials.*¹⁸⁰

A mob of 10,000 to 12,000 persons armed with deadly weapons attacked the train at Kamoke on October 1. About 400 girls were abducted from the train.¹⁸¹ Another Muslim mob appeared at Harppur and abducted 60 girls, mob consisted of Khewara labourers.¹⁸² A non-Muslim convoy from Bahawalpur heading towards Jodhpur on October 4, was attacked near Rahimyar Khan, 700 women and girls were abducted.¹⁸³ Zia-ul-Islam states that in the Eastern Punjab nearly 55,000 Muslim women were abducted. K.L. Gauba has given the approximate figures of women abducted and raped and also of the children.¹⁸⁴

Abducted	West Punjab	-	100,000 (approximately)
	East Punjab	-	50,000 (approximately)
Raped	West Punjab	-	50,000 (approximately)
	East Punjab	-	
Children	Murdered or maimed for life	-	1,00,000 approximately

Murders, abductions and conversions became common scene. No community lagged behind. Ethics and morals took the back seat and criminalization of human instinct assumed prominence. Figures can only give flash but these figures represented living human beings.

¹⁸⁰ Anis Kidwai, *Azadi ki Chhaon Mein*, *op. cit.*, pp.141-142; See also, *Police Section Reports*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, File No. 8/22/48-police, NAI.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*; See also, *After Partition*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Publication Division, Government of India, Delhi, 1948, pp.45-46.

¹⁸² Ganda Singh, *A Diary of Partition Days*, *op. cit.*, p.460.

¹⁸³ G.D. Khosla, *Stern Reckoning*, *op. cit.*, p.288; See also, Zia-ul-Islam, *Eastern Bloodbath*, *op. cit.*, p.22.

¹⁸⁴ K.L. Gauba, *Inside Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p.257.

According to Mosley, in the nine months between August 1947 and the spring of the following year, over 600,000 Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were killed.¹⁸⁵

Ian Stephens believes that 500,000 persons died in the 1947 holocaust. This death toll is comparable with the official tally of commonwealth deaths (in World War II), civilian as well as military, between September 1939 and August 1945 of about 5,40,000.¹⁸⁶

According to Penderal Moon, the total casualties from August onwards in the West Punjab and Bahawalpur was 60,000,¹⁸⁷ the total casualties in the East Punjab had been heavier than the West Punjab. Sumit Sarkar quoting Penderal Moon gives the approximate figures 1,80,000 of which 60,000 in the West and 1,20,000 in the East. By March 1948, 60,00,000 Muslims and 45,00,000 Hindus became refugees. On the whole Muslim suffered most lives, Hindus and Sikhs lost most property.¹⁸⁸

So the partition created complex problems for the people. The people were butchered mercilessly on a massive scale. The women were soft targets physically and psychologically. Sexually assaulted women were acceptable to none

IV

The displacement of over twelve million people at the time of partition remains the largest migration in contemporary history. There are countries where a mass of humanity has been deported for forced labour or even exterminated. At times war has been resulted in exchange of population as a repatriation movement. Invariably a forced migration¹⁸⁹ of population results in loss of citizenship to the

¹⁸⁵ Leonard Mosley, *The Last Days of British Raj*, *op. cit.*, p.244.

¹⁸⁶ Ian Stephens, *Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p.107.

¹⁸⁷ Penderal Moon, *Divide and Quit*, *op. cit.*, p.293.

¹⁸⁸ Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India (1885-1947)*, Macmillan India Limited, New Delhi, 1985, p.434.

¹⁸⁹ Forced Migration is the migration caused by compulsion or coercion like separation, political or religious persecution, eviction etc. Francis Cherunilam, *Migration – Causes, Correlates, Consequences; Trends and Policies*, Himalaya Publishing House, New Delhi, 1987, p.5.

refugees. But when men and women from Pakistan sought refuge, they met neither with hostility nor coolness or reserve. They were hailed as co-religionists, "*Compatriots re-entering the fold.*" They were integrated at once in the country of their refuge. Their integration was almost instantaneous and complete. Hence, to call such persons, "*refugees*" is inaccurate to a certain extent.

There is no single definition of "refugee" that is suitable for all purposes. The refugee is an involuntary migrant, a victim of politics, war or natural catastrophe. Every refugee is naturally a migrant, but not every migrant is a refugee. A migrant is one leaves his residence (usually for economic reason) in order to settle elsewhere, either in his own or in another country. A refugee movement results when the tensions leading to migration all so acute that what at first seemed do be a voluntary movement becomes virtually compulsory. The up rooted become either internal refugees that is "*national refugees*" (persons who have been displaced in their own country) or "*International refugees*" (persons outside their country of origin).¹⁹⁰

"*Refugees*" or "*displaced persons*" are individuals who have involuntarily left their homes or communities and have been compelled by forces over which they have little or no control- war, invasion, persecution or natural disaster to change their place of residence, often from country to country.

The strain of prolonged displacement from their homes and communities, often combined with prolonged residence in temporary camps, serves to intensify the adjustment problems of refugees. The detachment and "*normlessness*" as well as the physical deprivation which accompanies this status, often result in what has been called "*DP Apathy*", namely an initial attitude of passivity and lack of initiative. This is also the result of dependency patterns that tend to

¹⁹⁰ David L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 13, Macmillan and free press, America, 1968, p.362.

develop in situations, such as in refugee camps, where all basic needs are met by the authorities.¹⁹¹

A refugee therefore, may be defined as a person who would not like to migrate from his homeland but for reason beyond his control, political, religious or economic that might have rendered his life unbearable and unlivable. Thus, for all intents and purposes, the migrants from the West Punjab are refugees. Under the U.P. Refugee Registration and movement act, 1947, a refugee is defined as a person who has migrated into the state in consequence of communal disturbance from the area which now constitutes Pakistan.¹⁹²

The legal documents used terms like “*displaced persons*” or “*evacuees*”, while the official writings used the term “*refugees*” to describe the plight of migrants.¹⁹³

The term ‘refugee’ technically pertains to those who seek shelter outside their own national borders, which in the case of partition migrants did not happen till August 15, 1947. The large scale migration after this date was, however, across the international borders between India and Pakistan, which in the process created refugees in international legal terminology. Thus, it will be safe to deduce that a category of refugees existed within the overall category of partition migrants of whom not all can be classified as refugees for the above mentioned reasons. While mass migration was largely induced under threat and coercion, individuals and families used different strategies of exit, of which not all were undertaken in chaotic circumstances. Many people had begun migrating long before partition took place, while others had evacuated and secured their belongings without state sponsorship. The important difference lies in the relationship the migrants had with the state, since

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² Ravinder Kaur, *Since 1947: Partition Narratives among Punjabi Migrants of Delhi*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, p.18.

¹⁹³ *Administration of Evacuee property Act 1950 and Displaced Persons Act 1954*, where the term ‘evacuees’ and ‘displaced persons’ are used; See also, U. Bhaskar Rao, *The Story of Rehabilitation*, Department of Rehabilitation, Government of India, New Delhi, 1967, p.8.

statelessness is a prime factor in the legal and conceptual understanding of refugees.¹⁹⁴

Word “*Muhajir*” is used in Urdu for refugee.¹⁹⁵ The Muslim migrants from India with their labels as *Muhajir* come to Pakistan feeling that they had sacrificed their homes and livelihood to facilitate the making of a Muslim state. Their migratory status later become the rallying point for creating a separate *Muhajir* political identity and demands for provincial autonomy.¹⁹⁶ M.A. Ispahani lamented that, “*There appears a trend to treat Mohajirs as something like second class citizens*”.¹⁹⁷

The word refugee, hurt the self-respect of those who were the worst sufferers of partition and many of them objected to this nomenclature. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya made this point forcefully both as the President of AICC and also as a member of the Constituent Assembly of India (CAIL). Speaking in the CAIL on 29 November 1947, he urged,

*“I take objection to the word ‘refugee’. It is an abominable word. The people that come to us in India in a helpless state from West Punjab are not refugees. They are natives of this country, born of the soil, brought up in the midst of surroundings in which we grew. They have title and a right to live in these portions of the country. It is not as if they are strangers, coming to seek refuge and shelter at your hands.... I would call them Pravasis or evacuees. A pravasi is one who had been exiled, they had been either voluntarily or unvoluntarily exiled.”*¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ Ravinder Kaur, *Since Partition; Partition Narratives among Punjabi Migrants of Delhi*, *op. cit.*, p.9.

¹⁹⁵ It derived from Islamic tradition, when Mohammed fled from Mecca to Medina to escape religious persecution in 622 A.D. The idea of undertaking journey to realize true Islamic society, is therefore, inherent in the Muslim belief and expression *Muhajir* includes suggestions of persecution, escape and periods of temporary shelter before the ideal society is achieved. David L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, *op. cit.*, p.362.

¹⁹⁶ Rafiq Zakaria, *The Man Who Divided India: An Insight into Jinnah’s Leadership and Its Aftermath*, Popular Parkashan, Mumbai, 2001, pp.206-207.

¹⁹⁷ M.A.H. Ispahani, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah as I Knew Him*, Royal Book Co., Karachi, 1976, p.118.

¹⁹⁸ *Government of India, CAIL Debates*, Vol. I-III, 1947, pp.867,874,905.

Sitaramayya made the same plea in his presidential address at the session of Indian National Congress at Jaipur on 18 December 1948, when he said,

*“May we not preferably call them evacuees, and in our own national language Pravasis or better Nirvasis rather than Saranarthis.... They have not come here to seek shelter or to beg protection. It is the nation’s approval of partition that has compelled this mass migration.”*¹⁹⁹

Khurshed Lal, member of CAIL, too emphasised this point during the debate and stated,

*“The word ‘refugee’ implies as if they were some foreigners, some aliens who have come to our land to take shelter, and they resent this word.... They belonged to a part of the country which had to be torn asunder so that India may be free. They have paid the real price for freedom and they have suffered for it, and it is time that we tried to share this burden with them.”*²⁰⁰

Renuka Ray, another member (CAIL), said that the word, ‘refugee’ symbolises an “attitude of mind” and should be substituted by the word ‘evacuees’.²⁰¹

The first wave of evacuees consisted of the upper middle class migration occurred quite early as a precursor to the impending mass migration in the months after March. These were mainly from NWFP and the Rawalpindi Division and able to take with them a part of their moveable property. As a precautionary measure, many people with substantial properties and businesses left the trouble prone areas long before the partition took place. They would either take up temporary residence in Hindu-dominated cities or proceed to the hill stations of Simla or Mussorie for early summer vacation, while waiting to see if the situation would normalize.²⁰²

The second wave of evacuees started after the June 2, 1947 announcement from the Rawalpindi Division. These consisted of

¹⁹⁹ A.M. Zaidi (ed.), *Congress Presidential Address*, Vol. 5, 1940-1985, Indian Institute of Applied Political Research, New Delhi, 1989, p.114.

²⁰⁰ CAIL Debates, GOI, *op. cit.*, p.875.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp.867,874,905; See also, Patrick French, *Liberty or Death*, *op. cit.*, p.348.

²⁰² *The Tribune*, August 28, 1947.

Hindus and Sikhs from the Lahore and Rawalpindi Divisions.²⁰³ The third wave after July 21, became a panic flight. Wholesale shooting and murder of minorities with the active help or connivance of the Muslim Police and Balochi troops became the chief task of the Muslim League in all the Districts of Lahore division.²⁰⁴

The fourth wave of evacuees consisted of the rural Hindu and Sikh population, mainly the owners and tillers of the soil in the rich canal colonies of Montgomery, Sheikhupura and Lyallpur. They had stayed behind to the last moment firmly resolved to remain in Pakistan if they could be assured of an honorable living. But the Pakistan Government had by that time decided to get rid of them.. The Muslim Mob organized by the police and the Baloch Military actually hunted them out from every nook and corner of these colonies and forced them to move to relief camps set up for evacuation.²⁰⁵

The fifth wave of evacuees consisted of the people stranded here and there in small towns and villages and in other small pockets who could not move to a bigger town or a railway station without danger to their lives. They were brought out by Motor Transport by Military Evacuation Organisation. These consist mostly of the *Meghs*, the *Choohras*, the odes and other menial classes whom the Pakistan Government not allow to migrate to Hindustan or those who have since then been forcibly converted to Islam.²⁰⁶

The class difference between Hindu, Sikh and Muslims was the possible ground for conflict, fearing which the Hindu and Sikh landlords made arrangements to flee long before. The class conflict inherent in the partition violence needs to be unmasked of its religious veil. Evidently, it was only the class difference between Hindus and Sikhs and the Muslims that defined the Partition

²⁰³ A.N. Bali, *Now it Can be Told*, Akashwani Parkashan, Jullundur, 1949, p.104.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

exodus, but the internal class hierarchy among Hindus and Sikhs that also shaped how migration took place.²⁰⁷

Migration also provides an opportunity to unscrupulous people, which made their fortunes. Of the drivers of cars, the police, and the military detained to protect the convoys, the Liaison agency, the organizers of the camp and the custodians with whom the people left their trunks and luggage a few were in the racket. Later on when the luggage left behind was retrieved, the owners found that gold, silver and other ornaments had mysteriously been filched away though the locks were still there. The Muslim Military and police detained on convoy duty was more 'straight forward' in robbing Hindus and Sikhs.²⁰⁸ After taking way and pooling together for distribution among themselves later on the booty so obtained they would start searching the rest of the luggage. The heavy trunks and beddings would be thrown on the road side and every article scattered. The only alternative was to strike a bargain and hand-over anything to which the soldiers took a fancy or to give cash concealed by the evacuees on their persons or in the luggage. Pakistan military was so bold and reasonable as to agree to accept the payment, if necessary, on arrival at Amritsar. It was open loot in those days and as stark ruin faced the West Pakistan minorities in the face.²⁰⁹

It was clear that organized violence had left their home to take shelter in camps for their strength lay in numbers and safety in

²⁰⁷ *The Tribune*, August 28, 1947.

²⁰⁸ Their modus operandi was to halt the whole convoy either near the Shalimar Garden or well in Pakistan side near the border and then to organize a minute search of the road and ask the people to voluntarily their gold, silver and ornaments etc as the export of these without a permit was prohibited. There was no notification to that effect but the pointing out of a loaded rifle towards any person who showed the least reluctance to comply with the orders was a good enough hint to submit meekly to the illegal demand. A.N. Bali, *Now It Can be Told*, *op. cit.*, p.104.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

togetherness.²¹⁰ The reconstruction of the journey shows a class divided process which could not be abridged by as momentous an event as partition migration. The duration of journey, and the means of transport used to undertake the journey, were crucial indicators of the class differences that significantly after the experience of displacement. The clusters of differing migration experiences can be built around the:²¹¹

- (a) **Foot Columns:** Those who walked hundred of miles over several days or weeks.
- (b) **Railway Journey:** A shorter journey but under taken in highly cramped and difficult conditions.
- (c) **Military Trucks:** used for short distance travel but not available easily and finally.
- (d) **The Air Travel:** That was swift, safe but available only to those who could pay the exorbitant price. The level of danger also increased dramatically as the mode and duration of the journey become shorter.²¹²

The Earliest means as also the most popular with rural people was the foot convoy. These convoys enabled them to bring with them their bullock carts and cattle and were to be moved from remote villages where transport facilities were not available. The route for these convoys was the Lyallpur-Balloki-Chunian-Ferozpur road. The major portion of the population of districts of Lyallpur, Montgomery, Sheikhpura and Sialkot was evacuated by means of organized convoys.

At the head were the bullock carts, each carrying a whole family together with its few remaining possessions. There were

²¹⁰ Chief Liaison officer East Punjab Government to chief secretary west Punjab Governments, October 4, 1947, in Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Select Documents on the Partition of Punjab*, *op. cit.*, pp.542-543.

²¹¹ *The Tribune*, September 14, 1947; See also, Satya M. Rai, "Partition and Women: The Case of Punjab", *op. cit.*, p.182.

²¹² Joint Evacuation Movement Plan in Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Select Documents on the Partition of Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.548.

innumerable cows, bulls and buffaloes and occasionally a stray dog could be seen following its master. The caravan was moving at snail's pace because both men and beasts were too tired and hungry to walk any faster and they take requires a special effort on their part.²¹³ The Caravans were vulnerable to attacks while passing hostile towns and villages. So a degree of organization was necessary for survival. They were organized with young women and children in middle, Older men and women around them with the last protective ring thrown around them by young men with crude weapons like *lathis* or some times rifles.²¹⁴

The urge among the columns was to escape from Pakistan and to cover the journey in the quickest possible time. Safety was only in movement, as gangs of looters and armed mauraders were hovering like vultures, and made short work of stragglers.²¹⁵ Some of these caravans were fairly well-armed with weapons legal as well as illegal. During the day time the arms were concealed under the bundles of their belongings in bullock-carts and at night these were taken out for the sake of protection. The caravans of bullock carts, as well as foot columns travelled by day and bivouacked along the roadside at night time. On the average, they covered 15 to 20 miles a day. To feed the cattle, they cut fodder from the fields along the roadside, mostly belonging to Hindus and Sikhs who were on the move. Although these convoys were protected by mobile units of army, they were attacked a number of times because it was not possible for these units to be present everywhere on the scores of miles long

²¹³ The trail of dust which the column was raising had pretty nearly blotted out the midday sun and the sky was overcast with clouds. The convoy had followed by countless swarms of persistent flies which kept settling on the dirty, dusty bodies of men and sores with which the cattle were covered. The cattle were too tired and weak even to flick their tails to remove the flies with their bodies. Madhav Godbole, *The Holocaust of Indian Partition: An Inquest*, *op. cit.*, p.549.

²¹⁴ M.S. Randhawa, *Out of the Ashes: An Account of the Rehabilitation of Refugees from West Pakistan in Rural Areas of the East Punjab*, Vikas Publishing, Delhi, 1974, p.29-30.

²¹⁵ Ravinder Kaur, *Since Partition; Partition Narratives among Punjabi Migrants of Delhi*, *op. cit.*, p.10.

route. The Lyallpur-Balloki-Chunian-Ferozepur road was the funnel through which approximately 50 to 60 thousand evacuees poured in to Ferozepur every day.²¹⁶

The biggest evacuee caravan consisting of three lakhs of people came into India from the districts of Lyallpur and Montgomery in first week of October. Small shopkeepers, landlords, artisans, doctors, labourers, even dogs, starved cattle, so vast was the size that it took eight days for it to cross a given point.²¹⁷ The convoy had left Lyallpur on September 11, to slowly trudge the 150 kilometre route into India.²¹⁸

It seemed as if nature too had decided to teach the people a lesson. Many of the central districts as the catchments areas of the rivers *Sutlej* and *Beas* received heaviest rainfall in the year 1947.²¹⁹ *Hindustan Times* report said, “*Today the attacks and the attacked are alike in flight from the waters of the Beas, Sutlej and Ravi.*” The report said over 1,00,00 evacuees were seen waiting in miserable conditions on the eastern mudbanks of the *Beas*, with another about 300,000 standard on the bank of the *Ravi*.²²⁰

The Dawn Wrote: “*to the sorrows of Punjab have been added the disaster of the floods.*”²²¹ In the last week of September more than half of all structures in Ferozepur collapsed.²²² Around Lahore about

²¹⁶ Thus in 42 days (September 18 to October 29) 24 non- Muslim foot columns 8,49,000 strong with hundreds of bullock- carts and other heads of cattle, crossed the border into India under difficult and hazardous conditions. *Ibid.*; See also, *After Partition, op. cit.*, pp.50-55; U. Bhaskar Rao, *The Story of Rehabilitation, op. cit.*, 1967, p.23; Satya M. Rai, *Punjab since Partition, op. cit.*, p.110; M.S. Randhawa, *Out of the Ashes op. cit.*, p.26; Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Mountbatten and Independent India, 16 August 1947 – 18 June 1948*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1984, p.111.

²¹⁷ *The Tribune*, October 22, 1947.

²¹⁸ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, October 8, 1947; See also, *The Dawn*, October 8, 1947.

²¹⁹ *The Hindustan Times*, September 16 and 28 and October 1, 1947; See also, *The Tribune*, September 28, 1947.

²²⁰ A large number of Muslim lives were in fact saved in the area between the *Beas* and the *Sutlej* with the help of local Sikh villagers who provided drinking water. With wells having been flooded, drinking water was more difficult to come by than even food. *Ibid.*, October 2, 1947.

²²¹ *The Dawn*, October 2 and 3, 1947.

²²² *Ibid.*, October 3, 1947.

120 villages were completely washed away.²²³ Because of the flood damage, in the Punjab the net value of rice was expected to fall from Rs. 20 crore to less than Rs. 10 crore in 1947.²²⁴

The outbreak of cholera epidemic was therefore only a nature sequel. Even troops were affected the Dogra Regiment lost four soldier to Cholera.²²⁵ In the Western districts cholera was widespread in towns like Kasur, Jhang and Okara.²²⁶

While foot columns were the preferred means of evacuation for the rural masses, railways were deployed to ferry the urban populace. Over a million non- Muslims were estimated to have been evaluated by rail during the peak period from August 27 to the end of November, 1947 over 1.3 million Muslims in the opposite direction.²²⁷

In this situation the Government of India and Pakistan decided to prepare a joint Evacuation Movement Plan (JEM) on October 20. According to the 1941 census there were 5.3 millions Muslims in Eastern Punjab and 3.8 million non-Muslims in West Punjab.²²⁸ It was estimated that since August 1, 1947, 2.1 millions Muslims had left Eastern Punjab and 2 million non-Muslims Western Punjab.²²⁹ The JEM Plan arranged for rail evacuation with contributions from

²²³ A report said that 2,000 bodies were recovered in the Jullundur area alone after the floods had receded. In Delhi the flooded Yamuna caused another unique problem: cattle from the flooded villages marched into Delhi and settled down on the vast expanse of India Gate. *Pakistan Times*, October 9, 1947.

²²⁴ *The Hindustan Times*, October 9, 1947.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

²²⁶ In Kasur alone over 1,000 people were reported to have died by September 3. In the central districts Amritsar was also among the cities seriously effected by cholera. *Ibid.*

²²⁷ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, September 9, 1947.

²²⁸ Joint Evacuation Movement Plan, October 20, 1947 in Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Select Documents on the Partition of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal and India and Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, pp.548-552.

²²⁹ Joint Evacuation Movement Plan

	Muslims	Non-Muslims
At Present	32 Lakhs	18 Lakhs
On completion of non-Muslim foot convoy	24 Lakhs	12 Lakhs
On completion of Muslim foot convoy	500,000	600,000
On 15 December	250,000	300,000
On 31 December	Nil	Nil

Ibid.

India and Pakistan of 20 and 30 railway trains respectively or a pool of stocks for evacuees movement.²³⁰

These refugee trains were known as “*India Special*” or “*Pakistan Special*”.²³¹ Though the evacuees trains was started to evacuate the people, it served an altogether different purpose for attackers. Instead of launching random attacks, now one could indulge in “wholesale slaughter” because these trains carried members of a single community. The incidents of retaliation were especially in cases of train attacks. Whenever a *ghost* train laden with dead bodies arrived on one side another would immediately be sent in the opposite direction.²³² Several trains were attacked.²³³

Even though train journey was fraught with danger, it was much in demand as a quick mean to get away from risk zones. The special trains were free for the evacuees who could travel to any destination with in the country of their choice. But to get a place on the train was not that simple. A simple reason was that often the train timetables and their platform would not be revealed until about half an hour before the departure as a safety precaution. Through their networks, the railway employees could address information more easily than anybody else. They could place themselves at the right time and place to board the train before the rush started. Many refugees tried to get names scaled up in priority through their personal connections or by bribing the officer in charge even an

²³⁰ *The Hindustan Times*, September 2, 1947.

²³¹ Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Select Documents on the Partition of Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.550; See also, *The Civil and Military Gazette*, September 5, 1947.

²³² *The Tribune*, October 3, 1947.

²³³ On October 21, 1947, a refugee train at Kamoke was attacked by a mob of 10,000 to 12,000 persons armed with deadly weapons. On October 15, 1947, a refugee Muslim train was attacked at Shahdara near Lahore by Muslim military men, killing 10 and wounded many of Sikhs and Hindus. Again on October 22, a Muslim mob attacked the Bombay mail carrying Hindu and Sikh evacuees to India. On 23, a special train carrying Hindu and Sikh refugees coming from Jassar was attacked by a huge Muslim mob. Ganda Singh, “A Dairy of Partition Days”, *op. cit.*, p.472; See also, *The Tribune*, October 26, 1947; Kirpal Singh (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp.550-552; Urvashi Butalia, “Community, State and Gender: Some Reflections on the Partition of India”, in Mushir-ul-Hasan (ed.), *Inventing Boundaries: Gender, Politics and the Partition of India*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, p.178.

acquaintance in the railway department could prove to be valuable in such circumstances as some refugees experienced.²³⁴

By the first week of September, the evacuation of displaced persons from West Punjab was taken over by a new command of the Army- the Military Evacuation Organization with its head quarter at Amritsar under Brigadier Chimni.²³⁵ By the end of October, the MEO were using nearly, 1200 military and civilian vehicles for the movement of refugees. Of the ten Motor Transport Companies each consisting of 150 vehicles, which were raised for the MEO.²³⁶ There were four main routes from Pakistan Punjab to India Punjab: Narowal-Dera Baba Nanak, Lahore-Amritsar, Kasur-Ferozepur and Montgomery-Fazilka.

Military trucks were used for short distance. In order to facilitate the speedy clearance of refugees on both sides, the East Punjab Government and the West Punjab Government entered into an agreement by which no train or motor vehicle was to cross the border without evacuees. It implied that no Indian Motor Vehicle or train could enter Pakistan without Muslim refugees, nor could any Pakistan motor vehicle or train enter Indian territory without Hindu and Sikh refugees. This naturally implied the control and checking of such vehicle.²³⁷ The Indian motor convoy commandant complained that, "the convoys from the East Punjab with Muslim evacuees first

²³⁴ It was important to get into the train, then it was even more vital to keep the engine driver in good humour, the driver could decide to stop the train at a hostile place or just abandon at midway. The special trains were packed to capacity and the refugees had to fight their way in. This also meant that it was not possible to keep the customary distance between the two sexes. The separate compartments or exclusive spaces for women had no place in such an emergency. *Ibid.*, See also; *Partition Branch Records* (A Note of Refugee Situation in East Punjab), File No. CF(101)-(a)E-49.

²³⁵ Kirpal Singh, *The Partition of Punjab*, *op. cit.*, pp.163-164.

²³⁶ The first convoy of 50 civilian buses left Amritsar on Sep. 5 for Sacha Sauda, 17 miles beyond Sheikhpura, and returned with about 3,500 refugee men, women and children to Amritsar on the following day. *The Hindustan Times*, September 3, 1947; See also, Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs: 1839-1988*, *op. cit.*, p.283; Tushar A. Gandhi, *Lets Kill Gandhi*, *op. cit.*, p.473.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

go to the Walton Training School. There they were made to wait for a considerable time and were asked to carry other Muslim evacuees to the districts where they might be going. In this way, about six hours were spent at the Walton Training School. Again at the bridge of River *Ravi*, they were not allowed to cross unless every truck was full to the maximum capacity and if any vehicle was found to carry a smaller number of evacuees than the expected number, the passengers of those vehicles are transhipped to other vehicles and empty vehicles sent back. This procedure was repeated at many places on the way.²³⁸

But trucks were important source for short Journey. Around 1, 200 military and civilian trucks were deployed by the MEO (India) with an additional pool of 1,000 trucks at the peak period. By the middle of November, around 3,13,400 non Muslims and 2,09,440 Muslims had been transported in this way. Military trucks also became victims of violence in several places.²³⁹

While all the means of surface transport were prone to risks of one kind or another, air transport was free from all such dangers to life and property.²⁴⁰

The Rehabilitation Ministry set up a transfer Bureau, an agency specially created to cater to the state employees, who were affected by the violence and population movement. The migration course followed by the Government employees was different from ordinary people since their travel, stay and continued employment

²³⁸ Millions on the Move, *op. cit.*, p.8; See also, *Partition Branch Records*, File No. CF 386.

²³⁹ On October 1, 1947, refugee convoy that started from Risalpur in Military Trucks was suddenly attacked by a mob near Khairabad, 240 women were abducted. *The Tribune*, October 3, 1947.

²⁴⁰ The safest and quickest means of transport was also the least widespread. It was available exclusively to the upper crust of society mainly high-ranking bureaucrats or rich people who could afford to pay their passage. Air transport was also meant to be for ordinary refugees from certain inaccessible points in Pakistan. *The Hindustan Times*, September 1, 1947.

was arranged by the state. "The staff that come to Delhi were of three categories; those who were posted permanently to Delhi, those who were to be posted elsewhere in India: and those who had left Pakistan on account of disturbances. Each category was being dealt within an appropriate to receive all those who arrived by air and to look after them and sent them to allotted residences.²⁴¹

Evidently, the Government as an efficient guardian of its employees was able to transfer them out safely. For this purpose as early as the end of August 1947, 10 air craft were mobilized from various transport companies for six to seven daily trips between India and Pakistan. The scheduled flights between Delhi, Karachi, Quetta, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Peshawar were intensified.²⁴² Facilities were provided for private individuals to charter planes to evacuate refugees from Sialkot, Sargodha, Lyallpur and Dera Ismail Khan. For the organisation and coordination of the air services the Government appointed a special officer called the controlling authority, 'Air Transport for Refugees'. In October 1947, maximum aircrafts were used for the evacuation of refugees R.I.A.F. squadrons, retained in the country at the request of both the disturbed areas in the East and West. About 1200 Royal Pakistan Air Force Personnel were flown out of the NWFP. In addition, many special flights were undertaken to fly important government official on their various missions. Also senior Commanders of the Armed Forces of the two dominions were provided with aircrafts to meet their requirements.²⁴³ A total of 12,769 passengers were carried. The aircrafts of these squadrons had flown a total of 6,43,000 miles.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, October 4, 1947.

²⁴² *The Statesman*, October 4, 1947; *The Civil and Military Gazette*, October 30, 1947.

²⁴³ *The Hindustan Times*, August 28, 1947; See also, *Ibid.*, October 9, 1947.

In addition, a fleet of British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) was added to the available air resources. The BOAC fleet consisted of 18 Dakota and two York Aircrafts and could carry out 962 flights at the height of evacuation between September 15 and December 7. During this period it transported 28,000 people from Pakistan and 18,000 in the reverse direction. In one day alone these aeroplanes flew 13,000 miles between the two dominions with full loads in each direction.²⁴⁴ However these official figures exclude larger unaccounted estimates of passengers carried by companies such as Indian National Airways.²⁴⁵ From August 31 onwards, the company promised that one of its Delhi-Lahore flights, could call daily at Amritsar in both directions. The passengers could obtain information from Faletti's Hotel at Lahore, an elite spot for the rich.²⁴⁶

Thus the displaced persons moved their new created dominion with different means of transportation. Kirpal Singh gives the table to show their evacuation with different means.²⁴⁷

Modes of Transportation	Numbers
Foot Columns	1, 036, 000
Special Trains	10, 00, 000
Motor Transport	31, 34, 000
Air Transport	28, 000

²⁴⁴ *Millions on the Move, The Aftermath of Partition*, Delhi, n.d., p.6; See also; Tushar A. Gandhi, *Lets Kill Gandhi*, *op. cit.*, p.474.

²⁴⁵ Joint Evacuation Movement Plan, October 20, 1947, in Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Select Documents on the Partition of Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.548.

²⁴⁶ *Millions on the Move*, *op. cit.*, p.16.

²⁴⁷ The Royal Indian Air force set up a fine record of achievements. Officers and men were subjects to prolonged fatigue, to moral and physical strain, and frequently to a not inconsiderable measure of physical danger. Joint Evacuation Movement Plan, October 20, 1947, in Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Select Documents on the Partition of Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.548.

The evacuation of non-Muslims from Sindh has been proceeding by sea and rail. In addition to the regular Persian Gulf Line steamers of the British Indian Steam Navigation company, pick up evacuees from Karachi on their way to Bombay, nine steamers had chartered by the Government of India, but clearance from Karachi was restricted to only 2,000 a day, as the port authorities had pleaded inability to handle more. By November 21, nearly 133,000 non-Muslim evacuees had been cleared from Sindh by Steamers and country craft.²⁴⁸

On September 3, 1947, a conference in Lahore met to work out camps. This was attended by Sardar Patel Ghazanfar Ali, the commander in chief of the Indian Army, General Rob Chart, General Kiani of Pakistan, the Governor and all the Provincial ministers of the East and West Punjab. It was decided that the entire responsibility of the Evacuees Camps²⁴⁹ would be of the Government in whose territory they were situated.

The main concentration of evacuees was in East Punjab, Delhi, U.P., Bombay, the East Punjab States, Bikaner, Jodhpur and other Rajputana states. It was estimated towards the end of November that the total number of evacuees in camps all over India was about 1,250,000 including 5,00,000 in East Punjab, 2,50,000 in Kurukshetra, 1,50,000 at Delhi, and the rest in camps of other parts of the country. The daily expenditure on camps runs into several hundred thousands of rupees. During 1947-48 a budget of ten crores of rupees had been sanctioned for relief. ⁷⁸

²⁴⁸ Millions on the Move, *op. cit.*, p.16.

²⁴⁹ The refugee camps developed into temporary townships with straight and wide road crossings, streets and planned pitching of tents, but at some places, these were ill-managed. Indian Army supplied 181,548 tents to various camps in East Punjab.

There were several non-Muslim evacuees camps functioning in East Punjab accounted for 721,000 evacuees towards the end of December 1947.²⁵⁰

The displaced persons in East Punjab were to first report at the transit camps opened at the entry points like Fazilka, Ferozepur, Khemkaran, Attari, Amritsar and Dera Baba Nanak, from where they were to proceed to the areas allocated to them under the central plan. They could stay in the relief camp of the area till alternative arrangements for their settlements were made for them either by the state or by their friends or relations. A separate rescue home for women was also set up at Jullundur, with accommodation for 800 to 900 women.²⁵¹ Displaced persons were also lodged in localities evacuated by Muslims, in Charitable and religious institutions and in schools and colleges, some of the localities having been declared as “relief camps”. Some camps were larger than even some of cities.²⁵²

As per the 1951 population census in India and Pakistan, the total number of displaced persons in the two countries was found to be 15.63 million. The evacuees population in India was estimated as 7.48 million against 7.15 million in Pakistan.

The responsibility of resettlement of the million of uprooted people, both urban and rural and unattached women and children, presented a colossal problem of providing immediate relief finding housing accommodation lands, shops, business concerns, factories and in large number of cases new vocations. Accordingly, the plan for rehabilitation was divided into three stages. Immediately after

²⁵⁰ Different sources give varying numbers about the refugee camps set up in the province. The refugees in the West Punjab were mostly concentrated in fourteen refugee camps being at Lahore, Gujranwala and Montgomery. After Partition, *op. cit.*, p.56; See also, *Facts at a Glance*, Simla, n.d., pp.1-2; *Millions on the Move*, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12; M.S. Randhawa, *Out of Ashes*, *op. cit.*, pp.30-31; Kirpal Singh, *The Partition of Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.180.

²⁵¹ L.R. Nair, *Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab*, *op. cit.*, pp.10-11.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

evacuation the evacuees were put up in relief camps. Afterwards, there was a gradual dispersal of the camp residents to the rural or urban areas as the case might be. A large number were still left in the camps for whom no source of income could be found. They constituted the third group. Apart from this general programme of relief to the incoming evacuees, there was a group of unattached and recovered women and children which offered a formidable problem.

Chapter – III

Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons

The contents of this chapter narrates the consequential effects, posed by the partition of India on general public, agriculture, industry, society, education, moveable and immovable property, recovery of abducted women and exchange of prisoners, mental patients apart from the Muslim and non-Muslim population of both the countries. The first part highlights Indo-Pak agreements on evacuee property. The second part onwards elaborates the disruption of agricultural economy of East and West Punjab, also it discusses about the rehabilitation of rural and urban areas, allotment of houses, allotment of agricultural cultivable land according to its fertility to different classes under various schemes. It also discusses the allotment of factories and business sites, shops, continuation of academic education, professional education, certificates of education issues from either side of East and West Punjab, providing jobs and the end of this chapter deals with the recovery of abducted women, prisoners and mental patients.

The passing of the Indian Independence Act (1947) was an epoch making event in the history of India. While the status of an independent nation was accorded to India, it marked an end of three and a half centuries of foreign monopoly on Indian trade besides ending otherwise two centuries of British political power.¹ The declaration of independence brought in its wake transformation in the character of the state 'from colonial to sovereign' by inducing a new equation of political and economic power.

Nevertheless, it put simultaneously enormous strains on the polity and the economy of the new 'nation state' which became all the more visible when the euphoria of freedom petered out. The happiness of independence was marred by the great division of the country into two parts – 'India' and 'Pakistan' and the agony caused by it. Punjab had to pay the price of independence in the form of

¹ Section 8(2)(c) of the Indian Independence Act vested the power to act as dominion legislatures in the Constituent Assemblies of India and Pakistan and authorized them to exercise all powers formerly exercised by the central legislature. N.V. Paranjpe, *Indian Legal and Constitutional History*, Central Law Agency, Allahabad, 2005, p.373.

partition. It marked the logical culmination of the attempt of the political leadership to pacify 'the ghosts of communalism'.²

According to official Indian sources, Non-Muslim evacuees vacated 6,729,000 acres of land in West Punjab, alone, wherein 4,307,000 was canal irrigated; and the other land was relinquished by non-Muslims in Sindh, N.W.F.P., Bahawalpur, Baluchistan, and Khairpur. Muslim evacuees from East Punjab and the states of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot and Kapurthala in India, abandoned 4,735,000 acres of land out of which 1,326,000 acres was under irrigation.³

Indian sources estimated the total value of the left out property by Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan at \$8 billion and that of Muslim evacuees property in India at \$800 million.⁴

SECTION - I

At the outset, determined efforts had been made by India and Pakistan to deal with the settlement of the property interests of the refugees in a concerted way. A special meeting of the Joint Defence Council of India and Pakistan, held at Lahore on August 29, 1947, under the chairmanship of Mountbatten, and participated by the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan.⁵

² Horace Alexander, *New Citizens of India*, Oxford University Press, London, 1951, p.7.

³ *Ministry of Rehabilitation, India, Latest Figures* (November, 1952); See also, *Administration Report, 1973-74*, Punjab Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch, Punjab Government Press, Patiala, 1978, pp.10-15; M.S. Randhawa, *Out of Ashes, An Account of Rehabilitation of Refugees from West Pakistan in Rural Areas of East Punjab*, New Jack, Bombay, 1954, p.30; Gurpreet K. Chaudhri, "Industrial Growth in the Punjab since Independence: A Historical Enquiry 1947 to the Present", *Ph.D. Thesis*, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2000, p.36.

⁴ *Concerning Evacuee Property*, Issued by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi, 1950, p.6. Pakistan sources emphatically discount the validity of these figures which are based on property claims filed by Hindu and Sikh refugees and stress that these claims have been described by the Indian Minister of rehabilitation, Mohanlal Saksena, himself as, not worth the paper on which the claims were written. *The Hindustan Times*, February 10, 1950.

⁵ Joseph B. Schechman, "Evacuee Property in India and Pakistan", in Verinder Grover and Ranjana Arora (eds.), *Partition of India, Indo-Pak Wars, the UNO*, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1999, p.31.

Five days later, i.e., on September 3, 1947, the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India issued a joint statement to the people of East and West Punjab, that illegal seizure of property will not be recognized and government will appoint a custodian of evacuee property.⁶ At this early stage of the chaotic two-way flight, while it was still regarded as a temporary phenomenon, unconditional and automatic restoration of property to returning evacuees-owners was the central idea agreed upon.

The West Punjab Government issued an Ordinance on September 9, 1947, “to provide an economic rehabilitation”⁷ in the province. By this ordinance, the Rehabilitation Commissioner was empowered to “assume possession and control of abandoned lands, business and undertakings; grant temporary leases of abandoned agricultural holdings of the refugees for a term not exceeding one year; permit the occupation of land, abandoned buildings by refugees or other persons”. The Rehabilitation Commissioner could also assume possession or control of any property under the control of the custodian of Evacuee Property.⁸ By this ordinance, the Rehabilitation Commissioner could take over non-Muslim property, factories or business concerns in any part of Western Pakistan, even if the owner was staying there and factory or business concern had stopped functioning temporarily or permanently, either due to non-availability of workmen, raw materials or some other reason. It is alleged that the non-Muslim property was openly seized under this ordinance in Pakistan. The Government of India was not even informed about it and this fact came to the light after a long time. The Government of India charged the Pakistan Government the

⁶ Concerning Evacuee Property, *op. cit.*, p.9.

⁷ Rehabilitation is the process of reinstating or reestablishing one in the esteem of others. U. Bhaskar Rao, *The Story of Rehabilitation*, Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi, 1967, p.48.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.7.

violation in letter and spirit of the joint statement made on August 29, 1947.⁹

The matter was taken up at the Inter-Dominion Secretariat level conference held at New Delhi on December 18-20, 1947. The Pakistan representatives suggested that the Indian Government may take similar action with regard to evacuee property.¹⁰ The property left by the non-Muslims in West Pakistan was many times more than that of the Muslims in the East Punjab. The Government of Pakistan was fully aware that even if the Government of India took similar action, the net loss would be that of India.

The Conference appointed a committee to investigate the matter and suggest a solution. The Joint Official Committee which met at Lahore on March 22, took stock of the changed situation and proposed that both Dominions could acquire agricultural property on payment of a fair value. A Joint Valuation Board was set up to assess the 'fair value'.¹¹ The two dominion governments were to set up a Joint Governments Agency to arrange sale or exchange of the evacuee property. The provincial governments were empowered to requisition such property on payment of fair compensation. The Joint Urban Assessment Board was to prescribe the basis for assessing the lease money, prepare a list and give particulars of evacuee urban immovable property and assess the lease money. Accounts of lease money collected by each Dominion were to be exchanged semi-annually so that the rents received could be paid to the evacuees. The governing principle adopted by the official committee was thus to ensure the receipts of rents by evacuee owners who had migrated to the other Dominion, exchange of agricultural property at governmental level, and full facilities for the

⁹ In which it was stated that illegal seizure of evacuee property will not be recognised. *Ibid.*

¹⁰ But Pakistan 'comments' deny emphatically that such a suggestion was ever made. *Ibid.*, p.11.

¹¹ Fair values was to be determined according to the average of prices prevailing for similar land between June 1927 and June 1947. *Ibid.*

liquidation of urban immovable property by private efforts at reasonable prices with government assistance.¹²

The Provincial Governments were responsible for taking all the steps to ensure safety to the evacuee owners and their agents engaged in managing, disposing of and removing their movables. Transport facilities were also provided. Certain special categories of movable properties were given special treatment. Reasonable exchange facilities were given for remittances representing sale proceeds of the evacuee property sold, while customs, export and import controls were relaxed. An Inter-Dominion Commission consisting of Secretaries of the Governments of the two Dominions was set up to supervise and review the working of the agreed arrangements, and an Inter-Dominion Refugees and Evacuees Council was established at ministerial level to resolve matters on which the Inter-Dominion Commission could not reach at an agreement. This scheme worked out by the Joint Official Committee at Lahore was endorsed by the Government of India. The Pakistan Government, however, took a dilatory position, neither rejecting nor accepting the draft prepared with the cooperation of its official representatives. From the outset, the main point of discord has concerned with the method of settling the evacuee property claims. The Indian Government has taken the view that under the existing circumstances *'the only reasonable solution seemed to be an exchange of evacuee property at Government level'.... Each dominion should assume responsibility for the total value of the evacuee property left behind in its territories, the debtor Dominion paying the difference in value to the creditor Dominion.*¹³ Pakistan held that the evacuee shall have the fullest freedom in disposing of their own properties without any Governmental intervention and the Indian proposal of a Government to Government settlement virtually amounted to extinguishing the proprietary rights of the people

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

involved.¹⁴ Wherever it was attempted to leave the disposal of abandoned property to individual transferees, or to compensate them individually, on the basis of evaluation of their particular property by a joint commission representing both the countries the efforts invariably failed. The procedure for such evolution proved to be exceedingly lengthy, highly complicated and controversial.

The Third Inter-Dominion Conference¹⁵ met on July 22, 1948 in Lahore, but it could not come to an agreement. The Government of India alleged that “*the Pakistan Government wanted to dodge and not to face the issues squarely*”. No agreement could be reached regarding agricultural and urban property. Even for movable evacuee property in the West Punjab, the Government started a drive to seize all of it on one pretext or the other.¹⁶

From the evidence contained in the official minutes of the Fourth Inter-Dominion Conference which took place in New Delhi on December 6-14, 1948, it appeared that very few of the Lahore Conference (which met on March 22, 1948) decisions were implemented during the six months period elapsed between the two conferences. The exchange of agricultural record was not completed. While considerable progress had been made in the preparation and exchange of revenue records of West Punjab and East Punjab, the records for other areas both in Pakistan and India were being prepared but not yet exchanged.¹⁷ The Joint Assessment Board which was to have prepared complete lists of urban property owners, the rents due for their property, and their assessed values. But it did not complete the list of the said properties.

The Fifth Inter-Dominion Conference held at Karachi on January 10, 1949 and at Delhi in April, 1949, took the decisions

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.21, The Second Inter-Dominion Conference was held on April 15-18, 1948, but problem of the Punjab was discussed only in the Third Inter-Dominion Conference.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.22-26.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

regarding agricultural, urban and movable property.¹⁸ They agreed to exchange copies of revenue records and existing records bearing land prices. It was decided that the evacuee owner would have the right to transfer his property by sale, exchange or otherwise subject to such right as may have been acquired by the provincial or the dominion government as the case may be. Both the Governments agreed to manage through a custodian such evacuee urban immovable property which had not been acquired or requisitioned by it.

The evacuee owner was also given the right to apply for the restoration of his movable property, sell or dispose it off himself or through his agent; and was given facilities to inspect his movables held with the custodian. The Government concerned was to be responsible for taking all necessary steps to ensure the safety of the evacuee owners and their agents engaged in managing, disposing off or removing their movables. In addition, they were to be given all possible transport facilities. It was also agreed that a Joint Committee be set up for the exchange of revenue and other records and to receive complaints and arrange for the redress of such grievances brought to their notice. The Committee was to pay special attention to the facilities regarding the disposal, recovery, restoration and movements of goods pledged with the banks, and goods lying at railway stations, docks and parcels, and underlined money orders or unremitted at the post offices.¹⁹

In this Conference the representatives of India suggested that as far as abandoned property on their side of the frontier was concerned, should cover the whole of India. The Pakistan representatives refused to accept this proposal. Their view was that on each side the areas should be confined to only where there had been a substantial movement of the minority population. They accordingly demanded that the areas in India falling under the

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Satya M. Rai, *Punjab since Partition*, Durga Publications, Delhi, 1985, p.128.

evacuee property regulations be confined to East Punjab, East Punjab States,²⁰ the States of Bharatpur, Alwar, Bikaner, etc. and four districts of United Provinces. The Pakistan Government claimed that an agreement to this effect had been reached at the Karachi Conference and that, “as there had been no substantial movement of the Muslim population from any other area in India, no other area was included”.²¹

The Indian Government categorically objected to this interpretation and expanded the application of evacuee property regulations to the whole India, with the exception of West Bengal, Assam, Cooch Bihar, Tripura and Manipur.

In order to settle the differences of opinion, high-level Inter-Dominion talks were held at Karachi in the last week of June 1949. The talks ended without agreement and led to an angry exchange of mutual accusations by Pakistan and Indian statesmen.²²

N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar, who led the Indian delegation to the Conference, accused Pakistan of deliberately sabotaging any agreement on evacuee property.

*My own feeling is that Pakistan was not prepared to come to any agreement with us and they took advantage of the synchronization of the publication of our ordinance and laws with the date of the conference for the purpose of finding a plausible excuse for putting off settlement of the two issues.*²³

The Indian Government communiqué on this evacuees conference stressed that the general trend of non-official comment on the Conference was severely critical of what was described as the Government of India’s indulgence policy towards Pakistan. The leaders of displaced persons stated that – law or no law – the

²⁰ The princely states of Jind, Patiala, Nabha along with the states of Faridkot, Kapurthala and Nalagarh were made into one unit with the nomenclature of Patiala and East Punjab States Union in 1948. *The Tribune*, April 27, 2008; See also, Gursharan Singh, *History of PEPSU (1948-56)*, Konark, Delhi, 1991, pp.55-56.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Joseph B. Schechtman, *Evacuee Property in India and Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p.39.

²³ *Ibid.*

Pakistan Government was determined to take over and was in actual practice taking over all non-Muslim property in Pakistan. It was, therefore, stressed that the Government of India should also make its evacuee property law strict.²⁴

The Government of India issued an Ordinance on June 13, 1949, which prohibited transfer of ownership of some urban immovable evacuee property and this was followed by a Pakistan Ordinance on July 26, 1949, on similar lines. A new Central Evacuee Property Ordinance was issued by the Pakistan Government on October 15, 1949, wherein the provisions of the Ordinance were made stricter –

“any person can become evacuee from Pakistan, even though he continues to live there and has never left the country, so long as his distant relative has gone to India. There was no provision for appeal to any court. It was no longer obligatory on the custodian to notify the property he has taken over....”

Moreover, under the Ordinance the property was supposed to be vested with the custodian from March 1, 1947, about six months prior to the partition of the country.²⁵

The Indian Ordinance of October 18, gives a conservative definition of the term ‘evacuee’. It provides that a person shall be declared evacuee only if he has personally acquired the property, by way of allotment or by illegal means, by any right, by interest, or benefit from evacuee property in Pakistan. The property of a person (of Muslim faith) whose heirs have moved to Pakistan while he himself remained in India is not being considered an evacuee property. In case of business partnerships, if a partner of a Muslim firm in India has gone to Pakistan, only the share of that partner is declared as evacuee property; and even that may be handed over to the partner remained in India for the purpose of management.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Satya M. Rai, Punjab since Partition, *op. cit.*, p.129.

Responsibility for discovering evacuee property rests with the custodian of evacuee property.²⁶ The custodian must serve notice on the party concerned, who has the right to defend his case and can appeal to a District Judge in some cases to the High Court. The custodian is obliged to publish lists of all evacuee property taken over by him. The validity of October 18 Ordinance was due to expire in April 1950.

On February 16, 1950, the Indian Government introduced in the Parliament a draft bill of '*The Administration of Evacuee Property Act*' to replace the expiring Ordinance.²⁷

The new bill applies to all states of the Dominion of India except Assam and West Bengal. It defines evacuee "*a person who left India on account of civil disturbances on or after March 1, 1947; or who is now resident of Pakistan; or who after August 14, 1947 acquired by allotment or by unlawful occupation any property treated as evacuee property in Pakistan*". The bill provides provision to serve notice to persons concerned without holding preliminary enquiries.

Although the problem of immovable property could not be solved, agreements regarding movable property were more or less implemented. In fact, almost the entire immovable property abandoned by evacuees on both sides of the India-Pakistan frontier had been virtually disposed off by the respective Governments. Millions of in-coming refugees, destitute and homeless, for whom there was no other accommodation, were settled on the vacant land and premises. There was no other option open to both Indian and Pakistan authorities.²⁸

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Joseph B. Schechtman, *Evacuee Property in India and Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p.49.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

SECTION – II

The land resettlement operations in the East Punjab can be divided into two parts: (a) Rural, (b) Urban. The urban rehabilitation programme was directly administered by the Central Government with active co-operation of various State Governments. The Punjab Government was also directed by the Government of India to chalk out various schemes for urban rehabilitation. But in case of rural rehabilitation, all powers were delegated to the Government of East Punjab, which was authorized to work out details for the evacuees.²⁹

The Government established a Rehabilitation Secretariat at Jalandhar for rural and urban resettlement in the East Punjab.³⁰ At one stage as many as 8, 000 Patwaris worked at Jalandhar. It was a gigantic operation in which the governor, ministers, financial commissioners, two directors general of rural rehabilitation, a large number of experienced revenue officers designated as additional deputy commissioners, revenue assistants rehabilitation, Tehsildars and Naib-Tehsildars participated.³¹

To facilitate the work rapidly an Emergency Committee was constituted which took policy decisions on major problems and the progress of the work was reviewed.³² Ajit Prashad Jain, Minister for Rehabilitation, Government of India provided liberal financial assistance to the land allottees. Tarlok Singh was the Director General from September 1947 to December 1948, later on M.S. Randhawa 'Rehabilitation Commissioner of Punjab' took over as Director General in January 1948. He re-organized the staff and

²⁹ Of the total number of non-Muslims arriving from the West Punjab 29,50,000 were of rural and 10,90,000 of urban origin. Against these the number of refugees from the East Punjab gone to the West Punjab consisted of 34,50,000 Muslims from the rural areas and 9,00,000 were from the urban area. *Millions on the Move: The Aftermath of Partition*, Delhi, n.d., p.25.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.25; See also, Tarlok Singh, *Land Resettlement Manual*, Simla, 1952, pp.8-9.

³¹ Om Parkash, *Social and Economic Survey of Refugee Camps in East Punjab*, East Punjab Government, Simla, 1949, pp.1-2.

³² It was mainly on account of guidance and supervision of the emergency committee that the work of rural rehabilitation progressed smoothly.

implemented the complicated schemes of allotment of land in rural and urban areas.³³

By the end of September 1947, the PEPSU Government announced that the displaced persons from the tehsils of Shahdara and Nankana Sahib in Sheikhupura, Gujranwala district, and those of Pasrur and Daska in Sailkot district would be assisted in settling of the evacuee land. The PEPSU Government in order to settle the displaced persons,³⁴ set up the Relief and Rehabilitating Secretariat in Patiala in 1948. Two separate directors, one each for the rural and urban rehabilitation, were established.³⁵ In all the districts, Assistant Directors and Assistant Commissioners of Rehabilitation were appointed. They had under them a team of experienced subordinates including Patwaris.³⁶

In a Press Note issued on the February 7, 1948 with the concurrence of the East Punjab States and the Government of India, the East Punjab Government announced its intention to invite claims to land abandoned by displaced persons. *The East Punjab refugee (Registration of Land claims) Ordinance 1948* was promulgated and corresponding legislation was introduced by the states of Patiala, Kapurthala, Nabha, Jind and Faridkot.³⁷

Arrangements for registration of claims were made at the tehsils and sub-tehsils offices. The period for receiving these claims was from the March 10 to the April 10, 1948. In all 5,17,401 persons

³³ P.N. Thapar appointed as Financial Commissioner Rehabilitation, *Official Documents*, Rehabilitation Department, East Punjab Government.

³⁴ "Displaced Persons" here means any person, who on account of the Dominions of India and Pakistan or on account of civil disturbances in any area now forming part of Pakistan, has been displaced from, or has left, his place of residence in such an area after the 1st day of March, 1947 and who has subsequently residing in India. *The Displaced Persons Legal Proceeding (No. XXV of 1949) and Displaced Persons Institutions of Suits Act, 1950.*

³⁵ *Patiala and East Punjab States Union Since Inauguration*, a publication of Director of Information and Public Relations, PEPSU Government, Patiala, 1951, pp.5, 13-14.

³⁶ Mohan Singh, *The Report on the Working of Relief and Rehabilitation Committee, Patiala*, 1948, p.9.

³⁷ Government of Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Notification Dated July 23, 1949, Rehabilitation Department, Patiala; See also, Tarlok Singh, *Land Resettlement Manual, op. cit.*, p.8.

filed claims of the land at all centres. These claims were then collected at the Jalandhar Secretariat for analysis and tabulation. The verification was carried out from August 17 upto the end of October, 1948. Centres were allocated at which the claims of individual villages of western Pakistan were verified.³⁸ A form known as the *Parcha Tasdiq* was devised for recording the results of verification. Verifying officers were directed to read out to persons from any West Punjab village which was under verification the names of claimants. They also asked *Lambardars* and other prominent persons present if they could give information concerning the area, the kind of soil or the nature of rights held by each individual in their village. After clearing possible discrepancies, the verifying officers were to record in the *Parcha Tasdiq* their conclusions about the area, the kind of soil and the nature of rights possessed by each claimant.³⁹

In July, however, discussions had taken place between the East Punjab and West Punjab Governments on the exchange of revenue records. It was decided that each government would prepare copies for the use of the other. The Governments of East Punjab and PEPSU, on one side, and the Government of West Punjab on the other agreed to exchange the copies of *Jamabandi* of all evacuee villages of either side. This proved to be a very useful agreement, since the arrival of records gave a firm basis for land allotment work.⁴⁰

³⁸ As a rule, a village was named against particular centre if the largest number of claims of that village had been registered there. Brochures setting out the verification programmes in detail from the aspect of West Punjab district as well as that of individual districts in East Punjab and East Punjab States were published. For the first time an attempt was made to draw up lists of villages abandoned in Pakistan without knowledge of *hadbast* numbers following in many instances wrong names given by applicants, the lists contained errors, but these were gradually reduced. M.S. Randhawa, *Out of Ashes*, *op. cit.*, p.72; See also, *The Statesman*, July 25, 1950.

³⁹ Tarlok Singh, *Land Resettlement Manual*, *op. cit.*, pp.34-35.

⁴⁰ Satya M. Rai, *The Partition of Punjab*, Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1965, p.123. Exchange of records was started by the end of November 1948 and was completed during winters. *The Statesman*, July 25, 1950.

After verification, the claims were again collected at the Rehabilitation Secretariat at Jalandhar. The claims were sorted, categorized, and tabulated so as to give an idea of the requirements for various groups of landholders.

The scheme of temporary allotment of evacuee land was conceived in the September, 1947⁴¹. It was decided to settle the agricultural displaced persons arriving in India in evacuee villages, where the land and the houses were available as have been vacated by the Muslims.

The temporary allotments of evacuee land were, as a rule, prepared to be given to groups of families rather than the individuals. In the early phase of migration, friends and relatives, because of insecurity and uncertainty about the future, collected together and formed small groups. Government also found it easier to deal with these groups rather than dealing with individuals or single families. Each group selected an intelligent and influential person as their spokesman, who was called the group leader. It was through him that the *Patwari* of the village or the *Halqa* revenue officer dealt with that group. Unless the evacuee area of a village was very small, it was rarely that the whole village formed one group because the strength of groups generally did not exceed twenty families. Larger villages contained three to four or even more groups. At the time of the quasi-permanent allotment, a very large number of these temporary allottees were confirmed in the same villages of their temporary allotment, and thus homogeneity was achieved in the rural resettlement.⁴²

The Director General of Rural Rehabilitation in East Punjab viewed that the group scheme described above was considered to be an expedient to achieve the following objectives:

1. To ensure quick distribution of land.
2. To avoid individuals to claim a specific piece of land.

⁴¹ Concerning Evacuee Property, *op. cit.*, p.9.

⁴² M.S. Randhawa, *Out of Ashes, op. cit.*, p.95.

3. To enable evacuees from particular villages to live together for security reasons.
4. To enable peasants to pool their resources as far as possible for sowing the *Rabi* and to share the standing *Kharif* crops equally.⁴³

The main principle of allotment to groups was made by East Punjab Government on August 15, for the current *Kharif* and for *Rabi* 1947-48, as under:⁴⁴

1. All agricultural evacuees who had either owned land or held land by virtue of grant, purchase and had been cultivating as tenants in West Punjab were eligible for the allotment of land. Thus, non-cultivating owners could also receive land through allotment.
2. A unit of allotment was fixed for each district or part thereof. A work unit was defined as the area of land which, in given conditions, could be cultivated by a worker assisted by a family of average size.
3. The total area to be allotted to a group would be based on the number of families forming the group, so that there would be a unit for each family to work upon. In case of variations in the number of workers in different families, it was indicated that where, for instance, the unit was 10 acres, additional 3 acres of land could be allowed for every married male adult worker and 2 acres for every unmarried male adult worker. No addition was to be allowed if the number of adult workers in a family was two or less. Additions were restricted to the third, fourth and fifth worker and no additional allotment was

⁴³ The allottees were obliged to cultivate jointly the area allotted to a group. If a particular allottee at any stage wanted to cultivate his share separately, he was at liberty to have it demarcated. Om Parkash, *Social and Economic Survey of Refugee Camps in East Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.41.

⁴⁴ As soon as people had gone to the land, there would be opportunities for rationalising the groups. The principle of group allotment was specially excluded in dealing with orchards, vegetable gardens and cultivated land in urban areas. Tarlok Singh, *Land Resettlement Manual*, *op. cit.*, p.3-4.

allowed if the number of adult workers exceeded five. Additional allotments could be given only to actual cultivators and not to uncultivating families.

4. Within the frame work of group allotment, each family would be responsible for the cultivation of a definite piece of land. It was suggested that a *panchayat* representing the members of the group should divide the area allotted into the appropriate number of units, so that each family could get equal share of the productive and less productive land.
5. Allotment was subjected to the payment of land revenue cases and water-rates and of rent due to the evacuee owners.

To start cultivation, refugee peasants were advanced loans for purchasing bullock carts, repairing wells, purchasing seeds and repairing their dilapidated houses. During two years – September 1947 to September 1949 – the following assistance by the way of loans and grants was afforded in East Punjab to displaced persons in rural areas.⁴⁵

Purpose of Loan Grant	Rupees
Taccavi for seeds	55,71,011
Taccavi for bullocks	55,77,974
Taccavi for implements	9,61,731
Loan for repair of houses	97,615
Loan for repair of wells	5,800
Loan for rural artisan and village servants	5,66,540
Food loan	79,55,966
Grants for repair of houses	3,25,334
Grants for repaid of wells	1,73,328

The idea of group allotment or equal distribution, “frightened many people”, some of them thought it to be a collective

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.7.

experiment.”⁴⁶ The rich peasants and landlords felt that they were being deprived of their legitimate rights. They however admitted that exigencies of the time demanded quick distribution; but soon the urge for a permanent settlement based on rights held by individuals in Pakistan started gaining ground in these circles. The temporary allotment benefited the landless agricultural labourers from West Pakistan who were allotted some land till such a time that administrative steps to introduce quasi permanent allotment system was taken.⁴⁷

From November, 1947 members of the Provincial Relief and Rehabilitation Board began to urge the Government for the necessity of early settlement on land on a permanent basis. The fact that the ownership of land continued to vest both in East and West Punjab in the evacuee owners and no records available were conceded, but the pressure for a permanent settlement continued. Prolonged consideration of this question led to the announcement of decision dated February 7, 1948, to replace the temporary allotment of evacuee lands by a new system of quasi-permanent allotment which would take into account the holdings of displaced persons in West Punjab. The new allotments would not confer rights of ownership or permanent occupancy but the possession of the allottees would be maintained.

Government announced its intention to complete the new system of allotments in East Punjab and East Punjab States not later than May 31, 1949.⁴⁸ The resettlement of displaced persons on land falls into five phases:

1. Immediate Settlement
2. Consolidation of Temporary Allotment

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.80; See also, *The Statesman*, July 16, 1950.

⁴⁷ Tarlok Singh, *Inner P.C. Documents*, 1954 (6 April, 1954); See also, Shruti Sharma, *Post Partition Rehabilitation – Social, Economic and Political Perspectives: A Case Study of Delhi*, *Ph.D. Thesis*, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2005, p.74.

⁴⁸ L.R. Nair, *Rural Rehabilitation in East Punjab*, Simla, 1950, p.8.

3. Permanent Settlement on Land
4. Restoration of the Rural Economy; and
5. Reconstruction and Development of the Rural Economy

By the beginning of December 1947, Deputy Commissioner's reported a total settlement of 190,155 families on an area of 2,072,854 acres of cultivated land. By the end of December 1947, the number of families to whom allotment the land was made reported as 209,106 and the area allotted being 2,394,635 acres. In the beginning of February 1948, an area of 2,581,819 acres was reported to have been allotted to 238,216 families. In the beginning of January 1948, it was found that a number of displaced persons had taken double allotments in more than one district of East Punjab as well as in the states. It happened in such a way that as and when the allotment was made to a group, say a 50 families, some of them after some time moved elsewhere and secured fresh allotments. Therefore, in the middle of January 1948, detailed instructions for the review of allotments were issued and temporary allotments registers were prescribed for all abandoned villages in the province. In the consequence of this scrutiny, the progress report of rural rehabilitation for the fortnight ending March 15, 1948, recorded a total allotments of 2,196,466 acres to 200,233 families from *Kharif*, 1948 and further temporary allotment to the persons who were not themselves landholders in Pakistan was discontinued, but tenants-at-will who were already in possession of temporary allotments were not displaced until allotments in the scheme of quasi-permanent settlement was completed.⁴⁹

Fifty three percent of allotment work was completed by 1949. Allotment orders were issued in respect of 44.6 percent area and

⁴⁹ Tarlok Singh, *Land Resettlement Manual*, *op. cit.*, p.5.

Khasra numbers were earmarked.⁵⁰ It was possible to give possession of vacant land out of the 53.4 percent of land allotted to allottees who received quasi-permanent allotment in villages of their temporary allotment. It was decided to deliver possession of vacant land from January 15, 1950, for cultivation of Sugarcane and Cotton. Additional Deputy Commissioners were sent to the districts along with some *Patwari* staff to supervise the delivery of possession.⁵¹

In the wet areas where the field boundaries disappeared, possession could be given to allottees at the spot after demarcating new field boundaries. Similarly there were some villages where tractor cultivation was carried on and consequently boundaries disappeared. In these villages there was a need of *Killa-bandi*. There were some villages where revenue record was taken away by Muslim *Patwaris* and fresh record could not be prepared because of consolidation of new fields at the spot.⁵² There were about 1,873 villages which were totally, demolished. Work of leveling ruined sites, demarcation of roads, streets and construction of houses continued for years.⁵³

Before a scheme of resettlement could be framed, it was necessary to have a unit of value in terms of which different classes of land and rights could be reduced to a comparable basis. The value of a claim was based on three separate factors: the rights held by the person, each right and the class of soil pertaining to each separate

⁵⁰ It was felt that unless definite *Khasra* numbers were assigned, the process of allotment would remain incomplete and the scope for delay, corruption and Injustice would Increase. With a view to Implementing this Decision, for the evacuee area of every village in East Punjab and PEPSU, a statement of *Khasra* numbers of evacuee land was prepared for every village, giving against each field, its area, class of soil according to the *Jamabandi* and the latest harvest inspection the rights under which the evacuee held the land and particulars of rent etc.

⁵¹ *The Tribune*, January 5, 1950.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *The Refugee Rehabilitation (Loans and Grants, East Punjab) Act, 1948*, Rehabilitation Department, Chandigarh, p.10; See also M.S. Randhawa, *Out of Ashes, op. cit.*, p.95; Shruti Sharma, *Post Partition Rehabilitation – Social, Economic and Political Perspective: A Case Study of Delhi, op. cit.*, p.74.

item in his area statement. The unit devised for land resettlement operations in East Punjab and PEPSU was standard acre.⁵⁴ The comparative value of land was assessed by a criteria such as the amount of land revenue assessed per acre, value of gross produce, net profit, sale value, lease value or yield. The yield of wheat assumed at settlement for each class of land in each assessment circle in different districts of West Punjab, East Punjab and PEPSU was taken as the basic point. Wheat was a universal crop for which the requisite yield data was available in settlement reports. Where wheat was of relatively lower importance a rough estimate was fixed between wheat and the local cereal crops. A soil valuation key by setting the value at a number of *annas* against number of *maunds* of yields per matured acre assumed at settlement was adopted.⁵⁵

The key gave an approximate value of land according to conditions prevailing at the time of settlement. This was then considered with reference to changes in cropping, developments in irrigation and other factors, such as higher cost of production on land irrigated by wells. The final valuation of each class of land in each assessment circle was fixed after examining other comparative data and detailed discussion. Sixteen *annas* of value was described as a "Standard Acre". Thus two acres of land valued at eight *annas* made one standard acre.⁵⁶ As a unit of value, therefore, the standard acre can be represented in different areas according to the type and situation of land valued. Similarly full ownership rights were rated at sixteen *annas* and allowance was made for lesser rights, such as those of occupancy. Something like 2,500 valuations of land in about 400 assessment circles and groups of villages and a very large number of different classes of rights under colony and non-colony

⁵⁴ Tarlok Singh, Land Resettlement Manual, *op. cit.*, p.10.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Report on the Allotment of Standard Acre*, pp.4-6.

tenures were successfully dealt through standard acre.⁵⁷ Calculations were generally made to 1/64th of standard acre.⁵⁸

The final account showed that displaced persons due for settlement in East Punjab could receive in quasi-permanent allotment 2,448,830 standard acres against 3,935,131 standard acres abandoned in West Punjab. The difference of 1,486,301 standard acres (38 percent) had to be adjusted against displaced land holders after considering the distribution of land holders of different grades in Pakistan. It was found that more than 80 percent of the claimants had less than 60 standard acre.⁵⁹

The proposal to allot every displaced land holder a uniform proportion of area abandoned by him, was however rejected. The second course was to fix a ceiling on the areas in standard acres which could be allotted to any displaced person. To bring meaning to the ceiling, it was necessary to adopt it for petty holders and to deprive many peasants who had better holding and had through enterprise and skill, built up progressive forms in Pakistan.⁶⁰

A middle course was followed. Accordingly, a compromise formula of graded cuts⁶¹ was devised. The cut was less in the case of small and middle land holders. The scheme worked on the basis of income-tax schedules.

An allottee owning more than one thousand standard acres received 50 standard acres for every thousand acres abandoned by him. According to Tarlok Singh, "*The cuts were based on practical*

⁵⁷ For the purpose of evolving the concept of a standard acre as a unit of value of allotment of land, Tarlok Singh worked out an interesting device which apparently appears to be complex but in fact was simple enough to be understood. The productivity of land was the major criterion. "An acre of land which could yield 10 to 11 *maunds* of wheat was given the value of 16 *annas* and was termed as a standard acre.

⁵⁸ The Standard Acre: Unit of Value for Land Allotment, *The Statesman*, July 27, 1950.

⁵⁹ *Graded Cuts* (Gap in the Area and the Scheme of Graded Cuts) Land Resettlement Operation in East Punjab by (Rehabilitation Secretariat, Jalandhar), p.4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ M.S. Randhawa, *Out of Ashes, op. cit.*, p.81-82.

considerations and had no political or reformist objectives. They, nevertheless, put an end to the large holdings which were a conspicuous feature of rural life in West Punjab".⁶²

The following graded system of redistribution of land was adopted by the Punjab Government and the princely states of Punjab.⁶³

Upto 10 More than	But no more than	Rate of cut	Net allotment of maximum of grade (standard acre)
Up to 10 more than 10	But no more than 30	25 per cent	7 ½
Up to 30 more than 30	But no more than 40	30 per cent	21 ½
Up to 40 more than 60	But no more than 60	40 per cent	27 ½
Up to 60 more than 100	But no more than 100	55 per cent	36 ½
Up to 100 more than 100	But no more than 150	70 per cent	48 ½
Up to 100 more than 150	But no more than 200	75 per cent	61
Up to 100 more than 200	But no more than 250	80 per cent	71
Up to 200 more than 250	But no more than 500	85 per cent	78 ½
Up to 250 more than 500	But no more than 1000	95 percent	108 ½

The big landlords had to face heavier loss as the scheme implied steeper cuts on higher ranges. The small holders were given maximum consideration. The interest of farmers owing land ranging between 10 and 15 standard acres who formed the backbone of the Punjab peasantry could not be sacrificed.

This graded cut on land holdings had a very great effect on the East Punjab economy. The disparity in area available as compared

⁶² *The Statesman*, July 6, 1950.

⁶³ *Land Resettlement Manual for Displaced Persons in Punjab and PEPSU*, PSA, Chandigarh. see also, *Rural Rehabilitation in East Punjab*, Punjab Government, p.3. which further mentions: 3000 acres – 281 1/3 acres, 4000 acres – 326 ½ acres, 5000 – 376 ½ acres.

with the area abandoned and the quality of soil and irrigation facilities sharpened a conflict between the land lords and landless tenants. The graded cuts had pruned large holdings and even middle class farmers who were quite contented to get *battai* in West Punjab found that with their reduced holdings they could no longer afford the luxury of tenant farming and had to adopt farming on their own.⁶⁴

The following arrangement of resettlement of agriculturists of West Punjab districts was made:⁶⁵

Refugee Land Holders of West Punjab	Resettlement in the East Punjab
Lahore and Non-Colonists from Montgomery District	Ferozepur District
Rawalpindi, Sheikhpura and Gujranwala Districts	Karnal District
Shahpur and Gujrat Districts	Ambala District
Multan District	Hissar District
Jhang and Muzafargarh Districts	Rohtak District
Dera Ghazikhan and Mianwali Districts	Gurgaon District
Sialkot District	Hoshiarpur, Amritsar and Gurdaspur Districts

The work of allotment of houses was done by the village housing *panchayats* which were set up in each evacuee village. The *Patwari* of the circle acted as a secretary. The *Tehsildar* of the *Tehsil* nominated a *Lambardar* or any other suitable person as chairman of the *Panchayat*. The total number of members of the *Panchayat*, including the chairman was restricted to nine. Three members were selected by *Halqa* Revenue officer in consultation with the displaced

⁶⁴ *Economy of Pakistan*, Government Publication, 1952, p.392; See also, Tarlok Singh, *Land Resettlement Manual*, *op. cit.*, p.9.

⁶⁵ Particular areas in the East Punjab states were earmarked for persons belonging to particular districts from West Punjab.

Refugees land holders of West Punjab	Resettlement in East Punjab States
Gujranwala	Patiala, Jind and Faridkot State
Sheikhpura	Nabha and Patiala State
Sialkot	Kapurthala State
Mianwali	Bawal District of Nabha State
Colonists from Sindh, Bahawalpur, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan	In their home districts if these were in the Punjab States

Rural Rehabilitation in Punjab, Punjab Government, India, p.1.

persons seeking settlement in the village. The *Halqa* revenue officer visited the villages for passing the allotment orders.⁶⁶ One of the Superintending Engineer was appointed as Director of Rural Housing.⁶⁷ The district rural evacuee housing committee was presided over by the additional deputy commissioners of the district. The revenue assistant acted as its secretary. The Committee consisting of Executive Engineer (P.W.D.), District Engineer, Secretary, District Board, District Medical Officer of Health, all Tehsildars, all M.L.A. representing rural constituencies, and two representatives of displaced persons of the tehsil as recommended by the Tehsildars.⁶⁸

The shortage of evacuee houses in the villages created a formidable problem which could not be solved for a long period. In allotting the population quotas to the various provinces and states in India, the share of the Punjab and PEPSU had been fixed by Government of India at 13 lakhs of urban population for resettlement in their urban areas.⁶⁹

To ensure fairness in the distribution of houses among the allottees, it was proposed that the size of the land allotment made to a person and the type of houses abandoned by him in western Pakistan should be a major factor to be taken into consideration. For each standard acre of land one mark was to be allowed and, subject to a maximum of 20 marks, houses abandoned in western Pakistan were to be valued at the rate of one mark for each 1000 of the value of the house.⁷⁰

In each village after their relative rights had been valued, allottees could pick houses according to their place in the village list.

⁶⁶ *The Tribune*, February 19, 1950.

⁶⁷ *The Refugee Rehabilitation (House Building Loans) (East Punjab) Act 1948*.

⁶⁸ *The Tribune*, February 19, 1950

⁶⁹ L.R. Nair, *Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.15.

⁷⁰ Houses above the value of Rs. 20, 000 were excluded from allotment, as they were to be dealt with according to the terms of an earlier agreement between India and Pakistan. Tarlok Singh, *Land Resettlement Manual*, *op. cit.*, p.181.

To obviate fictitious statement about the value of houses abandoned in western Pakistan, allottees were required to file an affidavit.⁷¹

Substantial houses situated outside the limits of the village *abadi* were also included in the pool of houses for allotment. Preference was given to those allottees in such allotments where colonists had ancestral houses in the villages of allotment or reasonably nearby. Preference in the distribution of evacuee houses was to be given to non-colonists.⁷²

In the villages where there were no constructed houses available at all, sites were allotted to displaced persons with the standard site being one or two *Kanals* according to the area of the *abadi* site. It was proposed to provide one site to allottees of 10 standard acres or less, two sites to allottees upto 20 standard acres, three sites to those holding upto 30 standard acres and four sites to those holding more than 30 standard acres. It was also intended to make a financial grant of Rs. 200 in the shape of building material to allottees holding five standard acres or less and to advance loans of Rs. 500 to persons holding more than five standard acres.⁷³

A model village scheme was also drawn up. The officials of the Public Works Department were required to demarcate sites in villages according to certain type-plans. The plans were provided with suitable roads and paths, open spaces, sites for community buildings, manure pits etc.⁷⁴

Of the total number of 1,41,817 evacuee houses there were only 1,11,482 houses which could be allotted. This number included

⁷¹ These instructions were issued at the end of July, 1950 and did not apply to allotments of houses made prior to this date by village panchayats. *Ibid.*, p.182.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Reviews from the orders of Revenue officers in respect of allotment of evacuee houses in rural areas lie to the following officers according to the value of the houses:

Value of Houses	Officers to whom review will lie
House of the value of Rs. 1000 or less	Revenue Assistant, Rehabilitation of the District
Houses of the value of above Rs. 10,000 but less than 20,000	Deputy Commissioners or Additional Deputy Commissioners of the District. <i>Ibid.</i>

20,000 houses which had been repaired either by the public works department or the allottees themselves. The rest of the houses were either irreparable at heavy cost. Therefore, it was felt better to construct new houses rather than repair at heavy cost. By the middle of December, 1949, 1,10,621 houses, composing 99% of the allotable had been allotted to the displaced families, providing accommodation to 8,90,818 persons.⁷⁵ The rest of the houses though not regularly allotted were occupied mostly by the displaced persons. These allotments made under the Punjab Evacuees (Administration of Property) Act, 1948 which was later replaced by the East Punjab evacuee ordinance of 1949. This enactment provided a legal basis for orders of allotment and eviction, empowered to use force in execution of these orders, and bars the interference of civil courts in the form of injunctions, attachment of property etc.⁷⁶

The evacuee gardens were reserved for allotment to displaced garden owners.⁷⁷ Horticultural facilities were provided by the government through introduction of a Garden Colony Scheme.⁷⁸ Earmarking of certain compact areas in every district was an important step taken by the government in this direction. Educated persons with gardening experience who were ready to undertake the planting of gardens in conformity with official regulations were allotted units ranging from 10 to 20 acres of land.⁷⁹ By 1956, the total number of allottees were 112. The allottees in each garden colony were members of co-operative society which looked after general management and ensured gardening was carried on

⁷⁵ At the same time provision had been made for appeal and revision by persons aggrieved by the eviction orders. L.R. Nair, *Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.16.

⁷⁶ These Houses could not take more than six persons per house on the average.

⁷⁷ Prem Nath, *Resurgent Punjab*, Director Public Relations, Development Department, Punjab Government, 1956, p.17.

⁷⁸ A useful scheme of Garden Colonies was introduced by the state at the time of Quasi Permanent Settlement in which 27 large blocks of evacuee land covering 20,000 acres were set apart for allotment to those who were interested in horticulture. *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ U. Bhaskar Rao, *The Story of Rehabilitation*, *op. cit.*, p.52.

according to approved plans. Three-fourth of the area of each garden was to be reserved for fruit gardening, the rest for raising foodgrains, fodder and vegetables.⁸⁰

The partition also affected the livestock reserves in the Punjab. Out of a total cattle wealth of 215 million in undivided India, 55 million went to Pakistan. Pakistan acquired 7 million sheep and an exportable surplus of fish with its annual catch being 23,00,000 mds as against 182,40,000 mds of undivided India through the legacy of partition.⁸¹ On the contrary, there was considerable fall in number of sheeps and goats from 946368 and 1646249 in 1945 to 641093 and 115782 in 1951 respectively in India primarily due to migration of Muslims who kept large heads of sheep and goat.⁸²

SECTION – III

Urban rehabilitation in the Punjab, broadly speaking was the problem of providing about 11 lac displaced persons of urban characteristics with houses and means of livelihood. A part of this population had been accommodated in evacuee houses, but new houses had to be built for the rest. While the government had achieved a large success in new constructions, however, due to shortage of housing and building material the task could not be considered as complete.⁸³

The insufficient number and inferior quality of the houses left by evacuees in the Punjab was the major problem. The urbanite displaced persons who had migrated from the West Punjab were accustomed to a much higher standard of residential accommodation than their evacuee counterparts in the East Punjab. The urbanite left

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Shiva Prasad, *Economy and Geography of Pakistan*, H. Chatterjee and Co., Calcutta, 1949, pp.20-22.

⁸² *Punjab Livestock Census of 1951*, Controller of Printing and Stationary, Punjab, Simla, 1953, p.4.

⁸³ *Urban Rehabilitation in East Punjab* (Official Figures and statistics), Director-General of Rehabilitation (Rehabilitation Secretariat, Jalandhar), p.1.

behind 1,54,000 houses in the West Punjab, as admitted by the Pakistan Government.⁸⁴ The number of allotable evacuee houses in the Punjab, on the other hand, was only about 1,10,000 and they were markedly poorer in quality and accommodation capacity. The majority of these evacuee houses were only dingy one room set which on an average could take not more than 6,60,000 evacuees. For the remaining 3,40,000 new houses or plots for houses were to be managed.⁸⁵

In respect of the accommodation for commercial and industrial purposes, the difference was even more. Against 51,000 shops and business premises abandoned in the West Punjab, the number of evacuee shops in Punjab was only about 17, 000⁸⁶. In the case of industrial establishments the ratio was 13 against 1 and the Muslims having left only 1100 allotable establishments in the Punjab. These establishments were mostly petty concerns, majority of which were small-working shops in urban areas or flour mills in rural areas. The Industrialists who had migrated from the West Punjab were, on the other hand, running much bigger and equipped factories, including cotton-ginning and textile mills which had no counterparts in the East Punjab. The utility of the evacuee concerns was reduced further by extensive damage caused to the machinery during the local disturbances of 1947.⁸⁷

The colossal problem confronting the infant Punjab State immediately after the partition was that of accommodating lacs of displaced persons from West Punjab in relief camps. Shelters were provided at different places near the border or at places directly accessible from the border.

⁸⁴ This figure was exclusive of the houses abandoned by the displaced persons who had migrated from N.W.F.P., Bahawalpur, Sindh and Baluchistan, and who wish to resettle in the Punjab. L.R. Nair, *Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.14.

⁸⁵ *Evacuee Houses in Urban Areas of East Punjab*, Official Figures and Statistics, p.4.

⁸⁶ L.R. Nair, *Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.14.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

After this the second phase of the work was the provisions of roofed shelter at the earliest for all the people who were huddled together in different relief camps or crowded in the already existing towns and cities.⁸⁸ Urban land i.e. land situated within municipal limits of a town, notified area committee, small town committee but cantonment was excluded from quasi-permanent allotment. Under inter-dominion agreement a scheme of leases of this land was introduced to provide for those who held land within urban areas in West Punjab.⁸⁹ The Punjab Government decided to undertake the construction of cheap mud huts at the sites of the camps in order to provide substitute shelter. On the considerations of utilisation of the maximum possible space of the camp areas, which were provided with the amenities of water supply and electric street lighting, and for reducing the construction cost to the minimum, the huts were designed in the form of partitioned barracks provided with *verandah* on both sides.⁹⁰

The Government decided to accommodate all the three strata of society according to the social and financial positions. Townships were set up at 14 places for the middle class and the upper class displaced persons who could spend about Rs. 5000 to Rs. 6000 in instalments for the houses in these townships or who wanted to set up houses of their own liking in these townships.

Rather more serious was the problem of the lower class displaced persons who had been so much improvised that they could not afford to spend anything for roofed shelter and mud-hut colonies were set up for them.

The cost of these mud huts, with roofs of wooden battens, *Sirki*, *Sarkanda*, and earth plaster, of roof space 9' x 13' with a provision of a door and a *verandah* to each room. It costed only Rs. 300 per mud hut. Till Jan 1950, nearly 8,000 huts were constructed

⁸⁸ *The Tribune*, June 24, 1951.

⁸⁹ *Urban Rehabilitation in East Punjab 1950*, Official Pamphlet, pp.IX-XI.

⁹⁰ L.R. Nair, *Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.7.

at various places in the province.⁹¹ In these huts nearly 40,000 people were accommodated.⁹² In December, 1951, the State Government again ordered the construction of 19,088 mud huts.⁹³ These were the cheapest specifications which could ensure protection for the occupants. The distribution of mud huts were as follows:⁹⁴

Gurdaspur	60	Mubarikpur	300
Hoshiarpur	60	Rohak	1600
Baldev Nagar	1300	Gurgaon	1500
Malout	168	Panipat	1000
Hissar	400	Dina Nagar	150
Karnal	1200	Jalandhar	2100
Batala	700	Moga	168
Ludhiana	1100	Sonipat	630
Palwal	250		

For the lower middle class people who could not afford to purchase houses and sites in townships and who did not like to be accommodated in mud huts, the Government evolved the scheme of cheap housing colonies. It was decided to set up houses of cheap specification on 8 *marala* sites and also to provide such sites for construction by the displaced persons themselves.⁹⁵

⁹¹ The target was to complete the construction of 13,200 mud huts throughout the province before summer 1950, which could accommodate nearly 70,000 persons. L.R. Nair, *Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, op. cit.*, p.7.

⁹² The displaced persons who occupied the huts had been made responsible for keeping them in a good state of repairs. Nearly 4300 refugees from Moga, Hissar Gurgaon and Palwal placed under mud huts till the end of June 1951.

⁹³ The Government of India also allotted funds to the extent of 1.05 lacs for the construction of additional mud huts at Palwal and Pathankot. *The Tribune*, June, 24, 1951.

⁹⁴ *Mud Huts in Relief Camps*, Official Figures and Statistics, Rehabilitation Secretariat, Jalandhar, pp.3-4.

⁹⁵ The cost of such a house was about Rs. 2300/- each to be paid. Such a house consisted of a room 15x10 feet, one *verandah* 7x7 feet, one kitchen 7x10 feet, one latrine 4x4 feet and an uncovered bathroom 4x4 feet, partially *kacha* drains and water supply in the form of hand pumps, where-tubewell water could not be made available. These 10,000 plots provided accommodation to 50,000 persons. The total cost of this scheme was estimated to nearly 72 lacs. *Urban Housing Scheme*, Department of Rehabilitation, Official Pamphlet, pp.3-4.

In these colonies sites were provided for religious buildings and schools. Sites were also provided for service industries, so that these colonies could be self-sufficient to the maximum possible extent. It was hoped that the displaced persons would be able to set up weaving factories *Kohlus*, carding machines, cotton ginning factories etc. in such colonies. This would not only cater to needs of people living in the colonies but also provide suitable opportunities for earning livelihood for the lower class people.⁹⁶ Up to 1953, 2,885 houses were built in different cities of Punjab.⁹⁷

The another scheme to provide shelter was the construction of 4,200 houses and laying out of 9800 building in new township colonies⁹⁸ built at various places in the Punjab.

The total accommodation that these townships aim at was 66,000.⁹⁹ Out of 4,200 houses, 2085 were sold till July 1949, and 448 houses were placed at the disposal of the Defence Organization, Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation Government of India, for sale to displaced military personnel.¹⁰⁰

In these townships, shopping centres were created. In 1950, there were 200 shops in townships in East Punjab.¹⁰¹

Displaced persons who had purchased plots from Government in the new townships of East Punjab, were eligible for house-building loans under the East Punjab Refugee Rehabilitation (House Building Loans) Act of 1948.¹⁰² Funds amounting to nearly Rs. 40 lakhs were

⁹⁶ *The Tribune*, July 22, 1953.

⁹⁷ Such as Jalandhar, Batala, Ambala, Hissar, Rohtak, Jagadhri, Sonapat, Pathankot, Ludhiana, Karnal, Gurgaon, Palwal, Panipat, Bhiwani etc. *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, January 26, 1950.

⁹⁹ L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, *op. cit.*, p.17.

¹⁰⁰ The remaining had either been leased out to Government department of displaced persons or laid unoccupied till years. Any displaced person, who already owns a house or a building site at any place in India, either himself or through his wife or his dependent children, was not eligible for the purchase of a house or a site in these townships. From the Financial Commissioner Relief and Rehabilitation, East Punjab Jullundur to Assistant Secretary Government of India, *Ministry of Rehabilitation, Letter No. 10918/U, 12-8-49*; See also, *The Tribune*, January 26, 1950.

¹⁰¹ L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, *op. cit.*, p.19.

¹⁰² *East Punjab Refugee Rehabilitation (House Building Loans) Act of 1948.*

placed at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioners and the Registrar, Co-operative Societies (Rehabilitation), for loans to individuals for construction of houses on the sites in the townships.¹⁰³ The displaced persons, who were not in a position to finance their own house construction to any extent, came next in precedence. The loans were advanced on the following scale.

Rs. 3000 - If the area was not more than one canal

Rs. 3500 – If the area was more than one Kanal but less than two.

Rs. 4000 – If the area was more than two Kanals but less than three.

Rs. 5000 – If the area was more than three Kanals but less than four.

The Deputy Commissioner could grant loans upto Rs. 5000/- and may recommend the cases for higher loans to the financial commissioner relief and rehabilitation, who could sanction upto Rs. 10,000.¹⁰⁴ East Punjab Government had laced the following sums at the disposal of the following Deputy Commissioner for house building loans:¹⁰⁵

City	Rs.	City	Rs.
Jullundhur	4,50,000	Ambala	6,50,000
Ludhiana	6,00,000	Rohtak	6,00,000
Hoshiarpur	1,70,000	Gurgaon	1,43,400
Karnal	4,00,000	Total	30,13,400

The houses and building sites provided in the township colonies were for middle and upper middle classes. The working class and the low income groups accommodated in the two cheap housing

¹⁰³ Loans were, in the first place, meant for those persons who can contribute to the cost of construction from their own resources. In their case the maximum amount upto 66 2/3% of the total cost of construction was provided in the form of loans. L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, *op. cit.*, p.19.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.20.

¹⁰⁵ *East Punjab Refugee Rehabilitation (House Building Loans) Act of 1948.*

schemes, one of which aimed at the provision of 6150 building sites at various places in the province and the second aimed at the creation of 10,000 eight-Marla plots, which were as follows:¹⁰⁶

New Localities		Plots Where New Townships Colonies had been Built	
Pathankot	1000	Julundur	1000
Batala	700	Ludhiana	500
Amritsar	500	Jagadhari	200
Moga	300	Panipat	300
Ropar	250	Ambala	700
Bhawani	500		
Hansi	100		
Shahbad	100		
Total	3450	Total	2700

Building plots of eight Marlas each, with a loan of Rs. 500 was advanced to working class for the constructions of a *Kacha Kotha*. This loan came under the scheme of demarcation of 10,000 sites. Nearly 40,000 camp dwellers were provided for this scheme. Under this scheme 9800 sites were constructed and 200 kept in reserve.¹⁰⁷ These are:

City	Rs.	City	Rs.
Batala	400	Hissar	400
Pathankot	400	Gurgaon	1000
Ludhiana	500	Palwal	800 (Faridabad)
Jullundur	1000	Karnal	800
Ambala	700	Panipat	800
Jagadhari	500	Site of Capital	1000
Rohtak	1000	Total	9800

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

In PEPSU only 27,400 houses were allottable out of the total number of evacuee houses. The number included about 6,400 houses which were repaired by the Public Works Department or by the allottees themselves. The acute shortage of houses made it imperative for the PEPSU Government to immediately take up the issue of repairing damaged Muslim evacuee houses. The Government was extremely slow in sanctioning repairs in the beginning but later the work was expedited to meet the needs of the displaced persons. The PEPSU Government also decided to establish some suburban colonies and model townships in some of its towns.¹⁰⁸ A sum of 10.47 lac rupees was sanctioned for construction of houses in Model Town, Patiala.¹⁰⁹ An amount of Rs. 2.54 lac was advanced for the construction of a residential complex near Gurudwara Dukhniwaran, Patiala.¹¹⁰

At Samana, Bahawalpuris were settled in large number and a big sum of money was advanced as loans to them for the repairs of the houses. In Tripuri township, an approximate amount of Rs. 13 lacs was spent and 1,100 houses were built.¹¹¹ 960 quarters were constructed in the other parts of Patiala, Nabha and Sangrur at a cost of Rs. 15 lacs.¹¹²

A 'cheap house' scheme was prepared for the working classes and the low income groups. This scheme aimed at providing building sites at various places in the union. These new colonies of cheap houses were largely created in the vicinity of the 'Industrial Areas', which were established in Patiala, Phagwara and Kapurthala.¹¹³

The displaced persons from Bahawalpur state created another serious problem. The rehabilitation ministry at first thought to build a township for 60,000 Bahawalpuria Refugees at Rajpura. But neither

¹⁰⁸ *Thousand Live Again*, Simla, 1948, pp.8-9.

¹⁰⁹ *Punjab Vidhan Sabha Debates*, Vol. VI, No. 1, February 22, 1955, p.7.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 14, March 16, 1955, p.1107.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 12, March 14, 1955, pp.922-923.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Directorate of Information*, PEPSU Government, No. 657, September 16, 1934 (PSA).

adequate water was available in the Rajpura area nor work could be found for such a big population there.¹¹⁴

It was decided to distribute the population to other towns of the union where the refugees could be engaged on gainful occupations.¹¹⁵ A population of 10,000 Bahawalpuris was earmarked for Patiala. Of these, some were to be housed in the town itself either by repairing the *Kholas* or in new barracks which was constructed for refugees. The bulk of the population was to be accommodated in a new township in close precincts of the town at Tripuri where 1800 new houses were planned to construct.¹¹⁶ Nearly 8,000 Bahawalpuri evacuees planned to settle in Jind.¹¹⁷

400 Houses were planned to be built in Phagwara, a town in PEPSU Union. 100 shops consisted of one room brick structure was built at Phagwara for the rehabilitation of a part of these families.¹¹⁸

The PEPSU Government planned six model townships near Patiala, Phagwara, Basti Nau, Bathinda, Kotkapura and Barnala. According to the plan, displaced persons would either be given building loans or completed houses and the cost of which would be recovered from them in equal instalments spread over a period of 15 years. The sale of houses was made public by auction limiting the bid to the first instalment to be paid.

¹¹⁴ From Shri P.N. Thapar, Financial Commissioner, Punjab to C.N. Chandra, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Rehabilitation, *D.O. letter no. 3969/S*, dated 12-4-50.

¹¹⁵ In this plan the size of the room was proposed to 14x10 feet and of the verandah to 14x7 feet. For this purpose, a sum of 10 lac rupees was sanctioned by the Centre Government. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ These houses were planned to construct at a cost of Rs. 27,57,340. From Sudhod Ghosh, Deputy Rehabilitation Advisor to Secretary to the Government of PEPSU, *No. RHB/14(11)50*, Government of India, New Delhi, March 6, 1950.

¹¹⁷ Harcharan Singh to Office of Honorary Reground Advisor, Ministry of Rehabilitation, Patiala, *D.O. No. 9HRA*, June 4, 1950.

¹¹⁸ Dispersal of 25,000 refugees planned from Rajpura camp as follows:

1. PEPSU Towns 6000
 2. Number to be resettled on 10,000 acres of land in the Rajpura area 4,000
 3. Number to be moved to Bahawalpura Township in Patiala 8,000
 4. Number to be moved to Phagwara 2,000
 5. Old and displaced persons including unattached women and children to remain 5000 at Rajpura
- Total = 25000

After the first requirement of residential accommodation for a displaced family had been met, the next important step towards effecting its speedy rehabilitation was the provision of business premises where it could pursue its avocation of industry or other professional work. To provide displaced shopkeepers a ready means of earning their living, it was decided to allot evacuee shops and factories only to displaced person. There were all 17,826 allotable shops.¹¹⁹ All of these were allotted to displaced businessmen from West Punjab. Ejectment of unauthorized persons and transfer in other cases was done from month to month as a result of resurveys. It was an essential condition of eligibility for allotment of a shop or a factory that the refugee was carrying on similar business or industry in West Punjab. Other consideration in making allotment of business premises and shops were as under:¹²⁰

1. That each town should replace essential types of business abandoned by Muslims.
2. That each town should have its proper quota in number and variety of large shops and business houses.
3. That business men from district headquarters, towns and cantonments should be preferred in towns of corresponding character.

The total number of evacuee factories and industrial establishments in the province was nearly 1600 and out of these 1,114 were leased by tenders of auction.

Most of the remaining factories could be leased out, either because there was some dispute pending about them or because they had lost their industrial character due to damage or removal of machinery.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ *Urban Rehabilitation in East Punjab*, Allotment of Shops and Factories to urban displaced persons by Rehabilitation Secretariat, Jalandhar (Official Pamphelt).

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ *Urban Rehabilitation in East Punjab*, *op. cit.*, with a view to ensuring the speedy functioning of the factories, unfinished goods, raw materials, spare parts, tools, fuel and lubricants which were available in the premises of the abandoned factories, were sold to the allottees after evaluation.

With a view to ensuring speedy functioning of the factories, unfinished goods, raw material, spare parts, tools, fuel and lubricants available in the premises of the abandoned factories, were sold to the allottees after evaluation, according to an arrangement arrived at with the custodian of Evacuee Property. The Government of India sanctioned special quotas of coal and steel for the displaced industrialists. Despite these concessions, large number of factories were unable to start functioning soon after they were leased out, because of the acute scarcity of machinery parts, raw materials and skilled labour.¹²² Practically all the skilled labour was to be drawn from the Muslims. Machinery was found to be extensively damaged and pilfered during the disturbances of 1947.

To provide financial aid to the poor and middle class displaced persons desirous of rehabilitation themselves in business, the government sanctioned a scheme of Rehabilitation loans and grants. The object of these loans and grants was to help in resettlement of petty traders, shopkeepers, artisans, persons wishing to start small workshops or cottage industries.¹²³ For an individual the limit fixed for a loan was Rs. 5,000 and for a grant Rs. 500. Bigger loans were given by rehabilitation finance administration of the Central Government which could give loans to individuals upto Rs. 50,000 and to companies upto Rs. 10,00,000.¹²⁴

In the beginning all loans to urban evacuees were granted individually. Later on it was decided that loans, should as a rule be given only to co-operative societies or groups of displaced persons. This was done in order to ensure that loans would be used for the purpose it was given. It was also hoped that this would create

¹²² L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, *op. cit.*, p.25.

¹²³ The term artisan included smiths, carpenters, masons, tailors, potters, shoemakers and bookbinders.

¹²⁴ The rate of interest on these loans was 3 percent per annum. The loan together with all interest was repayable by annual instalments in a period of six years. The repayment commenced 24 months after the date of disbursement of the loan. In case the money rent was not applied to the purpose for which it was lent, the loan became immediately recoverable. *Ibid.*

amongst displaced persons a sense of common interest. In case of the nature of the profession where it would be impracticable for displaced persons to function in co-operative societies or in groups such as, doctors, petty shopkeepers, etc. an exception was allowed.¹²⁵ Where the government was satisfied the loans were utilized for which it had been applied for, individual loans were sanctioned for organizing co-operative societies among displaced persons and a separate section in rehabilitation department under the additional registrar for co-operative societies had been established with a skeleton staff in July 1949 in order to register societies, majority of which were thrift and credit societies. Other type of societies registered were industrial, multipurpose and dairy societies and loans to these societies were advanced in instalments as and when required up to their maximum credit limits¹²⁶ The Punjab Government had by the end of November 1949, sanctioned Rs. 1,25,000,00 as loans and Rs. 18,00,000 as grants.¹²⁷

To create additional employment at important refugee centres, the Punjab Government decided to start a scheme of development of industrial townships outside some important urban areas which had substantial industrial potential or which were expected to gain this potential after the establishment of industries. A committee set up by the government recommended locations of those townships at Faridabad, Bahadurgarh, Sonapat, Panipat, Jagadhari, Khanna, Ropar, Ludhiana, Jullundur and at a place between New Delhi and Ambala.¹²⁸ PEPSU Government established industrial areas outside

¹²⁵ *Co-operative Societies for Urban Rehabilitation*, Rehabilitation Secretariat, Jullundur, (Official Report), pp.1-4.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Urban Rehabilitation in East Punjab*, Official Pamphlet, 1950.

¹²⁸ The Chief Industries which were plan to set up in these areas include, engineering industries, foundries and workshops, radio parts, cutlery, surgical instruments, brass utensils, textiles, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, brass paints and varnishes glass, bonemeal, fruit preservation, hosiery, sports goods, scientific apparatus, stationary goods, oil mills, flour mills, saw and ice mills, pottery, steel rolling, soaps etc.

some important cities and towns such as Patiala, Rajpura, Phagwara, Kapurthala etc. An amount of Rs. 8 lac was also distributed as grants and loans to the settlers in industrial areas in PEPSU.¹²⁹ The loans were granted on the basis of Interim Compensation payable to them under the PEPSU Refugee Rehabilitation (Loans and Grants) Ordinance, 2005.¹³⁰ Loans were also given to those who had received vocational and technical training; inmates of homes or infirmaries who had left such institutions to settle in various vocations; and settlers in the new Township of Tripuri for starting business or industry inside the township.¹³¹ The Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation sanctioned advances to the maximum limit of Rs. 5000, which were granted to traders, shopkeepers and to those persons who started their own workshops and cottage industries.¹³² Displaced persons who bought a *tanga* and a horse to ply the vehicle on hire were given loans upto Rs. 1,000. Other displaced persons were covered by the general loan scheme under which the maximum limit was fixed at Rs. 500.¹³³

Department of industries of the Punjab Government had also started various training centres, in which 4316 trainees, where both boys and girls, were trained. Jullundur gradually became an important centre for manufacture of sports goods where displaced manufactures from Sialkot in West Punjab had concentrated.¹³⁴

Upto March 3, 1950 loans amounting to Rs. 1,52,11,550 had been disbursed to 20,032 displaced persons for their rehabilitation in

¹²⁹ *Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates*, Vol. IV, No. 11, July 22, 1954, p.767.

¹³⁰ Letter No. 2 F-2(21)4-Misc.-54-5798 of May 12, 1954, Government of PEPSU, Rehabilitation Department (PSA).

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Millions on the Move, *op. cit.*, p.76.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ Nine centres to gave training to displaced girls in tailoring, spinning, toy-making, hand embroidery and knitting were functioning and the number of trainees in these was 1119. In the government Textile Technical Institution at Amritsar, 77 displaced persons got trained in weaving. L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, *op. cit.*, p.29.

business, industry or profession. Rehabilitation grants amounting to Rs. 15,86,994 were disbursed upto the end of March, 1950 to 10,196 destitute displaced persons.¹³⁵

The displaced students had suffered a lot due to the weakening financial position of their parents and guardians as a consequence of their forced migration from the West Punjab. Considering the student community a valuable national asset, and also that their studies should not come to a premature termination for lack of financial scarcity of their parents and guardians, a scheme to extend grants and loans to them was started by the government in January, 1948. These loans were distributed to those students who (1) had been compelled to discontinue their studies or training and (2) were such deserving persons who would prove an asset to the community if their education or training was not discontinued. In order to provide relief in the most expeditious manner the heads of departments concerned functioned as the sanctioning and disbursing authorities. Relief to college students and trainees was in the form of loans and to school students of 5th to 10th class in the form of grants, beside other concessions.¹³⁶ Loans were granted in monthly or quarterly instalments basis and not in lump sum. The following were the rates for the loans for students of different classes:¹³⁷

¹³⁵ The number of displaced persons under training in the centres organised by the department of Industries was 4050 as detailed below:

(i)	Refugee Boys in 25 centres	- 2,779
(ii)	Refugee Girls in 9 centres	- 1,012
(iii)	Hosiery Trainees at Ludhiana centre	- 206
(iv)	Trainees in Weaving at Amritsar	- 53
	Total	- 4,050

Progress Report on Relief and Rehabilitation in the Punjab, April 20, 1950.

¹³⁶ Financial assistance to displaced students by East Punjab Government, *The Tribune*, January 26, 1950.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

Classes	Rs. Per Month	Plus Tuition Fees	
F.A.	36/10	Do	Do
B.A., B.Sc., B.Sc. Agri.	37/8	Do	Do
M.A., M.Sc.	48/5	Do	Do
Teacher's Training Course	51/	Do	Do
Medical School Diploma	55/8	Do	Do
Veterinary and Agricultural (Diploma Course)	26/8	Do	Do
M.B.B.S., B.D.S., B. Pharmacy	69/5	Do	Do
Engineering (Degree Course)	69/5	Do	Do
Engineering (Technological)	55/6	Do	Do
L.L.B.	80	Do	Do

Relief to the school students was in the form of grants for the purchase of books, apparatus, stationery and for exemption from school and examination fees. In the case of IX and X classes the maximum limit of a grant had been fixed at Rs. 75. In the case of V and VI middle classes it was fixed at Rs. 50. This relief was granted only for the completion of the studies or training which the student or trainee was pursuing at the time of partition and not for higher studies beyond that course, except in the following cases:¹³⁸

- (1) Students who passed their Matriculation Examination in the 2nd division and wished to pursue engineering, medical or agricultural courses.
- (2) Students who passed their intermediate examination (Medical), interested to continue their medical course. Students who had passed F.Sc. (non-medical) examination and had secured admission into an engineering college and also interested to complete the engineering course.

¹³⁸ L.R. Nair, Relief and rehabilitation in Punjab, *op. cit.*, p.38.

(3) Matriculates who wished to join as dispensers – dressers were also eligible to the assistance under the scheme.¹³⁹

Loans to the students or a trainee were stopped immediately on his failure to pass a recognised periodical examination. For instance students who were studying in the 8th class at the time of the disturbances were assisted only upto the matriculation and those in intermediate upto F.A. or F.Sc. examination.¹⁴⁰ Exception was however, made in the case of students who had secured admission to engineering, medical, veterinary or agricultural colleges, recognized by the East Punjab University in which case assistance was continued till completion of the full course. The Punjab Government disbursed to displaced students a sum of Rs. 15,22,000 as loans and Rs. 19,48,000 as grants in the year 1948-49. For the year 1949-50 the budget allocation was Rs. 40 lacs, half of which was as loans and half as grants.¹⁴¹ During March, 1950, the Director Public Instructions sanctioned the aggregate amount of Rs. 1,13,948 as grants. The total amount disbursed as grants during 1949-50 was Rs. 16,99,064. The various heads of departments disbursed Rs. 72,128 as loans to displaced students during March, 1950 and Rs. 6,67,328 during the financial year 1949-50.¹⁴²

A scheme, mutually beneficial to the evacuees and the students, was devised. A large number of students could not take various examinations or their results could not be announced. In order to help the students to come out of the difficulty and make possible voluntary and willing service to the refugees, a scheme of “social service” was started. According to this scheme, a student who worked for at least 70 days in a refugee camp, approved by the Government, was awarded diplomas or certificate for the

¹³⁹ V.P. Malhotra, *Economic condition of displaced persons settled in East Punjab, Part I*, Government Publication, Simla, 1949, p.55.

¹⁴⁰ *Urban Rehabilitation in East Punjab 1950*, Official Pamphlet, pp.20-22.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.34.

¹⁴² *Progress Report on Relief and Rehabilitation in the Punjab*, April 20, 1950, Rehabilitation Branch.

examinations for which they were entitled to appear or had appeared but the results could not be announced due to disturbances. These diplomas or certificates were considered equivalent to those obtained after passing the examination.¹⁴³

Even though the situation being completely out of control, the school administration in East Punjab was able to work out a timetable for the conduct of promotional examinations. On December 10, 1947, it was announced that the matriculation examination would not be held as usual in March/ April but from September 1, 1948, and also that there would be no summer vacation in 1948. As for the conduct of 1949 matriculation examination, it would be in the month of May, thereafter, i.e., from 1950, the examination would be held as usual in March/April every year.¹⁴⁴ The Senate of the East Punjab University met in Jullundur on November 30 presided over by Bhargava. It resolved to provide some relief to the examinees in view of the complete disruption of academic activity. The students who put in three months of social service in the relief camps would be exempted from appearing in one subject in Matriculation, B.A. and B.Sc. examinations in 1947.¹⁴⁵ For the students of the M.A. examination, appearing in 1947 would have no such provision, but those who were to appear in 1948 would be allowed to forego one paper out of six in lieu of three months of social service.¹⁴⁶ For medical students, however, things were not so easy. A large number of students demanded that the examination be postponed because most of the students had lost their books. Others demanded that they should be allotted Medical College at Aligarh and also may be sent to distant colleges across India as was being done.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ *Report of the Progress of Education in the Punjab*, Simla, 1950, p.4.

¹⁴⁴ *The Tribune*, December 11, 1947; January 5, 1948.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, December 1, 1948.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, December 17, 1947.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, December 12, 1947, *The Statesman*, January 17, 1947.

Despite of all these concessions and financial help, all the refugee students could not find it possible to continue their education. The displaced persons, after their arrival in the East Punjab had to start their life afresh. Many of them had lost all they had. They had, therefore, to harness all available resources to achieve the desired object. The young children came to the rescue of their parents in this hard time and penury and supplemented their paltry earnings. The Board of Economic Enquiry, after making survey in eight towns concluded that nearly 31-40 percent refugee students had to discontinue their studies, because their parents could not afford the expenses of their education. It, however, pointed out that a large number of children would have been “lured to school if fee and other concessions had been freely and readily made available”. Female education was worst affected by the partition, being non-earning members, girls were the first to be retrenched out of the family economy.¹⁴⁸

With the liquidation of gratuitous relief in general camps, the care and maintenance of the unattached infirm and aged persons, having nobody to look after them, the Punjab Government had focused their attention on establishment of suitable homes at selected places in the province where such unattached persons could be adequately looked after. Four big-sized homes for the women and children were created at Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Karnal and Rohtak. Jullundur and Hoshiarpur accommodated nearly 2,700 women and children. The unattached women and children from all the relief camps of the province had been given the option to choose any of these four homes for admission. Besides these four big-sized homes, a *Seva Sadan* accommodated nearly 250 women and children in Jullundur. Similar *Seva Sadan* were created at Karnal, Ambala, Batala and Ferozepore with the passage of time.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Satya M. Rai, Punjab Since Partition, *op. cit.*, p.55.

¹⁴⁹ L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, *op. cit.*, p.29.

In these homes education facilities had been provided for the children. Basic education was provided according to availability of adequate trained staff. Various types of industries and crafts, on the basis of cottage industries, including weaving, spinning, knitting, tailoring, embroidery, laundry, toys-making, carpet making, niwar and durrie-making, confectionary etc. were introduced for the women of these homes.

The unattached infirm and aged persons had been lodged in infirmaries set up in the various relief camps of the province. Nearly 900 infirm and aged men and women, some of them being too old and infirm were incapable even to attend to their day to day needs had been lodged in these infirmaries. They were being looked after in these infirmaries on a semi-hospital basis, where the prescribed diet was provided to them.¹⁵⁰

The PEPSU Government also set up 'Home for Destitute Women and Children; at Sangrur and Rajpura after the gratuitous relief camps had been liquidated. As many as 1,100 widows and unattached women from the old camps were accommodated there.¹⁵¹ The destitute women and children were trained in various crafts, such as tailoring, spinning, weaving, hand embroidery, knitting and laundry. The PEPSU Government provided maintenance allowance at the rate of Rs. 18 per month per head to about 1,400 destitute women and old infirm and aged persons in these Homes.¹⁵²

The influx of teachers from the West Punjab who were more in number than the Muslim teachers from the East Punjab also had to be absorbed. The Government of East Punjab by circular letters on 25 March and 2 June 1948 and 4 May 1950, directed all the heads of departments that while making new appointments, preference should be given to the displaced government servants. All permanent government servants were to be absorbed and supernumerary posts

¹⁵⁰ Satya M. Rai, Punjab Since Partition, *op. cit.*, p.57.

¹⁵¹ PEPSU Since Inauguration, p.38; See also, *The Tribune*, September 26, 1953.

¹⁵² Punjab Vidhan Sabha Debates, Vol. VI, No. 11, March 11, 1955, p.889.

had to be created for those who had not been absorbed or were in temporary service in the West Punjab. Similarly, instructions were issued to the local and private bodies to appoint displaced employees of local bodies of the West Punjab. Arrangements were also made to get duplicate certificates from the West Punjab or issue special certificates in lieu of those lost in transit at the time of the partition.¹⁵³

A number of concessions and relaxations in the matter of employment in Government and public sector undertakings were given to displaced persons. These included age concessions for appearing at the State P.P.S.C. and U.P.S.C. examinations and entry into Government services, fee concession for the submission of applications to the U.P.S.C. etc. and also reservation of vacancies in Government and public sector undertakings. Till 1961, about 0.70 lakh displaced persons were provided jobs through various Employment Exchanges in the Eastern region.¹⁵⁴

The rehabilitation and urban resettlement of displaced persons raised a number of other complicated questions regarding moveable evacuee's property and assets. Regarding the transfer of savings, bank deposits, accounts, payment of pension, removal of assets of trusts and operation of safe deposit, the Governments of the two Dominions entered into an agreement. In pursuance of this agreement the West Punjab and the PEPSU Governments decided to permit non-Muslims to have access to them who had lockers in banks and safe-deposit companies in Lahore. The East Punjab and PEPSU Governments, therefore issued 30 permits a day for this purpose.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Letters No. 1190-F.C. 48/11542, 25 March 1948; No. 3250-FF.48/29377, 2 June, 1948 and No. 2393-FR-50, 4 May 1950.

¹⁵⁴ P.N. Luthra, *Rehabilitation*, Delhi, 1951, pp.28-29.

¹⁵⁵ *After Partition*, Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi, 1948, p.70.

SECTION – IV

As a result of the partition of Punjab, the Punjab Mental Hospital, Lahore, became a part of the West Punjab Government. East Punjab and the adjoining States were, thus, deprived of the medical facilities of an up-to-date Mental Hospital. Non-Muslim mental patients numbering about 600 admitted in the Lahore Mental Hospital at the time of partition had to remain there for want of asylum in East Punjab. The East Punjab Government, therefore, felt it absolutely necessary to build a new Mental Hospital of their own and decided to convert the Reformer School, Amritsar, into a Mental Hospital. The construction work started in 1948 and the building of the Mental Hospital was completed in early 1949.¹⁵⁶ The East Punjab Government authorised the Deputy High Commissioner for India in Pakistan, at Lahore to release all Hindu and Sikh mental patients of the hospital, who had been declared fit since August 15, 1948.¹⁵⁷ In order to reserve sufficient accommodation for Lahore patients, government permitted the medical superintendent of the hospital to admit patients provided total number in the hospital at one time did not exceed 100 (this limit later raised to 150) ¹⁵⁸

The most important event in the working of the Punjab Mental Hospital, Amritsar, in the year 1950, was the transfer of 450 Indian Mental patients from Mental Hospitals in West Pakistan on December 6, 1950. The patients received from Pakistan Hospitals were as follows:¹⁵⁹

	Men	Women	Total
Mental Hospital, Lahore	223	94	317
Mental Hospital, Peshawar	45	10	55
Mental Hospital, Hyderabad (Sindh)	55	23	78

¹⁵⁶ *The Annual Report of the Working of Punjab Mental Hospital for 1949*, The Controller and Stationary, Simla, 1950, p.1.

¹⁵⁷ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, January 26, 1949.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, January 26, 1949.

¹⁵⁹ *Annual Report on the Working of Punjab Mental Hospital Amritsar, 1950*, The Controller of Prints & Stationary, Simla, 1951, p.1.

Out of these, 282 Punjabi patients were admitted in the Mental Hospital, Amritsar, while the other 168 non-Punjabi patients were transferred to the Indian Mental Hospital, Ranchi.

At the time of partition on August 15, 1947, the strength of Indian mental patients in the Lahore Mental Hospital was about 650. Out of these, only 317 patients returned to India. It is tragic to note that the remaining Indian patients did not survive due to unfortunate post-partition circumstances. The fate of the patients in the Sindh and Peshawar Mental Hospitals was worst and only 133 were received at the time of exchange.¹⁶⁰ The patient included patients from Mental Hospitals, Lahore, Sindh and N.W.F.P. The hardships of these mental patients both men and women suffered at the hands of an unsympathetic administration could be imagined from the fact that more than half of the patients left at the Mental Hospital, Lahore, perished during the period between partition and repatriation.¹⁶¹

Recovery of Prisoners

Another problem caused by the partition of the country was the exchange of prisoners. Several Hindu and Sikh prisoners were imprisoned in Lahore Jail. As a result of partition, the East Punjab was left with inadequate number of jails as all the Central Jails and most of the big district jails were left in the West Punjab. The loss of “all major jail industrial centres, stocks of raw materials and other marketable goods, prisoner’s clothing and bedding, struck a serious blow to the whole system of the prison administration of the state.¹⁶² Despite of the serious shortage of accommodation in the Indian Jails, persistent efforts were made by the government to secure earliest repatriation of Hindu and Sikh prisoners from Pakistan keeping in view their reported plight and also to relieve from natural anxiety of

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.5.

¹⁶² *Punjab on the March – Police, Jails and Campaign against Corruption*, Simla, 1951, p.5.

their relatives in India. Unfortunately the West Punjab Government was not in a hurry even for the sake of Muslim prisoners seeking repatriation from East Punjab in exchange and continued to postpone the arrangements.

On January 3, 1948, with the efforts of Indian Government, a conference of representatives from India and Pakistan was held at Amritsar, wherein the process of exchange of prisoners was fixed to commence from the January 12.¹⁶³ But it could not mature as the West Punjab Government sent an intimation at the last moment that they were not yet prepared for the exchange.¹⁶⁴ Further negotiations were held to reach to an agreement of exchange of prisoners in April and an elaborate plan was worked out for this purpose, including the concentration on exchangeable prisoners from both sides in selected jails and pooling of railway prison vans of East and West Punjab railways for transporting the prisoners from one side to the other.¹⁶⁵

Before they were sent to Pakistan the Muslim prisoners were kept in Hissar Camp Jail.¹⁶⁶

Temporary special jails were opened at Jalandhar, Ferozepur at short notice for a short periods to receive non-Muslim under trial prisoners and convicts repatriated from West Punjab and other parts of Pakistan. The special jail at Jalandhar was opened in the end of March, 1948 and closed on 17th May, 1948. It was opened in the Gandhi Nagar Relief Camp which was converted into a jail by constructing a barbed wire enclosure and providing a kitchen, water

¹⁶³ On January 7, East Punjab Katoch (Inspector General of Prisons East Punjab) issued a statement that the exchange of prisoners between East Punjab and West Punjab would begin on January 12 and would be completed by January 7. *The Tribune*, January 8, 1947; *The Times of India*, January 12, 1948; *The Civil and Military Gazette*, January 1, 1948.

¹⁶⁴ An escort party that had gone to West Punjab to bring back Hindu and Sikh prisoners had to come back empty-handed because the West Punjab authorities refused to handover the prisoners unless Muslim prisoners in East Punjab jails were released first. *The Tribune*, January 2, 1948.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, January 23, 1948.

¹⁶⁶ *Report of the East Punjab Jail Reforms Committee 1948-49*, Vol. I, The Superintendent Government Printing, Simla, 1950, p.11.

supply and other sanitary installations and security arrangements. Under trial prisoners numbering 1397 repatriated from West Punjab were kept in this jail till their cases were reviewed by the District Magistrate, Jalandhar. Except 126 under-trial prisoners involved in very serious offences of murder and dacoities, all others were released. Similarly a separate jail was opened in Ferozepore in September, 1948 for the confinement of Muslim prisoners, who were brought here from other jails of East Punjab and Delhi provinces and Indian states for their repatriation to West Punjab in Pakistan in exchange (West Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sindh, Baluchistan, Bahawlpur state). The Camp Jail was closed on the November 30, 1948, after 891 Muslim prisoners were sent to Pakistan and 1,315 non-Muslim prisoners repatriated from West Punjab were shifted to other jails in the province and to the District Jail Delhi.¹⁶⁷

After the exchange of 2,870 Muslim prisoners with 2,773 Hindu and Sikh prisoners, West Punjab abruptly discontinued further exchange. This development was taken to both the Dominion Governments and after prolonged negotiations, the remaining exchange was carried out at Ferozepure in October-November, 1948. The number of prisoners exchanged from either side on the two occasions was as below:¹⁶⁸

	Non-Muslim prisoners repatriated from Pakistan			Muslim prisoners repatriated to Pakistan		
	Convicts	Under trials	Total	Convicts	Under trials	Total
No. exchange in April, 1948	1376	1797	2773	448	2422	2870
No. exchange in Oct./Nov., 1948	790	525	1315	494	397	891
Total	2166	1922	4088	942	2819	3761

¹⁶⁷ *Report on the Administration of the Jails in the Punjab, 1948*, Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, Simla, 1950.

¹⁶⁸ Punjab on the March, *op. cit.*, pp.5-6; See also, *East Punjab Liaison Agency Reports*, File No. XV/46/129, p.7.

The jail department, in addition, had to recognise jail industries to restore internal economy. The total “pucca” accommodation available in the Punjab jails was sufficient only for about 2,500 prisoners, whereas, the average population of prisoners in the jails was about 8,000. To meet this shortage of accommodation the government ordered an extension of the district jails at Ambala, Ferozepur and construction of a “pucca” district jail at Hissar at the site of Camp Jail. Separate arrangements in addition had to be made for juvenile, adolescent and women prisoners and those suffering from T.B. Temporary arrangements, in the first instance, were made to meet this accommodation shortage by construction of new jails by:

1. Utilizing the Camp Jail at Hissar as Borstal Institution for the confinement of juvenile and adolescent prisoners received from Pakistan.
2. Reserving civil ward situated outside district jail, Ludhiana for the confinement of women prisoner from all over the state and
3. Opening a T.B. sections in a separate enclosure with 30 beds in the Central Jail, Ambala.¹⁶⁹

Further, in order to give relief from congestion, two jails were sanctioned, the first in May 1949 and the second in October 1960, in addition to the premature release of 1,590 prisoners order by the Government in celebration of the first Republic of India in 1950.¹⁷⁰

Recovery of Abducted Women

The painful story of population transfer relates to Hindu and Sikh women abducted and forcibly married to Muslims and to the large number of persons forcibly converted to Islam. The problem of their recovery was one of the great difficulties. It was complicated by

¹⁶⁹ Punjab on the March, *op. cit.*, pp.5-6.

¹⁷⁰ Further in order to relieve congestion, two jail deliveries were sanctioned, the first in May 1949 and the second in October 1960, in addition to the premature release of 1590 prisoners ordered by Government in celebration of the founding of the Republic of India in 1950. *Ibid.*

religious and emotional scruples and that the sentiment of orthodoxy was hard to overcome.

According to Clause 2 of the *Abducted Persons Recovery and Restoration Act, 1949* in India “abducted person” means a male child under the age of sixteen years or a female of whatever age who is, or immediately before the 1st day of March, 1947, was a Muslim or who on or after that day and before 1st January, 1949 has separated from his or her family and is found to be living with or under the control of any other individual or family in the latter case includes a child born to any such female after the said date.¹⁷¹

The decision to tackle this particular problem was taken during the meeting of both the Prime Ministers at Lahore on September 3, 1947.¹⁷² Both the Central Governments and Governments of West and East Punjab wish to make it clear that forced conversions and marriages will not be recognized. On account of the sudden and forced migration of the members of the minority communities, there were left different categories of people to be evacuated. A large number of persons were forcibly converted. Owing to the continuance of disturbed conditions and communal riots, a very large number of women and children were abducted from both sides of the border. The evacuees in the East Punjab and the West Punjab who had recently migrated wanted to recover their relations, movable properties, bank lockers, etc. It was, therefore, felt necessary that there must be some organisation which should be entrusted with such work. The East Punjab Government and the West Punjab Government, therefore, established Liaison Agencies for their respective provinces. Under a Chief Liaison Officer in each state, there were District Liaison Officer (DLO) and each District Liaison Officer was to work in a district placed under him. The East

¹⁷¹ *East Punjab Liaison Agency Records*, Vide D.O. No. 563/CLD, 29 December 1947, File No. VII/2.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

Punjab Liaison Agency had its headquarters at Lahore and it worked for more than a year.¹⁷³ A base camp for recovered Muslim women was to be set up at Jullundur. Though Military Evacuee Organisation and Liaison Agencies had been established in both the Punjabs in September, 1947, nothing was done at the government level to alleviate the sufferings of the abducted women upto December 6, 1947.¹⁷⁴

The following decisions taken at the conference between the Government of India and the Pakistan Government held on December 6, 1947, were brought to the notice of all concerned for early compliance.¹⁷⁵

1. Conversion by persons abducted after March 1, 1947 will not be recognised and all such persons must be restored to their respective Dominions. The wishes of the persons concerned are irrelevant consequently no statements of such persons should be recorded before Magistrates.
2. The Primary responsibility for recovery of abducted persons will rest with the local police who must put maximum efforts in this matter. Good work done by police officers in this respect will be rewarded by promotion or grant of cash awards.
3. The MEOs will render every assistance by providing guards in the transit camps and escort for the transport of recovered persons from transit camps to their respective Dominions.
4. Social workers will be associated with the scheme. They will look after the camp arrangements and receive the abducted persons in their own dominions. They will also collect full information regarding abducted persons to be recovered and supply it to the inspector-General of police and the local S.P.
5. The DLOs will set up Transit Camps in Consultation with the local Deputy Commissioners and the public workers and

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Partition Branch Records*, File No. C.F. 119-ER-49.

supply information regarding abducted persons to be recovered.

6. Coordination between different agencies working in the district will be secured by a weekly conference between the Superintendent of police and local MEO Officer, the District Liaison Officer and the Deputy Commissioner. At this meeting progress achieved will be reviewed and every effort will be made to solve the difficulties experienced.¹⁷⁶

In East Punjab, Miss Mridula Sarabhai and Mrs. Bhag Mehta organised women workers for recovery work. Such as Rameshwari Nehru, Damyanti Sehgal, Sushila Nayar, Premvati Thapar, Kamlabehn Patel and others.¹⁷⁷ These social workers were assisted by the police of the country they worked in, including one AIG, two DSPs, 15 inspectors, 10 sub-inspectors and six ASIs.¹⁷⁸ Soon it was observed that the local police was not helpful. The recovery officers were allowed use the police force of their respective provinces or military from the MEOs of the respective Dominations. The police in general was hostile to the recovery work in both the provinces. This made the recovery work difficult. At places women workers appointed by Mr. Sarabhai and Mrs. Bhag Mehta did not see eye to eye with the District Recovery Officers. All these problems resulted in inordinate delay in the recovery work which caused growing misery to the afflicted women.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, File No. C.F. 119-ER-49.

¹⁷⁷ *East Punjab Liaison Agency Records*, Acc. No. 1406, Amritsar.

¹⁷⁸ Satya M. Rai, *Partition of the Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.123.

¹⁷⁹ Once their recovery became a strong possibility hundreds abductors tattooed on their hands or breast with slogans like 'Pakistan Zindabad' (Long Live Pakistan) or, in the case of Muslim women, the names of their abductors and the dates of their abduction (The abductor's final insult, perhaps, to the opposite community). Anis Kidwai, *Azadi ki Chhaon Mein (Hindi)*, New Delhi, 1990, pp.156-157; See also, *East Punjab Liaison Agency Records*, D.O. No. 8312/CLA, 23 January 1948, File No. LXVII/5.

At places, the police officers who were appointed to protect the women themselves committed the worst crime. Two Assistant sub-inspectors of police went to recover a non-Muslim woman from a village in the West Punjab and the unfortunate woman was raped by those very police officers during the night on the way.¹⁸⁰ In the meeting of the officers of the East Punjab liaison Agency, it was brought to light that one sub-inspector of police at Kamoke (District Gujranwala) had collected all the non-Muslim girls at the time of the Kamoke train attack and distributed them to his accomplices.¹⁸¹

It appears that in the beginning, both women social workers with local police officers did useful work. But the task was enormous and their time-limit was short. Ultimately, the entire responsibility was given to the East Punjab Liaison Agency, which worked upto November, 1948. After that this work was transferred to Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan in India wrote to the Chief Secretary, East Punjab, that his daughter aged 13 years has been forcibly kept by one... son of Jat of village Bhoma, District Amritsar. In reply to his request for the recovery of the girl he was informed by the Indian Military authorities that his daughter (copy attached) did not wish to leave her husband.¹⁸²

The District Liaison Officer, Campbellpur reported that the Deputy Commissioners of Campbellpur and Rawalpindi districts were not handing over the recovered abducted women and girls because they had been handed over to the Azad Kashmir Government. In some cases, the police officers in various districts had openly declared that it was their duty to see that proper regard was paid to public opinion. When recovered, on the statements of the

¹⁸⁰ *Partition Branch Records*, File No. C.F. 463-ER-49.

¹⁸¹ *Liaison Agency Records*, File No. L-VIII / 14/171 (Pt. II).

¹⁸² *Partition Branch Records*, Letter No. D.H.C. 115/47, 11 March, 1948.

recovered women and girls were returned to their abductors by the District authorities.¹⁸³

These were the problems posed by abducted women, the children born of their union with the men of the 'other' community posed quite another. The women could be, in many ways, 'purified' – because they had been forced into their situations and brought back into the family, religious and national folds, but for a child of a Muslim father and Hindu or Sikh mother was a more difficult issue. In the debate on this subject, suggestions were made that such children should be treated as war babies and left behind in the country in which they were born. Kamlabehn says that the others argued that where war babies were concerned, was the mothers who stayed behind after the soldiers left. Other solutions were then suggested: infants could come along with women to the camps, but if their families objected, the children would have to find homes for them. In case of the mother was not willing to keep the child, first preference for the future custody of the child was to be given to the abductor. If he also showed an unwillingness to keep the child, it was to be sent to the state home for children.¹⁸⁴ Older children were meant to stay with their natural fathers and unborn children in the womb would clearly had to be aborted. Abortion was taken up by the state, and specific hospitals were targeted such as Kapur Hospital in Delhi. These hospitals made vast amounts of money on abortion operations. The project was financed out of a special budget allocated by the state, and this was done at a time when abortion was not yet

¹⁸³ A small percentage of abductors were lovers and protectors, rather than bestial rapists. Some women feel in love with them. They did not wish to abandon their children also. Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Select Documents on Partition of Punjab – 1947 India and Pakistan*, National Book Shop, Delhi, 1991, pp.xxxiii-iv; See also, *East Punjab Liaison Agency Records*, D.O. No. 8312/CLA, 23 January 1948 File No. LX VIII/5.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, vide D.P. No. 563/CLO, 29 December, 1947, File No. vii/2.

legal in India.¹⁸⁵ Kamlabehn Patel corroborated this. She said that pregnant women were taken to Jullundur where they were kept for a period of three or four months- enough time for an abortion –and given medical treatment.¹⁸⁶

The most peculiar phenomenon with regard to the recovery work of non-Muslim women was that the non-Muslim abducted girls very often refused to be evacuated. They were too afraid of the rigidity of the caste system and were over conscious of having lost their relatives. Several Hindu families refused to accept their daughters as they felt ashamed of their community honour.¹⁸⁷

So acute was the problem that both Gandhi and Nehru had to issue repeated appeals to Hindus, asking them not to refuse to take the women back into their family fold. In a public appeal made in January, 1948 Nehru said:¹⁸⁸

“I am told that sometimes there is unwillingness on the part of their relatives to accept those girls and women in their homes. This is a most objectionable and wrong attitude to take up. These girls and women require our tender and loving care and their relatives should be proud to take them back and give them every help”.

While inaugurating the Restoration of Abducted Women’s Week, Prime Minister Nehru said: *“We may forget other things but this (abduction of women) will take a long time to forget”.*¹⁸⁹

And Gandhi said,

¹⁸⁵ Urvashi Butalia, “Community State and Gender: Some Reflections on the Partition of India, in Mushir-ul-Hasan (ed.), *Inventing Boundaries: Gender, Politics and the partition of India*, Oxford University, Oxford, 2000, p.197.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ In East Punjab the majority of a group of one hundred and seventy-five Muslim women recovered from Patiala state refused to leave their new homes and threatened to commit suicide if they were forcibly threatened; forty-six of them escaped from the transit camp in which they were being held. S. Gopal (ed.), *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. V, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1972, pp.117-121. But sometimes, gratifying to note that the rescued women, by and large, were gladly welcomed by their relatives. Satya M. Rai, Punjab Since Partition, *op. cit.*, p.118.

¹⁸⁸ *The Hindustan Times*, January 17, 1948.

¹⁸⁹ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, February 17, 1948; *The Times of India*, February 17, 1948; *The Statesman*, February 17, 1948.

*“I hear women have this objection that the Hindus are not willing to accept back the recovered women because they say that they have become impure. I feel this is a matter of great shame. That woman is as pure as the girls who are sitting by my side. And if any one of these recovered women should come to me, then I will give them as much respect and honour as I accord to these young maidens”.*¹⁹⁰

For several years afterwards – indeed well into 1955, and up to 1957 – the fate of these women was of considerable concern to the two governments. Constituent Assembly records for the years following 1947 show an ongoing concern with the debate about how many women had been rescued, where the largest number of recoveries had taken place, why other places had done badly and so on. Interestingly, although it was women who were key to the actual recovery operations, the questions were raised mainly by me. The fact that fewer Hindu women were recovered from Pakistan than Muslim women from India became a matter of great concern and figures on how many had been recovered, or concern about the slow rate of recovery, came up often. For example, in answer to a question in the Assembly, following figures were given: from April 1951 to the end of January, 1952 – 1,703 recoveries had been made in India as against 629 in Pakistan.¹⁹¹ Most of the recoveries, however, had been carried out in the first two years: till December, 1948 some 12,000 women had been recovered from India and 6,000 from Pakistan. This disparity in numbers was a cause of great concern in the assembly and came up for repeated discussions: why were loss of ‘our’ women being rescued and more of theirs? Of course both ‘our’ and ‘theirs’ were understood only in religious terms.

In all, approximately 30,000 Muslim and non-Muslim, women were recovered by both countries over an eight years duration. Although most of the recoveries were carried out between 1947 and 1952, women were being repatriated to both the countries as late as 1956, and the Act was renewed in India every year till 1957, when it

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *Parliamentary Debates (Lok Sabha), Ibid.*, Proceedings other than Questions and Answers, I (Part II) : pp.677-687.

was about to lapse. Recoveries were more or less abandoned in the two or three years period prior to this, largely because Mridula Sarabhai came under some adverse criticism, and resigned. The total number of Muslim women recovered was significantly higher, i.e., 25856 as against 9,336 non-Muslims.¹⁹²

It is a significant fact that in both the countries a large majority of persons recovered were not those actually included in the lists of missing persons furnished by the respective governments. Not less than 4,415 abducted persons out of 30,355¹⁹³ were declared as “the non-abduction cases” by the Pakistan Government. The information regarding the abducted women supplied by the Indian Government could not be wrong as it was based on the data collected from the individuals concerned. About 4,191¹⁹⁴ abducted persons, that is to say, 13.8 percent of the list furnished by the Indian Government were reported by Pakistan Government to have died in Pakistan. This figure too does not appear to be correct as the corresponding number of the abducted Muslim women who died in India was surprisingly low, viz. 3.3 percent.¹⁹⁵

From the figure given above, it would be seen that non-Muslim in East Punjab were as much guilty of this crime of abducting innocent Muslim women in West Punjab. It was, however, claimed by the East Punjab Government that they took up recovery work more honestly in this province than their counterparts in Pakistan.

The Tribune reported that most of the women being restored to India by the West Punjab authorities were those who were not saleable.¹⁹⁶ A day later *The Tribune* gave more details of how

¹⁹² *Recovery and Restoration of Abducted Persons in India and Pakistan*, Government of India Publications, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, New Delhi, 1949, p.7.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.5

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *The Tribune*, January 22, 1948.

abducted Hindu and Sikh women were being exhibited in the bazaars of Peshawar and Banu. Many of these women were from Mirpur, Rajouli, Kotli, Bhimber... (and) sold for up to Rs. 200.¹⁹⁷ The great majority of rescued women were fairly quickly reunited with their families and gladly welcomed by them, contrary to earlier propaganda. Most meetings between fathers and daughters or husbands and wives were extremely emotions, with many girls breaking down in tears.¹⁹⁸

The period from 1947 to 1956 was very important in the history of East Punjab. In this period, newly formed Government made every effort to settle down the economic and social issues of the people.

Independence of the country was secured after paying a heavy price of partition. Partition had its disastrous effect on the agricultural economy of the Punjab with West Pakistan notching up a greater share of agricultural land as well as resources. Independence brought with it a change in the dynamics of political power game. It signified the transfer of power from the hands of the colonial masters to the national elite. In the Punjab, rural elites came to wield power in the political set up. As a result, the agricultural development in the state was given a prime consideration.

The political and economic compulsions led the state to divert its energy in the rehabilitation of the province. A series of challenges were posed before the newly formed state. Food crises had to be faced. Rehabilitation process could be accomplished largely owing to the patience, perseverance, will power and mobility displayed by the Punjabis in the character. Since the problem of food crisis was too intense, the state machinery was geared towards agricultural development.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, January 23, 1948.

¹⁹⁸ *The Tribune*, May 25, 1948.

Chapter – IV

Impact of Rehabilitation: Social, Cultural and Economic

The chapter focuses on the impact of rehabilitation of agriculture, education, industry, society and economy of the Punjab. An attempt has been made to study at length the changes reflected in the character of the state with the changing dynamics of political power. It explains the initiatives taken by the newly formed state in these respective fields, which ultimately resulted in the green revolution. It led to the agricultural, industrial and economic revolution in the state. It also discusses the social and cultural changes which occur due to influence of Muslims from the province and incoming of non-Muslims. The positive and negative results of the partition on the different stratas of people have also discussed.

The uprooting of the people of both the communities suffered a lot culturally. The proximity among the communities turned them into hatred. Those who were sharing each other's concerns became worst enemies and started butchering each other. It resulted into a deep cultural shift and divided which showed its ramifications in future.

The crisis that the Punjab had to face during 1947 was unprecedented in the history of the world. The crisis badly affected every sphere of life – political, economic, social, administrative, cultural and moral. The period was one of trial and tribulation. The problem assumed terrific dimensions as millions of bewildered men and women crossed the borders on both sides. The horrible communal riots left indelible mark on the social set up of the Punjab and gave rise to acute communal tensions. Feelings of insecurity loomed large around them. The people had to undergo innumerable hardships in the process of migration and avenged on the members of the other religious community. The communal tensions further got intensified as a result of the retaliatory policy of the incoming displaced persons.

As a result of the crises due to partition, there was a sharp decline in the moral of the people. The serious economic crisis created by the forced migration generated a climate of immorality. The prevailing lawlessness common in the East and West Punjab removed all social restraints and scruples. About 50,000 women were abducted.¹ The violent communal riots, murders and heinous crimes brought the people's moral to the lowest ebb. The moral fabric of society was torn into pieces. Murder of men, women and children and abduction of helpless women of either community, were considered heroic acts.

The criminal tribesmen and registered bad character migrated from West Pakistan alongwith the general body of evacuees and spread to various places, without the police coming to know their abodes. They joined hands with the local criminals of either side of the border and created havoc in the provinces.²

A large number of displaced persons migrated to the East Punjab were deprived of the means of livelihood. Many of them had exhausted all their savings in the process of migration from the West Punjab to the East Punjab with a very limited prospects of employment in the near future and prices of commodities soaring high, a number of displaced persons were forced into a criminal life, resulting in the emergence of a new class of criminals.³ The displaced persons found themselves alien in their new surroundings. The very places, the physical and geographical environment and people among whom they were forced to spend their lives and develop new relationships were unfamiliar. That created a feeling of frustration and discontentment among the displaced persons. In the West

¹ *Recovery and Restoration of Abducted Persons in India*, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Delhi, 1948, p.6.

² S.M. Rai, *Punjab since Partition*, Durga Publications, Delhi, 1986, pp.124-125.

³ *Report of Police Administration – 1948*, Police Department, Chandigarh, p.6; See also Damodar P. Singhal, *Nationalism in India*, Oriental, Delhi, 1967, p.28.

Punjab, this led to the evil practices of beggary, prostitution, delinquency and crime.⁴

In pursuance of the policy to clear the province from undesirable elements, the government issued a circular to the district magistrates to prepare lists of persons who participated in killing, arson and looting. The officers were also instructed to recover looted property from the local people, so that it could be distributed among the evacuees. But this order was not carried out, for the reason that a number of officials were themselves involved in it and a honest implementation of the order would have perhaps led to the collapse of the whole administration.⁵ Sajjan Singh Patti (a member) alleged that the police had openly indulged in looting the evacuee property. He said,

*I once went for the recovery of looted property from a sub-inspector of police and we were able to recover two truck loads of goods worth Rs. 58,000. I visited 7 police stations where it was found that every one right from a constable upto Deputy Superintendent of Police had some share in looted property. There was only one head Moharrar, who was an exception to this.*⁶

The goondas and the officials were hand in glove, and this made really a difficult task for the restoration of normal conditions of law and order and cleaning of the administration. At a time when the corrupt politicians and officials both frequently indulged in malpractices, the government could not strictly enforce the laws to check the cupidity and greed of officials who abused their position to get pecuniary advantage.⁷

⁴ Social Welfare Work in Pakistan, *Pakistan Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. I, Karachi, 1949, p.13.

⁵ *East Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1-8 November 1947, Simla, 1949, pp.48-57.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ S.M. Rai, *Punjab Since Partition*, *op. cit.*, p.129.

The partition of Punjab gave a severe blow to the common village traditions. Persons belonging to the same *biradari*⁸ were scattered over different villages and towns in the same and even different districts, with the result that social restraint exercised by the *biradari* was relaxed. People were invariably strangers to their neighbours, because all of them had come from different places. There was so much antipathy among the refugee settlers in the same village that it sometimes resulted in thefts and abduction of women in the East Punjab.⁹

The nexus between the rich and influential, the bureaucracy and the police was in a way natural in view of the huge stakes involved. Whether it was the fertility of law of the situation of the agricultural land to be allotted or the location of the business properties, the power of discretion that lay in the hands of the reallocation officials gave to the whole exercise a dubious character.¹⁰ The petty patwari was perhaps the most influential official on both sides of the border. Extensive black marketing was reported in court agreement stamps and papers.¹¹ The huge pressure on the patwari* who was expected to provide the necessary records of the land to enable allotment and then to enable the allottee to take actual possession of the land could be better understood in terms of the number of families that were to be allotted land.¹²

Ishar Singh Majhel, the minister in charge of resettlement in East Punjab did not explain or counter the charges of corruption but

⁸ Literally brotherhood, used to refer to patrilineal kinship groups.

⁹ M.S. Randhawa, *Out of Ashes: An Account of the Rehabilitation of Refugees from West Pakistan in Rural Areas of East Punjab*, New Jack, Delhi, 1954, p.113.

¹⁰ For example, the Kamboj caste of the Sikhs are known even today to be the finest tillers of the soil – people who literally live and die in their fields. A large number of these people were relocated in a fertile belt near Karnal, but later had to seek the intervention of Prime Minister Nehru himself to save their lands from influential people who tried to dispossess them by force.

¹¹ A person by the name L.H.K. wrote from Lyallpur that Patwaris were charging between Rs. 150 to 300 merely to give physical possession of land that had been allotted to refugees. M.S. Randhawa, *Out of Ashes, op. cit.*, p.48.

* Patwari: The village accountant.

¹² *Ibid.*

said the whole exercise was unprecedented in its scope and dimensions, and there were bound to be flaws. He reported that: there was great pressure, some families had captured land to which they were not entitled, they were now being dislodged'. He also explained that a great part of the problem was because the princely states of East Punjab were not linked (till then) administratively with the East Punjab, as a result there was no planning or combined efforts.¹³

Displaced persons from the West Punjab intermingled with the inhabitants of the East Punjab and those from the East Punjab and the East Punjab States with the immigrated people of West Punjab. This intermingling of the population with each other led to new social developments. A large number of the Sikhs and Hindus from Rawalpindi and Multan division who were engaged in trade got resettled in the backward areas, towns and villages of East Punjab. This speeded up the pulse of social life. The drab bazaars¹⁴ with ill-kept shops were completely changed, yielding place to well stocked and orderly shops. The evacuees shopkeepers greatly increased the circulation of goods even in the villages inhabited by the parsimonious Jats of the Rohtak side. The free and easy culture of the West Punjab had a liberalizing influence on the women of East Punjab, who emulating the example of their sisters from West Punjab, began to discard the *purdah*.¹⁵

On the other side in the rural areas the departure of the Muslims community made the life of villagers dull and drab. The departure of the *Mirasis*¹⁶ and *Naqalias* (who used to provide fun and enjoyment to the tired farmers after their toil) made life boring. Out of the Muslim cultivators, was the *Araains*¹⁷ of Jullundur district

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Market, group of shops in urban centres.

¹⁵ Kirpal Singh, "The Transformation of Punjab", *Punjab History Conference Proceedings*, Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2008.

¹⁶ A caste of Muslims generally employed as musicians, bards and genealogist.

¹⁷ An agricultural caste.

whose departure caused a gap in the economy, for they were very hard working farmers who raised precious crops of vegetables.¹⁸

Different food habits of the Muslims on the one side, and the Hindus and the Sikhs on the other were common as the food which was discarded by one community was relished by the other. While pig rearing had vanished from the territories of Pakistan, cow killing became an impossibility in East Punjab, and goats were increasingly being used for meat. This resulted in an enormous increase in the number of useless cattle. Old and infirm cows and bullocks, dry cows, and male calves of buffaloes roam about in large numbers and trespass into fields, in the suburban villages causing great loss to the farmers.¹⁹ The urge for acquiring respectable status was encouraging the Harijans, who were flayers of skins and tanners of hides, to abjure their ancestral profession. The net result that was a great national loss and the farmer had to bear an unnecessary burden. Unless cow protection sentiment was curbed, and due consideration was given to the economic needs of the country, there was a danger of the roles of the animals which might be reversed; formerly the Muslims used to eat useless cattle and now the useless cattle may eat the Hindus and Sikhs. Establishment of abattoirs in selected places was suggested as one of the remedies. Other remedy was to be export them to the other neighbouring countries where the population did not have such sentiments.²⁰

Another innocent victim of the ruthless and brutal partition was the shared language and literature of the people of pre-partition India. The grandparents and parents of today's Hindu and Muslim children spoke the same language, wrote in the same script, read the same newspapers, sang the same songs and shared together their joys and sorrows through a common set of narratives, rituals and festivals, even though both maintained distinct religious and ethnic

¹⁸ M.S. Randhawa, *Out of Ashes*, *op. cit.*, p.220.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

identities. The process of linguistic and cultural partition had started much before the actual partition of 1947.²¹

The court language and the medium of instruction in all the schools of the Punjab was Urdu. In their personal and official correspondence, nearly all the Punjabis used Urdu and English. The major vernacular newspapers, representing different view-points, political interests, were printed in Urdu in the pre-partition era. Therefore, every literate Punjabi knew Urdu all through this period. There were a few educational institutions run by various religious organizations where the children were taught Hindi and Punjabi, but they were relatively few in number and even there also every student was taught Urdu.²²

The language, however, got linked with the communalisation of politics in the province. In the ever-growing communal atmosphere, the demands for giving better place to Hindi and Punjabi increasingly gained momentum. Ultimately, the Unionist Government agreed to accede to these demands and recognised the status of both these languages in the educational curriculum under the Sikander-Jinnah Pact.²³

The situation thus, gave rise to anomalous position in which the spoken language of the region did not get an all-round loyalty from different sections of the people, and could not acquire the status which other languages – like Bengali and Telugu – enjoyed in their respective regions. Language, generally, is regarded as unifying force which cuts across several sectional, sectarian and communal divisions. In the case of the Punjab, however, the language question further deepened the existing communal divisions, which overshadowed the cohesive characteristics of the Punjabis.²⁴

²¹ Satya M. Rai, Punjab Since Partition, *op. cit.*, p.130.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Amarnath Vidyalankar, *Bahmi Itihad Aur Regional Formula* (Regional Formula and Communal Unity), Jalandhar, 1956, p.20. Persian and Urdu dominated all over India during the Mughal rule.

²⁴ This explains why East Bengal resisted the imposition of Urdu which was one of the important factors for the liberation struggle for Bangladesh.

The decision to change the status of Urdu as the only medium of instruction and to replace it with Hindi and Punjabi was partly due to the communal atmosphere prevalent in the province and partly due to the partition of the province, since it was no longer a Muslim majority state. In pursuance of this objective, the education department of the East Punjab Government ordered that:

*All education in the schools of the East Punjab shall be given in the mother-tongue of the children. Devnagari or Gurumukhi script can be used in the 1st and 2nd class, provided arrangements be made to teach Gurumukhi in the third class in schools where initially Hindi is taught. The same rule is required to be observed in such schools where the initial education was in Gurumukhi.*²⁵

In the united Punjab according to the Grierson, the dominant language in Punjab was Punjabi, but neither Muslims nor Hindus owned it. Since Indian National Congress was committed to carve out states on linguistic basis, the inhabitants of Punjab particularly Sikhs put forward their demand of Punjabi-speaking state. The Punjabi Hindu opposed it. In order to counteract this demand, they organised *Hindi Raksha Samiti* and pressed for 'Maha Punjab'. The Shiromani Akali Dal, the most influential organization of Sikhs launched agitation for creation of Punjabi-speaking state to be known as Punjabi Suba. Thus Hindu-Sikh tension mounted.²⁶

²⁵ It may be noted that the PEPSU formula was adopted in PEPSU areas and it demarcated the Hindi speaking and Punjabi speaking zones in which the respective language was made the medium of instruction. Here, the mother tongue was to be taught as a compulsory language from the third standard onwards. It did not allow the freedom of choice of language to the parents. In fact, in the wake of the partition, the three main languages of this region came to be identified with the three main religions. Hence, Urdu was regarded as the language of the Muslims, Punjabi as the language of the Sikhs, and Hindi came to be identified as the language of the Hindus. Amarnath Vidyalkar, *Bahmi Ithihad Aur Regional Formula*, *op. cit.*, pp.21-22.

²⁶ The Punjab states were first organized in 1948 to form Punjab and East Punjab States Union. It had also large Punjabi speaking areas. Therefore, it was merged

The Punjabi language and culture suffered a lot due to partition of Punjab in 1947 as most of the Punjabi-speaking people left in Pakistan. The Pakistani Punjabi began to develop on different lines with large number of *Persian* words whereas Punjabi in India began to absorb Hindi words.²⁷

The partition had changed the political pattern of the province. The nearly elimination of the Muslims from the political scene had a far-reaching impact on the political life of the state. The Hindus who constituted a minority of 30 percent in the United Punjab, now became a majority with about 70 percent of the state population. The erstwhile majority community – the Muslims – who were a substantial minority in the eastern part of the United Punjab, were now completely eliminated as a political entity.²⁸ The Sikhs, who had always played a role of a balancing force between the Hindus and the Muslims in the pre-partition days, now became the only substantial minority community in the East Punjab.²⁹

The division of the Punjab on communal lines, spread a sense of indignation and frustration among the Sikhs because the demand of creating a Sikh state (Azad Punjab) raised by the Sikh leaders and supported by the Congress and Hindu leaders, had not fulfilled. The Sikhs felt that they had been given a raw deal in the distribution of territory between the Hindus and the Muslims. Giving an expression to this feeling, Master Tara Singh, said:

“Every minority expect the Sikhs had been given justice. The Muslims demand was Pakistan, they got it. The Scheduled Castes wanted representation on population

with East Punjab in 1966 when Punjabi speaking areas were separated from PEPSU and Punjab both reducing the Punjab to a smaller size. *Ibid.*

²⁷ Kirpal Singh, *Partition and Transformation of Punjab in 1947*, *op. cit.*, p.11.

²⁸ The pre-partition ratio of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs was 28: 57: 13 respectively.

²⁹ There are a few Muslims in Qadian in Gurdaspur district and in Gurgaon district. They, however, no longer figure in the political life of the state. *The Tribune*, October 20, 1949.

basis with right to contest additional seats and they got it. The Sikhs demanded that they would not (like to) be dominated by any single community and they were being kicked for repeating the same demand which the Hindus supported before partition with which the Congress sympathised".³⁰

Section – II

Before partition, the Punjab was the most stable province in India; and the stability was due to the high proportion of small peasant proprietors who formed overwhelming majority of the population. Large landed estates were few, and were mostly restricted to the districts of Multan, Montgomery, Sargodha, Sheikhpura, Ferozepore and Hissar. Mr. Calvert carried out an enquiry into the size of holdings in the Punjab in 1925. His findings are given in the table below:³¹

	% of holdings	Estimate No. of owners	Estimate No. of acres	% of total cultivated area
Under 1 acre	17.9	625,400	313,000	1.0
1-3 acre	25.5	908,400	126,800	4.4
3-5 acre	14.9	520,000	1,935,000	6.6
5-10 acre	18.0	630,600	4,400,000	15.1
10-15 acre	8.2	288,300	3,353,000	11.5
15-20 acre	4.3	150,100	2,444,000	8.4
20-25 acre	2.7	94,000	1,967,000	6.8
25-50 acre	4.8	168,700	5,887,000	20.4
Over 50 acre	3.3	120,900	7,452,200	25.7

³⁰ Thakurdas Bhargava, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Report of the States Reorganization Commission, New Delhi, 1956, p.1120.

³¹ M.S. Randhawa, *Out of Ashes*, *op. cit.*, pp.203-204.

From this table following conclusions emerge: About 17.9% of the owners of cultivated land in the province possess less than one acre of such land each and the area thus owned was only one percent of the whole. About 40.4% of owners own from one to less than five acres, the land involved was being about 11 percent of the whole. About 11.8% own from fifteen to less than fifty acres, the land being 35.6 percent of the whole. About 3.7% possess fifty and more acres and rather own at a rough estimate 25.7 percent of the land. Thus while the great majority of Punjab peasants own very small portion of land, the greater position of the cultivated land was held in holdings of over fifteen acres. Out of the holdings below one acre the majority belongs to non-agriculturists consisting mostly of Brahmans, Khatri and Arora shopkeepers and village menials; large number of these represent gifts to Brahmans made on the death of the late owner and some gifts to menials like oilmen, water carriers and washermen were made to retain their services in the village. Some of these represent purchases made by the Khatri and Arora shopkeepers. The size of the holdings was small in the sub-mountain districts with secure rainfall wherein the population was dense while the holdings were comparatively large in the insecure dry districts like Hissar and Ferozepore. The holdings below 10 acres may not be economic, but nevertheless they provided a living to a large number of small proprietors.³²

With partition, Punjab inherited a legacy of increasing economic pressure in the form of reduced holdings and poorer lands, a fall in number of actual workers on the soil, insufficient irrigation facilities, slender capital resources and the rise of tenant interests.³³ The Punjab peasantry found that the greater part of its energies yielded no fruit as the holdings were spread over in tiny bits. It was realized by both the people and the government that no substantial

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Tarlok Singh, *Land Resettlement Manual*, Department of Rehabilitation, Chandigarh, 1952, pp.26-27.

increase in food production was possible until the holdings were consolidated. The magnitude of the problem could be imagined that an approximate area of 1,91,00,000 acres required consolidation.³⁴ Not only was scientific cultivation of land impossible on widely scattered small patches of land but also the quarrels and the unending litigation which formed the bane of rural life would never cease unless subdivision and fragmentation were stopped with a firm hand.³⁵

The work of consolidation of holdings was actually started in the United Punjab in 1920 under the co-operative department. The consent of the individual land-owner and the decision of a two-third majority was an essential factor of the land consolidation scheme. That is why only about seven lac acres of land were consolidated by 1948 when the East Punjab Holdings (Consolidation and Prevention of Fragmentation) Act, 1948 was enacted.³⁶ The speed at which the work had been done in the past could satisfy neither the public nor the government.³⁷

After careful consideration, government decided to merge the consolidation department with the revenue department. From the experience gained in the past, government came to the conclusion that the *halqa patwari* could do the consolidation work of the villages under his *Illqa* much more quickly and efficiently than an outsider. For this purpose, each deputy commissioner was asked to take consolidation work in one of his tehsils in 1951. The 'Patwari' staff was doubled in that tehsil reducing thereby the work load of 'Halqa' of the 'patwari' to two villages. Adequate steps were taken to supply

³⁴ *The Tribune*, July 11, 1952.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Under the 1948 Act Village Advisory Committees were formed to advise on all matters concerning consolidation of land and, in particular, on the classification and valuation of field and the preparation of Village Consolidation Schemes. M.S. Randhawa, 'Consolidation of Holdings', June 1954, in *Kurukshetra, A Symposium on Community Development in India (1952-55)*, New Delhi, 1955, pp.124-130. *Co-operative Consolidations*, Information Collected from Files of Department of Rehabilitation Punjab, Chandigarh.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

him the necessary equipment, books, instructions, etc. Liberal supervisory staff was provided. This work being of a highly technical nature, it was not possible to had the requisite staff from amongst the 35,00 *Patwaris* and other staff of the Revenue Department.³⁸ Due to financial stringency, progress had been slow. Realising however, the keenness of the demand and the usefulness of the work for grow-more food campaign, the government set apart Rs. 28 lac during 1951-52 and raised it to Rs. 30 lac during the current financial year. The Director Consolidation, co-ordinated the work and gave technical advise like the Director of Land Records. The Deputy Commissioners had been made directly responsible for this work in their districts. The government was very much keen to finish this work as early as possible.³⁹

In view of the urgency of the work, the control of *Patwari* and *Kanungo*⁴⁰ had been in the case of the Rehabilitation Department, had been transferred to the financial commissioner, development. The total cost of new scheme was expected to be Rs. 4,95,00,000 approximately.⁴¹

The boundaries of the village were demarcated and brought up in the new map after being measured at the spot. The new rectangles and *killas* were also plotted on the old map and the field book *Killabandi* written up. The register of right-holders was then prepared showing in a consolidated form and the total land with its value of each right holder in the village. The consolidation officer announced the repartition at the spot and arranged for the transfers of possession. He also prepared the file of redistribution of land revenue in accordance with the new holdings. The right owners could file a written objection with the consolidation authority within 15

³⁸ *The Tribune*, July 11, 1952.

³⁹ In 1951-52, over 1.7 lakh acres of land was consolidated and by the year 1965-66 over 220.84 lakh acres of land had been consolidated over the Punjab. *Punjab on the March*, Chandigarh, 1967, p.9; See also, *Ibid*.

⁴⁰ Kanungo: A revenue official who supervises the work of the Patwaris.

⁴¹ *Rural Rehabilitation in East Punjab*, Official Pamphlet, pp.12-13.

days against the order of consolidation officer. A second appeal lied, to the government within 60 days from the order of the settlement officer. The work under the scheme was started in April 1951. There were 1,994 *Patwaris* brought on duty holdings in metamorphosis in the life of the villages. All its economic and social life had changed. New wells were sunk, better methods of agriculture were undertaken, improved seeds were used and peasants were able to reap rich harvests.⁴²

The total area in the united Punjab was 60 million acres of which 23.1 million acres of land (38.0%) came in the share of East Punjab. Out of 23.1 million acres, 6.2 million acres were uncultivable waste land, 0.8 million acres under forest and 2.6 million acres were cultivable waste.⁴³ The position with regard to area and production of principal food crops based on 1945-46 figures, both in East and West Punjab is shown in the following table.⁴⁴

Crop Area (thousand acres)				Production (thousand tons)		
Crop	United Punjab	West Punjab	East Punjab	United Punjab	West Punjab	East Punjab
Rice	1,331	885	446	442	340	102
Wheat	10,602	7,192	3,410	3,355	2,294	1,061
Barley	752	224	528	175	72	103
<i>Jowar</i>	818	372	446	109	67	42
<i>Bajra</i>	3,490	1,260	2,230	528	256	272
Maize	1,338	458	880	489	191	298
Gram	6,154	2,034	4,120	1,186	457	729
Total	24,485	12,425	12,060	6,284	3,677	2,607

It is observed from the above figures that only about 33 per cent of area under wheat had come to the East Punjab share the

⁴² *Procedure of Consolidation of Land Holdings*, Director-General of Rehabilitation in East Punjab, Rehabilitation Secretariat, Jalandhar, Official File.

⁴³ *The Tribune*, January 29, 1950.

⁴⁴ *Punjab on the March, 1951*, Punjab Government Publications, Punjab State Library, Civil Secretariat, Chandigarh, pp.1-2.

production of it beings less, i.e. about 30 per cent. Like wise, in the case of rice also only one-third of the area had fallen in the share of the East Punjab, production of it being less than one-fourth of the joint Punjab. Nearly half the area of *Jowar* had come to our share, but the production is only about 40 per cent. Even in the case of *Bajra*, maize, barley and gram, all though 71 per cent of the area had come to our share, where in the production was only 58 per cent. The extent to which this province was deficit or surplus in respect of each major food grain crop during 1948-49 is shown in following table:⁴⁵

Name of crop	Area in thousand acres	Production in thousand tons	Normal annual requirements in thousands tons	Deficit or surplus in thousand tons
Rice	378	100	151	-51
<i>Bajra</i>	2120	224	310	-23
<i>Jowar</i>	459	63	-	-
Maize	751	254	290	-36
Wheat	2781	980	1225	-245
Gram	2930	690	524	+166
Barley	413	114	104	+10
Total	9832	2425	2604	-179

It would be observed from the above details, that East Punjab was deficit to the extent of 179 thousand tons. During 1947-48 the deficiency in food grains was 231 thousand tons. It was surplus in gram and barley but deficit in respect of rice, bajra, maize and wheat.⁴⁶

Immediately after partition a large area of land vacated by the Muslims was kept uncultivated, due to shortage of bullocks and the refugees could hardly cultivate. The central government gave a loan of ten tractors in November 1947 by which 1,272 acres of land was

⁴⁵ *The Tribune*, January 29, 1950.

⁴⁶ Punjab on the March, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

ploughed. In April, 1948 the Agricultural Department purchased 13 tractors. In addition to this the Central Tractor Organization of the Government of India, started reclamation work in August 1948, with varying number of tractors, from time to time. Upto the end of July 1949 a total area of 31,230 acres was cultivated. These tractors were run on behalf of the Punjab government. The Punjab government took over 126 tractors from Central Tractor Organization in August 1949 at a total cost of Rs. 10,52,919. Purchase of 42 more tractors was made in May 1950. With the help of these tractors upto the end of 1950 it was possible to cultivate total of 1,36,788 acres. The total cultivable waste area in the state was 25,19,937 acres.

The Punjab government had prepared a five-year development plan with allocation of an expenditure of Rs. 22.75 crores. Provision of expenditure for the year 1951-52 under this plan was Rs. 545 lac. With a view to rehabilitate the displaced persons and also for administrative convenience, the state government had taken steps to speed up the construction of capital at Chandigarh.⁴⁷

In 1951 the population of the Punjab was 1,26,41,205 out of which 1,02,40,273 were dwelling in rural areas and 24,00,932 in urban areas. There were 15,146 occupied villages and 130 towns. There were 18,02,005 occupied houses and 19,70,367 households in rural areas and 3,08,252 occupied houses and 3,78,622 households in urban areas excluding Amritsar and Jalandhar cities. Average number of persons per family came to 5.2 in rural areas and 4.83 in urban areas excluding Amritsar and Jalandhar cities.⁴⁸ The population was divided into two livelihood categories. Each one of them was sub-divided into 4 categories as follows:

Agricultural Classes

1. Cultivation of mainly or solely owned land and their dependents.

⁴⁷ *First Five Year Plan 1951-52 to 1955-56*, Punjab Government Publication, Chandigarh.

⁴⁸ *The Tribune*, August 15, 1953.

2. Cultivation of mainly or solely unowned land and their dependents.
3. Agricultural labour and their dependents.
4. Non-cultivating owners and recent receivers and their dependents.

Non-Agricultural Classes

1. Production other than agriculture and their dependents.
2. Commerce and their dependents.
3. Transport and their dependents.
4. Other services and miscellaneous sources and their dependents.

The classification was based on the principle source of income of an active worker of the family. They might have secondary means of livelihood but the income in that case was not major one. Their distribution was as follows: ⁴⁹

S. No.	Total	Rural	Urban
1.	48,02,193	46,99,789	1,02,404
2.	19,93,890	19,05,501	89,389
3.	9,59,753	9,29,009	30,744
4.	2,64,853	2,38,865	25,988
5.	9,11,564	6,28,165	2,83,399
6.	11,33,346	4,45,612	6,87,734
7.	1,28,789	44,563	84,221
8.	21,95,735	11,43,518	10,52,217
Total	12390123	10035022	2356096

Each class was again sub-divided into 3-self supporters, non-earning dependents and earning dependents. Self-supporters were those who derived their principal income from the work in the category they were placed in. Non earning dependents were those

⁴⁹ *Information Collected from Department of Rehabilitation, Chandigarh.*

who did not add anything to the family income. The earning dependents however, earned something but it was not sufficient even to support them. Their distribution was as under:⁵⁰

	Class total	Self supporters	Non-earning dependents	Earning dependents
I.	4802193	1269731	2743061	789401
II.	1993890	518786	1216559	258545
III.	959753	282004	561219	116458
IV.	2648533	77998	4520911	1164404
V.	911564	245222	159821	27034
VI.	1133346	269870	572248	94094
VII.	128789	38569	82774	7446
VIII.	4822232	1162309	1390326	196761
Total	17400300	3864489	11246919	2654143

The total area of Punjab state in 1952 was 2,31,70, 142 acres. Out of this 71,40,644 acres was under forests, etc,⁵¹ 22,14,485 was cultivable waste. Out of total sown area 28,17,900 acres was irrigated by government canals, 1,51,500 acres irrigated by private canals, 6,400 acres by tanks, 17,18,700 by wells and 2,800 by other sources. The total irrigated area in 1951-52 was 47,16,300 acres and the rest was of the area was *barani*.⁵² Therefore, production was very fluctuating. The land distributed amongst owners was as follows:

	Number	Area (in acre)
Up to 5 acres	10,32,528	17,80,602
Upto 5 to 10 acres	2,92,180	18,62,638
Upto 10-25 acres	2,11,507	11,49,105
Upto 25-50 acres	48,564	16,07,965
Above 50 acres	19238	24,46,800

⁵⁰ *The Tribune*, August 15, 1953.

⁵¹ *Facts About Punjab 1953*, Official Pamphlet, Civil Secretariat, Chandigarh. pp.4-6.

⁵² *Barani*; Land watered by rains only.

These figures had been taken from census report 1951. Details of figures for Ludhiana and Ferozepur districts was not available.

Distribution of Land Owners According to the Size of Holdings

Category of land	Percentage of land owners
Upto 5 acres	55.1
More than 5 to 10 acres	22.7
More than 10 to 20 acres	11.8
More than 20 to 30 acres	5.3
More than 30 to 50 acres	2.9
More than 50 to 75 acres	1.34
More than 75 to 100 acres	.50
More than 100 to 150 acres	.20
More than 150 to 200 acres	.07
More than 200 to 250 acres	.03
More than 250 acres	.06

The largest percentage was of those who owned land upto 5 acres.⁵³ Those with 5 to 50 acres constituted 97.8 per cent of the total owners, while those with holdings of more than 50 acres accounted for not more than 2.2 per cent.

It was observed that areas of low or uncertain rainfall had large holdings while those of high rainfall had small. Many owners of large holdings in low rainfall areas were in the class of poor peasants. According to the 1939 survey, the persons with holdings more than 50 acres throughout the erstwhile joint Punjab held only 22 per cent of the total area, the greater number it belonged to the western districts which does not fall now under the East Punjab.⁵⁴

⁵³ *The Tribune*, August 31, 1952,

⁵⁴ Tarlok Singh, *Land Resettlement Manual*, *op. cit.*, pp.78-79.

In terms of irrigation, the West Punjab acquired a large portion of the canal irrigated land.⁵⁵ According to an estimate the East Punjab was left with only 1.8 million hectares of canal irrigated land out of a total of nearly 5.5 million hectares in individual Punjab in 1947.⁵⁶ The East Punjab retained only three major canal systems – Upper Bari Doab Canal, the Sirhind Canal and Western Yamuna Canal.⁵⁷ G.K. Chadha states, “The percentage of cropped area receiving irrigation was about 33% in East Punjab as compared with 61% of Government canal irrigated land in West Punjab. And from 80% in the West Punjab and only 20% of Indian side, of the well irrigated area, the division was 62% and 38% respectively. Moreover, West Punjab had some crown wasteland which when irrigated could become highly productive”.⁵⁸

Thus Pakistan landed up with productive irrigation works nifty enough to increase agricultural yield. Indian union inherited mostly those irrigation works which were protective in nature.

The report of irrigation department illustrates the damage caused by partition and disruption generated by it with regard to major productive works and minor unproductive works.

⁵⁵ In undivided India, the total area irrigated by private and government canals was roughly 40 million, out of which after partition the total of canal irrigated lands in India's share was 13 million acres. Shiv Prasad, *Economy and Geography of Pakistan*, H. Chatterjee and Company, Calcutta, 1949, p.9.

⁵⁶ Rabindra Nath Ghosh, *Agriculture in Economic Development with Special Reference to the Punjab*, New Delhi, 1977, p.38.

⁵⁷ The principal canals – Lower Jhelum Chenab, Lower Chenab Canal, Upper Chenab Canal and Tripple Canal projects went to Pakistan. Shiv Prasad, *Economy and Geography of Pakistan*, *op. cit.*, p.11; S.P. Mehra mentions that out of 31 canal systems, Indian Punjab got only four canal systems, S.P. Mehra, *Punjab Today – An Economic Review*, New Academies, Jalandhar, 1983, p.11.

⁵⁸ *Administrative Report 1973-74*, Punjab Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch, Patiala, Punjab Government Press, 1978, pp.10-15. Also see, G.K. Chadha, *The State and Rural Economic Transformation: The Case of Punjab 1950-85*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1986, pp.26-27.

Punjab Canals Major or Productive Works
(Irrigated in acres)

Year	Kharif*	Rabi*	Total
1945-46	3666359	632458	4298817
1946-47	32371	33537	65908
1947-48	12866	34469	47335

Punjab Canals Minor or Productive Works
(Irrigated in acres)

Year	Kharif	Rabi	Total
1945-46	6997478	7873395	14870873
1946-47	2077777	2289420	4367197
1947-48	2011324	1817261	3828585

During the year 1947-48, the canals under the control of the irrigation department in the Punjab (India) irrigated a total area of 3,949,145 acres as against 4,402,208 acres irrigated during the year 1946-47. The matured area was 3,835,596 acres against 4,285,126 acres matured during the year of 1946-47. The decrease of 453,135 acres in respect of area irrigated as compared with the previous year was due to the following factors:

- (a) The land evacuated by Muslims could not be allotted to the refugees coming from Pakistan.
- (b) The policy regarding the allotment of land was under consideration of the government which resulted in less interest of the cultivators.
- (c) There was lack of cultivating and ploughing arrangements.⁵⁹

* Kharif: The autumn harvest sown in April-May before the commencement of rains and reaped in October-November.

* Rabi: The spring crop generally sown in October-November and reaped in April-May.

⁵⁹ *Annual Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab for the year ending on September 30, 1948*, PSA, Chandigarh, pp.26-27.

A large number of small irrigation schemes, promising immediate results, had been started by the irrigation branch of the Public Works Department.⁶⁰

During the First Five Year Plan (1951-52), irrigation was made available for about 6.3 million acres of land but the area actually cultivated was little over 4.0 million acres. The bulk of the central assistance was devoted to minor irrigation programs. Under the Indo-US Technical Cooperation Programme, three projects for the construction of 2650 tubewells and for drilling of 350 exploratory tubewells had been undertaken at the cost of rupees twenty five crores.⁶¹ These 2650 tubewells had been provided to the state of Bihar, U.P., Punjab and PEPSU by 1978 their number had risen to over 570,000.

⁶⁰ a) A scheme for the excavation of new distributaries of Sabraon and Kasur branches was sanctioned at an estimated cost of Rs. 13.5 lac. Out of these, 7 distributaries were constructed and opened to irrigation during April 1951. Seven more distributaries were opened to irrigation in 1952.

b) Kizan *Nallah* scheme consisting of remodeling of Fatehgarh distributary and construction of two new channels was completed. These channels were opened to irrigation in 1952.

c) Scheme for extending irrigation to 220,000 acres in Gurdaspur district on the left bank of Ravi was drawn out.

d) Shah Nahar Canal system in Hoshiarpur and Jalandhar districts had been taken over from the district board. There was an appreciable increase in irrigation in these two districts.

e) Two schemes for extending Talu and Bhiwani Khera minors and constructing New Kasia Khera minor were completed and opened for irrigation in Rohtak and Hissar district.

f) On the Sirhind Canal, Bhaini Ditch Cannel and I-L minor and Kokri distributary had been constructed.

g) During monsoon, most of the irrigation channels had been run with 15 to 20 per cent extra supply which had greatly added to irrigation. This supply was utilized through temporary shoots or through newly constructed Kharif channels.

h) Jagdhari Tube-well scheme, consisting of 256 tubewells was completed in 1952. Two more tubewells schemes, consisting of 42 tubewells and costing approximately Rs. 12 lac were completed in Ambala and Karnal districts.

i) In Kangra district work, repair and new construction of Kuhalas were started towards the close of 1949, as a grow-more-food measures financed by the Government of India 43 Kuhals were completed. A scheme for constructing Bitharathhar distributary taking off from Dehar Khand in Nurpur tehsil estimated to cost Rs 11,57,000 was sanctioned.

⁶¹ *First Five Plan Progress Report* for the year 1953-54, PSA, p.62.

Forty-five tubewells and five borings out of 350 exploratory tubewells were to be located in the Punjab and PEPSU respectively.⁶² The Punjab Government also took initiative in implementing the programme of construction of departmental tubewells. As many as 180 tubewells were, thus constructed by the private farmers in the Punjab with the assistance of the state government.⁶³ Punjab State Tubewell Act 1954, provided for construction, improvement and maintenance of state tubewell irrigation works was an important step in this direction.⁶⁴ Tubewell irrigation was given due thought in Amritsar district in early 1952. By 1955, eighty-five cooperative tubewell irrigation societies were registered. They succeeded in bringing 4014 acres of 'barani' land under reclamation work.

They also helped in tackling the menace of water logging in the area. Thus, Amritsar was put on the path of agrarian development through the potent force of cooperative efforts and self help.⁶⁵

Farming on small scale was not a sound business proposition. The area of a holding of 10 acres was considered cultivable by an average family owning one pair of bullocks. Such a holding during a favourable year had an average annual income as shown in the following.⁶⁶

⁶² *Ibid.*, p.63.

⁶³ Review of the First Five Year Plan, *op. cit.*, p.90.

⁶⁴ Punjab State Tubewell Act (Punjab Act XXXI of 1954) given in Punjab Land Code, Vol. II, Government of Punjab, Legislative Department, The Controller of Printing and Stationary, 1963, pp.429-433.

⁶⁵ Amar Singh, "Irrigation through Cooperative Tubewells in Amritsar District", *The Punjab Cooperative Journal*, 1955, PSA, pp.24-26.

⁶⁶ *The Tribune*, August 31, 1952.

Per Capita Income from Irrigated and Unirrigated Land

	Assumption	Irrigated	Unirrigated
1.	The capital and land owned by the farmer and permanent workers were his family members.	331	95
2.	The capital was borrowed, the land was owned by the farmer, and permanent workers were his family members.	320	94
3.	The capital was borrowed and land was taken on rent and the permanent workers were the family members of the farmer.	143	31
4.	The capital was borrowed the land was taken on rent, and all work done by hired labourers.	33	20

Very interesting feature of our agriculture was its unprofitableness. The net income from even a 10-acre holding worked out to a negative figure under the assumption that land is rented, capital was borrowed and work was done by hired labour.⁶⁷

The state policy was the creation of optimum units. This alone would ensure maximum utilization of the available resources. Therefore, it was felt necessary to put a ceiling on the bigger holdings and to amalgamate the smaller ones to create optimum blocks. Owners of economic holdings below the optimum size were also to enlarge the unit of cultivation, and for that they too must form co-operative farming societies.⁶⁸ Co-operative village management had a number of advantages. Many farmers were already beginning to perceive that no substantial improvement in their economic conditions were possible under the present organization of agriculture. Government could easily take them to co-operative way of working by providing suitable inducements like facilities in the

⁶⁷ Tarlok Singh, Land Resettlement Manual, *op. cit.*, pp.80-81.

⁶⁸ *Co-operative Village Management Schemes*, Department of Rehabilitation, Chandigarh. pp.40-41.

matter of finance, technical assistance, supplies, marketing, lease of cultivable waste land, etc.

Under the co-operative system of land management the rights of ownership was recognized and compensated for through an ownership dividend to be paid at the harvest time. The village production councils controlled the co-operative farming societies. These councils further devised the way for diverting the surplus agricultural population towards cottage industrial activities.⁶⁹ Joint village management scheme was advocated as one of the solutions for re-organizing agriculture on a rationalized basis. A scheme which could combine the advantage of cooperation and at the same time allow full scope for individual initiative could be a success in East Punjab. The Garden Colony Scheme was a scheme of this type.

In the development of horticulture, useful work was done during the first plan especially in food growing arena. Instance efforts bore fruit in the form of greater production of fruits, vegetables, establishment of nurseries, distribution of reliable fruit graft and seeding and more research on high yielding and disease resistant varieties of improved fruits. In the Punjab, 27 cooperative garden colonies with the total area of 21,960 acres were established on selected evacuee lands allotted to displaced persons and 3396 acres of land was put under fruit trees.⁷⁰

For bringing about an improvement in the mulching and working efficiency of cattle, the first five year plan provided a sum of Rs. 293 lakhs for key villages scheme which aimed at establishing centres each comprising of 3-4 villages, breeding superior bulls and rearing young stock and undertaking disease control measures. During the first two years of the plan, 222 key villages and 96 artificial insemination centres were established and till the end of

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.43-45.

⁷⁰ *Review of First Five Year Plan (1951-76)*, Planning Commission, New Delhi, p.97.

1953-54, their number had risen to 345 key villages and 122 artificial insemination centres.⁷¹

For improvement of livestock, the plan aimed to establish more veterinary dispensaries and to increase admission to veterinary colleges. Arrangements had been made to run double shifts in Punjab veterinary college.⁷²

Section – III

The partition gave a severe jolt to the industry in the state which faced a crisis grave in nature owing to the fact that employees moved to one direction and the workers to the other. The dislocation of the economic life of skilled labour of the Punjab, loss of mineral resources (coal, iron ore) and feeling of insecurity leading to the growing tendency of the displaced persons to move to safer places. Besides, the main industrial centres of the Punjab – Lahore, Sialkot and Wazirabad were left behind in West Punjab.⁷³ Further, partition retarded the prospective progress of the border districts of the Punjab due to fear psychosis generated by it.⁷⁴ The flight of labour and capital to safety zones reduced the economic interdependence to imbalance. To restrict the shifting of factories under Factory Act, East Punjab Act March 1948, Control of Dismantling Act was passed by the East Punjab Government.⁷⁵ To make up the loss of capital and skilled labour, Government of India set-up a Rehabilitation Finance Administration for meeting the financial requirements of small and medium level migrant businessman on medium and long term basis. To impart vocational training, Punjab Government opened up 34

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.83.

⁷² Punjab Livestock Improvement Act (1953) was also passed during the period. *Punjab Land Code*, Vol. IV, Government of Punjab, Legislative Department, 1963, pp.350-351.

⁷³ Satya M. Rai, Punjab since Partition, *op. cit.*, p.178.

⁷⁴ Partition exerted an adverse impact on industries in border districts of East Punjab, P.N. Luthra, Impact of Partition on Industries in the Border Districts of East Punjab, Publication No. 1, Ludhiana, 1949, p.14.

⁷⁵ *Urban Rehabilitation in East Punjab*, n.d., p.1.

industrial training institutes in all the districts with 32 training centres.⁷⁶

The exodus of Muslim skilled labour from the East Punjab substantially crippled the industries like hosiery, metal works and railways in which the Muslims formed about ninety percent of skilled or semi-skilled labour. The East Punjab which was already backward in industrial development, suffered much on this account. Most of the factories and workshops were closed.⁷⁷ The textile industry, carpet and blanket-weaving, foundry and engineering industries, which were mostly in the hands of the Muslims, suffered a serious setback. Likewise the conditions were no better in the West Punjab also as has been graphically described in the first year of Pakistan. The disturbances forced the Muslim workers of the East Punjab industries like hosiery, handloom, weaving, carpet and blanket weaving, foundry and engineering to migrate to the West Punjab and the stores and other essential materials were put in crisis. There was a great demand for goods but there were neither stores nor trained personnel of the higher grade to produce them and greatest shortage was observed in cloth and there was acute unemployment among the weavers.⁷⁸

Industrial output during the year 1947-48 was bound to register a steep fall, due to abnormal circumstances attendance in the factories. Industrial activity in border districts, however, failed to show any recovery even after a long period the law and order was restored in the province.

The table below gives the average monthly gross value of output for each industry during the years 1946-47 and 1947-48 and also during the first quarter of the year 1948-49 and also during the first quarter of the year 1948-49.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ *The Tribune*, April 15, 1954.

⁷⁷ Satya M. Rai, *Punjab since Partition*, *op. cit.*, p.178.

⁷⁸ *First Year of Pakistan*, Pakistan Government, pp.131-134.

⁷⁹ P.N. Luthra, *Impact of Partition on Industries in Border District of East Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p.56.

Average Monthly Gross Value of Output in Thousands of Rupees

S. No.	Industry	Average monthly gross value of output		
		1946-47	1947-48	First quarter of 1948-49
1.	Flour & Rice Mills	17,32	24,61	24,61
2.	Fruit products	36	13	13
3.	Breakfast food	25	8	10
4.	Cotton ginning & oil	11,02	9,78	10,50
5.	Hosiery	6,21	4,94	4,94
6.	Textiles	37,49	26,67	26,09
7.	Metal works etc.	4,31	1,39	1,56
8.	Mechanical engineering	9,09	7,32	7,63
9.	Steel rolling mills	1,62	54	57
10.	Electrical engineering	2,85	1,27	1,30
11.	Scientific engineering	25	-	-
12.	Chemicals and paints	2,30	2,10	2,10
13.	Distillery	7,96	4,59	4,59
14.	Printing press and stationary	1,33	75	75
15.	Glass wares	86	-	-
16.	Lime grinding	32	25	25
17.	Wood works	13	1	2
18.	Button factory	15	15	15
	All Industries	1,03,82	84,58	85,29

On comparison of figures in column 3, 4, 5 would reveal that average monthly output during the first quarter of the year 1948-49 registered on the whole a very little improvement as compared with the average output during the year 1947-48. The average output in the textile industry, on the other hand, had fallen by a small margin.

The Punjabis by courage and hard labour, had not only survived the shock to their economy but also had emerged as the vanguard of economic development of the country. The past five years had witnessed in this state on almost continuous industrial progress. The number of factories and workers-the customary criteria applied for appraising industrial advancement which stood as 600 and 37,486 in the year 1947, had increased to 2,311 and 54,250 respectively, as it may be seen from the following table:⁸⁰

Year	Number of Factories	Number of workers
1947	600	37,486
1948	715	36,625
1949	820	39,364
1950	1,270	50,413
1951	1,486	48,175
1952	1,688	52,822
1953	1,953	44,324
1954	2127	53,012
1955	2,311	54,250

The extent of capital finding investment affords some ground for satisfaction. There were 1,413 joint stock companies with a capital of Rs. 14.13 crores in December 1955. The following statement shows the position of joint stock companies registered in the Punjab.⁸¹

⁸⁰ *Five Year Plan 1950-51 To 1955-56, Reconstruction of Punjab's Life*, Mohan Lal Minister for Industries East Punjab, Punjab Government, Chandigarh.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

Year	No. of joint stock companies registered	Authorized capital (Rs. in thousands)
1947-48	18	61,40
1948-49	129	4,32,46
1949-50	116	3,58,60
1950-51	53	1,62,10
1951-52	62	1,64,95
1952-53	62	1,71,74
1953-54	40	72,80

These facts clearly indicate that the industrial Punjab had managed to cross the darkness into the road towards normalcy. New centers of production had sprung up at several places in the state where groups of industries were localized. Jalandhar and Batala had provided a new home to the sports goods industry; Ludhiana had become famous for hosiery, cycle and sewing machine parts; Sonipat had started manufacturing cycles, Hoshiarpur was producing resin and turpentine; Amritsar started manufacturing thermometers. The industrialists at Batala had introduced new lines in engineering e.g., 'dhagga' (foundry works), tubewell pumps and manufacture single span steel bridges; Gurgooan was specializing in salt-making. Ludhiana alone had 90 per cent of the hosiery concerns in the country.

The only two embroidery mills in India were located at Amritsar. The Dhariwal Woollen Mills was one of the biggest mills in India. Three woollen spinning mills had been set up at Ludhiana after partition. One cotton spinning mill at Hissar had been put in for production. The other industrial concerns of eminence were metal foundries at Batala and Jalandhar; paper and pulp factory, starch factory, vegetable ghee and sugar mills at Yamananagar, wood-screw industry at Amritsar. The fruit preservation industry at Pathankot and utensil making at Jagadhari and Rewari.⁸²

⁸² *Report on the Working of the Department of Industries East Punjab 1953-55*, Department of Rehabilitation East Punjab Government.

The cottage and small-scale industries were destined to play a vitally and important role in the industrial and economic life of the state because of the geographical position and infrastructure of the state and the projected spread of electricity as a source of power extending to small towns and rural areas. Government had given great importance to the development of cottage and small-scale industries which could make a substantial contribution not only to the production of consumer goods but also to the expansion of employment opportunities in the state. The following table shows the position of some of the important small-scale industries in the Punjab is:

Industry No. of units	Capital investment (Rs. in lac)	Value of production (Rs. in lac)	No. of persons employed
Hosiery 880	300	7000	21,000
Sport goods 150	50	70	3,000
Cycle parts 300	66	160	5,000
Sewing machines 100 and parts thereof	30	60	1,200
Agriculture implements 250	125	100	5,000
Brass wares 300	98	350	5,000
Scientific instruments 32	30	25	500

In the various schemes of industrial and technical education enforced by the government the main emphasis was given on the encouragement of cottage and small-scale industries. Further special facilities for the improvement of production, techniques and marketing of finished products of these industries were provided by the small service institutes set up by the government of India. The industries of the Punjab had been greatly benefited from the advice of the technical experts.⁸³

⁸³ *Financial Assistance for a Development of Small Scale Industries in the East Punjab, Chandigarh, 1955.*

The Punjab had made encouraging progress in the sphere of industrialization during the period of first five year plan. A sum of Rs. 54.8 lac were spent on the execution of various schemes . The state was fast marching forward on the road of industrial development. It was for this reason that schemes costing Rs. 713 lac were formulated for the industrial development of the state during the second five year plan. These included large-scale industries, handloom industry, handicrafts, loom industry, *khadi* and village industries, industrial education and agriculture.⁸⁴

Section – IV

There is no doubt that men's ideas about fundamental concepts of life, such as property and ownership are undergoing a radical change. Ferment of new ideas are working in the countryside, and new values are emerging. Importance is now being given to work than to mere ownership. This may bring about changes in physical and mental health to a large numbers, and those who merely lived on the work of others without exerting the nerve fibres of their brains, or the muscles of their body may find conditions of life rather more hard. The partition of the country which involved large-scale migration of population from both the sides dealt with a hard blow to the concept of private property, at least in the Punjab, where millionaires of yesterday have become paupers of today. The landed aristocracy and the upper middle class received a wide shock: the inefficient among them were condemned to penury and destitution, while the more enterprising and energetic ones were galvanised into fresh activity, and have become more useful members of society.⁸⁵

Then there were others who were not employees of the government but all the same lived on monthly salaries. One such

⁸⁴ *Information Collected from the Documents of Rehabilitation Department East Punjab Government.*

⁸⁵ M.S. Randhawa, *Out of Ashes, op. cit.*, pp.202-203.

category was the film industry. Lahore had been the heart of the film industry in India. All the five film studios of Punjab were situated in Lahore. Over 5,000 people were directly engaged in film production and distribution-related work in Lahore. Partition had brought with it complete ruin to a large number of such families.⁸⁶ A letter from Simla appealed to the Government of India to absorb people of the trade in the Publicity Department of the Government and the All India Radio, because a large number of such people had suddenly been forced to penury.⁸⁷ A large number of such families ultimately moved on to Bombay, some of them opened photo studios in Simla and other places.

The Radcliffe Award drew a line as a result of which 13 districts comprising the whole of the Jalandhar and Ambala divisions as well three tehsils of the Gurdaspur district were allocated to East Punjab. The West Punjab had been fortunate to retain the only university as well as the principal educational, medical, technical, veterinary and agricultural institutions of the province and the Capital of United Punjab. As a result a new place of administration had to be established in East Punjab. It was, therefore, decided that a new capital of East Punjab should be raised at the present site of Chandigarh. A committee was formed including M.S. Randhawa who recommended the present site.⁸⁸ It was said that the plan for new capital would result in a new town symbolic of the freedom of India, unfettered by the tradition of the past.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, December 5, 1947.

⁸⁷ *The Tribune*, January 1, 1948.

⁸⁸ West Punjab retained the important canals and about 70 percent of the fertile canal-irrigated tracts along with important forests, mineral resources and a large number of exclusive industries of undivided province. M.S. Randhawa, *Out of Ashes*, *op. cit.*, p.5.

⁸⁹ It was a village 30 miles north-west of Ambala. The village was named after Goddess *Chandi*, who is known in Hindu mythology as Goddess of energy. A temple of *Chandi* was situated in one corner of the village at the foot of a hillock on top of which were the ruins of fortress garh. The place therefore was known as Chandigarh. *Statistical Abstract of Punjab*, Punjab Government, Shimla, 1951, p.190.

It would provide great opportunities for planning and rebuilding life on new pattern. Its foundation was laid by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in 1953. At this place grew a 'new Lahore' a new hub of public life for the eastern half of the partitioned Punjab. The provincial government had prepared an ambitious Rs. 10 crore plan which promised all modern amenities – roads, railways, university and public institutions. To have a properly laid-out capital, the Punjab government had engaged the services of an American town planner, Albert Meyer. It had also sought the assistance of Koenig Berger, Director of Housing, Government of India, for the preparation of designs. The provincial government had decided to acquire for the capital 8,000 acres of land which was very likely to be extended later to 34,000 acres.⁹⁰

The East Punjab was rich in hydroelectric potential. A number of excellent sites were available for the development of water power on the snow-bed. Himalayan rivers like the Sutlej and the Beas. Two excellent sites were situated at Bhakra and Nangal on the Sutlej. The Government went ahead with the speedy development of a multi-purpose project covering these sites to ensure for the state self-sufficiency in agriculture and prosperity in industry.

The Bhakra Dam⁹¹ was, by far the biggest single multi-purpose, under construction in the country. It was hoped that when completed it will turn the Punjab (India) into one of the most prosperous provinces of the country.⁹² The magnitude of the irrigation scope of this project will be better appreciated in comparison to the largest single irrigation schemes in United India.

⁹⁰ *The Tribune*, January 26, 1950.

⁹¹ The idea of Bhakhra Project had a long history. In November 1908, Sir Louis Dane, the then Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, had left that Nengal could be an ideal site for a dam. The first plan in this regard was made in 1911 and later revised in 1999. Following this, in 1927 an expert committee was set up to further examine the question but no real progress could be made. The idea of the Bhakhra Dam was then revived by the Unionist Party politician Chhotu Ram when South-East Punjab faced a severe drought in 1938. After 1948, the implementation of the Bhakhra Project was, therefore, undertaken as an urgent task. K.N. Raj, *Some Economic Aspects of the Bhakhra Nangal Project*, New Delhi, 1960, p.2.

⁹² The project comprised of five main components: the Bhakra Dam, the Nangal Dam, the Nangal Hydrel Channel, the Nangal Power Houses and Bhakra Canal Systems.

The construction of dam, the second highest in the world, took fifteen years, and when in 1963 it was completed it had cost Rs. 2385 million.⁹³ More importantly, it created the capacity to supply over 4,000 million units of electricity.⁹⁴

- Sukkur Barrage 65,00,000 acres.
- Sutlej valley with three weirs 54,00,000 acres
- Bhakhra-Nangal Project 65,00,000 acres⁹⁵

The increased irrigation was expected to increase the production of foodgrains, cotton and other fibers. The economic stability of the East Punjab, well-being and rehabilitation of million displaced persons depended on a large measure on the early completion of this project. Though the utility of the project had been realized during the united Punjab, but its urgency and importance was only felt after the partition.⁹⁶

Panchayat Raj was the very basis of the administration in ancient India. Every village used to manage its own affairs. With foreign domination, Panchayat Raj disappeared and all administrative powers were concentrated in the hands of a few. Panchayat Raj was one of the major plans in the programme of Mahatma Gandhi. The democratic set up derived its strength and authority from the masses who might be called real masters of the administration.

Panchayat Raj gave an opportunity to the masses to manage their own affairs. After independence, the Punjab embarked on the experiment of Panchayat Raj. The introduction of the Punjab bill in

⁹³ Vandana Shiva, *The Violence of the Green Revolution; Third World Agriculture, Ecology and Politics*, Goa, 1991, p.122.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Punjab on the March, Irrigation*, Punjab Government Publication, Shimla, pp.17-18.

⁹⁶ *The Tribune*, January 26, 1950.

the state legislature was the first step towards the establishment of that Raj.⁹⁷

One of the best signs of normal life in the country was the sight of children going to school. After the partition, life in Punjab was completely disorganized and evacuation and rehabilitation of displaced persons mainly drawn the attention of the Government. Displaced teachers had to be rehabilitated and uprooted students to be accommodated in schools and colleges. The number of Hindu and Sikh refugee children coming to schools was much higher than that of the outgoing Muslims children. Consequently, the question of provision of accommodation in the schools became very acute. While scores of palatial colleges and school buildings were left behind in West Punjab and the abandoned Muslim educational institutions in East Punjab did not constitute even one-tenth of what had been required. However, the government combated all these difficulties as best as it could.⁹⁸

All Anglo-Vernacular schools and colleges of the province were closed immediately after the partition for six months to provide shelter to the uprooted people. Education officers were deputed to look after the education of children in refugee camps. The students formed volunteer corps to render services in the camps. They continued their work for six months with untiring zeal and elicited high praise from all quarters.⁹⁹

The institutions being closed, it was a problem how to cater to the needs of those who had to take various university examinations. The government decided to reorganize the services in the camps and award diplomas and degrees to the candidates for their social service. This kept the students occupied and gave them a splendid opportunity of serving their uprooted brethren. The government was also relieved of the difficulty of finding suitable and selfless workers

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, August 19, 1952.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, January 26, 1950.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

to help displaced persons in the distribution of rations, clothes, medical aid and general management of camps. Teachers and students of privately managed institutions also rendered services in the camps. The educational department compensated them fully by making payment for the services rendered.

Displaced students were allowed admissions to the educational institutions in the East Punjab, without certificates on the basis of affidavits and tests held by the institutions and by suitable modifications in the provincial education code under the scheme of grants and loans. The displaced students were exempted from paying tuition fees and were helped with grants and loans to the tune of Rs. 34,58,252 and Rs. 16,93,352 respectively.¹⁰⁰ Mostly all types of scholarships awarded in the West Punjab were continued in favour of scholars who migrated to East Punjab and joined various institutions. The schemes for the higher education of ex-service personal was continued.

A camp was started at Delhi to cater for educational needs of the refugees who had settled in Delhi and could not ordinarily fit in the colleges of Delhi University on account of difference in the courses of study.

Many teachers migrating from the West Punjab had lost their departmental certificates during the disturbances of 1947. The department decided to issue special certificates in such cases. Consequently 1432 special certificates had been issued to such teachers. An effort was also made to procure from the west Punjab such certificates of the students for having been passed the authorized departmental examinations held in 1947, before the partition. There was a problem to pay off claims of the teachers those who had not received payment of their bills prior to partition. In such cases claims of 635 persons amounting to Rs. 53,487 were paid.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ *Facts About Punjab 1953*, Official Pamphlet Government of East Punjab, pp.v-vi.

¹⁰¹ *Information Collected from Department of Rehabilitation*, Chandigarh.

Special grants were sanctioned to the district boards for the restoration of old salaries which were being drawn in the West Punjab by the displaced vernacular teachers, other problems connected with displaced retired teachers, such as payment of provident fund, other dues and release of pensions, etc were properly tackled.¹⁰²

The government took interest particularly to provide education to Harijans. The Harijans welfare scheme was initiated under which stipends were awarded to Harijan students studying in recognized schools and affiliated colleges in the East Punjab. Tuition fees of such students were remitted and fees for public examination paid by the government on their behalf. The department had incurred an expenditure of Rs. 1,00,716 and Rs. 6,828 by way of stipends and tuition fees and examination fees respectively.

The various committees like those on primary education, middle, junior and secondary formulated the courses of study for different levels of education. Special attention was paid to the overall development of the students. These schemes laid the foundation of the prosperous society, economy and culture of the East Punjab.

Kusum Nair, who in 1958-59 conducted a field survey of agriculture, found great misery and poverty in the different states of India which she visited. However, in the Punjab she found that the refugee farmers were energetic and restless. This relates to the spirit of enterprise and energy displayed by the refugees in rebuilding their lives and restoring their shattered fortunes.¹⁰³

In East Punjab, the displaced persons were received with sympathy and compassion. In marked contrast to it, the South-Eastern provinces, now constituting the present day Haryana, portrayed a different picture with initial feelings of sympathy and emotions gradually giving way to the bitter feelings of

¹⁰² *The Tribune*, January 26, 1950.

¹⁰³ Kusum Nair, *Blossoms in the Dust, the Human Element in Indian Development*, London, 1961, p.73.

competitiveness among the local people. They began to look upon refugees as a rival who might bring in their economic ruination.¹⁰⁴

It is beyond doubt that partition dealt a severe blow to the economy of Punjab. It adversely affected the condition of both agriculture and industry. The entire economy of the nation including that Punjab could be seen in a shattered and disintegrated state. Independence brought with it a change in the dynamics of political power game. It signified the transfer of power from the hands of the colonial masters to the national elite. In the Punjab, rural elites came to wield power in the political set up. The political and economic compulsions led the state to divert its energy in the rehabilitation of the province. A series of challenges were posed before the newly formed state. Rehabilitation process could be accomplished largely owing to the patience, perseverance, will power and mobility displayed by the Punjabis in their character.

¹⁰⁴ V.P. Malhotra, *The Board of Economic Enquiry East Punjab*, Publication No. 3, Economic Conditions to Displaced Persons Settled in East Punjab, Part – I (Towns), p.1.

Chapter – V

Conclusion

The partition of India was neither the result of the allegedly inevitable clash between Hindus and Muslims ways of life nor was it due to any inherent inability of Islam to co-exist with other religions. It was largely due to the policy of British imperialism encouraging, sometimes openly and often with a consummate sanctimonious mask of impartiality and conflict of interests between the economically powerful and politically ambitious classes of both communities. At the root of partition lay distinct antagonism between the two principal communities of the sub-continent.

The division of humans into mutually exclusive group identities of tribe, nation, caste, religion and class seems to serve two important psychological functions. The first is to increase the feeling of well being in the narcissistic realm by locating one's own group at the centre of the universe, superior to others, and second the shared grandiose itself, maintained by legends, myths and rituals, seems to demand a conviction that other groups are inferior. Ethnic groups that use ethnicity to make demands in the political arena for alteration in their status, in their economic well being, in their civil rights, or in their educational opportunities are engaged in a form of group politics. They demand a major say for the group in the political system as a whole or control over a piece of territory within the country, or they demand a country of their own with full sovereignty. A nation, therefore, may be seen as a particular type of ethnic community or, rather as an ethnic community politicized, with recognized group rights in the political system. Nation-states are the subjects and creators of a global network or ethnic minorities as political actors. In modern times, especially 20th century ethnicity has become important in politics and ethno-nationalism has been the distinguishing characteristic of nationalism. Nationalism is both an ideology and a form of behaviour. The ideology of nationalism

build on peoples awareness of a nation or national self-consciousness to give a set of attitudes and a programme of action. These may be cultural, economic or political. So nation (as a group of people who feel to be a community bound together by common, history, religion, common descent and citizenship) can be defined in ethnic, social or official sense. Nationalism can also take these forms also. The use of word ethno-nationalism suggests that there is a distinction between an ethnic group and a nation.

It may be pointed out that in plural societies, prevalence of a dominant group, politically and economically, regulates other smaller ethnic groups into a secondary position. It results in discontent in the society in a large or small number because policies of the state become beneficial to few and harmful to others. The process of modernization unfolding social change inserts ethnic consciousness and group solidarity among the desperate ethnic groups. This indeed give rise to a conflictual nationalism. The principle dangers of violent conflict arise when all routes to power in an existing system seem closed to an organized force and when the possibility of changing the political arena is a real one. The existence of one of these conditions is often sufficient to be conducive to ethnic conflict. The existence of both is particularly dangerous. One or both of these conditions have existed in such far-flung places of India in 1947, in Nazi Germany and recently in Yugoslavia and the Hutu-Tutsi killings in Rwanda.

Some historians, both Indian and Pakistani, suggest that the Hindus and Muslims in colonial India constituted two separate nations can be projected back into medieval history. They emphasise that the events of 1947 were intimately connected to the long history of Hindu Muslim conflict throughout medieval and modern times. Communal identities were consolidated by a host of other developments in the early twentieth century. During the 1920s and early 1930s tension grew around a number of issues. Muslims were angered by music before mosque, cow protection movement, and by

the efforts of the Arya Samaj to bring back to the Hindu fold (*Shuddhi*) those who had recently converted to Islam. As middle class publicists and communal activists sought to build greater solidarity within their communities, mobilising people against the other community, riots spread in different parts of the country. Every communal riot deepened differences between communities and create violence.

The prospects of League in Punjab was always in doldrums because of the Unionist Party. The League's prospects further narrowed down after the collapse of Jinnah-Sikander Hayat Khan Pact in 1944. In Punjab, during 1945-46, communal politics burst into villages and their passions were aroused and inspired by the message of Pakistan; the cries of *Allah-o-Akbar*, *Pakistan ban ke rahega* were raised in political meetings in Punjab. The proposals of Cripps and Cabinet Mission Plan ultimately brought 'Direct-Action Day' and riot started in big way in the country. Pakistan was won, but people on both sides of the fence were tormented by killings, loss of families and by the scale and magnitude of this tragedy.

Communal riots occur because there is a development of communal ideology in society. Communalism refers to a politics that seeks to unify one community around a religious identity in hostile opposition to another community. In order to unify the community, communalism suppresses distinctions within the community and emphasis the essential unity of the community against other communities. Communalism nurtures a politics of hatred for an identified "other Hindus" in the case of Muslim Communalism and "Muslims" in the case of Hindu Communalism. This hatred feeds a politics of violence. As an ideology, communalism refers to the belief that people belonging to one religion also share common socio-economic, political and cultural interests. The South Asian societies are threatened by the lack of cultural homogeneity and the lack of a strong state or (a biased state government like British government in

India) fails to ensure order in society. In such situations, the religious bigotry leads to communal frenzy and results in riots. During the course of Indian independence movement, the Muslims always had a fear of majority Hindus, who could dictate them. Occasionally the fear of minority led them to rioting.

In such deteriorating situation, on June 3, 1947, Mountbatten announced the division of the country into India and Pakistan on the basis of religion. Sixteen districts comprising of 55 percent of population and 62 percent of the area were allotted to the West Punjab. In comparison to it, the East Punjab obtained 13 districts, 5 princely states, 45 percent of the population, 33 percent of the area and 31 percent of the income of the united former provinces. When the rest of India was celebrating independence on August 15, 1947, the unhappy land of the five rivers was undergoing the sufferings of migration.

Under the religious garb, anti-social elements came on the surface and paralysed humanitarian efforts. On the one hand administrative machinery collapsed and on the other hand civic organisations failed to fill vacuum. Moreover, the failure of the Radcliff Boundary Commission to submit its final report on August 12, created entire central Punjab as a red zone. Flags appeared on the villages indicating the positions in an uncertain situation. People stayed out and started indulging in murder and arson. When the report was submitted on August 17, much damage had already been done. The terror stricken people took to roads, railways and whatever means of transport were available for life. But every passage was infested by bands of murderers and hooligans out to loot and kill.

It was impossible to make an accurate estimate of the total loss of life or the extent of damage to property caused by riots. The census return of 1941 were not accurate even at the time they were compiled. It became hopelessly wrong at the end of six years when a general increase in population and local movements made it

impossible to determine with any degree of accuracy how many non-Muslims were living in the West Punjab, nor was it impossible to know the total number of Hindu and Sikh refugees prepared.

The magnitude of the problem of such a huge transfer of population came to be realized when people in large numbers started migrating in trains, motor vehicles, bullock carts and even on foot as caravans. While the trains carried out the speedy transfer of refugees on both the sides, it was the organization of foot convoys which proved to be the most effective form of evacuation for the tough peasants of the Punjab. Twenty-four foot convoys varying in strength from 40 to 60 thousand were organized.

To prevent the situation from deteriorating further and on account of the failure of the leadership to check exodus, both the dominions realized the need to set up machinery for the evacuation of the displaced persons. Inter-Dominion Conferences were held between the two countries to sort out the sensitive questions and issues related to the partition. High level organizations of both the dominions were entrusted with the arduous task of deciding the policy with regard to evacuation. While matters of broad policy were tackled by the Partition Council, the Joint Defence Council was given the back breaking responsibility of supplying military services and defining their functions and jurisdiction in the evacuation work. Evacuation movement plan was chalked out well with joint rehabilitation board laying down policies with regard to the reception and rehabilitation of the refugees. East Punjab Liaison Agency comprising of Chief Liaison Officer was especially set up for ensuring the safe migration of people across the border. Yet, bloodshed, communal carnage and extreme hardships marked the process of migration.

As early as the end of August 1947, the Government of India also facilitated the transportation of refugees by air from certain

inaccessible points in Pakistan by mobilizing ten aircrafts and carrying out six or seven flights daily to convoy refugees.

Torn from their families environment and occupations these people were bewildered at the catastrophe, which had overtaken them. They had lost their bearings and many of them did not know what to do. The Government of India and Punjab proved equal to the occasion and set up camps at a number of places where these unfortunate people were given rest and shelter.

Although the harshest of words were often used by the displaced masses to describe the state of affairs in the refugee camps, yet it was these camps that were also the symbol of stupendous efforts that was put in by the cash-starved governments of both sides, to give some solace, comfort and security.

The Government of India set up a women organization under Miss Mridula Sarabhai to recover the abducted women. Lady social workers were deputed to all the districts of the West Punjab to assist in the recovery of abducted women. The District Liaison Officers were to supply information regarding abducted persons to be recovered. In spite of the elaborate arrangements, liberal expenditure and efforts many were left behind. East Punjab Liaison Agency recovered 11,129 women and children, whereas West Punjab recovered only 5,616. It was however, claimed by the East Punjab Government that they took up recovery work more honestly in this province than their counterparts in Pakistan.

Another problem caused by the partition of the country was the exchange of prisoners and mental patients. The East Punjab Government built a new mental hospital at Amritsar in 1948. The most important event in the working of this hospital for the year 1950 was the transfer of 450 Indian mental patients from mental hospitals in West Pakistan. And in the case of prisoners, with the determined efforts of Indian Government, 4088 non-Muslim

prisoners repatriated from Pakistan. Indian Government repatriated 3761 Muslim prisoners to Pakistan.

It has been estimated that over 12½ million people have been uprooted from their settled homes and were cut off from their moorings. Upto June 15, 1948 about 55 lakhs non-Muslims were estimated to have been brought over to India from West Punjab and other provinces of Western Pakistan and during the same period about 58 lakhs Muslims had moved into Pakistan from East Punjab, Delhi, U.P., Ajmer, Marwara, Alwar, Bharatpur, Gwalior and Indore. During the same period about one and a quarter million non-Muslims crossed the borders from Eastern Pakistan into West Bengal.

Since the influx of evacuees appeared to be an unending stream as an aftermath of the partition of the country, steps were taken to settle the rural population on evacuee lands where *Kharif* crops were ripe for harvesting. Sending the evacuees to villages was placed on the top of the priority list of the Government. To rehabilitate displaced farmers, land was allotted to them on temporary basis for sustenance in groups. A rough and ready scheme of distribution of land for the first harvest was drawn. In the absence of agricultural statistics and decisive agreement with Pakistan on evacuee property, permanent settlement could not be worked out immediately. To ensure quick distribution of land the agriculturist evacuees were asked to proceed to the tehsils and acquire lands in the villages. Quasi-permanent settlement replaced the temporary allotment scheme. The announcement of the new scheme in this regard was made on February 7, 1948. According to it, the holdings of the evacuees in West Punjab was to be taken into account for the allotment of land. In order to standardize the claimant right, the tenure of land in different kinds of soil and in different tracts were classified and evaluated. The area of every claimed was then converted into the newly evolved term 'standard

acre'. Formula of 'graded cuts' was applied while allotting the land to evacuees farmers in a bid to rehabilitate them. The final account showed that displaced persons due for settlement in East Punjab could receive in quasi-permanent allotment 2,448,830 standard acres against 3,935,131 standard acres abandoned in West Pakistan.

The scheme of model villages was started. Factors like the area and shape of the village site, the situation of large trees and standing *pucca* buildings were certain common features in all these villages.

About 5,00,000 displaced families of land holders were settled in villages. Besides these families, landless persons, *harijans*, tenants, village *kamins* and shopkeepers were provided with shelter. There were about 3,18,000 evacuee houses in living conditions in rural areas. 2,25,000 houses were no longer fit for repairs and 1,25,000 evacuee houses needed repairs. Many *kacha* houses collapsed due to heavy rains and floods. Houses belonging to evacuee land holders were given to the allottees of land. Houses of evacuee *kamins* were given to displaced *kamins*. Evacuee shops were given to displaced shopkeepers. Houses were reserved for common purposes such as *panchayat ghars*, schools and dispensaries.

Urban rehabilitation in the Punjab, broadly speaking was the problem of providing about 11 lakh displaced persons of urban characteristics with houses and urban land claimed to have been abandoned in urban areas of West Pakistan was 22,972 standard acres while the urban area available in East Punjab and PEPSU was 19,273 standard acres. Out of which 13,444 standard acres were in East Punjab and 5,729 in PEPSU.

An urban allotment section was started under a *tehsildar* with 56 clerks. The first and immediate need of evacuees was house where he could shelter himself and his family. While the number of urban houses left on this side was much smaller than those left in

Pakistan, they were also poorer in quality and capacity as compared to non-Muslim houses in Pakistan.

For the lower middle class the government evolved the scheme of cheap housing colonies. It was decided to set up houses of small specification on 8 *marla* sites. In these colonies sites had been provided for religious buildings and schools. Rather more serious was the problem of the lower class displaced persons who were so poor that they could not afford to spend anything for roofed shelter. For them mud hut colonies were set up. Sites were also provided for services industries to make them self-sufficient to the maximum possible extent. The earliest effort in this direction was the construction of 12 townships called model towns. All the houses in model towns were of uniform designs.

Another scheme to provide shelter was the construction of 4,200 houses at the laying out of 9800 building in new township colonies built at various places in the Punjab. In PEPSU, 10,000 Bahawalpurias were earmarked for Patiala. Of these some were to be housed in the town itself either by repairing the *kholas* or in new barracks which was constructed for displaced persons. The bulk of the population was to be housed in a new township in close precincts of the town at Tripuri where 1800 new houses were planned for construction. Nearly 8,000 Bahawalpuria evacuees were planned to settle in Jind. 400 houses were planned to build in Phagwara. The PEPSU Government planned six model townships near Patiala, Phagwara, Basti Nau, Bhatinda, Kotakpura and Barnala. A cheap house scheme was prepared for the working classes and the low income groups. This scheme aimed at providing building sites at various places in the Union.

To provide displaced shopkeepers a ready means of earning their living, it was decided to allot evacuee shops and factories only to displaced persons. There were nearly 17,000

evacuee shops. All of these were allotted to displaced businessmen from West Pakistan. The total number of evacuee factories and industrial establishments in the province was 1,392 of these 1,114 had been leased through auction.

To provide financial aid to the poor and middle class evacuees for rehabilitation in business, the government sanctioned a scheme of loans and grants. In the beginning all loans to urban evacuees were granted individually. Later on it was decided that loans, should as a rule be given only to co-operative societies or groups of displaced persons. The Punjab government had by the end of November 1949, sanctioned Rs. 1,25,00,000 as loans and 18,00,000 as grants to displaced persons.

Displaced students from West Pakistan were given financial assistance by the government in the form of loans and grants. Relief was granted to college as well as loans and to school students from 5th to 10th class. They were given other concessions also, like fee, books and etc. Exception was however, made in case of those students who had secured admission to engineering, medical, veterinary or agricultural colleges, recognized by the East Punjab University in which case assistance was to continue till the completion of the full course. The Punjab government disbursed to displaced students Rs. 15,22,000 as loans and Rs. 19,48,000 as grants in the year 1948-49.

The Industry Department of the Punjab Government had also started 32 training centres in which both boys and girls trainees received instruction in various trades and crafts. These centres were located at different towns in the province. To help rehabilitation of the displaced industrialists and to provide gainful employment to other displaced persons new industrial areas were developed in important cities. To restrict the shifting of factories under Factory Act, East Punjab Act, March 1948 'Control of Dismantling Act' was passed by the East Punjab Government. To make up for the loss of

capital and skilled labour, the Government of India set up a Rehabilitation Finance Administration for meeting the financial requirements of small and medium level migrant businessman on medium and long term basis.

The industrial development in the East Punjab was based on an economic system under which private enterprise controlled almost the entire industrial field. However, the Punjab government rendered the maximum possible assistance to private enterprise to encourage the growth of industries. The future plans of the state government for the industrial development were in the different directions. These efforts were expected to change the face of Punjab state and to achieve a healthy, happy and prosperous future of urban East Punjab.

The evacuee gardens were reserved for allotment to displaced garden owners. Horticultural facilities were provided by the Government through introduction of a garden colony scheme. Earmarking of certain compact areas in every district was an important step taken by the Government in this direction. Educated persons with gardening experience who were ready to undertake the planting of gardens in conformity with official regulations were allotted units. These units were of the size between 10 to 20 acres of land.

After the partition, the East Punjab was a deficit state in food grains and cotton. The East Punjab government started development schemes like supply of better seeds, agricultural implements, fruit nursery production, compost schemes, tubewell scheme, mechanical cultivation and land reclamation schemes, etc. on a 'no profit no loss' basis. The agricultural education and research work was carried on first in Khalsa College, Amritsar and subsequently, since August 1949, at Ludhiana.

The Punjab's economy received a fillip with the inception of first Five Year Plan, 1950-51. The programme of agricultural

development was given the highest priority. These included programmes for increasing agricultural production, developing animal husbandry, dairying, forests, fisheries and cooperation. During the plan, irrigation was made available for about 6.3 million acre of land but the area actually cultivated was a little over 4 million acres. The bulk of the central assistance was devoted to minor irrigation programmes. Under the Indo-US Technical Cooperation Programme, three projects for the construction of 2650 tubewells and for drilling of 350 exploratory tubewells had been undertaken at the cost of rupees twenty-five crores. Forty-five tubewells and five borings out of 350 exploratory tubewells were to be located in the Punjab and PEPSU respectively.

The greater attention was paid to the developmental work. The consolidation of holdings and prevention of their fragmentation, improvement of cattle wealth, use of pure seeds of improved varieties, maintaining the fertility of soil, eradication of weeds and control of insects, pests and diseases, provision of irrigation facilities, supply of improved agricultural implements at reasonable costs, reclamation of cultivable waste lands and mechanical cultivation and general improvement in the methods of agricultural were the main area of concentration. With partition, Punjab inherited a legacy of increasing economic pressure in form of reduced holdings and poorer lands, fall in number of actual workers on the soil, insufficient irrigation facilities, slender capital resources and the rise of tenant interests. However, it had a healthy outcome in the form of migration of the rich farmers of West Punjab into the Indian territory. These enterprising farmers had shifted to the irrigated tracts of the West Punjab from the interiors of the Punjab a few decades back where they engineered the agricultural transformation. The partition marked the return of these displaced Sikh and Hindu farmers of Pakistan. Being mobile in character and well versed with the mechanics of agrarian experiment, they were conscientious

innovative and more receptive to new and novel ideas. They were the ones who spearheaded the Green Revolution in the province.

The scheme of sinking wells continued to run on subsidized basis. *Taccavi* loans for 4,150 wells were advanced upto June 1950. Since the partition upto December 31, 1950 about 23 lakh implements had been supplied to farmers. Panchayat Raj gave an opportunity to the masses to manage their own affairs. After independence, the Punjab government started the experiment of Panchayati Raj. The introduction of the Punjab Bill in the state legislature was the first step towards the establishment of the Raj.

As the result of the partition, there was a sharp decline in the morals of the people. The serious economic crisis created by the forced migration brought immorality in large number. The prevailing lawlessness common in the East and West Punjabs removed all social restraints and scruples. About fifty thousand women were abducted in both the Punjabs. The violent communal riots, murders and heinous crimes brought the people's morale to the lowest ebb.

The partition gave a severe blow to the common village traditions. Persons belonging to the same *biradari* were scattered over different villages and towns in the same and even different districts, with the result that social restraint exercised by the *biradari* got relaxed. People were invariably strangers to their neighbours, because belonging as they did to different places, they had settled at one place. There was so much antipathy among the refugee settlers in the same village that it sometimes resulted in thefts and abduction of women in East Punjab.

People from both the Punjabs intermingled and it led to many new social developments. A large number of the Sikhs and Hindus from Rawalpindi and Multan division who were engaged in trade resettled in the backward towns and villages of East Punjab. This quickened the pulse of social life. The free and easy culture of the

West Punjab had a liberalizing influence on the women of East Punjab, who emulating the example of their counterparts from West Punjab began to discard the *pardah* and were becoming co-sharers of their husband's business.

Due to partition of Punjab, the Pakistani Punjabi began to develop on different lines with large number of Persian words and Punjabi in India began to absorb Hindi words.

The partition caused an upheaval in the social structure. The refugees found themselves aliens in their new surroundings. The very places, the physical and geographical environment and people among whom they were required to spend their lives and develop new relationships were unfamiliar. In the West Punjab, this led to the evil practices of beggary, prostitution, delinquency and crime.

'Refugees' everywhere in the world have generally found at first a warm response from those among they are placed, but with the lapse of time they develop a feeling that they are not really getting what they had counted upon, their sufferings have not been properly appreciated, and that they are generally misunderstood. In the case of evacuees from West Pakistan a similar complex had developed. The sudden uprooting from their homes due to political reasons led the refugees to believe that the Republic of India was the direct outcome of the immense sacrifices made by them. Hence they legitimately expected more consideration from the local population. This led to the development of more aggressive attitude among them.

It is beyond doubt that partition dealt a severe blow to the economy of Punjab. It adversely affected the condition of both agriculture and industry. The entire economy of the nation including that Punjab could be seen in a shattered and disintegrated state. Independence brought with it a change in the dynamics of political power game. It signified the transfer of power from the hands of the colonial masters to the national elite. In the Punjab, rural elites came to wield power in the political set up. The political and economic

compulsions led the state to divert its energy in the rehabilitation of the province. A series of challenges were posed before the newly formed state. Rehabilitation process could be accomplished largely owing to the patience, perseverance, will power and mobility displayed by the Punjabis in their character.

The collaborative efforts of the state and overwhelming response of its people cumulatively, resulted in gradual recovery of the agricultural, industrial and economy of the province from the hard hitting blow of partition.

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