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Demand for Sikh State in India: an analysis of the claim on Canal Colonies and Lyallpur during colonial period*

Abstract

The history of Subcontinent remembers the year of 1947 as a year of political chaos where leading communities of Indian Subcontinent comprising Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims strived to secure their territorial ambitions in wake of partition of India. In this strife, Punjab gained cardinal status where its leading stakeholders comprising Sikh and Muslim communities had to face irreconcilable differences towards each other. These unbridgeable differences led to partition of Punjab. The paper aims at exploring the rationale of Sikh proposals regarding their plan of partition in a comparative fashion with its opposite perspectives. The Sikh community aligned with Congress and opted for accession to India instead of Punjab. The article analyzes that alliance of Sikh community with Congress rendered them unsuccessful to materialize their ambition of having Azad Punjab or Khalistan, however it served Congress' ambition of giving a truncated and moth eaten piece of land to Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Moreover, it is analyzed that Sikh community could not gain autonomy or sovereignty; instead they preferred Hindu domination to Muslim domination. The major ambitions of Sikh comprised securing their stakes in canal colonies, preserving their holy shrines, and eschewing large scale Sikh migration. However, they failed to achieve none of their objectives. The study attempts to find out the rationale and objectives behind Sikh community's demand of division of Punjab; moreover, it attempts to explore the extent of success in pursuit of these ambitions.

Keywords: Partition of Punjab, Sikh Memorandum, Sikh Separate State, Lyallpur, counter narrative

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Introduction

Day of 14th of August 1947 is marked with end of British Raj in India, Partition of India, creation of Pakistan and the division of the Punjab. These events cumulatively impacted to be watershed for the future of South Asia. The freedom movement of India was politically fought by Indian National Congress (hereafter INC) and All India Muslim League (hereafter AIML). INC claimed representation of whole India; however, All India Muslim League challenged this claim and claimed that she is the sole authoritative representative of the Indian Muslims. Moreover, AIML demanded partition of India on the basis of two nation theory. These extreme tides of the communal tangles were also experienced in Punjab because this province was considered as nucleus of Pakistan movement. This political tussle between INC and AIML resulted into emergence of a third stakeholder, the Sikhs. The Sikhs claimed that on basis of religion they are a force to be reckon, therefore, demanded a separate homeland for the Sikhs. Their main argument was that they are a distinct nation on the basis of their religious, economic, and historical contributions. Though the Sikh claim neither on basis of religion nor on population was as solid as of the Muslims who got majority in the Punjab, but it was because of their claim and Hindu's support along with partition of India the division of Punjab was made by the British Raj.

While advocating the case for the territory to be included into Pakistan or Sikh State or India, both Sikhs and the Muslims made contradictory claims of their input in the canal colonies. But the British Raj/Radcliffe Award turned down the argument of Sikh community on two counts, firstly contribution of the Muslim was far greater than the Sikhs, secondly, the population of the Lyallpur was overwhelming Muslims and thirdly, it was more geographically adjacent to the Pakistan. Therefore, Lyallpur was included into the West Punjab. The chapter attempts to explore the factors that led to the division of Punjab. This study also attempts to understand the claims of the Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims over the inheritance of the city of Lyallpur after the termination of the British Raj.

Sikh Perspective

Though Sikhs in Punjab did not enjoy numerical superiority over Hindus and Muslims, still they managed to maintain their identity visible¹. Their attachment for Punjab lies in their religious genesis, language development, and their nostalgia of political dominance, and their efforts in rehabilitating canal colonies². Though Satya M. Roy writes that inception of Sikh consciousness dates back to ignoring Sikhs in Lucknow Pact (1916) and speech of Muhammad Iqbal in 1930 being Sikh void³, however, its formalization started in 1943. Master Tara Singh said that Ministry of Sardar Baldev Singh was insufficient to safeguard the Sikh interests in India⁴. Therefore, the Sikhs lay special claim to the Punjab as its homeland⁵.

The genesis of Sikh religion is from the province of Punjab. Founder of their religion was Baba Guru Nanak who was born in Talwandi District Sheikhpura⁶. Therefore, their claim for the Sikh state was not only on the origins and development of the Sikh religion which was born and nurtured here in Punjab but also all of their sacred shrines situated in Punjab.⁷ Moreover, their claim did not confine to their religious attachments, they also emphasized the extraordinary

economic and military contributions to British Raj. They were mainly concentrated in the two central divisions of the Punjab and the colony districts of Montgomery and Lyallpur. *Jat* Sikhs from the central districts of the Punjab had been largely responsible for the building up of the colony areas of Lyallpur and Montgomery in the Punjab. Their contribution to revenue in Lahore district was 46% which was very high in comparison with their population of almost 18%⁸. Moreover, Sikhs of Majha and Central Bari doab were main military strength of Sikhs that also had contribution for British government as well⁹. Though Sikhs were less in number, yet their contribution and significance in Punjab was undeniable. All these factors collectively render Sikh community equally important to Muslims and Hindus to be attended. That's why; Sikhs were going to play consequential role in the future of Punjab. The Sikhs documented their case to boundary commission known as 'Sikh Memorandum'.

The Sikh Memorandum

The Sikh perspective can be precisely understood from the 'Sikh Memorandum'¹⁰ that presented Sikh case before British authorities effectively. The Memorandum starts argument by pledging their allegiance to British crown and clarifying misperception on the behalf of British authorities regarding¹¹. As the memorandum intended addressing Sikh issue in wake of Partition, hence it is obvious that it linked with Sikh Muslim relations. The Memorandum pronounced anti Sikh activities of Late Mughal Jehangir¹² to be zygote of bitterness in Sikh Muslim relations¹³. However, on the behalf of Muslim rulers, the list of Sikh grudges is long and it involves Aurangzeb¹⁴, Farrukh Siyyar¹⁵, Abdul Samad Khan¹⁶, and some military governors of Punjab like Yahya Khan¹⁷, and Mir Muin-ul-Mulk, Alias Mir Mannu¹⁸. It attempted to substantiate that Muslims and the Sikhs had long irreconcilable historical differences¹⁹.

Their further argument sought the buttress of fundamental ideological differences with Muslims in furtherance demanded a land tract for them. For land tract, they attempted to repeat the argument of Muslims in order to validate their demand. The ideological difference was claimed on undemocratic creed of Muslim League as they pronounced that Muslim League did not perceive democracy to be suitable for Muslim interests in United India²⁰. The gist of their argument leads to infer that Muslim League advocated two nation theory claiming Hindu Muslim coexistence being unnatural, similarly Sikhs also presented their Two Nation Theory lime lighting Sikh Muslim coexistence being unnatural and improvident. In emulation of League's argument, they demanded a contiguous piece of land where Sikh's concentration was high. The Sikh argument preferred to have Jullundur²¹ and Lahore Divisions²² and Montgomery²³ and Lyallpur districts of the Multan Division and some Sikh dominated and geographically contiguous districts of Ambala division²⁴. These areas form one contiguous tract and it is in this tract that the Sikhs have played, and must continue to play, the most important role in the life of the province. It is important to mention that Sikhs did not claim some districts of Ambala division, Rawalpindi division²⁵, and other districts of Multan division (Excluding Lyallpur and Montgomery) as they acknowledged that their population concentration and geographical contiguity does not entitle the Sikhs to claim these districts. It apparently presents Sikh perspective in a very logical and pragmatic form.

The Sikh case was further advocated on the basis of ‘Special Status of Sikhs in Punjab’. This special status was claimed on the basis of special contribution of Sikh community towards Punjab and the Colonial masters. The Sikh perspective gave rebuttal to Muslims and the Hindus regarding their claim of Punjab on the basis of their past political domination. If Muslims could claim Punjab with an argument that Muslims ruled Punjab for centuries and the Hindus claim being predecessor even of Muslims, then Sikhs claimed the same status as they were the Punjab masters before British annexation of Punjab in 1849. Moreover, the special status of Sikhs was acknowledged²⁶ and ensured by the British authorities²⁷. They claimed their special status not bestowed by British authorities, but earned because of their hard work and efforts²⁸.

The study of Sikh narrative leads to infer that canal colony districts enjoyed special stature in their arguments. The significance of canal colony is based on their un-comprisable economic and social interests in the districts²⁹. The Sikhs were mainly concentrated in the two central Divisions of the Punjab and the colony districts of Montgomery and Lyallpur³⁰. In this area the Sikhs had vital essential agricultural interests³¹. They argued that the agricultural economy of the Jullundur and Lahore Divisions of the Punjab and colony districts depends very largely upon the labor that the Sikhs have put in this areas³². The argument was attempted to substantiate with the observations of Malcolm³³. “The peasant-proprietor is the backbone of the colonies. In Lyallpur colony they holds about 80 per cent of the land and in Shahpur nearly as much”³⁴. These contributions were attempted to signify with revenue contribution Sikh community. In their memorandum, they said

In Lahore District they pay Rs. 8,41,921 on account of the annual land revenue out of the total of Rs. 14,19,455 and in Amritsar they pay Rs. 11,94,574 on account of land revenue out of a total of Rs. 15,77,131. The Sikh share in the annual land revenue of the Lahore Division is 46 %³⁵.

Through all these references and arguments, the case they attempted to prove was that the Sikh population is alone rooted in the soil of the Lahore and Jullundur Divisions and in the colony areas whereas the Muslim population is not so rooted and a large part of it is of a “floating character”³⁶. The additional significance of canal colonies in Sikh perspective is claimed on the basis of inseparable links with colony districts and East Punjab districts. Lyallpur bears additional significance as Malcolm Darling writes:-

“Lyallpur is the daughter of the Central Punjab as Shahpur is of the North and of the West, and its influence is felt accordingly. From Amritsar alone, over 100,000 have migrated to the Bar”³⁷.

The migrants who developed colony districts especially Lyallpur and Montgomery were originally from East Punjab districts of Ludhiana, Ambala, Jullundur and Amritsar. Hence some family members were residing in East Punjab districts and some in Colony districts. Hence in case of involvement of colony districts in West Punjab, there would be great concern of Sikh families who possibly would lose connectivity with each other³⁸. In other words, a concern was raised by Sikh community that involvement of colony districts to West Punjab would imply demarcation of persons instead of land. Hence all the possible

outcomes of losing canal colony districts were unacceptable and unaffordable by the Sikh community. They neither could accept losing their economic interests nor social capital of these districts. And coexistence with Muslims was already rejected and pronounced out of question³⁹.

In continuation of economic aspect of partition of Punjab and significance of Canal colonies for Sikhs, the Sikh community demanded partition on such grounds leaving no part economically either advantageous or disadvantageous. As economy of Punjab was mostly agricultural, hence the argument of justified economic distribution was based on cultivable lands. The figures show superiority of West Punjab districts in terms of cultivated areas and production of agricultural commodities.⁴⁰

All the above discussion shows that the rise of Sikh nationalism comprises two major components. First one is ideological that is associated with their religious, political and cultural aspects. Punjab was birth place of Sikh religion which they claimed land of Gurus. Hence in view of Sikhs, a simile can be used that banishing Sikhs from Punjab was like banishing Muslims from Makkah⁴¹. Secondly, the Sikhs claimed that they had ruled Punjab and on this count they deserved special status in Punjab.. However, there is another perspective that is of the Punjabis. They disagreeing on the Sikh argument, argue that the contributions of Sikhs do not deserve to address the case of Sikh community mere on numerical grounds. Furthermore, Punjab is the land of Punjabi. The Punjabi language was mentored and guarded mainly by the Sikh community who adopted the language religiously. Second aspect is economic aspect. Sikhs had economically laid rudiments of modern Punjab and sweated for the development and economic wellbeing of the province. They claimed it unjustified to keep them away from the fruits of development whose foundations were laid by them.

Counter Narrative

Counter narrative implies critical analysis of Sikh memorandum and highlighting the gaps in it. Furthermore, critical analysis of the memo reveals that many of the arguments that apparently seem carrying weight lose their significance when analyzed in other way round. The first narrative or the founding narrative that led to unbridgeable differences with Muslim community to which the study pronounces ‘two nation theory of Sikhs’ is that Muslims rulers and the community had shown them hostile attitude. Furthermore, in such situations, coexistence of Sikhs and the Muslims is impossible. This argument seems weightless when analyzed in the light of historical events. The anti-Guru Arjun Dev attitude of Mughal Emperor Jahangir is perceived to be zygote of hostile Sikh Muslims relations. Yet there are evidences that Prince Jahangir had great reverence for Guru Arjun Dev. Even first five Gurus had good relations with Mughal Empire⁴².

The inception of hostility was outcome of giving asylum to Khusru by Guru Arjun Dev. Some evidences suggest that Sikhs were establishing a parallel state under leadership of Guru Arjun Dev⁴³. Even Sikh writers agree that elder brother of Guru Arjun Dev intrigued in Mughal Darbar against Guru Arjun Dev⁴⁴. The coexistence of Sikhs and the Muslims is very pragmatic as the foundations of Golden Temple were laid down by Hazrat Mian Mir⁴⁵ and Guru Nanak had great

reverence for Baba Farid ud Din Shakarganj⁴⁶. These differences seem political instead of religious or ideological and political differences are reconcilable and even if not reconcilable still coexistence is not an issue.

Their second argument of declaring the Creed of Muslim League being undemocratic seems an accusation without prudence. The claim of Muslim League of being sole representative of Indian Muslims was outcome of a democratic process and Muslim League asserted demand of Pakistan after winning an election within constitutional and democratic setup of India. It leads to infer that the demand of Muslim League of redistributive policies towards minorities and extra representation in legislature was misconstrued as undemocratic attitude of League. However, no definition of democracy out rules such a demand being part of democracy. Furthermore, Muslim League was ready to all those special treatments to Sikhs which they asked for themselves. Hence again, source of differences are political instead of being ideological.

It is obvious out of Sikh memorandum that they attempted to take advantage of 'other factors' in order to achieve Sikh homeland. The term of 'other factors' is not concretely defined; hence it can be perceived rather abstract point of terms of reference of boundary commission⁴⁷. Furthermore, it is important to mention that numerical superiority and geographical contiguity were also major and obvious parameters for boundary demarcation. It might be true but the real argument could be based only on the basis of numerical superiority and geographical contiguity. If it is analyzed, it is obvious that Sikh claim seems invalid on the basis of first two ToRs. Sikhs did not enjoy numerical superiority in any district. Their whole population was dispersed. The claim of Muslim League seems quite valid because they enjoyed simple majority in West Punjab districts. Muslim population was 62.5 % in Lyallpur, 69.1% in Montgomery, 63.6 %, 70.4 % in Gujranwala, 62.05% in Lahore. Moreover, neither of the Tehsils of these districts had Sikh majority, even Nankana Sahib had 74.3 % Muslims⁴⁸.

The above discussion leads to gather that Sikh case could not be built on the basis of numerical superiority. It can be argued that Sikhs did not even build their case on the basis of numerical superiority. However, Muslims built their case on the basis of numerical superiority that was far more effective than the Sikh case.

The foundation of Sikh case was contiguous tracts of Jullundur and Lahore Divisions, and Montgomery and Lyallpur districts of the Multan Division, and some Sikh dominated and geographically contiguous districts of Ambala division⁴⁹. They claimed that these areas form one contiguous tract and it is in this tract. But, Muslims had the same argument valid for their claim and more pragmatic as well because as discussed earlier, numerical superiority was in favor of Muslims. The cross comparison of arguments of major stakeholders of Punjab has so far substantiated that among ToRs of boundary demarcation, the postulates of numerical superiority and geographical contiguity were in favor of Muslim perspective. The only option left with Sikh is to focus 'other factors'. The Sikh memorandum operationalized it in subjective manner that was potentially vulnerable to be rebutted with same arguments. The same happened in case of perspectives debate of partition of Punjab.

The other factors were operationalized aiming at granting the Sikhs special status in Punjab. As mentioned earlier, the special status was claimed on the basis of

- Sikhs being former ruling contingent of Punjab
- being loyal to colonial masters
- developers of canal colonies
- contributor in military assignments
- religious sacred places in Punjab
- native Punjabi speaking community⁵⁰

As far as claim of Sikhs to have special status on the basis being former ruling class of Punjab is concerned, it seems quite awkward because Muslims had ruled Punjab for almost 6 centuries⁵¹, and the Hindus being primitive rulers of the land⁵². However, it is important to mention that Sikhs did not asserted this point much as they realized that this argument was weightless for any community to claim⁵³. Furthermore, the claim of Sikhs being loyal to colonial masters is historically incorrect. Annexation of Punjab by the British was claimed owing to reported political shenanigans of the Sikhs⁵⁴. There are two series of wars between the British and the Sikh empire. How is it possible that there are two series of wars between two clouts and they still claim to be trustworthy for each other? Baba Ram Singh Nandhari⁵⁵, Shaheed Bhagat Singh, and Gurdwara Reform Movement of the Sikhs (1921-24) are obvious factors of the Sikh claim. The *Akali Dal* was political voice of the Sikh community. They have contributed in freedom movement and that contribution is acknowledged even by stall worthies of INC including Pundit Moti Lal Nehru⁵⁶, Pandat Madan Mohan⁵⁷ Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai⁵⁸, and Dadabhai Naoroji⁵⁹. The 'sole spokesperson'⁶⁰ of Sikh community Master Tara Singh said,

I would not mind if you, instead of standing with the Congress, boycott it and stand in front of it in the fight for India's freedom. But if you boycott the Congress and stand in the back lane, it will be a shame for our community⁶¹.

However, there are some allegations regarding role of the Sikh community regarding failure of the War of Independence in 1857. It is opined that betrayal of Sikhs was a major factor of failure of war of independence Regarding this blame, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad writes that pronouncing mutiny of 1857 as a freedom war on the behalf of whole Indian people is a historical misquote and mere a political propaganda⁶². Ganda Singh⁶³ writes that how the Sikhs could be blamed for betrayal in a situation where Sikhs were not even consulted for joining the war⁶⁴. No clout supported their resistance against British in Punjab⁶⁵. The question of sidelining with British and betraying the War of Freedom (1857) could be possible if Sikhs had joined the war and then made a pact with enemy camps⁶⁶. The whole discussion substantiate only one thing that Sikh British relations were not that optimum as claimed by the Sikhs and it invalidate Sikh's claim of being loyal to colonial masters.

Another major claim of Sikhs is related to Canal Colony districts. They claimed districts of Sheikhpura, Gujranwala, Lyallpur, and Montgomery on this basis. Lyallpur being headquarters of canal colonies and owing to concentration of Sikh population bears additional significance. They claimed these districts on the basis of following three arguments as mentioned previously too,

- Sikhs have developed canal colonies
- Sikhs pay heavy revenue turnout to the govt.
- The families of Sikh community are dispersed in Colony districts and East Punjab districts. Hence, depriving the Sikhs of this land would demarcate humans also⁶⁷.

First of all, these concerns or reservations of the Sikhs are genuine and the study does not disagree with this. However, demanding the whole land to govern and administer seems improvident and pragmatic. It was not the land resided by Sikhs only; hence it was essential to consider other stakeholders also. In beginning of the argument, it is important to consider that the project of canal colonization was not an initiative of the Sikh government; rather it was initiative of British government materialized under supervision of Lord Curzon⁶⁸. The canal colony districts especially Lyallpur was developed by the migrants mainly⁶⁹. It was not sole Sikh community who sweated for the development of these districts but the Muslims equally involved⁷⁰. Sikhs have quoted references of Sir Malcolm Darling in order to substantiate their efficient farming. Malcolm Darling writes about Muslim farmers

The Arain, the price of market gardeners, is his (Sikh's) only rival. As thrifty as he is prolific, for dawn till eve bent over cabbage and onion, able to draw a living from the tiniest plot, the Arain extracts, as we have seen, the last ounce of produce out of the soil. Lyallpur was certainly fortunate in the selection of its colonists⁷¹.

Furthermore, the boast of Sikhs of agricultural dominance is not much validated as 64% of canal colony land was owned by the Muslims. Sikhs had mere 26%, Hindus 9%, and Christians 1 %. Even among occupancy tenants, and tenants at will, the Muslim percentage was much higher. For example, the Sikhs repeatedly claimed Montgomery, but in Montgomery district, out of total area of 122953 acres held by tenant at will, Muslims occupied 837892, and out of total area of 298145 acres held there by the occupancy tenants, the Muslims share comes up to 233931 acres⁷². As far land revenue is concerned, it is true that Sikhs paid heavy land revenue. However, this case has two major aspects. First of all it presents the Sikhs being major beneficiary of the canal colonization as they got big land allotments. The second aspect is that not only the Sikhs paid land revenue, but the all allottees. Moreover, the claim of Sikhs that they paid higher revenue than any other community seems statistically incorrect. For example, in Lyallpur, 69.1% of Muslim population paid 5436870 Rs as land revenue against area of 1074019 acres, whereas, 43.7% of cumulative population paid 3638323 Rs against area of 562998 acres. Similarly statistics of other districts also present the picture other way round than the Sikh claims⁷³.

Demarcating between the families in case of partition was a valid concern on the behalf of the Sikhs, but it was the insistence of the Sikhs who was leading to partition of Punjab. Muslim League also raised the same concern. Rather it would be precise to say that proposals of Sikhs were wrongly attempting to secure 18% on the cost of more than 60% population. Similar case is associated with their claims of shrines and military assignments. If shrines to be considered, then Muslims could claim whole India as their religious sacred places are included in Indian side. Moreover, the Sikhs' claim of military contributions can be given accolade but preference to Muslim contributions would be again statistically and historically incorrect. Muslims comprised almost one third of Indian British troops for 2nd world war.

The whole discussion implies that the differences between the Muslims and the Sikhs were political and circumstantial instead of ideological. The Sikh perspective might look impressive when studied it solely, however, it might seem containing several logical gaps when analyzed critically in a broader perspective. Moreover, it is evident in discussion that Sikh Muslim interests were interlinked. The differences could be negotiated and political solutions could be driven out. However, the differences failed to reconcile and issues could not reach rapprochement.

Conclusion

It would be in interest of both communities to preserve the integrity of Punjab. This ideal could be achieved by being on same page by both communities. Hence, out of available options, the most plausible option for the Sikhs was to accede to Pakistan and negotiate their terms with Pakistan instead of Congress. The division of Punjab obviously manifested breaking of connectivity for the Sikhs living on both sides of border; furthermore, the sources of canal irrigation in East Punjab had their origin in West Punjab hence giving a potent blow to the irrigation system. However, the ideal of joint representation over issue of Punjab entailed conciliation over prevailing issues of trust deficit between both communities. This could be possible provided that both communities concede to co-existence by forgetting the bitterness of past. A new social contract could be devised in this respect. However, the generous offers of Jinnah were rebuffed by the Sikh community. It was humanly impossible for anyone to fulfill the geographic designs outlined the Sikh leaders. Hence even the participation of some of the Sikh leaders in Muslim League's legislator's session in April 1946 brought about no fruits. Hence the Sikhs decided to fall in the trap of Congress and tormented themselves. If the Sikh leaders had the vision to secure the interests of Sikhs, they would have joined Pakistan. It would have served their objectives of saving their entitlement rights over canal lands, mas migration, and protection of their religious shrines. Moreover, their considerable share in governance and military of Pakistan would have rendered them a significant stature in Pakistan. However, it seems unfortunate that anti-Muslims sentiments inherited since the days of Moghul Empire clouded their rationality. By not forgetting the torments of past, they further tormented themselves.

References

- ¹ J. S. Grewal, *Historical geography of the Punjab*." *JPS* 11, no. 1 (2004): 2.
- ² *Sikh Memorandum* 1947.
- ³ Satya M Roy, *Partition of the Punjab (A study of its effects on the politics and administration of the Punjab)*(New Delhi: Asia Publishing house, 1965), 36; In response to Iqbal's speech, in a memorandum submitted to the R.T.C. the Sikh delegate, S Ujjal Singh, stated that in case the Muslims refused to accept anything but a reserved majority on the basis of separate electorates, they (the Sikhs) would, then, press for a "territorial rearrangement" of the province which would consolidate the Sikh population.
- ⁴ Master Tara Singh,. "Azad Punjab Scheme". *The Tribune* 23 (1943).
- ⁵ *Sikh Memorandum* 1947; Harjot S.Oberoi, "From Punjab to" *Khalistan*": Territoriality and Met commentary," *Pacific Affairs* (1987): 26-41.
- ⁶ Mohinder Singh, *The Akali Movement* (New Delhi; Manohar Publications, 1997), 53.
- ⁷ Harnik Deol, *Religion and Nationalism in India: The case of the Punjab*, (London: Routledge Publishers, 2000), 83; See also, *Partition of Punjab* (Lahore; Sang e Meel Publications 1993), Vol 01, 362.
- ⁸ Harnik Deol, *Religion and Nationalism in India*, 364, 362.
- ⁹ Khushwant Singh, *The Sikhs* (New Delhi: Paramount Publishers; 2010), 9;. See also, *Sikh Memorandum* 1947.
- ¹⁰ A document presented to British authorities to plead their case of Azad Punjab.
- ¹¹ The Proclamation of the 29th of March, 1849, stated that "The Sikh people and their Chiefs had, on their part, grossly and faithlessly violated the promises by which they were bound under the Agreement of Bhairowal of the 16th day of December, 1846 and for that reason the Governor- General was constrained to declare that thenceforward the Punjab was to form an integral part of British dominions in India."
- ¹² *Sikh Memorandum*, 17. Emperor Jehangir further recorded:" I fully knew of his heresies, and I ordered that he should be brought into my presence, that his houses and children be made over to Murtza Khan that his property be confiscated, and that he should be put to death with tortures.
- ¹³ *Sikh Memorandum*, 17.
- ¹⁴ The Ninth Guru of the Sikhs, the saintly Guru Teg Bahadur, to be beheaded at Delhi, again for "State reasons."
- ¹⁵ Emperor Farrukh Siyyar, adding that "wherever the followers of this sect were found, they should be remorselessly put to the sword.
- ¹⁶ A Royal edict was issued to put all who professed the religion of Nanak to the sword, and a money reward was offered for the head of every Sikh.
- ¹⁷ The Governor Yahya Khan of Lahore issued a proclamation for a general massacre of all Sikhs, wherever they could be found.
- ¹⁸ Paul F.Brass. *Sikhs under British Rule* (London: Oxford University Press: 1981), 356; Abdul Latif records in *The History of the Punjab*: " Firmly established in his authority, Mir Mannu considered the best mode of chastising the Sikhs
- ¹⁹ Paul F Brass, *Sikhs under British Rule*, 356; *Sikh Memorandum*, 21.
- ²⁰ *Sikh Memorandum*, 21. The Creed of the All India Muslim League since 1940 has been that democracy is not suited to India and for that reason the League has wanted the division of the country into India and Pakistan.
- ²¹ In the Jullundur Division, the Sikhs are only '53 % in the Kangra district. In other districts, their population is distributed as under

Ludhiana	41.68 %
Ferozepore	33.69%
Jullundur	26.50%
Hoshiarpur	16.94%
- ²² Lahore Division had following population distribution

Amritsar	36.13 %
Gurdaspur	19.18 %
Lahore	18.32 %
Sheikhupura	18.85 %
Sialkot	11.71 %
Gujranwala	10.87 %

²³ In Multan Division

Lyallpur ... 8.82%

Montgomery ... 13.17%

²⁴ *Sikh Memorandum*, 23. In the Ambala Division, the Sikhs are mainly concentrated in the Sirsa sub-district of the Hissar district and Rupar and Kharar sub-districts of the Ambala district. These three sub-districts of the Ambala Division are contiguous to the central districts of the Jullundur Division.

²⁵ *Sikh Memorandum*, 24; "The Sikhs formed 4.98% of the total population of the Rawalpindi Division, before the March Massacre, and thus in the demarcation of the two parts of the Punjab, they cannot lay claim on population basis alone to any part of the Rawalpindi Division".

²⁶ *Sikh Memorandum*, 25, 26; Jagdish Chand Aggarwal and Surendra P. Agrawal. *Modern History of Punjab: A Look Back Into Ancient Peaceful Punjab Focusing Confrontation and Failures Leading to Present Punjab Problem, and a Peep Ahead: Relevant Select Documents*. Vol. 37.(Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1992), 45; Patabhi Sitaramayya, *The history of the Indian national congress. Vol. 2.(1935-1947)*.(Dhaka: Padma Publishers, 1947), 202, 203.

Pethick- Lawrence said, "It was inconceivable that either the Constituent Assembly or any future Government of the Punjab would overlook their special Place in the Province"

²⁷ Kirpal Singh, *Partition of Punjab* (New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1968), 238; Gurdarshan Singh Dhillon, *Truth about Punjab: SGPC White Paper*, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, 1996; Constituent Assembly Debates on 17 December, 1946, Sir Stafford Cripps said, "special means should be devised for giving the Sikhs a strong position in the affairs of the Punjab.

²⁸ *Sikh Memorandum*, 26; Malcolm Darling, *Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, 202.

²⁹ Farah Gul Baqai, "British rule in Punjab: 1849-1947", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* 31, no. 2 (2010); Ian Talbot, "The Punjab under Colonialism: Order and Transformation in British India", *Journal of Punjab Studies* 14, no. 1 (2011): 4.

³⁰ *Sikh Memorandum*, 26.

³¹ *Sikh Memorandum*, "It is clear that the Jat Sikh from the central districts of the Punjab has been very largely responsible for the building up of the colony areas of Lyallpur and Montgomery in the Punjab, which form the granary of a large part of India.

³² *Sikh Memorandum*, 26; Busharat Elahi Jamil, "The Sikh Dilemma: The Partition of Punjab 1947", *Pakistan Vision* 17, no. 1 (2016).

³³ Malcolm Darling, *Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, 122; The peasant- proprietor is the backbone of the colonies as he is of the Punjab.

³⁴ Malcolm Darling, "*Punjab peasant*, 122.

³⁵ *Sikh Memorandum*, 27.

³⁶ *Sikh Memorandum*, 28

³⁷ Malcolm Darling, *Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, 143.

³⁸ *Sikh Memorandum*, 27.

³⁹ Khushwant Singh, *The Sikhs* (New Delhi: Paramount Publishers; 2010), 23.

⁴⁰ According to the census of 1941 there are 49,718 square miles of cultivable land in the Western Part as compared with 23, 857 square miles in the Eastern Part. This comes to 1.86 acres of cultivable area per capita in the Western Part as against 1.322 acres per capita in the Eastern Part. The disparity in economic resources between the two parts becomes more

glaring when one remembers that almost the whole of the mineral wealth of the Punjab is to be found in the Western part as will.

⁴¹ W.H. Macleod, *The A to Z of Sikhism* (Toronto: The Scarecrow Press, 2009), 27-28.

⁴² Jahangir Tamimi, *Sikh Muslim Relations*, 12.

⁴³ Robina Shoeb, Tauqeer Ahmad Warriach, and Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, "Mughal-Sikh Relations: Revisited." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 52, no. 2 (2015): 175.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Habil James Massey, "Guru Nanak Dev Ji's Teachings in the Context of Inter-Faith Dialogue," *Sikh Review* 51, no. 5 (5-2013): 19-23

⁴⁶ K.A. Nizami, *The Life and Times of Chowk Farid-ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar* (Aligarh: Department of History, Muslim University, 1955).

⁴⁷ *Sikh Memorandum*, 1947.

⁴⁸ *Partition of Punjab*, vol 3.

⁴⁹ *Sikh Memorandum*, 23. In the Ambala Division, the Sikhs are mainly concentrated in the Sirsa sub-district of the Hissar district and Rupar and Kharar sub-districts of the Ambala district. These three sub-districts of the Ambala Division are contiguous to the central districts of the Jullundur Division.

⁵⁰ *Sikh Memorandum*, 1947

⁵¹ Jagtar Singh Grewal, *Muslim Rule in India: The Assessments of British Historians* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1970), 165.

⁵² Majid Sheikh, "How last Hindu ruler of Lahore went away", *Daily Dawn*, Jan 05, 2014.

⁵³ *Sikh Memorandum*, 25.

⁵⁴ *Sikh Memorandum*, 10.

⁵⁵ The Namdharis strongly believe that the tenth Guru Gobind Singh lived up to the age of 146 years and then nominated Balak Singh of Hazro as his successor in 1812. They negate the theory that the tenth guru had appointed the Guru Granth Sahib as his successor in 1708. They have their one long line of gurus, who succeeded Balak Singh till 1872, when their last guru was exiled by the British in 1872. They strongly believe that their leader will soon return. They are strict vegetarians, animal activists and have strong views against caste system and practice of dowry. For further studies see, Anuradha Kumar, *Caste conflict in Sikhism: Vision and reality*, *Sikh Review* 51(8),(Amritsar: Journal of Sikh Studies:2003):75–76; For detailed study see also, Ethne K. Marengo, *The transformation of Sikh society* (New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 1976). The technique of non-co-operation adopted by Mahatma Gandhi is preceded by the Namdhari crusade by boycotting British institutions and trying to be self-sufficient with the native ways and means.

⁵⁶ "I salute the Akalis who have started the struggle for freedom and are fighting for it."

⁵⁷ "Guru Ka Bagh Morcha has given birth to the freedom movement which must lead us to Swaraj"

⁵⁸ Freedom is our birthright. The Akalis are the legitimate sons of Mother India who are fighting for her

⁵⁹ The Sikh brothers have shown us the way to freedom; no one can keep us slaves any more.

⁶⁰ Majid Chowk, "The rage of the Sikhs sole spokesman" *Daily Dawn*, Oct 30, 2012.

⁶¹ K S Duggal, *Sikhs in the Freedom Struggle*.

⁶² Surendra Nath Sen, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his foreword to Eighteen Fifty-seven* (New Delhi: Publication Division of the Government of India).

⁶³ Ganda Singh was a prolific Punjabi historian. Ganda Singh was born on November 15, 1900, at Hariana, a town in Hishiarpur. He died on 27 November 1987.

⁶⁴ Ganda Singh, *The Indian Mutiny of 1857 and the Sikhs* (Amritsar: Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, 1969), 23.

⁶⁵ Turab-ul-Hassan Sargana, Punjab's Role in the War of Independence 1857-58: An Analysis.

⁶⁶ Ganda Singh, *The Indian Mutiny of 1857 and the Sikhs*, 23.

⁶⁷ *Sikh Memorandum*, 28.

⁶⁸ Atta Muhammad, "Mastery over Geography and the Rise of Social Development: A Case Study of the Canal Irrigation System of the West Punjab during Colonial India", *Academic Research International* 1, no. 3 (2011): 65.

⁶⁹ Imran Ali, *Sikh Settlers in the Western Punjab during British rule: Punjabi Identity in a Global Context* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 139-151.

⁷⁰ Malcolm Darling, "Punjab peasant in prosperity and debt", 136- 137.

⁷¹ Malcolm Darling, "Punjab peasant in prosperity and debt", 136- 137.

⁷² *Partition of Punjab*, Vol 3, 33.

⁷³ *Partition of Punjab*, 152-153.