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Miseries of the West Punjab (1947-1955): Moment of Truth

Abstract:

Punjab, with rich fertile tracts of land, considered a 'Model Province' and 'Barometer of India'. Therefore, to fulfill agricultural needs in Britain, British annexed the Punjab in March 1849, after the Sikh rule. After the annexation, Punjab received special attention of British administration as Punjab had always played an important role in the defense of India. British furnished the West Punjab with nine canal colonies and the best irrigation system to enrich the agricultural sector that unquestionably attracted Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. They gathered round in West Punjab sharing the same socio-economic interests. Gradually, the socio-political and religious issues among these large communities led Punjab towards partition in 1947. The Partition of Punjab was done into two, East and West on communal basis. Pakistan received western part along with sufferings of millions of refugees. Government faced a massive task to deal with the issues like accommodation, facilitation, settlement and rehabilitation of refugees. Economic pressure of rehabilitation and settlement work troubled the economy of the Province, which caused many fiscal, social and political sufferings of the West Punjab after the partition.

Key Words: *Punjab, Partition, Violence, Migration, Rehabilitation, Settlement.*

Punjab Crunch:

On June 3, 1947, Lord Mountbatten (1900-1979) announced the formula of partition with the consent of the Indian political leaders. In this formula for the Punjab and Bengal, two Boundary Commissions were also announced¹. On July 8, 1947, Sir Cyril Radcliff (1899- 1977) the Chairman of both Boundary Commissions reached India. Justice Din Muhammad, Justice Munir (1895-1979), Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan (1889-1967) and Justice Teja Singh were the members of the Punjab Boundary Commission². Because of the worthwhile agrarian strength of the Punjab, Sikhs started violence throughout East Punjab to pressurize the Boundary Commission in order to get the maximum land of the Punjab. The rulers of the Sikh states of Nabha, Faridkot, Patiala, etc. wrote to Lord Mountbatten to get maximum favor³. A Sikh delegation went to Britain to see British Prime Minister but failed even to see British Prime Minister.

Lord Mountbatten had some sympathies; the sympathetic gesture of Lord Mountbatten towards Sikhs made later the Award of Boundary Commission controversial, though Lord Mountbatten claimed to remain neutral⁴ during the functioning of Boundary Commission. His bias went on record in a press

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conference on June 4, 1947, he said, "I am really sincere in my desire to help the Sikhs"⁵. Sir Radcliff submitted Boundary Award to Lord Mountbatten on August 11, 1947. Gurdaspur, Zira, Ferozpur, Pathankot, etc. the Muslim majority areas were given to India⁶. Later, on August 16, 1947, Lord Mountbatten presented the Boundary Award in front of Indian political leaders in a meeting in Delhi, which was one way or another accepted.

On August 18, 1947, 'The Pakistan Times' expressed the Muslim reaction as follows on the Radcliff Award⁷:

In the Punjab the notional division had been fair but the final Award have much further and hacked off save of our richest tracts of land. The blow has been the hardest in Gurdaspur district where the two Muslim Tehsils of Gurdaspur and Batala with a Muslim majority of 52.1 percent and 55.06 percent, respectively, have been thrown into Hindustan along with Pathankot Tehsil, taking away from Pakistan the rich Muslim Industrial town of Batala. A part of Lahore district has also been broken off. Radcliff has gave to the trouble of drawing a village-to-village boundary, UT Ajnala Tehsil of Amritsar District, with a 60 percent Muslim majority and contiguous to the district of Lahore has been completely forgotten. The Tehsil of Zera and Ferozpor with a clear Muslim majority have been dismissed with talk of 'disruption of communications'.

Partition of India and Punjab occurred according to the statistics provided in the Census Report of India 1941. The statistics depict the Muslim majority in Punjab with the ratio of 56.95% as compare to Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Christians and others were 26.52%, 13.48%, 0.08%, 1.74% and 1.23% respectively. Sikhs, being only 13.48% of the total population of the Province, were demanding the Punjab from Jumna to Chenab, whereas they were not the majority in any district out of 29 districts of the Punjab.

Sikh and Hindu members of the Punjab Provincial Assembly along with many other non-Muslim members of the Central Legislative Assembly met in Delhi. They passed a Resolution in the favor of the partition of the Punjab and professed partition as the only solution of the Punjab enigma. They were demanding security, rights and territory⁸ through this Resolution. Sikhs started horrifying bloodshed against the Muslims with the support and instigation of Hindus because Sikh-Hindu coalition meant to take the area from Jamna to Chenab. Through this violence they intended to pressurize the administration to contain the Sikh shrines of Sacha Soda and Nankana Sahib⁹.

Akal Fauj¹⁰ and RSS¹¹ were vigorously involved in the anti-Muslim activities¹² in East Punjab¹³. They were doing violence also to force Muslim minority to migrate to West Punjab. On the other hand, MLNG also had been patronized and fully vigorously active in West Punjab¹⁴. Jehan Ara Begum, the divisional Salar of MLNG¹⁵ women wing, visited many areas of Karnal and Ambala districts¹⁶. Muslim Students Federation and the Sikh Students Federation both were actively involved in massacre against minorities. Sardar Baldev Singh (July 11, 1902-1961), Swaran Singh (August 19, 1907-October 30, 1994), Master Tara Singh (June 24, 1885-November 22, 1967), Giani Kartar Singh (1902-1974) and Udhham Singh Nagokey (1894-1966) were among the main figures to excite the public for

violence in East Punjab¹⁷. They were demanding “a Hindu-Sikh Province in those districts of the Punjab where the Muslims are in minority”¹⁸.

The Governor of the Punjab Sir Evan Jenkins (1896-1985) titled this havoc a “communal war for succession” and Pundit Nehru stated the situation of Amritsar as “earthquake”¹⁹. According to a Congress report, “even war time bombing could not have caused greater damage”²⁰. Pamela Mountbatten (April 19, 1929-) shares the strength of the cruelty, planning of the bloodshed and critical situations of the Punjab in August 1947 as follows²¹:

My mother left on a three day tour with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, The Minister of Health, a Christian and long-time disciple of Gandhi. My father and I did at least budget to spend a little bit time together done a rare treat indeed as there had been precious few moments like that in the last five months. Many repeated the horrors her PA, Muriel Watson, called it the ‘place of dead’ and was quite upset. They found mass hysteria and no trust on the Punjab Boundary Force. My mother also managed to secure an interview with Master Tara Singh who was ‘at last beginning to trouble at the wrath he so readily invoked’, in the Sikh Community.

Migration between both parts of Punjab (East and West) started in February-March 1947, amid the out of control bloodshed in the West Punjab. Overall, About 6 million Muslim refugees migrated to West Punjab, out of which about 4 million settled only in West Punjab²². Rest of the refugees moved to other provinces of Pakistan because it was somehow impossible to settle all of them in West Punjab. It was a general notion that the partition was a temporary phenomenon and the refugees would go back to their native areas. Therefore, most of them sought to settle near border districts like Lahore, Sheikhpura, Kasur, Sialkot, etc. because it was easy for them to return to their native lands. This resulted in the form of huge burden of refugees coming from East Punjab on border districts particularly Lahore and its urban areas. The urban areas of Lahore were comparatively much developed than the rural areas where the migrants had ample facilities, occupational possibilities and a number of means of support. Moreover, the industrial cities like Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpur were also overburdened.

Violence was the chief reason for the migration of minorities, while both new states were not in favor of migration because they were not prepared to accommodate a large number of refugees in respective dominions. To contain the violence and bloodshed, Punjab Boundary Force (PBF) established on July 19, 1947 under the command of Maj. Gen. Pete Rees (January 12, 1898-October 15, 1959)²³ to contain the law and order situation in 12 border districts of the Punjab²⁴. According to the PBF report of August 11, 1947, the situations were steadily becoming more critical. Because of massive violence, the partition of the Punjab was on fast track and the glitches of the refugees were increasing and the death toll arose two to five hundred per day. PBF failed gradually to maintain law and order in border districts. Indian Government was also unsuccessful to provide security to Muslim minority of East Punjab. Particularly the Maharaja of Patiala was operating ferocity against the Muslims. “His people escape into his territory and cannot be traced”. Moreover, the police of Amritsar and Lahore was biased and unreliable completely²⁵.

In order to safeguard refugee movement, “a Special operational organization termed the Military Evacuation Organization was formed under General Chimni’s charge. The duty of this organization was to coordinate civilian officers to take measures for the evacuation of refugees and provision of the adequate military protection as necessary”.²⁶ Later, MEO divided into MEO India and MEO Pakistan. This expedient Organization arraigned for 226 special refugee trains from Pakistan to India and 211 from India to Pakistan. Each train contained 2000 to 5000 passengers to move²⁷. MEO played core role in the final movement of the refugees from both the countries by trains, lorries, carts, military trucks and on foot.

Niaz Muhammad Khan described in his book ‘Let Punjab Speak’ that “...more than a million Punjabis were killed during the post partition period. Most of the lands in the Punjab were allotted to the people from out-side. Gardens, lands and factories left behind by the Hindus fell to the share of claimants...”²⁸ furthermore, to contain the violence and maintain the law and order in the Province, Government issued ‘Punjab Public Safety Act’ on March 20, 1947. This Act authorized the Provincial Government and district magistrates to deal with the horrible situations of the Punjab²⁹. Even without warrant, Government authorities could arrest and take anyone in their custody³⁰.

After partition, particularly the sufferings of Lahore amplified as the population of Lahore increased from eight to twelve hundred thousand. During the partition riots, about 4000 houses were damaged. Many of the old *havelies* and houses in Lahore, where the refugees were staying, collapsed of their poor conditions causing human loses. Lahore Improvement Trust was overlooking these issues to maintain the living situations and also to upgrade them³¹.

On August 31, 1947, in a broadcast Quaid-e-Azam said³²:

The division of India is now finally and irrevocably effected. No doubt we feel that the carving out of this great independent Muslim State has suffered injustices. We have been squeezed in as much as it was possible, and the latest blow that we have received that the Award of the Boundary Commission. It is an unjust, incomprehensible and even perverse Award. It may be wrong, unjust and perverse; and it may not be a judicial but a political Award, but we have agreed to abide by it and it is binding upon us. As honorable people we must abide by it. It may be our misfortune but we must bear up this one more blow with fortitude, courage and hope.

Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation was established under Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (August 16, 1895-1963) in September 1947. However, most of the rehabilitation work was under way in Punjab (Lahore) so temporarily its head office shifted from Karachi to Lahore³³. Soon after, on September 18, 1947, in West Punjab Governor Sir Francis Mudie (1890- 1976) appointed Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din (1907-1962) as the Minister of Refugees and Rehabilitation West Punjab. In spite of no experience, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din served this Ministry incredibly³⁴.

West Punjab started its journey with the massive population of 19,700,000 in 1947³⁵. According to the census of refugees 1948, there were 5.5 million refugees; 28% of the total population of West Punjab³⁶, which indeed was the maximum

burden of the refugees particularly from East Punjab. From August 1947 to March 1948, Government spent Rs. 36,000,000 on the maintenance of refugee campuses. Moreover, the expenditures on refugee camps of West Punjab reached Rs. 65,000,000 till 1949. In 1948, to accommodate the refugees 'Refugee Rehabilitation Corporation' was established with the sum of Rs. 30,000,000³⁷. "The guiders, guides and Blue Birds³⁸ rendered valuable assistance in refugee relief camps. They looked after the sick and destitute, helped the authorities keeping the camps clean, knitted, sewed and collected articles of for bedding, soap and oil for Kashmir refugees and distributed medicines among them"³⁹.

Extra ordinary efforts of the West Punjab in the evacuation, settlement and relief activities of refugees resulted in an enormous budget deficit. The deficit reached Rs. 53.6 million in revenue during the period of August 15, 1947 to March 31, 1948. In the budget of 1948-49, the government made provision for another deficit of Rs. 37.9 million⁴⁰. Later on April 1, 1949, Punjab province entered in the new fiscal year with first ever balanced budget after the partition. The difference between revenue and expenditures was covered with the new taxation and cuts in the expenditures. But there was no cut on the budget of education, which was Rs. 2.3 million⁴¹. By April 1951, the Central Government provided a grant of Rs. 340,000,000 for economic development of the Province suffering from partition issues. "This was described as the largest grant for rehabilitation in Punjab"⁴². The Census Report of Pakistan 1951 described the total area of the West Punjab as 62245 square miles with the population of 18,828,000⁴³.

On the critical situations in the West Punjab, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan (1895- 1951) the first Prime Minister of Pakistan appealed to the people of West Punjab⁴⁴:

I appealed to the Punjab Muslims to sink their differences, close their ranks and bend their entire energies to make Pakistan an impregnable fortress of defense against aggression, from whatever quarter it might come. Every one of you must redouble, nay make four-folded, his effort to serve Pakistan...

In spite the early period, close relation between both the newborn states was the need of the time to solve the issues regarding partition. But the situations proved many times that both Governments of India and Pakistan had never been on the same page. This instable situation increased the sufferings of the refugees. The exchange of the record of evacuee property was an additional issue to deal with by the both new Governments. "...great majority of the Muslim migrants were agriculturist and to the extent that they owned land, it is carrier to estimate the property left behind by them"⁴⁵. Non-Muslim landowners left 57,500,000 acres land in West Punjab and Muslims left 4,500,000 acres land in East Punjab⁴⁶. In West Punjab, refugees were submitting the claims for urban and rural agricultural properties. Therefore, Punjab Government had many tasks like to enlist and control the evacuee property, evaluation of evacuee property, location of evacuee properties of rural, urban and industry and to allot it to the migrant claimants.

In September 1947, West Punjab Government issued an Evacuee Act and after five days East Punjab Government issued the same to appoint the custodians of the evacuee property considering the documentation of their properties in their lost homeland⁴⁷. "Before the end of September 1947, the West Punjab Government issued a new Ordinance empowering its Rehabilitation Commissioner to take

possession and “permit the occupation by [Moslem] refugees or other persons ” of lands and building abandoned by Hindus and Sikh evacuees”⁴⁸.

In 1949, both Governments reached on an agreement⁴⁹ how the evacuee property should be dealt. Before that, in a meeting in 1948, they had categorized evacuee property into three groups, agricultural, urban immovable and moveable property. However, it was to be qualified with the availability of the proper record of evacuee property⁵⁰.

According the Indian resources, Sikhs and Hindus in Pakistan had the property worth about Rs. 38.1 billion (\$8 billion) and Muslims in India had 3.8 billion (\$800 million), but Pakistani sources opposed these figures.⁵¹ Through an agreement, the evacuees were given the right of sale, transfer or exchange the property through the custodian of evacuee property, but the provincial governments also had right to acquire such property for public purposes, rehabilitation or in any form of compensation.⁵²

Punjab also faced huge demographic shift in the result of the partition. Influx of refugees and the departure of minorities from West Punjab to East Punjab and East to West Punjab surrounded by a large number of difficulties for the administration of West Punjab. Most of the Hindu and Sikh businessmen, industrialists and landlord classes migrated from West Punjab to East along with their capital and investments. This sudden shift directly shattered the economy of the province. Because Muslim refugees from East Punjab were not established business or capital classes. Hindus and Sikhs outnumbered in most of the districts of West Punjab as remaining percentage of Hindus and Sikhs hit 0% according to the Census of Pakistan 1951, while the Muslims had reached 100% in D. G. Khan and Mazafargarh Districts⁵³.

On the other hand, the ratio of Muslims had never reached 0% not in any district of the East Punjab during 1941-1951. Even in 1951, in Gurgaon and Hoshiarpur districts of East Punjab, Muslims were 16.9% and 0.1% respectively but not 0%⁵⁴. About 13 million Punjabi heads were displaced and about 10 million were uprooted because of the partition⁵⁵. In reference to the partition, Lahore suffered a lot as border area.

Temporary and permanent settlement of refugees was a huge assignment for West Punjab administration. They expected about two million refugees shortly arriving till November 9, 1947, in West Punjab. It was not an easy task for the Deputy Commissioners to entertain this huge figure properly in districts. Due to shortage of buildings, building material was needed to construct new shelter houses or building for refugees. The available material had already been used in Wahga, Dhali, Kasur and Sulamenki Camps. Later it was decided that “alternative is for camps to be opened up in all Tehsil Head Quarters and small towns all over the Province”⁵⁶. Regarding food, total reserves of wheat in the Provincial stalk were 110,000 tons on August 15, 1947. However, till November 1947, it dwindled below to 20,000 tons. The shortage of the staff to run the administration severing the refugees in the camps was also a huge problem⁵⁷.

Quaid-e-Azam Relief Fund was established by Quaid-d-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on September 12, 1947 to rehabilitate and accommodate the refugees from

India. Its head office was in Karachi and the provincial offices were working in the provincial capitals under its various committees. The Governor General wrote to the rulers of many countries for their donations in this Fund to help the refugees from India⁵⁸. Furthermore, “a number of charity funds have been opened in Lahore under the auspicious of the Muslim League Relief Committee⁵⁹ and the refugees are being fed from its funds pending negotiations with the Punjab Government to take over the responsibility for sheltering and feeding the refugees as it has done in the case of thousands of non-Muslim refugees from the Western Punjab after the March riots. The refugees are being provided with two square meals a day a breakfast in the morning. Those who want to fast are given the facilities of ‘Sehri’ and ‘Iftari’. A special cloth department of for the refugees, who are in Lahore, has been opened at 2 Express Road near Model Transport Bus Station. Where the refugees can have their cloth quota”⁶⁰.

Till the fall of 1949, about 4 million Muslim refugees had been settled in the rural areas of Pakistan⁶¹. On *qasi*-permanent scheme, lands were allotted to the refugees. In West Punjab, out of 2,473 urban factories abandoned by the Sikhs and Hindus, 1,798 were allotted to the Muslim refugees coming from India. All these allotments were on temporary basis. However, “since the property rights are still vested in the absent owners who are entitled to sell them on free market”⁶², which was also a huge issue of the time and could affect the re-settlement process. On the refugees’ issues, Quaid-e-Azam stated as follows:⁶³

...this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented...now, if we want to make this great state Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly solely concentrate on the well-being of people, and specially of the masses and poor.

Presence of slums in and around the big cities were the result of the huge refugees’ settlement. “Those that need early clearance in Pakistan are those occupied by squatters on public land on various open spaces or on the edges of urban areas. They gradually consist of temporary shacks, jhuggies and other such improvisation”⁶⁴. Mostly slums were around the industrial cities like Lahore, Lyallpur, Sialkot, Gujranwala, etc. because it was easy for refugees to earn livelihood. Moreover, to accommodate the refugees, Government built small houses, colonies, townships and satellite towns in urban areas and in large cities of the Province particularly Lyallpur, Gujranwala, Lahore⁶⁵, Sargodha, Sialkot, Rawalpindi, etc. For shelter-less refugee families, colonies were made in Ugoki (Sialkot), Dhingranwali, Gujranwala and Dina (Jhelum) with the cost of about Rs. 10 million⁶⁶.

During the early stage of temporary settlement, nearly 3.5 million acres of evacuee agricultural land was allotted to the refugees and the rest remained under the cultivation of the old Muslims occupants of evacuee landlords till 1952⁶⁷. On the other hand, the work of permanent settlement continued and the work of claims verification was almost done by the Central Record Office till the first week of March 1952; more than 50% of resettlement completed⁶⁸. Till 1953, “Resettlement operations were finalized in 10,403 estates involving a total evacuee area of 2,523,472 acres and disposing of 820,149 claims including 246,774 claims of those without land...”⁶⁹

Till the end of February 1954, more than 85% of the refugee claims were finally settled. "Resettlement operations have been finalized in 18033 estates and a total of 1001437 claims forms (including 313776 claims without land) have been finalized. These operations cover an area of 3050008 acres out of 1188264 claim forms registered in the Province"⁷⁰. Till 1954, about 40 hundred thousand refugees had been settled in West Punjab with the allotment of 8 acres irrigated land and 12.5 acres unirrigated land for temporary cultivation to each refugee family.⁷¹ In 1951, there were 31,800 renters, professionals, government officials and clerks in West Punjab. The number of shopkeepers, traders, peddlers and stallholders was 297,000. Cultivators were 3,519,000 (including owners and tenants). Artisans, livestock keepers and domestic servants were 1,021,000. Menial laborers 919,000, inmates and beggars were 175,000⁷².

After partition, Lahore Improvement Trust, established in 1936, started its activities from Shah Alam Market to Rang Mahal in 1948. Improvement Trust also established a wholesale shoe market on January 23, 1953. Syed Ali Hussain Gardezi, the Development Minister of Punjab, "opened 36 fully equipped commodious rooms and shops"⁷³. Somehow, Punjab administration with the support of Central Government did much to contain the situations and to improve the economic conditions of the refugee and natives.

To contain the refugees particularly soldiers and their families, the idea was to develop the Thal desert reinvigorated. The work on Thal desert had started before in 1939 by British Administration. After the partition in 1949, the West Punjab administration enacted the law "for the constitution of a public corporation". With the name of Thal Development Authority (TDA), the authority started its function activities in 1950⁷⁴. After the partition, there were about 22 families having monopoly particularly over the industry and agro-economic sector of Pakistan, out of which 5 belonged to West Punjab. Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan (February 6, 1890-January 20, 1988) did not agree on this figure. According to him, all 22 belonged to West Punjab⁷⁵. Anyhow, these business and feudal classes exploited the local business and the income, which further added up to the miseries of the refugee class in West Punjab. Likewise, in the rural areas of the Punjab, big landlords started to exploit the small refugee tenants and landholders.

Many co-operative Societies also provided opportunities to the workers of cottage industries and peasants also to sell their productions at the best possible price with convenience⁷⁶. In 1954, Punjab Government emphasized on village program to mature them to face all the phases of a village life. It was to prepare the villagers to become self-supportive and self-reliant. The first batch comprising 43 men and 4 women completed their training in 1954 in Quaidabad Village Aid Training Institute⁷⁷.

West Punjab faced initial miseries and troubles courageously. In spite of various flaws in the administration, the Province progressed socially, economically and agriculturally. Even later, Pakistan started to depend on Punjab because of its strong agrarian and industrial economy. The chief issue of refugee settlement and rehabilitation was settled despite fewer resources, less and weak administration and monetary crisis augmenting the sensation of the problem caused by partition. Furthermore, all educational, agricultural, industrial, health, electric power and

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economic crisis were related to the settlement issues. Punjab and Punjabis sacrificed and progressively went through the crisis putting up all their efforts because they had realized a country meant to them.

References

¹ Proceedings of a press conference held in the Council House, New Delhi on 4/6/47, R/3/1/150: ff 261-8, T. O. P., Vol. XI, 112.

² "The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the Boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors."

K. V. K. Sundaram, Officer on Special Duty, Gazette of India Extra-Ordinary (Extract), IOR R/3/1/157, 30/6/47, *The Partition of Punjab, A Compilation of Official Documents*, Vol. 1, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1993), 79-81.

³ Sikhs were only 13.48% of the population of the Punjab. They were in majority in any district of the Province. They were only the 4% of the Indian population. But they were wanted to get the maximum of the Punjab from Jamna to Chenab. But on the other hand Muslim league was wanted to give them from Jamna to Ravi only.

⁴ Viscount Mountbatten to Mahraja Yadavindra Singh of Patiala, 12/8/1947, *The Partition of Punjab, A Compilation of Official Documents*, 259-260.

⁵ Viscount Mountbatten to the Earl of Listowel, 5/6/47, IOR R/3/1/150, A Reproduction of Questions asked and answers given at the Press Conference held by Viscount Mountbatten on 4/6/47. *The Partition of Punjab, A Compilation of Official Documents*, Vol. 1, 36.

⁶ Zira and Ferozpur Tehsils also allocated to East Punjab by tempering the Radcliff Award with the understanding of Radcliff. Radcliff and Abbot destroyed the relevant documents and papers of the Boundary Commission.

JP (Jinnah Papers), Vol. V, P. 385.

⁷ *The Sikhs in Action*, Government Printing Lahore, 4.

⁸ V. P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power*, 356.

⁹ *The Sikhs in Action*, 62.

¹⁰ A Sikh militant group.

¹¹ Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh RSS, an extremist Hindu organization.

¹² Until June 1947, the membership of RSS had reached 59,200 and MLNG 43,200. Hindu scouts, Sikh Shahidi Jathas Khaksar militia, Akali Saina, etc. were also heavily involved in violence.

Ilyas Chhattah, *Partition and Locality*, 84.

¹³ *Note on the Sikh Plan*, Government Printing, Lahore, 1948, 3.

¹⁴ In the mid of July 1947, the members of MLNG gradually became much active. The provincial organizer of MLNG Lt. Col. Dara started visiting particularly Wazirabad, Montgomery and Multan. In Rawalpindi, the MLNG's workers set out their visits to convince the people for the boycott of the non-Muslim as they were focusing on the peace but less violence.

The Police Abstract of Intelligence West Punjab, 19/7/1947, 379.

¹⁵ Muslim League National Guards.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 29/3/1947, 142.

¹⁷ Akal Fauj was also organized and patronized under the leadership of Master Tara Singh as chief. Jathas were also established to attack on Muslims.

¹⁸ *Note on the Sikh Plan*, 3.

¹⁹ Memorandum by the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 20 January 1948, Do 142/439 Refugees East Punjab, Public Record Office sighted in Ian Talbot, *A Tale of Two Cities: The Aftermath of Partition for Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957*, Modern Asian Studies, Vol., 41, No. 1 (Jan., 2007), 154.

²⁰ All India Congress Committee File No, G-10/ 1947, Nehru Memorial Mansion and Library, sighted in *Ibid*.

²¹ Pamela Mountbatten, *India Remembered*, (New Delhi: Roli Books, 2007), 159.

²² It was the largest migration in the South Asian history. Four to six million Muslims were migrated and on the other hand about eight million Hindus and Sikhs were migrated.

Myron Weiner, *Rejected Peoples and Unwanted Migrants in South Asia*, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 28, No. 34 (Aug. 21, 1993), 1737.

²³ Colonel Ayub Khan and Colonel Brar were the advisors of Gen. Pete Rees in PBF.

²⁴ Later PBF eliminated in on August 29, 1947 because it was failed in its objectives, to maintain peace in the Punjab.

²⁵ Shahid Hamid, *Disastrous Twilight*, 224.

²⁶ Meeting of the Cabinet held on 4/9/1947, Case No. 251/43/47, IOR R/3/1/172, National Documentation Centre Islamabad, Pakistan.

²⁷ Ilyas Chattah, *Partition and Locality*, 90.

²⁸ Niaz Muhammad Khan, *Let Punjab Speak*, (Lahore: Book Centre, 1970), 2.

²⁹ Government of the Punjab Legislative Dept., the Punjab Public Safety Act, 1947 (as amended by Punjab Act IX of 1947), 1,2.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 2.

³¹ Sighted in Ian Talbot, *A Tale of Two Cities : The Aftermath of Partition for Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957*, 161-162.

³² *The Sikhs in Action*, 5.

³³ Later on June 4, 1948 Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation shifted back from Lahore to Karachi by deciding that one its branch will continue its duties in Lahore under the senior officers.

Note for the Cabinet, the Ministry of Refugees Lahore Branch Office, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Refugees, 127CF48-1889, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, Pakistan.

³⁴ *JP*, Vol. V, 275.

³⁵ Richard Symonds, *State Making in Pakistan*, Far Eastern Survey, Vol., 19, No. 5 (Mar. 1950), 46.

³⁶ Ilyas Chattah, *Partition and Locality*, 93.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 93-94.

³⁸ Boy scouts, girl guides and other volunteers.

³⁹ *The Second Year of Pakistan 1948-1949*, Pakistan Publications, 1948, 146.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 206-207.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 208.

⁴² Ilyas Chattah, *Partition and Locality*, 107.

⁴³ *Five Years of Pakistan August 1947 to August 1952*, Pakistan Publications, Karachi, 1952, 251.

⁴⁴ Speech of Liaqat Ali Khan in University Ground Lahore on September 27, 1948, sighted in M. Rafique Afzal, *Speeches and Statements of Quaid-e-Millat Liaqat Ali Khan 1941-1951*, (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of Punjab, 1987), 178.

⁴⁵ Muhammad Ahsan Chodhari, *Evacuee Property in India and Pakistan*, Pakistan Horizon, Vol., 10, No. 2 (June, 1952), 97.

⁴⁶ F. S. Grewal, *The Sikh of the Punjab*, Revised Edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 181.

⁴⁷ Joseph B. Schechtman, *Evacuee Property in India and Pakistan*, Pacific Affairs, vol., 24, No. 4, (Dec., 1951), 407.

⁴⁸ Sections 4(2), and II (A), Ordinance to Provide for Economic Rehabilitation in West Punjab, sighted in *Ibid*.

⁴⁹ In January 1949 in an inter-Dominion Conference held between India and Pakistan.

⁵⁰ Indian Official Resources described that the non-Muslims of the West Punjab vacated the more than 8 million acres land while on the other hand Muslim refugees in East Punjab and Sikhs State vacated 4 million acres.

Concerning Evacuee Property, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi, Sighted in Joseph B. Schechtman, *Evacuee Property in India and Pakistan*, 406

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 407.

⁵² Muhammad Ahsan Chodhari, *Evacuee Property in India and Pakistan*, 100.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Memorandum by the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 20 January 1948, Do 142/439 Refugees East Punjab, Public Record Office sighted in Ian Talbot, *A Tale of Two Cities: The Aftermath of Partition for Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957*, 152.

⁵⁶ A note on the Refugee camps by Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Minister for refugees and rehabilitation, West Punjab, 9/11/1947, *The Journey to Pakistan*, A Documentation on Refugee of 1947, National Documentation Centre, Cabinet Block, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 25.

⁵⁷ A note on the Refugee camps by Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-Din, Minister for refugees and rehabilitation, West Punjab, 9/11/1947, Ibid, 25-26.

⁵⁸ Gradually local and international donations arrived in QARF. The major part of donations of QARF received by West Punjab because the main settlement of refugees was in progress there.

⁵⁹ Begum Salma Tasaduq Husain (MLA) was the Secretary of Punjab Muslim League Relief Committee.

⁶⁰ Daily Pakistan Times, 14/8/1947, sighted in *Journey to Pakistan*, National Documentation Wing, cabinet Block, Islamabad, 226-227

⁶¹ With the average of 50,000 from different routes, refugees were pouring down into West Punjab per day. Even during first four months of partition, about 5,500,000 refugees came to Punjab by roads, trains or on foot. *The Second Year of Pakistan 1948-1949*, 206.

⁶² Joseph B. Schechtman, *Evacuee Property in India and Pakistan*, 411-412.

⁶³ Quaid's Speech on 11/8/1947, sighted in Asad Ali Khan, *A Temporal View of Socio-Political Changes in Punjab*, 313.

⁶⁴ Altaf Gohar, *Twenty Years of Pakistan 1947-67*, 527.

⁶⁵ Lahore Township covered 3000 acres of land. It was also equipped with facilities like industrial development more than 700 acres with the cost of Rs. 106 million. This project was designed to provide 1000 quarters of one-room and 10,000 plots for further shelter less family of low-income group.

Ibid, 528.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 531.

⁶⁷ *Five Years of Pakistan August 1947 to August 1952*, Pakistan Publications, Karachi, 1952, 255.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 256.

⁶⁹ *Sixth Year of Pakistan 1953*, Pakistan Publications, Karachi, 24.

⁷⁰ *First Year of Noon Ministry*, Director Public Relations, Punjab, Lahore, 1954, 16

⁷¹ Initially about the allotment of the agricultural land in West Punjab it was decided that "only those who had actually been cultivating lands or owned lands in East Punjab or the east Punjab States, and who were solely dependent upon the land cultivated by them for their livelihood, were to be resettled on evacuee lands in West Punjab".

General Summary of the Policy and Progress of Resettlement of Muslim Refugees on Evacuee Land in West Pakistan. (Note for the Cabinet). File No. 20CF49-1950, National Documentation Centre Islamabad, Pakistan.

⁷² G. C. Hufbauer, *Occupational Trends and Social Mobility in the West Punjab*, 91.

⁷³ Sighted in Ian Talbot, *A Tale of Two Cities: The Aftermath of Partition for Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957*, 160-161.

⁷⁴ John J. Honigmann, *Relocation of a Punjab Pakistan Community*, Middle East Journal, Vol., 8, No. 4, (Autumn, 1954), 430.

⁷⁵ Niaz Muhammad Khan, *Let Punjab Speak*, 4.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ *First Year of Noon Ministry*, 9-10.