Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

Department of History
Quaid-i-Azam University
Islamabad, Pakistan.
DECLARATION
I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research, and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

_______________________
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ISLAMABAD

DATED: ______________

APPROVAL OF THESIS FOR SUBMISSION
I hereby recommend the thesis prepared under my supervision by Raja Adnan Razzaq entitled “Refugee Rehabilitation in the Punjab: 1947-55” in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

_______________________
Dr. Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah
To

Raja Subah Sadiq (1928-2005)
A fervent supporter of Pakistan movement
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Acknowledgements

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Above all I remain ever grateful to Allah Almighty for graciously bestowing upon me the courage and dedication to complete this task.

However, I have no excuse for any errors or omissions that any discerning reader may kindly notice and if notified I remain to rectify those shortcomings.

Raja Adnan Razzaq
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>AD</td>
<td>Anno Domini; number of years after the birth of Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGPR</td>
<td>Accountant General Pakistan Revenues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIML</td>
<td>All-India Muslim League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASI</td>
<td>Assistant Sub-Inspector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOAC</td>
<td>British Overseas Airways Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brig.</td>
<td>Brigadier (army)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>Choudhary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-in-C</td>
<td>Commander-in-Chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col.</td>
<td>Colonel (army)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Central Provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAV</td>
<td>Dayanand Anglo Vedic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDT</td>
<td>Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane, an organic chloride known for its insecticidal properties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIB</td>
<td>Director of Intelligence Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIG</td>
<td>Deputy Inspector General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJ Sind College</td>
<td>Diwan Dayaram Jethamal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DLO</td>
<td>District Liaison Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DQ (DAQMG)</td>
<td>Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSP</td>
<td>Deputy Superintendent of Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPR</td>
<td>East Punjab Railways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>General (army)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GG</td>
<td>Governor-General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHQ</td>
<td>General Headquarter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOC (Sind Area)</td>
<td>General Officer Commanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td>Grand Trunk (road)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMSO</td>
<td>Her Majesty’s Stationary Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>HP</td>
<td>Horse Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HQ</td>
<td>Headquarter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAR</td>
<td>Indian Annual Register</td>
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<td>ICS</td>
<td>Indian Civil Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>Identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG</td>
<td>Inspector General (Police)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INA</td>
<td>Indian National Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>IOR</td>
<td>India Office Records</td>
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<tr>
<td>IP</td>
<td>Indian Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JDC</td>
<td>Joint Defense Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KB</td>
<td>Khan Bahadur (title) see glossary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOEPR</td>
<td>Liaison Officer East Punjab Railways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lt.</td>
<td>Lieutenant (army)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAO</td>
<td>Mohammedan Anglo Oriental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEO</td>
<td>Military Evacuation Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFRO</td>
<td>Military Families Resettlement Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML</td>
<td>Muslim League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLA</td>
<td>Member Legislative Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNLG</td>
<td>Muslim League National Guards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSF</td>
<td>Muslim Students Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSS</td>
<td>Manuscripts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MT</td>
<td>Military Transport/ Mechanical Transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAP</td>
<td>National Archives of Pakistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>NDC</td>
<td>National Documentation Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>NDW</td>
<td>National Documentation Wing</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOP</td>
<td>No Objection Permits</td>
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<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>North-West Frontier Province</td>
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<td>NWR</td>
<td>North Western Railways</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSD</td>
<td>Officer on Special Duty</td>
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<td>OUP</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
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<tr>
<td>PBF</td>
<td>Punjab Boundary Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEPSU</td>
<td>Patiala &amp; East Punjab States Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML</td>
<td>Punjab Muslim League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMSF</td>
<td>Punjab Muslim Students Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPAI</td>
<td>Punjab Police Abstract of Intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPML</td>
<td>Punjab Provincial Muslim League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRODA</td>
<td>Public Representative Offices Disqualification Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pt.</td>
<td>Pandit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTO</td>
<td>Pakistan Transfer Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWD</td>
<td>Public Works Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWVS</td>
<td>Pakistan Women’s Volunteer Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QAP</td>
<td>Quaid-i-Azam Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QAPW</td>
<td>Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QARF</td>
<td>Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>Rahmat ullah Alaih (Arabic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIAF</td>
<td>Royal Indian Air Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSS</td>
<td>Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDO</td>
<td>Sub Division Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGPC</td>
<td>Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh.</td>
<td>Sheikh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOAS</td>
<td>School of Oriental and African Studies, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOS</td>
<td>Save our souls; code signal of extreme distress; an appeal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STO</td>
<td>Senior Transfer Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TDO</td>
<td>Thal Development Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>Transfer of Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNO</td>
<td>United Nations Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNRRA</td>
<td>United Nation’s Relief &amp; Rehabilitation Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UP</td>
<td>United Provinces</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

The 20th century heralded a new awakening amongst Indian Muslims led by their Bengali co-religionists in reaction to Hindu agitation for annulment of the restructured Bengal. Despite being the largest Muslim majority province of British India the Muslims of Bengal, as compared to Hindus had little say in its governance. As a start the All-India Muslim League (AIML) had an objective similar to that of the Indian National Congress (INC), viz, greater self-government under the British Crown. However, each party had its own version of self-government. Onwards from 1913 the AIML was led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, an upcoming Muslim legislator from Bombay. In 1928 Jinnah’s “Fourteen Points” were rejected by INC which instead demanded Purna Swaraj (complete independence) as its new objective. As a counterpoise to INC’s demand, Allama Muhammad Iqbal in 1930 proposed a new Muslim majority territorial unit by amalgamating five provinces/states in north western part of the country. Jinnah, by then living in England returned to India to chaperon the League. After establishment of new ministries under the Government of India Act of 1935 Congress gained control of seven out of eleven provinces. It was the discrimination and persecution of Muslims under the Congress rule that spurred the League on to crystallize its demand in 1940, for a sovereign Muslim homeland. The League with its burgeoning popularity amongst Muslims was able to achieve that goal in a short spell of seven years.

The struggle for the “promised land” was accompanied by large scale communal riots, massive exodus of people, abduction and rape of women and seizure of
assets and properties in East as well as West Punjab. Notwithstanding the communal frenzy there were quite a few instances of one community protecting their neighbours of religion other than their own. More than 14 million people were uprooted from their homes and hearths across the Radcliffe defined borders--which tragically enough must be attributed to as a British subterfuge. The largest segment amongst these ill-fated Muslims were from East Punjab and adjoining states, Delhi and United Provinces on the Indian side and non-Muslims from West Punjab, Bahawalpur State, Sind and the Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) on the Pakistani side. The communal fury took a toll of more than a million deaths and abduction, forcible conversion and rape of over 75,000 females. The ordeal did not even spare the survivors who were plagued with bitter memories for the rest of their lives.

The migrants’ miseries did not end by simply crossing the borders. No doubt that they had survived the ethnic killings and rapine but surviving out in the open on the other side of the fence was not easy for them. They had to come up alive out of the ashes. Both the governments were trying their best to rehabilitate and resettle the refugees who were crossing the borders in large numbers. Having no precedent in the past, the authorities on both sides had no clue as how to cope with that kind of emergent situation. However, the Government of West Punjab was facing more problems than her Indian counterpart as the former had no physical means for the resettlement of the refugees arriving from East Punjab. The Military Evacuation Organizations (MEOs) of both India and Pakistan shouldered the responsibilities of evacuation from the respective territories of West and East Punjab. The MEOs
were involved in organizing the foot convoys, road transport convoys and rail
movements across the borders.

The first need of a refugee after crossing the border was a house where he could
shelter himself, his family and whatever he had been able to bring with him from
the East Punjab. Transit camps were set up in the border districts and central
camps at Lahore in West Punjab and Jullundur in East Punjab. The non-Muslim
evacuee camps in Pakistan were under the control of Indian forces. Likewise, the
Muslim camps in India were controlled by Pakistani armed forces. The armies also
provided transport and escort across the border. Women social workers were
responsible for the supervision of recovered women and children in the transit and
central camps. But the provision of accommodation, food and other facilities
remained the responsibility of the country in which the camps were located. The
transit camps in the border districts were to serve as feeders to the second line or
central camps. Evacuee houses were the only roofed shelters, which could be made
readily available. The government decided to allot the evacuee property only to the
refugees from East Punjab. Apart from that the government also decided to
establish new towns in different parts of West Punjab to provide accommodation
for the refugees. Arrangements were also made for the repair of damaged houses.

The stream of refugees was rapidly swelling to an uncontrollable flood.

The initial phase of arrivals in sanctuaries lasted more than a year which was
mostly spent in the camps. Their subsequent move to evacuee houses and lands did
not result in an easy breather for the authorities. The refugees then raised a host of
demands like district-wise grouping, electoral representation in legislature, rent
payments, educational and vocational opportunities and relocation to their preferred localities etc. The administration not only had to face these demands but was also hamstrung by a plethora of problems like Kashmir refugees, corruption at various levels, inter-dominion differences, evacuee property legislation, interpersonal dissent and intra-cabinet feuds.

Considering the inexperience of the government as well the people, the welcome extended to the distressed arrivals in West Punjab was unprecedented in the region’s history. The refugees were received into makeshift shelters and camps, given medical aid inclusive of maternity services and provided with food and schooling for children. The government was also saddled with evacuation of refugees still stranded across the border. The authorities mobilized the army to escort the incoming refugees. They also detailed a large number of volunteers on recovery of abductees in both parts of the Punjab. The West Punjab Government also took over abandoned houses and lands for allocation to the dislocated people and at the same time drew out necessary legislation to provide them with legal cover.

The plight of refugees internally displaced or externally in consequence of a conflict in their homes and hearths remains a Pandora’s Box in history. The pain and misery thus occasioned in the South Asian continent has been written about by a number of academics in Pakistan, India and elsewhere but such efforts mostly deal with socio-economic and philosophical aspects of rehabilitation work in Pakistan. The process of refugee relief and rehabilitation in West Punjab has been superficially examined owing to no availability or destruction of a large chunk of
actual record of the concerned departments. Due to the unsatisfactory maintenance, weeding out and destruction by natural elements the record of the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry relating to the period under research had not be fully preserved. The culture for preservation of archival records was to take roots later on. Inadequacy of in-depth research done earlier also made the present work time consuming. Apart for that most of the real life witnesses on this issue were either senile or dead by the time the research was undertaken. Second and third generation successors who were forthcoming had most of the times no documentary evidence to back up their assertions. The evidence provided by them needed to be verified by reference to contemporary newspapers and periodicals etc. Another factor was the discouraging attitude of the concerned authorities who did not favor such research work as in their opinion it led to discourage people-to-people contacts. And whatever had been published earlier lacked citation to source material. Hence an academic work like the present one was needed and is justified. Much of the academic work on the refugee rehabilitation had been done on Indian side where the records of the concerned ministries and the biographical accounts by the sufferers and rehabilitation administrators have been better preserved as compared to Pakistan. The research academia and literati in both parts of Punjab hold conflicting views about the partition process and emergence of Pakistan. The writers on the Indian side regard the partition as a vivisection of their mother land as personified by the holy cow. Contrastingly the Pakistani scholars view the partition as restitution of Muslim glory lost by the collapse of the mighty Mughal Empire. Neither approach is justifiable as it does not take cognizance of universal
process of frontier adjustments occasioned by warlike or peaceful means as evidenced elsewhere in the breakup of Ireland, Austria-Hungary, Iberia, Scandinavia, French Indo-China and Soviet Union. Moreover, the Indian researchers are obsessed with partition which they regard as a traumatic phenomenon whereas their Pakistani counterparts tend to gloat over independence of Muslims from a predominant Hindu majority.

From the Indian side *The Transfer of Power in India* by V.P. Menon, focuses on the last phase of the British Raj in India especially the partition process and change of viceroyalty. It is considered by most as an “Indian version” of the partition process. M.S. Randhawa in *Out of the Ashes* and B.U. Rao in *The Story of Rehabilitation* narrate the process of non-Muslim resettlements in India. Whereas G.D. Khosla in *Stern Reckoning* and J. Nanda in *The Punjab Uprooted* provide detailed accounts of communal rioting in the Punjab especially in the western parts. Another attempt was made by G.S. Talib in *Muslim League Attack on Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab, 1947* in which he has given district and town wise information regarding the alleged attacks on the non-Muslims of West Punjab. Satya Rai in *The Partition of Punjab* however pinpoints the repercussions of partition and the consequent administrative problems. The East Punjab Government had also published informative accounts on the recovery and rehabilitation of refugees in India such as *Millions Live Again* and the *Urban Rehabilitation in East Punjab*.

From the Pakistani side Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman in *Pathway to Pakistan* is of the opinion that the nexus between Congress hierarchy and the colonial viceroyalty
played a pivotal role in the plight of the Muslims of India especially the colossal loss of life and property during the communal riots. Whereas Ch. Mohammad Ali in *Emergence of Pakistan* focuses on the partition process starting from 1940 Lahore Resolution till the actual partition in 1947. Saleem Ullah Khan’s *The Journey to Pakistan* is an official compilation comprising ministerial documents, eye witness accounts and press clippings relating to the communal riots, recovery, rehabilitation and restorations of Muslim refugees in West Punjab and other provinces in Pakistan. Another official account *Disturbances in the Punjab: 1947* published by the National Documentation Centre Islamabad is based on the official correspondence especially of the British officials regarding the causes, events and effects of communal frenzy. In response to East Punjab Government’s publication the West Punjab also rebutted by publishing a series of booklets such as *Note on the Sikh Plan, The RSSS in the Punjab, The Sikhs in Action*, and *Disturbances in East Punjab and Contiguous Areas during and after 1947* etc to record the atrocities committed on the Muslims in 1947. The four volumes of *The Partition of Punjab 1947* edited by Mian Muhammad Sadullah et al., examine the parties’ claim in connection with the delineation of boundary in the Punjab but do not explain in length the evacuation or resettlement of refugees. Z.H. Zaidi’s edited work in 18 volumes of *Jinnah Papers* deals with Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah’s correspondence with a number of people but do not specifically deal with refugee rehabilitation and resettlement which primarily were considered as provincial subjects with the central government only lying down policy guidelines and providing finances. There were of course stray references and complaints by
aggrieved persons. Waheed Ahmed in seven volumes of The Nation’s Voice is likewise silent on the said subject. Amtul Hassan in Impacts of Partition: Refugees in Pakistan primarily discusses the refugees’ struggle for empowerment especially in the Sind province. Sarah Ansari in Life after Partition has provided valuable insights into political developments and rehabilitation process in Sind. Most recent study on the subject is Ilyas Chattha’s Partition and Locality in which he has highlighted the partition violence and consequent resettlement in Gujranwala and Sialkot Districts of West Punjab.

Apart from Indian and Pakistani scholars several western scholars and British officials who had served in India wrote about the events leading to partition. Their work is more in the nature of memoirs than a well researched academic finding but the first hand information provided is very useful in determining the framework of any facet of the partition studies. One such account is Malcom Darling’s At Freedom’s Door. In this account he provided first hand information gathered by meeting with the locals when he traveled to northern Punjab on horseback during 1947. Other such accounts are Alan Campbell-Johnson’s Mission with Mountbatten, Penderel Moon’s Divide and Quit, and Richard Symonds’ Making of Pakistan which is a recollection of his relief work done in the Punjab in 1947.

The British Government came to forefront in order to provide her own version of the partition process. The release of HMSO’s twelve-volume series, The Transfer of Power in India (1942-47) edited by Philip Nicholas Seton Mansergh focuses on the British exit from the subcontinent. However, it provides an in-depth detail of British views on the out break of communal disturbances in both parts of the
Punjab. Now the availability of records on provincial and district level politics has encouraged the scholars to research on the grassroots’ level. The Historian like Ian Talbot and David Gilmartin have provided impetus to this trend by producing well researched analysis on the politics of Punjab, communal disturbances and refugee grievances. Recently Pippa Virdee’s doctoral dissertation entitled *Partition and Locality: Case Studies of the Impact of Partition and its Aftermath in the Punjab Region 1947-61* provides a comparative study of the riots, migration and settlement process in a few districts of East and West Punjab including Lyallpur, Ludhiana and Malerkotla but she does not present an overall picture of the rehabilitation in the West Punjab.

The aforementioned voluminous literature does have biases, but their importance can not in any way be denied or negated. Even when one does not agree with a particular shade of opinion or with the approach and conclusions of other scholars, their contributions to the field, nevertheless, remain authentic and important and do serve as a guide for further work. It has contributed in the research material available on partition of India but there remain gaps especially from the Pakistan side which this study hopes to fill, primarily in the field of refugee resettlement in the western parts of the Punjab. The present study does not claim to be the final or an ideal one but it would provide a framework to future researchers for projecting their research endeavors on this part of the world. Unfortunately, few attempts have been made by the people associated with the rehabilitation process on the Pakistan side to document the events pertaining to the partition. To make it even worse much of the record of the concerned ministries having been damaged or lost,
is no longer available. As an alternative the requisite material had to be obtained from contemporary newspapers, records of the Prime Minister Secretariat, Pakistan Foreign Office and some other ministries as well as overseas repositories. Thanks are due to friends amongst the Indian academia who provided select material relating to Pakistan as available in the archives of Indian Ministry of Refugee Rehabilitation. Material scattered in that form had discouraged scholars in the past to undertake research in that field, which made it worthwhile to attempt as a doctoral research project in order to present a well reasoned and exaggeration free academic work on a critical phase in our nation’s history. The present work is an attempt to make up this hiatus by drawing on contemporary local or international newspapers and working backwards through available material available in the various research organizations in Pakistan and abroad. In the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi the research has been conducted in the National Archives of Pakistan, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, National Documentation Wing, The Punjab Resource Centre, Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, National Library of Pakistan, libraries of History and Pakistan Studies Departments at the Quaid-i-Azam University in Islamabad and the main library of the Government Gordon College. In Lahore some useful data had been collected from the Punjab Archives, Punjab Public Library, South Asian Research & Resource Centre and the libraries of Government College University and Aitcheson College.

In Germany the periodical collection available in the South Asian Institute of Heidelberg University proved helpful in making the framework of the research. In
the UK research material was collected from the libraries of School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), India Office Library & Records, the British Library, University of Coventry and Leicester University. In Netherlands the Institute of Asian Studies’ resources were utilized at Amsterdam University. In India reference material was collected from National Archives of India, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Punjabi Universities at Patiala and Chandigarh, Guru Nanak Dev University at Amritsar and Kumaun University, Nainital in UP through friends and academia. US National Archives documents relating to the partition of India and the contemporary newspapers from Australia were obtained through helpful friends in academia.

Besides the Introduction and Conclusion chapters, the main text covers five chapters. The first chapter on the geography and people of the colonial Punjab from 1849 onwards to 1947 dwells on major events like annexation, 1857 War of Independence, Muslim political awakening, partition of Bengal and establishment of All-India Muslim League. First World War, Lukhnow Pact, Jallianwala Bagh massacre, Khilafat and Hijrat movements, Unionist and Congress parties, Second World War and the Muslim League’s demand for Pakistan in 1940, election of 1945-46 and agitation against the Khizr Ministry in the Punjab are also examined in depth. This chapter had to be a lengthy one as West Punjab occupies a pivotal place in West Pakistan. There are a number of factors for such an approach. The province was the first port of call for Muslims fleeing out of the neighboring East Punjab. In terms of vastness the province was the largest settled one in the Western zone of the country as well as in terms of population. The Punjab province had the
largest capacity for human absorption as it had the most developed infrastructure. The exodus of non-Muslims had left a large number of employment vacancies and capacity for *lebensraum*. In the wake of Bihar blood bath of 1946, a number of recommendations for migration and concentration of Muslims in India were presented to the Muslim League but these unfortunately had a utopian tinge. The League was hardly prepared to face the rapidly changing developments and therefore the implementation of such like recommendations had become lackadaisical. On the other hand, the RSS and the Sikhs were better organized, better financed, more determined and motivated in the Punjab with disastrous consequences for the Muslim minorities. In order to fully enlighten the reader about the prelude and pangs of partition, it is pertinent to appraise him about the socio-economic, cultural and century-long political developments in the Punjab (1846-1947) under the British rule.

The second chapter describes the background of communal riots in the Punjab prior and subsequent to the resignation of Khizr Ministry in March 1947. It highlights disturbances in the East Punjab triggered by the non-Muslims and in West Punjab started by the Muslims. It also focuses on communal frenzy in general, peacekeeping appeals by political and religious leaders at grassroots’ as well as at the national level. It also highlights some isolated cases of communal harmony where members of one community risked their lives to protect people of another community.

The third chapter details on anticipatory evacuation of Muslims from non-Muslim majority areas from March 1947 onwards and subsequently their mass exodus
westwards from August of that year. It focuses on the efforts to concentrate Muslims in camps and transport them to West Pakistan through various means of conveyance by civil and military agencies to reception camps in Pakistan; management and administration of camps; attempts to safeguard non-Muslim properties against illegal local seizures; recovery and restoration of Muslim abductees from East Punjab and adjoining states through various agencies; legislation of evacuee properties and holding of inter-dominion conferences on evacuee and recovery issues.

The fourth chapter states about the situation in the reception camps, continued arrival of refugees from India, their dispersal to rehabilitation and resettlement sites, treatment of abducted women, Thal Housing Project for refugees and migrants’ grievances against district and provincial authorities. It also states the ministerial and party differences over resettlement policies. Evacuee property management and legislation, inter-dominion conferences, influx of Jammu & Kashmir refugees due to war in the disputed state, cumulative effect of refugee problem which eventually resulted in declaration of national emergency also focuses a part of this chapter.

The fifth and the last chapter (1949-55) describes the sequel to earlier measures on rehabilitation and resettlement, continued arrival of refugees through Khokhropar, evaluation, exchange and restoration of evacuee properties, repatriation of some unhappy migrants back to their original homes in the other country; lack of assimilation by some refugees which led to political discontent and resentment by Muslim League officials against Governor Mudie and his consequent resignation.
Lack of continuity in the subject inevitably resulted in certain gaps which needed to be filled by further study and research. Someone has had to pick up this gauntlet and meet that challenge. My long lasting interest in the partition of Punjab and the agony suffered by the migrants has forced me to undertake this challenge. In order to appreciate and empathize with the spirit shown by destitute refugees and the rehabilitation staff, it became essential to have a ground based research on resettlement work in the West Punjab. As an attempt to understand and articulate the process of resettlement of refugees from East Punjab in the rural and urban area of West Punjab in a proper historical research framework, this inquiry is in many respects an exploration of un-chartered waters with conceptual tools of analysis. Research in the past has tended to stop at August 1947 without looking beyond this period particularly in Pakistan. The present study aims to extend the existing literature on partition. In addition to providing new empirical data, it will uncover the experiences of violence, migration and the resettlement of partition refugees within the West Punjab region. It also tends to examine that how far the experience of partition and dislocation was a phase rather than an event confined to 1947. Finally, the present study considers the extent to which the input of refugee capital and labor were locally significant in the region’s post-partition urban economic revival. It may not be a philosophical work but it would certainly serve as a milestone for future research endeavors in that field.
The word Punjab is derived from the two Persian words *Punj* (five) and *Aub* (water).¹ That can also be explained as the land of five rivers namely Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum that run through this terrain. It is located in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent. The river Indus and Sutlej form the geographical boundaries from the latitude 29° 15´ to 34° north, longitude 70° 40´ to 76° east.² The mountain ranges of Hindu Kush and Himalayas lie in the north and north east of the Punjab. In the south there is the Rajputana Desert and in the east lies the Upper Ganges Valley. The Central plains are the monsoon areas whereas the south western areas are mainly the dry lands. The plains are divided into Doabs or in simple terms intra-fluvial tracts. The tract between the rivers Ravi and Beas has been named as the Bari Doab or the land in between two rivers, Rechna Doab is the name given to the tract between Ravi and Chenab. The Chaj Doab is the tract that lies between the Chenab and Jhelum. Sind Sagar Doab is the name given to the area which has Jhelum and Chenab on one side and on the other side it has the mighty Indus. The tract enclosed between Beas and Sutlej is called Bist-Jullundur which comprises the districts of Hoshiarpur, Jullundur and the princely state of Kapurthala.

Historically this region has always been very important. Thought it had many different names in the course of history but it has always played a pivotal role in the political affairs of the Indian subcontinent. Archaeologically it has been proved that the human beings inhabited this region as early as 7,000 B.C.³ The Indus
Valley Civilization was flourishing during 3,000 B.C. which is one of the earliest human civilizations. It is believed that the birth of the Hindu religion and its scriptures Rig-Vedas of the Bronze Age were written in the region of the Punjab. It was the land of the Punjab where the mighty Aryans of the Vedic times thought of building their maiden homes. The great Taxila University was established in the Punjab which was considered a centre for knowledge for the rest of the world.

Punjab had a very important strategic location in South Asia and was rightly conceived as the “gateway into India”. Invaders from within subcontinent and around the world thought of this region as the capital of India, their conquest was not considered a complete success until and unless the Punjab was conquered. This province witnessed the epic battles between the great heroes of Mahabharta i.e. Pandus and Kaurus. Egyptian King Osiris had his first encounter with the Indian soil in the Punjab. The Scythians, Tartars, Persian and even the Queen of Assyria with her gigantic armies tried to test their sword with the Punjabis but suffered crushing defeats. Alexander the great was lucky enough to score a victory over King Porus in the Punjab but this victory put an end to his dream of conquering the then known world. He defeated King Porus on the bank of River Jhelum but advancing further east to River Beas Alexander’s army weary in body and spirit mutinied refusing to go further. Finding the army adamant, he agreed to turn back.

It was here that the Muslims laid the foundation of a great Mughal Empire in the subcontinent. The Sikhs were the last ones to rule Punjab as their home and to some early historian of the subcontinent it was called the “land of the Sikhs”.
The epithet Punjab was used for the very first time in Mughal era before that it was recognised as the Sapta Sindhua, Taka Desh, Saka Divpa, Huna Desh and even Panjnad i.e. the “country of five rivers”. For the very first time the word Punjab was used in *Tarikh-e-Sher Shah Suri* in 1580 where the author while discussing the construction of a certain fort reveals the maker by the name of “Sher Khan of Punjab”. Abul Fazal in his renowned book *Ain-e-Akbari* also used the word Punjab when he narrated the division of the ‘territory of the Punjab’ into two provinces i.e. Lahore and Multan. The Mughal Emperor Jahangir also mentioned the word Punjab in his autobiography *Tuzk-i-Jahangeeri*.

The Mughals attached to the province for logistic considerations built historic monuments, gardens, mighty forts and spacious mosques in the province that speaks of their love and attachment with the Punjab. Abdalis took over from the Mughals and from them power shifted to the Sikhs of the Punjab under the able leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. His kingdom in the Punjab stretched from the Sutlej in the east and to Peshawar in the west, in the south it stretched to the junction of the Sutlej and Indus and in the north side up to the Ladakh. Ranjit Singh died on 27th June 1839 and following the war of succession his youngest son Maharaja Duleep Singh was coroneted on 15th September 1843. This was the time when the British were eyeing to extend their rule in the Punjab.

**The Annexation of the Punjab (1849)**

The British knew the strategic importance of the Punjab; therefore, they by the year 1845 had moved 32,000 troops near Sutlej in order to secure their northern borders and at the same time to keep an eye on the events in the Punjab where a
war of succession had recently taken place. Later that year the First Anglo-Sikh war broke out near Ferozpur which ended the following year with the defeat of the Sikhs. As a result, the territory between the Beas, Sutlej and Kashmir were ceded to the British. Kashmir was later sold to Maharaja Gulab Singh who was recognised as the Maharaja of the Jammu & Kashmir by the British to rule as a British vassal. A peace treaty between the British and the young Maharaja Duleep Singh was signed on 29th March 1846 and was called as the Treaty of Lahore and as per one of the conditions of the treaty, some British troops, a resident political agent with some officials were stationed at Lahore to watch over the regency of the minor Maharaja Duleep Singh. The Sikh army was reduced rapidly in size which resulted in a revolt by the unemployed Sikh soldiers at Multan in 1848. The insurrection led to the death of two British officers which triggered the second Anglo-Sikh war. Since the scattered Sikhs were no match to the highly organised British troops the war was soon over and under the Treaty of Lahore in 1849 the Punjab was annexed by the British East India Company and the young Maharaja Duleep Singh was pensioned off. Apart from few small states like Patiala which retained local rulers but recognised the British dominion, the Punjab became another province of the British India. In the Punjab the British were considered saviours from the Sikh oppression by the Muslim majority who had suffered persecution under the Sikh rule. The British legal system did not offend their religion or customs. Those who had been wise to assist the British during the Sikh wars and at the time of annexation like the Khattars of Wah, Tiwanas and Noons of Shahpur District, Mamdots of Ferozpur and Daultanas of
Luddan were highly rewarded and those who resisted like the Dhunds of Murree were severely punished by their colonial masters.

**Punjab under the British**

In view of its martial inhabitants and strategic location the Punjab was considered as the most important province of the British India. This base provided the British with an opportunity to seize more than 500 princely states of India. Lahore was made the centre for political activities, culture and learning and at the same time Rawalpindi became an important military station under the British rule.

The province has always been known for its agriculture and hence was the major exporter of agricultural products to other provinces in India. The rural Punjab was divided into four categories of people; the big landlords who used to hand over their lands to their tenants for cultivation; farmers who had little pieces of lands that they themselves cultivated for their living; the tenants who were at times more prosperous than the farmers as they used to take care of the land of big landlords and at the same time owned pieces of land, bought from the small farmers or gifted to them by their landlords for their services; *qamis* or the people performing services like barbers, potters and washer men etc. They were the true servants of the landlords and used to get their share from the crops for the services rendered. The last were the labourers on daily wages who used to work in the crop fields in order to win bread for their families.\(^{14}\)

There were three major religious communities in the Punjab i.e. the Muslims, Hindus, and the Sikhs. Though the Muslims came to India as invaders in 712 A.D. with Muhammad bin Qasim from the west across the Arabian Sea but it was the
series of invasions by Mahmood Ghaznavi from the north which paved the way for
the propagation of Islam in India specially the Punjab province. For the next 800
years Punjab remained under the Muslim rule until 1799 when Maharaja Ranjit
Singh established his Sikh Empire. During the Muslim rule, most of the
agricultural lands were under the Muslims of the province. Even the “Lion of the
Punjab” could not snatch their lands in many parts of the western Punjab. When
Punjab was annexed in 1849 at least 95 percent of the agricultural land in the
western part of the western Punjab including Gujrat, Jhang, Jhelum and Attock
was owned by the Muslims.\textsuperscript{15} Though the situation in the eastern part of the Punjab
was different where the Hindus and the Sikhs were in better economic position
than the Muslims still about 30 percent of agricultural land was owned by the
Muslims in Gurgaon and about 25 percent in Amritsar.\textsuperscript{16} Socially the Muslims
used to live in close family and clan bonds and the clergy or the \textit{pirs} of their
respective area enjoyed complete obedience from their disciples. The British did
not disturb this system instead they used the influence of the \textit{pirs} for their own
favour. The bargain was quite rewarding for the British as these \textit{pirs} had thousands
and thousands of \textit{murids}. Keeping in mind their huge following in the Punjab, the
British bestowed lands and honorary titles to these \textit{pirs} in order to win their loyalty
to the British Crown.

The Hindus were the other important community in the Punjab but the Brahmins of
the Punjab did not enjoy the same social status as their brethren were enjoying in
other parts of India. Most of them were associated with agriculture and always
wanted to be recognised as farmers. The reason behind this lack of social status
was that they had to compete with the Muslim *pirs* and Sikh Gurus though economically they were equally sound as compared to the other Brahmins of India. There were no attached or gifted lands with the temples and at the same time the Hindu leadership in Punjab was with the Rajputs which was later on transferred down to Khathris, Aroras and Banias. The Hindus mostly inhabited the south-east mountains, for instance they constituted about 90 percent of the total population of Kangra and in Rohtak they were about 80 percent of the total population. Their percentage started to decrease in the western zones of the Punjab i.e. they were only 12 percent of the total population in Dera Ghazi Khan and similarly about 5 percent in Campbellpur (presently Attock). They were not more than one-quarter of the total population of the united Punjab. The Muslims culture was so much dominant on the Hindu minority of the Punjab that the Hindus living in the Muslim majority villages often observed Muslim customs and rituals for example many Hindu women in Hoshiarpur used to observe veil and many Hindus of Rohtak and Jullundur were staunch *murids* of Muslim Saint Sultan Sakhi Sarwar. In the western zones Hindus were established in big cities and were mostly merchants and shopkeepers by profession.

With the arrival of the British in Punjab, these Hindus started to dominate the local economy. They were very much familiar with the trade and commerce and made full use of the opportunities provided by the British government. They used to own about 60 percent of the factories located in Lahore and used to pay taxes eight times more than the Muslim traders.
Punjab was also called the “Land of the Sikhs” as Sikhism was originated from the Punjab around 1,500 A.D. The Sikh community suffered at the hands of the Mughal emperors especially Aurangzeb who executed their eight Guru Tegh Bahadur because he refused to accept Islam or show a *karamat* (miracle) in 1675 A.D.\(^{20}\) After the decline in the Mughal Empire the Sikhs started to reorganise and became a mighty force under Maharaja Ranjit Singh who founded the Sikh Empire in Punjab in 1799 A.D.\(^{21}\) His control over the western parts was not as strong and he had to rely on the cooperation and obedience of some selected but important landlords of the area. His strength was visible in the central divisions of the Punjab province but after his demise the Sikh State went into oblivion. The war of succession between the heirs of Ranjit Singh created an opening for the British to annex the Punjab province.

Once the whole of the Punjab was under the British rule they worked really hard to strengthen their administrative grip over the land which was called the “granary of India”. At first they had to face problems in order to maintain law and order because of the presence of radical elements that had been against the annexation of the province. The British decided to rule the province with an iron hand. A three-member board of Administration was formed which comprised the highly famed administrators like the Lawrence brothers. The elder brother Henry Lawrence was a British Resident in the Sikh Court and President of the Regency Council during infancy of the young Maharaja Duleep Singh. Henry died in 1857 defending the Lucknow Residency. His younger brother John Lawrence organised logistic support during the first Sikh War (1845-46). He was subsequently appointed
Commissioner of the Jullundur Doab. Later on he held posts of Chief Commissioner, Lieutenant Governor and Viceroy. Highly professional and trained civil and military personnel were brought in with administrative and legal powers to assist the members of the Board of Administration. A military police force of about 8,000 troops was established to maintain law and order in the province. Having secured their rule over the province administratively the British also tried to win the hearts of the Punjabis by establishing a free judicial system, by abolition of the custom duty within the province and building new roads and maintaining the existing ones for the better and uninterrupted trade movement with other provinces. Since Punjab was an agricultural province, special attention was given by the British to apply innovative techniques to the irrigation system. Overall the landed aristocracy and their dependents were quite happy with the British administration especially the Punjabi Muslims. But resentment against the British was growing in other parts of the country. Lord Dalhousie’s doctrine of lapse and annexation of territories of the native rulers created difficulties for the British as the princes and rulers had lost trust in the British and were very much concerned to save their states and their royal status. The ordinary masses thought that the British missionaries were going to convert the Indians into Christians. The local Indian presence in the British forces was quite high but the local sepoys thought they were not given their full rights as far as allowances and promotions were concerned, and of course the greased cartridges fuelled the existing Indian hatred against the British in May 1857 when they rose against their colonial masters. Though the war was a failure for the masses of India it led the British to rethink
their policy towards India and the affairs of the India were to be dealt by the British crown instead of the East India Company.\textsuperscript{25}

**Punjab and the Mutiny of 1857**

It is commonly believed that the Punjab remained a mere spectator when the rest of India was fighting the first “war of independence” against the colonial masters in 1857. The Punjabis not only helped the British with men, money and logistic support but also fought against their own brethrens. The reason behind this alliance of the Punjabis with the British, it is believed, was because after the British annexation of the Punjab in 1849, the province came under the able rule of John Lawrence, who became the Chief Commissioner. He along with his dedicated team worked so hard for restoring of the ravaged lands of five rivers into a well governed agriculturist British Province from 1849 to 1857. During this time, the Punjabis not only enjoyed peace, stability and prosperity but also found new opportunities for a better future.\textsuperscript{26} The Punjabi Muslim majority in the province which had suffered a lot during Ranjit Singh’s rule saw the British as saviours because they had not even been allowed religious freedom in some areas of the Punjab where even Azan (call to prayers) was prohibited. The British Legal system did not tamper with their religious obligations. So the Muslims were quite confident that they would now enjoy complete religious freedom. Those tribes or groups which helped the British during their wars against the Sikhs and during the process of annexation were heavily rewarded with *jagirs*, cash prizes and even honorific titles by their colonial masters. They were also given magisterial powers in their respected localities.\textsuperscript{27} Those who opposed the British and fought against
them were severely punished and their lands and other properties were confiscated by the government. The British had consolidated their relationship with the landed aristocracy of the Punjab before the 1857 uprising so when the time came the Punjabis stood side by side with their benefactors. The *jagirdars* and Chief of the Punjab were asked by the government to form police contingents and to assist the British in maintaining public safety.

The British after the Sikh wars had already disarmed most of the Punjabis and those who were spared fought alongside with the British in 1857. When the news of mutiny in Meerut and Delhi reached Lahore, Henry Lawrence very wisely summoned all those Punjabis to Lahore whose *jagirs* had been confiscated earlier on account of their disloyalty in the Second Sikh War (1848-49) with a specified number of retainers. As soon as these chiefs and *jagirdars* came to Lahore, Lawrence organised them into armed groups and sent them to Delhi to help the British forces. The lesser *jagirdars* were asked by the district officers to join the British forces against the mutineers. These chiefs produced about 14,000 irregular men to fight alongside with the British forces in Delhi.²⁸ The British very wisely used the Punjabi men as irregular soldiers against the “freedom fighters”. After the annexation, the Sikh forces were disbanded which resulted in one hundred thousand men without any employment, they could have been lethal had they joined forces with the freedom fighters. In order to readjust these disbanded soldiers, four regiments from amongst the disbanded Sikh local soldiery were raised at Hoshiarpur, Kangra, Ferozpur and Ludhiana under orders of Lord Hardinge and grouped into a “Frontier Brigade”. This formation was later
designated as the Punjab Irregular Frontier Force (Piffers) with 10 regiments which absorbed a large number of those unemployed Sikh soldiers. The remaining later joined the police. It is estimated that around 30,000 Punjabis were serving in the British security forces in 1857. During May and September 1857 nearly 5,000 men were inducted in the regular civil police force by the British. In order to accommodate about 34,000 new recruits from the Punjab eighteen new infantry regiments were raised in the Punjab province in the year 1857.29 Most of the Punjabi soldiers came from the Muslim majority areas of the Punjab i.e. the Lahore and Jhelum divisions. The Tiwanas of the Shahpur District were encouraged by their colonial masters to provide at least 1,000 horsemen to be deployed as additional police force in different parts of the Punjab. These horsemen were not ordinary villagers but they were either the heads of the villages or the close relatives of the heads of the villages. In this way the strategy of the “Martial Race” really worked for the British. This not only cemented their bond with the martial races but also guaranteed for themselves the loyalties of those who stayed at home.30

In fact, it was the presence of the Punjabi soldiery that the mutiny was suppressed and the British acknowledged that fact as well. The Commissioner of Jhelum division, Edward Parry Thornton once reported that “men who had been against us in the war of 1848-49, and who had lost wealth and rank in consequence, behaved especially loyally on this occasion”.31 Prince Albert Victor of Wales who visited Lahore in 1890 is reported to have said that “there is no province in India that can boast, as the Punjab can, that it is a bulwark of defence against foreign aggression,
or that can be termed with the same significance the guard-room of the Eastern Empire”. Apart from rewarding the Punjabis for their services in the war of 1857 they formed the bulk of the newly reconstructed British Indian Army. There were about 175,000 Indian soldiers in the British services by October 1859 but then the British felt the need to increase the proportion of British troops and the Indians presence had to be cut down to 110,000.

Having discussed the role played by the Punjabis against the “freedom fighters” in 1857, it would not be fair to judge all the Punjabis as loyalist to the British during the war of independence. It is a fact that as elsewhere the war started in the Punjab on 10th May 1857. There were reported cases of the sepoy mutinies in other areas of the Punjab including, Jullundur, Hoti (Mardan), Nowshera, Ferozepur, Phillaur, Jhelum, Sialkot, Ambala, Lahore, Peshawar and Mianwali. All the communities including Hindus, Sikhs and the Muslims fought alongside against a common enemy i.e. the British. In the Punjab, apart from the jagirdars and their hangers-on, the common masses were very much interested in the outcome of the war. The Sikhs also took part in the up-rising. The Deputy Commissioner of Ambala while speaking about the Sikh participation in the mutiny said that “it is a curious fact that the first man, not a soldier, in the Punjab — and I say in all upper India — who was hanged for sedition was a Sikh”. He was referring to one Sardar Mohar Singh of Rupar, Ambala. A predominantly Sikh village named Dabri in Nabha State was gutted down as a punishment for helping a Hindu faqir named Shamdas. The Punjabis living in the cities also took part in the uprising and were later executed for their “crimes”. The Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana was
reported to have said that “almost every class had its representatives at the gallows”.\(^{37}\)

A group of about 500 Punjabi patriots was captured on the banks of Ravi about six miles from Ajnala on 30\(^{th}\) July 1857. The then Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar Frederic Cooper ordered the killing of 150 on the spot. Nearly 70 were drowned in the Ravi and the remaining 282 were sent to Ajnala jail. Then they were brought out in groups of 10 and shot in the streets. About 45 died of suffocation and thirst in the jail. There bodies were thrown into a well which was then filled up with earth. That well still exists near Ajnala and is called the “Kalyan da Khuh”.\(^{38}\)

There were also uprisings in the north-western parts of the Punjab where Muslims in large numbers rose against the British. The fierce battle took place at Gojra around Sahiwal. According to John Lawrence’s estimate the rebels were around 125,000 who kept on fighting even after the fall of Delhi on 21\(^{st}\) September 1857.\(^{39}\)

The people in the hills of Murree near Rawalpindi also revolted against the British in 1857. The masterminds of independence plan in Murree were two Syed brothers from Dhoke Syedan of Dewal Sharif. The war reached Murree and Hazara when Sardar Sherbaz Khan, a Dhund Abbasi leader of Bakote Circle planned to attack the British in July 1857. He succeeded in getting the support of other important leaders of the area as well. They attacked the Hill Station on 1\(^{st}\) September 1857 but unfortunately the attack was repulsed which led to the confiscation of property, cattle, imprisonment and even execution of rebels along with their leader Sardar Sherbaz Khan.\(^{40}\) A large number of Punjabis did enter into an alliance with their colonial masters against their own countrymen but there were also groups and
tribes who fought alongside with the freedom fighters in order to win back their freedom from the British.\textsuperscript{41}

**The Political Awakening in the Punjab: 1857-1906**

The year 1857 plays a significant role in the history of the India especially the Punjab. It was the year when the Indian people waged a war against their colonial masters but unfortunately lost it due to certain reasons. The Muslims of India along with other conspirators had to face the wrath of the British. The so called leader of the mutiny, the last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar was forcibly exiled from India to Burma where he died on 7\textsuperscript{th} November 1862.\textsuperscript{42} After the failure of the war of independence, the British treated the Muslims of India in an “exceptional” way. Muslims were executed in large number throughout India. Their properties were confiscated and those whose lives were spared were forced to exile to other countries. The Hindus being more educated and wiser than other communities succeeded in clearing their name from the hit list of the British despite of the fact that all the major communities and other scheduled castes had jointly participated in the independence struggle. In a short span of time the Hindus started to dominate the local job market. They were getting jobs and education from the British leaving the Muslims far way behind and it was highly unlikely that this nation would ever be able to gain back its lost prestige.

The Muslims were demoralized in every sense of the word. They had lost all hopes and were desperately looking for a miracle to happen. Meanwhile, Syed Ahmad Khan, a subordinate judicial officer appointed by the British tried to remove the misunderstandings that existed between the Indian Muslims and the ruling elite.\textsuperscript{43}
At that time he was the only Muslim socialist who knew exactly what had gone wrong with the Muslims of India and how they were going to come out of this slump. In fact, the Muslims were backward as compared to other communities of India in almost every field of life, education, economics, politics and government service. The Muslims had restricted themselves only to Arabic, Persian and Urdu and paid little attention to learning of English, which they regarded as the language of the rulers. This eventually resulted in leaving better opportunities to Hindus and others in many fields while the Muslims faced problems in getting proper jobs.

Sir William Wilson Hunter, a retired ICS officer in his book *The Indian Musalmans* has very aptly described the state of the Muslims in India before and after the Mutiny. He wrote:

A hundred years ago, the Musalmans monopolized all the important offices of State. The Hindus accepted with thanks such crumbs as their former conquerors dropped from their table and the British were represented by a few factors and clerks. The proportion of Mohammedans to Hindus is now less than one-seventh. The proportion of Hindus to Europeans is more than one half; the proportion of Musalmans to Europeans is less than one fourteenth. The proportion of race, which a century ago had the monopoly of Government, has now fallen to less than one-twenty-third of the whole administrative body…. In one extensive Department the other day it was not a single employee who could read the Musalman dialect; and fact, there is now scarcely a Government office in Calcutta in which a Mohammedan can hope for any post above the rank of porter, messenger, filler of ink- posts and mender of pens.  

Sir Syed knew very well that unless the Muslims educate themselves in English, they would never be able to compete with the Hindus and would never be able to get respectable jobs. With that aim in mind he set up different schools to educate the Muslims. He translated many books for the benefit of his community. He persuaded the Muslims to remain loyal to the British in order to survive the wrath
of the rulers. He was thus struggling on two grounds: firstly, he wanted to reduce the animosity in the minds of Muslims against the British rulers and secondly to remove the doubts in minds of the British that the Muslims as a nation were unlikely to be loyal to the British.

During 1860’s, Syed Ahmad Khan became an active public leader, journalist and orator as well as founder of a series of schools and associations, all aimed at a cultural renaissance and a moral and social regeneration through re-awakening the Muslims to modern thinking and education. Apart from Muslim activities, other communities were also quite active in order to recognise their separate identities in India and especially in the Punjab. As it was the home of three important religions i.e. Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. Though there were strains between them, all the three communities were living almost peacefully with each other. It was the Punjabi Hindus who started their movements based on religious differences that sabotaged the possibilities of a peaceful coexistence between the major communities in Punjab. The Brahmo Samaj was founded by Raja Mohon Roy in 1828 and latter its branch was founded in Lahore in 1863 by a small group of Bengalis including Nobin Chandra Roy which later on established its branches in Rawalpindi in 1867, Amritsar in 1873, Multan in 1875 and in some other parts of India. Basically it was founded to promote education, defuse theism and to maintain Anglo-Vernacular institutions in the Punjab province. But gradually it became a party working for the enforcement of Hindi language throughout India. They were also involved in the defaming some of the earlier Muslim rulers in India. Arya Samaj, a militant revivalist Hindu movement was also founded at
Lahore on 24th June 1877. It became so popular in the Hindu community that the people who used to follow the socialistic Brahmo Samaj started following the more aggressive Arya Samaj. The Arya Samaj was known for its open attacks on Islam and Christianity. It also persuaded the Hindus not to participate in the Muslim festivals instead it advocated the non-Hindus’ conversion to Hinduism. The founder of Arya Samaj, Swami Dayananda Saraswati was a strong advocate of militant Hinduism; he was the founder member of the anti-cow killing movement and also was on the forefront of the movement working for the replacement of Urdu by Hindi as an official language in India. In 1882 Dayananda formed the Gauraksha Sabha (Society for the Protection of Kine/Cows) and submitted a petition asking the government to put a ban on the cow slaughter by the Muslims. It was because of these activities of the Hindu militant organisations that the years from 1883-91 there were more than a dozen reported anti-cow killing riots in major parts of the Punjab including Lahore, Ambala, Ferozpur and Delhi.

The Muslims had a majority in the Punjab province but at the same time the province was the least educated province in British India. According to the Punjab Census of 1911, the Muslims were only 22.8 percent of the total literates and about 18.9 percent of the English literates of the province. This backwardness in education resulted in very little participation of the Punjabis in national politics. S.N. Banerji, a Bengali nationalist leader was the first one who initiated some political activity in the province by founding the ‘Lahore Indian Association’ in 1877 in order to provide a common political platform to the people of the Punjab. Punjab’s prominent leaders like Dyal Singh Majithia and Malik Barkat Ali were
also the founding members of the Association. It was Dyal Singh who started a newspaper *The Tribune* which later on became a very important newspaper of the Punjab.\(^5_2\) In 1885, Allan Octavian Hume, a retired ICS officer and Sir William Wedderburn established the Indian National Congress (INC).\(^5_3\) The Punjab branch of the INC was also formed in the same year. The Lahore Indian Association also cooperated in the establishment of the INC. The first INC session presided by Womesh Chunder Bonnerjee met on 28\(^{th}\) December 1885 at the Hall of Gokuldas Tejpal Boarding Trust & Sanskrit College, situated at Gowalia Tank, Bombay.\(^5_4\) It was supposed to be the political forum of all the communities inhabiting India. However, the non-Muslims started dominating it. Sir Syed did not like the idea of Muslims joining the INC. He was against Muslims’ active participation in politics and wanted them to concentrate on their education. To him it was the only solution for getting a respectable position in the country. He, therefore, asked the Muslims not to join the Indian National Congress. His advice was followed by a vast number of Indian Muslims. In the Congress 2\(^{nd}\) session held from 27\(^{th}\) to 30\(^{th}\) December 1886 at Calcutta under the presidium of “the grand old man of India” Dadabhoy Naoroji, there were only 33 Muslim delegates out of 434.\(^5_5\) Meanwhile in order to safeguard the Muslim interests after the failure of the war of Independence in 1857, the Muslims of the Punjab founded various Muslim associations in the province. First such attempt was made in 1869 when *Anjuman-e-Islamia* was formed to discuss the affairs of the Muslim community with Nawazish Ali and Barkat Ali as respectively its President and Secretary.\(^5_6\) The
Anjuman used to publish its proceedings in the journal of *Akhbar-i-Anjuman-e-Punjab*. Firstly, it started with maintenance of the mosques and presenting Muslim opinion on the national issues. Its membership rose to 200 in 1885. Similar associations were established in twenty districts of the Punjab including Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundur, Ambala, Multan and Rawalpindi. Another such Muslim organisation was the *Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam* which was founded on 24th September 1884. The main aim of this organisation was basically to answer all those questions by the non-Muslims against Islam, to improve education and uplift the social and intellectual outfit of the Muslims and finally to persuade the Muslims especially the youth to be loyal to the Raj. This organisation became a huge success in the Muslim community of India and its membership rose to 6,000 in just one year. It not only worked for the betterment of education but also helped in establishing many schools and founding new Muslim organisations. This organisation also had the backing of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his major supporters in the Punjab were Hyat Khan, Barkat Ali, Shah Din and Mohammad Shafi. Sir Syed founded the Mohammadan Educational Conference on 27th December 1886 in order to safeguard the Muslim interests and to request the British government to listen to their grievances. The Punjab Muslims were the leading participants of the Conference. Another important organisation called the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association of Upper India was also founded by Syed Ahmad Khan in 1894 to defend the Muslim political rights and to clarify popular misunderstandings against them. The Punjab took a major part in the establishment of the Defence Association as Barkat Ali, Yousaf Shah, Shah
Din, Niaz Mohammad, Abdul Rehman, Abdul Hakim and Mohammad Shafi were the founding members of the Association. Important to note here is that some prominent Punjabis like Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, M. Hyat, Umar Hyat, Tiwanas, and Pir Ghulam Rasul were considered as Sir Syed’s close associates. This association passed the resolution against the competitive system for allocation of jobs and also aired the issue of the Muslim representations in the councils and local bodies and demanded communal electorates in these councils and local bodies with an aim to get some reserved seats for the Muslims.

By the end of the nineteenth century the Congress policy to be close to the Muslims was not fancied by the Punjabi Hindus. The Congress had nevertheless given her word to the Muslims that it would not discuss any matter that a Muslim delegate would object to. Later this commitment was put to test when the British introduced the Punjab Land Alienation Act in 1901. According to this Act the non-agriculturist classes were restricted in the acquisition of land and they were no longer allowed to buy the land from the members of an agriculturist tribe and at the same time they were not allowed to take the land from the agriculturists in mortgage for more than twenty years. The British wanted to save the small peasants’ lands from the non agriculturist moneylenders. This bill was strongly criticized by the money-lending classes mostly the Hindus through their politicians in press and especially in The Tribune. Their argument was that it would crush the money-lending class and soon they succeeded in getting the support from the Indian Association and the Congress but the INC due to its earlier commitment with the Muslims was in a compromising situation because the Muslims were in
support of the bill as most of the small peasant proprietors in the Punjab were Muslims. The Muslim intelligentsia supported the proposed legislation and criticized its opponents in the Muslim newspapers such as the *Paisa Akhbar* and the *Muslim Daily*. The Congress had to change its policy on the Land Alienation Act and did not include it in the list of resolutions to be passed against the Act by the Congress in its 16th session which met at Lahore on 27th-29th December 1900 under the presidency of N.G. Chandravarkar.63

**Partition of Bengal (1905)**

With the arrival of the twentieth century, India witnessed many political developments. The first decade proved to be decisive for the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. They began to realize that they must unite in order to survive as a nation. Apart from the Urdu-Hindi controversy (1867), the partition and then annulment of the partition of Bengal was an eye opener for them. As Bengal was the biggest province of the British India with the population of about 78 million and it was not possible for the Lieutenant-Governor to effectively look after the administration of such a big province. So when Lord Curzon became the Viceroy of India in 1899 he toured the whole of the Bengal province and was convinced that it was humanly not possible to administer such a big province by a single Lt. Governor. It was decided later by the British to divide the Bengal into two provinces. Curzon prepared a detailed plan of the partition of the Province and sent it to England for approval. In 1905 the Crown gave its approval to the partition plan and the Bengal province was divided into two parts namely Eastern and Western Bengal on 16th October 1905.64 This partition gave the Muslims a
majority in the Eastern Bengal as they were now 18 million out of the total population of 31 million in the East Bengal. This partition provided the Muslims with better prospects for the future because they were now in a majority so the Muslims of the East Bengal were quite jubilant after the partition of the province. On the other hand, the Hindus reacted harshly against the partition of the Bengal because they were now in minority in East Bengal and they feared that now they would come under the Muslim majority and the new administrative setup would end their earlier superiority and socio-political domination over the Muslims. The day of the partition of Bengal was declared as a “national tragedy” and Rakhibandhan ceremony was observed. Strikes were observed in other parts of India by the Hindus. The Indian National Congress in its 22nd Annual Session under the Presidentship of Dadabhoy Naoroji held at Calcutta in 1906 criticised the partition of Bengal and demanded its annulment or modification in such a manner that the entire Bengali speaking community should be under one individual administration. The agitation intensified and likeminded people in various parts of India refused to pay government taxes, this was followed by acts of violence in which not even the British were safe in Bengal. An attempt on the life of the Governor of East Bengal was made but luckily he survived. This growing agitation by the Hindus led the British to give a second thought to the partition scheme. The Hindus threatened to sabotage the upcoming tour of King George V which forced the British to acquiesce to the annulment and they announced the annulment of the partition of Bengal. The final announcement however was made
by King George V on 12th December 1911 at his coronation Royal Darbar in Delhi.68

**Formation of All-India Muslim League (1906)**

The organised opposition of the Hindus during the Urdu-Hindi Controversy and the violent agitation against the partition of Bengal was a real eye opener for the Muslims of India. They started thinking in terms of the second largest religious community in India. In order to protect their political rights, they decided to form a political organisation of their own because by now they were completely convinced that the Congress would pay no heed to their political demands. With these apprehensions in their minds a thirty-five-member delegation of prominent Muslims under the leadership of his Highness Sir Agha Khan met the Viceroy Lord Minto in Simla on 1st October 1906.69 They apprised the Viceroy of their concerns and pleaded that the Muslims being a separate nation in every sense of the word, should be given a separate representation in the new form of government. The Viceroy assured the delegation that in any future setup for India, their demands would be given due consideration. Following their successful meeting with the Viceroy, the Muslim representatives gave practical shape to their political thinking. In December 1906, at the Mohammadan Educational Conference held at Dhaka, Nawab Saleem Ullah Khan laid down a proposal for a separate political party for the Muslims of India. The idea got the required support and approval. On 31st December at the end of the Conference, a meeting of the prominent Muslims was called under the president ship of Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk. Every member of the committee endorsed Nawab Saleem Ullah’s proposal and
eventually the All-India Muslim League (hereafter AIML) was formed. Sir Agha Khan was elected as the permanent President and Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk became its Honorary Secretary.\textsuperscript{70} The main aims and objectives of the AIML were to promote a feeling of loyalty towards the British Government and to remove any misconception between the two; to protect the political rights and the welfare of the Muslims of India; and to prevent any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to other aforementioned objectives of the League.\textsuperscript{71} A committee of 60 members was setup to draft the constitution of the Muslim League which included all the members of the Simla deputation. Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar, a distinguished student of Aligarh and Oxford, drafted the rules and regulations of the League. These drafted rules and regulations were contained in a brochure called the “Green Book”.\textsuperscript{72}

It is important to note that before the formation of the All India Muslim League in Dhaka in December 1906, some prominent Punjabi Muslims such as Shah Din had this scheme in their mind to establish a central political organisation for the Muslims. Mian Fazl-i-Hussain has already founded a Muslim association which was named as the Muslim League in February 1906. Sheikh Umer Baksh and Fazl-i-Hussain were elected as the President and the Secretary respectively.\textsuperscript{73}

**Muslim Political Awakening in the Punjab 1906-1937**

With the formation of All-India Muslim League in India in late 1906, the Muslims of the Punjab Province also started to think politically which resulted in the formation of Punjab Provincial Muslim League in 1907.\textsuperscript{74} In fact there were two fractions of the AIML in the Punjab. One was called the “Fazli Group” of Sheikh
Umar Bakhsh and Fazli Hussain while the other rival Muslim group was called the “Shafi Group” led by Sir Muhammad Shafi. This group had emerged in November 1907. The Fazli Group was known as the “Progressives” whereas the Shafi Group was called the “Conservatives”. Two local leading newspapers were backing these two fractions. The *Paisa Akhbar* was a pro-Shafi Group whereas the *Zamindar* supported the Fazli Group. Sir Shafi met with Nawab Waqar ul Mulk and with his blessing was successful in getting affiliation for his group with the All India Muslim League in its first session held in Karachi in December 1907. Mian Shah Din and Sir Muhammad Shafi were elected as the President and the General Secretary respectively of the Punjab Muslim League. Other office-bearers included Sheikh Abdul Aziz as the Joint Secretary, Sheikh Gulab Din as Finance Secretary and Mirza Jalal Din as the Assistant Secretary of the new set up. The Orient Bank of India was made the treasury of the League. The main aims and objectives of the Punjab Muslim League were as under:

i. The protection and promotion of the political rights of the Punjabi Muslims, promotion of patriotism and love for nation;

ii. The promotion of unity between non-Muslims and Muslims, even among the different groups of the Muslims of this country;

iii. To work for the progress and promotion of the Muslims of India along with all branches of the All-India Muslim League;

iv. Promotion of obedience and faithfulness for the British among the Muslims and conveying of the demands of the Muslims to the British Government.
By 1908, there was the Central Punjab Muslim League in Lahore and at the same time the Punjab Muslim League branches were being established in other parts of the Punjab such as Delhi, Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Kasur, Rawalpindi, Multan, Muzaffargarh, Jhang, Campbellpur, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozpur, Gujrat, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Amritsatr, and Lyallpur. After four and half years of its establishment, the Punjab Muslim League held fresh elections for the office bearers in 1912. This time Nawab Fateh Ali Khan was selected as the President of the Punjab Muslim League where as Mian Muhammad Shafi was elected as Joint Secretary, Munshi Mahboob Alam as Secretary and Mirza Jalal Din as Assistant Secretary. The Punjab Legislative Council elections were held in the same year but unfortunately the Muslims could not win even a single seat out of the eight seats. The Muslim electors were limited and some of the Muslim electors voted for the Hindu contestants whereas not a single Hindu voted for the Muslim candidate. In Lahore alone out of 11 Municipal Commissioners seven voted for the Hindu candidates. This was because of the fact that the Muslims had not yet realised the importance of a separate Muslim political party that could unite them on a single platform. The Punjab Council comprising of nine official and 15 non-official members was formed in 1912. Out of 15 non-officials only five were Muslims. Similarly, there were only five Muslims as official members including four nominated and one elected but they were all Muslim Leaguers.

**Punjab and the First World War (1914-18)**

The First World War between England and Germany broke out in August 1914 and within no time it spread to the rest of the world. India had to join forces with
the British and her allies against the Germans. This was a very crucial time for the Punjab as the British really wanted to have maximum presence of Punjabis in the forces because the Punjabi soldiers had proved their martial acumen during the Anglo-Sikh wars (1845-46 & 1848-49) and in the 1857 Mutiny. The people of India especially the Punjabis showed their loyalties by arranging public meetings throughout the Punjab. The Punjabi Muslims showed their full support to the British government and Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi who was also the Member of the Legislative Council promised full support on behalf of the Punjab Muslims. The Punjab Muslim League along with other Muslim organisations held public meetings to reiterate Muslim loyalty to the colonial masters. The influential families including Tiwanas and the Noons of Shahpur District who were known to be loyal to the British Raj held a meeting of the prominent Muslim families of the province on 8th September 1914 and passed the resolution that all the prominent Muslim families should come forward in this hour of need and should help the British with everything that is needed.80

The people of Rawalpindi also showed their loyalty by arranging a meeting of the elite families of the district in Islamia High School near Company Bagh (Now Liaquat Bagh) on 7th August 1914. The meeting was arranged by Barrister Qazi Siraj-ud-Din, a local Muslim League leader. A resolution was passed declaring the availability of the Muslims of the city at the disposal of the British authorities.81

Such meetings were held throughout Punjab by the District Muslim Leagues, *Anjuman Ittihad-o-Tarraqi, Anjuman-e-Islamia, Punjab Chiefs Association, Ahmadiya Anjuman-i-Ashaat-i-Islam* etc. Even on the occasion of the *Eid-ul-Fitr*
special prayers were offered for the success of the British led forces. The local press in the Punjab such as the Zamindar and the Observer were also very positive towards the British war efforts. The only worrying point for the Muslims of India was that Turkey should not join the war against the British forces because of the religious affiliation of the Muslims with Khilafat Institution in Turkey. But even if Turkey was to join forces with Germany, the Muslim intelligentsia was of the opinion that since this was not a religious war and therefore the Muslims are under no obligation to Turkey and hence they should support the British. Since the Khilafat was a sensitive issue a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League was called on 6th November 1914 at Lahore which passed two very important resolutions. In the first resolution the said committee reaffirmed the loyalty of the Punjabi Muslims to the Viceroy that even if Turkey were to join the war against the British, the Punjabi Muslim showed their readiness to sacrifice for the defence of the British Empire. In the second resolution they unanimously thanked the British government for its assurance to the Muslims that their holy places would be safe. The Muslims of India felt relieved when Turkey announced its neutrality in the World War in September 1914. The Anjuman-e-Islamia Lahore along with other organisations welcomed this announcement from Turkey. Resolutions were passed in different public meetings held at Lahore, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Multan, Gujarat, Gujranwala etc all focusing on reassuring their loyalty to the British Raj. The local press also published these resolutions thus softening the public opinion in favour of the British.
Meanwhile hostilities broke out between England and Turkey in November 1914. As expected it was propagated in India that Turkey has waged war against England on purely political and not religious purposes so there was no need for the Muslims of India to show sympathy with Turkey. A public announcement was made by the British Government for the Muslims of India on 2nd November 1914 that although Turkey was at war with England but the holy places of Islam including shrines of Mesopotamia and port of Jeddah will not be attacked by the Great Britain and her allies, “so long as there was no interference with pilgrims from India”.  

The British were curious to know the public opinion after Turkey’s intervention in the war. The Muslims in reply responded positively to the British and renewed their devotion and loyalty to the British Empire. There were hundreds of resolutions passed throughout India assuring loyalties and a telegram was also sent to the Viceroy. In their public meetings the Muslims not only showed their disappointment over Turkey’s decision to wage war on England but also reaffirmed their earlier commitment to the British government that they would be loyal to the Raj and work for the protection of the British Empire even if Turkey decided to join the war alongside Germany. And these were not mere resolutions, the Muslims of India especially Punjab did prove its loyalty to their colonial masters by replying positively to the war calls of the British government.  

Two fully organised Infantry and two cavalry divisions were sent to France as an expeditionary force at the outbreak of the war on 4th August 1914. At the same time armed contingents were sent to East Africa and Persian Gulf and it was estimated that total strength of the troops sent abroad included 23,500 British and
around 80,000 Indian mostly Punjabis. These Punjabis fought for their colonial masters in far off places such as France, Egypt, Sudan, Mesopotamia, East Africa, etc.\textsuperscript{88} It was not only the manpower that was supplied to the British but also the foodstuff required for the Indian troops was supplied by India. By the close of the World War India was feeding around one million men and at the same time they were sending food to allied forces in Mediterranean. Indian total contribution was estimated at around 26.4 million pounds to the end of the World War. And in this contribution, the Punjab had its share more then any British province both in terms of men and money. At the beginning of the war there were about one lakh Punjabis serving in the British Army but by the end of the war their strength mounted to half a million and out of that half million about 50 percent were the Punjabi Muslims.\textsuperscript{89}

There were many incentives for the Punjabis to join the British forces against Germany. The Lt. Governor of the Punjab Sir Michael O’ Dwyer really transformed the Punjab Government into a recruiting agency. He used every method to make the Punjabis join the British Army. He made extensive tours in every corner of Punjab and held public meetings and recruiting durbars in which he conferred honorary titles, \textit{sanads}, cash prizes and allocated lands to those who had been loyal to the British in testing times. He asked those loyalists to bring in more recruits and also threatened those who did not offer their menfolk to be recruited in the army. The loyal landed elite of the Punjab did not waste any time to come forward and help their masters in the hour of need with both men and money. The Nawabs of the Bahawalpur and Malerkotla States, the Tiwanas and
Noons of the Shahpur district along with the Malik of Kalabagh rendered their services to the British shortly after the outbreak of the war even when the British had not asked for any help from India but later on the British realised that they could not win the war without getting reinforcement from the Indians. In the beginning, recruitment for the war was voluntary and it is estimated that till the end of March 1916 there were about 64,519 men forthcoming from different districts of the Punjab.\textsuperscript{90}

The Lt. Governor was aware of the importance of rewards if the British were to keep the Punjabis loyal to the British Crown. Therefore, he reserved one hundred and eighty thousand acres of canal irrigated land to be allotted to those who had fought well for the crown in the battlefields and at the same time, fifteen thousand acres of land was reserved to be allotted as reward to those who served in the British Army and helped the British in recruiting Indian men for the war.\textsuperscript{91} This really helped the Indians to achieve their goal in a short span of time. When the government asked for 21,000 recruits in the last months of 1914; 28,000 were there to be recruited and about 14,000 of them were from the Punjab, 3,000 from Nepal, 3,000 from the North West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and about 8,000 from the rest of India. The ratio of the Punjabi soldiers kept on climbing every year. In 1915 about 93,000 men were recruited from India and out of these 46,000 were from Punjab, 14,000 from Nepal, 6,000 from Frontier and about 28,000 from the rest of India. In 1916 the Punjab provided 50,000 men out of 104,000 recruited from India.\textsuperscript{92} Apart from men the British Government also asked the civil authorities to provide necessary help. By September 1916 the
District Officers were asked to provide 1,500 camel *sarbans* and 2000 muleteers to cope up with an emergency in Mesopotamia. To meet the demand, the Punjab Government appointed eminent Punjabi aristocrats such as Malik Khuda Bakhsh Khan Tiwana, Lala Ram Chand, Sh. Najja-ud-Din, Khan Sahib Muhammad Zafar Khan to work with other landlords and *zaildars* of their respective areas. The party managed to arrange 8,500 camel and mule drivers in just 18 days.⁹³

By early 1917 the British felt the need of a constant supply of recruits for its army fighting all over the world. They had to develop a new plan for the recruitment on regular basis. For this Central and Provincial Boards were established throughout India. The Central Recruiting Board asked the Punjab Government to provide 14,290 men, 1,790 muleteers and about 860 non-combatants every month for the year 1917 after 1ˢᵗ July 1917. In order to meet the deadlines several new incentives were introduced in the army such as a pay rise of twenty percent was given to all those Indian fighting in Europe, all soldiers on the battlefields were provided with free uniforms and free rations, pensions were improved. By mid 1917 a bounty of fifty rupees was given to all recruits and to make it even more tempting a bonus of four rupees per month was issued to the soldiers from April 1918.⁹⁴ Those who facilitated the government in the recruiting process were granted lands and remission of revenue was granted to those villages which provided most number of men for the British Indian army.

In order to meet the demands of the Central Recruiting Board, a Punjab Provincial Recruiting Board was also set up by the Lt. Governor. He was also to preside over the Boards and other members included the Head of the Land Revenue
Department, the Commissioners of the five divisions of the province, three provincial military recruiting officers and seven other influential Indians. The work of recruiting was distributed between the five divisions and the 28 districts of the Punjab province. The Deputy Commissioners of the Districts were designated as Presidents of the War League Associations of their respective districts. These associations were to do the publicity work for the recruiting, war loans and war charities etc. Later on a quota system was introduced in the Punjab in which every district was asked to provide with a specified number of men when asked. Local Indian officers were asked to fulfil the demands and if they could not they were to lose their jobs. Those locals then tried every legal and illegal method to meet the demands made by the District Government.

The British in order to attract the people into joining the army came up with the idea of establishing “Recruiting Depots”. A lighter side of army life was portrayed in those depots because the civilians had this conception in their mind about the army that life was very tough in army. In these depots the recruits were allowed to mix with and to entertain their fellow recruits without any harsh training drills, they were provided with good healthy food, cigarettes, newspapers, sweets and were also entertained by many sports within those depots such as football and hockey. These inmates used to go home on leave to romanticise their days spent in those depots to their peers. It did miracles and it was more effective then any other propaganda done by the British for the recruitment.

But by the early 1918 people were not so much interested in joining the forces or there were no voluntary men available for recruitment. The government did not
want to pressurise the masses especially during the Rabi harvest season when most of the Punjabi agriculturists were busy with their crops, so they temporarily suspended the recruitment for two and a half months starting from 1st April 1918. But that halt did not last for long as active operations launched by the Germans forced the British Government to resume their recruitment process aggressively. The British Prime Minister Lloyd George appealed to India to raise at least five lakh combatants in the next year to check the advances of the German army. Pressure was again built on the Punjab Government as it was now asked to provide 200,000 combatants. Now it was decided by the provincial government to give powers to the districts officers to apply compulsion in their respected areas which failed to provide the required quota of recruits voluntarily. This led to corruption and misuse of power by the local authorities. Since the promotion of the zaildars, numbardars, inamkhors was directly related to the number of recruits provided by them, they used every possible method to meet the demand. Police was being used to make false cases against those who refused to join the army. The Khan Bahadurs in order to receive lands and titles used to send their workers to different villages to obtain recruits on payments for their masters. The Khan Bahadurs then used to pass those paid recruits to the British Government as a gift for the British Indian Army. In return they used to get some rewards in shape of irrigated lands or more titles or even cash prizes. This practice raised the prices of the paid recruits to thousands. The British did not want to waste the manpower that India had. Even the prisoners were used by the local politicians such as Sir Umar Hayat Tiwana who presented a memorandum before the War Committee in which he suggested
that all the menials and *musalli* prisoners who are not charged with heinous crimes should be recruited into the army. His suggestion was accepted and a large number of Punjab jail inmates were sent to defend the British Empire in Mesopotamia.\(^{98}\)

It would not be unfair to believe that the support of the Muslim landed and religious elite helped the British in saving their control over India in 1857 and then their empire during the First World War. The Punjab played a pivotal role in the consolidation of British power in India. The Punjabi landlords and the religious clerics helped the British in any way possible, the Tiwanas, Noons, Khan of Kalabagh, Hyats of Wah etc provided the British with men and money and the religious elites including the Pir of Golra Sharif in Rawalpindi and Jalal Pur Jattan, Pir Jumla Shah of Jhelum, Pir Badshah of Bhera, Pir Sultan Ali Shah of Jahanian Shah, Pir of Mohra Sharif in Murree, Makhdum Sadr-ud-Din Shah of Multan etc used their religious influence upon their followers and asked them to help the British in its war against Germany.\(^{99}\) These landed and religious elites were rewarded heavily by the British in forms of allocation of irrigated lands in canal colonies, titles, cash prizes and they were also made the provincial and divisional *darbaris*, *zaildars*, honorary Magistrates and even Extra Assistant Commissioners.

**The Lucknow Pact (1916) and the Punjab Politics**

From the year 1910 to 1915 Punjab was really not very active in the Indian politics as the major *jagirdars*, influential *pirs* and *nawabs* were busy supplying men and money for the British war aims. The British in one way or the other affected the Muslim interests in India and it led the Muslims to join hands with the Indian National Congress in form of a pact between the two, commonly known as the
Lucknow Pact in 1916.\textsuperscript{100} According to this Pact the Congress agreed to the separate electorates for the Muslims of India and in return the Congress was to get extra seats in the Muslim majority provinces than Muslims in the Hindu majority areas. Though Muslims had to lose some seats in their majority provinces but the Congress for the very first time accepted the All-India Muslim League as the main representative party of the Muslims of India.\textsuperscript{101}

The Pact was not very welcome by the Punjab Muslim League leadership as Sir Shafi was not in favour of this Pact. His argument was that according to this pact the Muslims had to surrender one tenth of their seats in the province and in return they were given, according to the said pact, 30 percent seats in the United Provinces (UP) where their ratio is only 14 percent of the population.\textsuperscript{102} On these grounds Sir Muhammad Shafi resigned from his post and by December 1916 Shafi League was out of the political scene of the Punjab. This vacuum gave Fazli Hussain a chance to emerge once again on the political stage of the province. He very wisely spoke in favour of the Lucknow Pact which once again earned him the desired respect in the Muslim political circles of the Punjab. He became the President of the Punjab Congress and the General Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League from 1917 to 1920. He also established the Punjab Muslim Association and was appointed the member of the Viceroy Council from 1921 to 1923.\textsuperscript{103}

\textbf{Jallianwala Bagh Massacre (1919)}

After the Lucknow Pact in 1916 the relations between the Muslim League and the Congress were cordial and they worked together on core political issues of India. The world war was over in 1918 and the Indians especially the Punjabis were
hoping that they were going to be rewarded heavily for their war services by the British. It was also hoped that the Defence of India Act which had given the British authorities extraordinary powers during the war would be repealed. But the British replaced that highly dictatorial act with two new bills known as Rowlatt Bills. These bills were initiated by the Home Minister Sir Sidney Arthur Taylor Rowlatt for the consideration of the Central Legislative Assembly in January 1919. These bills created unrest in India and people were shocked. One of the two Bills was passed which gave the authorities extra powers in emergency situations to judge the cases without trial and the accused were to be sent to jail immediately. The Punjabis stood against the unjust Bill and a hartal was observed at Lahore and Amritsar on 30th March and then 6th April under the leadership of two local leaders Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew. 104 Both of them were arrested and sent to Dharamshala jail in Kangra District. Tension was mounting in Amritsar, Lahore and Gurdaspur districts which resulted in riots. The angry mobs burnt railway carriages, telegraph wires and the post offices. Five Englishmen lost their lives in the riots and one missionary Ms Marcella Sherwood was assaulted by the crowd in Amritsar. In Lahore the Danda Fauj of the Muslims marched throughout the streets of Lahore shouting slogans against the British King George V and declaring their allegiance to the Amir of Afghanistan and German Kaiser. About 4,000 railway employee went on strike in Lahore which really halted the communication. In order to normalise the situation in Amritsar, Martial Law was declared and the town was handed over to General R.E.H. Dyer on 12th April 1919. 105 It was the Baisakhi day on the 13th April and Dyer’s troops were patrolling the streets of
Amritsar. There were also announcement by the troops that all assemblies would be dispersed by force of arms if necessary.\textsuperscript{106} At the same time a couple of locals were announcing a public rally to be held at 4:30 p.m. at the Jallianwala Bagh by banging the tin cans. In the evening a public meeting of about twenty thousand people was assembled in Jallianwala Bagh to protest against the Bills and Martial Law. Among them were also the common people from neighbouring villages who had come to Amritsar to take part in the \textit{Baisakhi} fair. General Dyer blocked the exits of the Jallianwala Bagh and ordered his Gurkha troops to open fire on the unarmed peaceful civilians which resulted in heavy casualties. The Disorder Inquiry Committee, commonly known as the Hunter Inquiry Committee’s Report later showed that 379 had lost their lives and about 1,200 were injured.\textsuperscript{107} General Dyer got away with murder of hundreds of peaceful civilians in that Report. The Indians were not satisfied with the Hunter Inquiry Committee’s Report. It was later made public that Dyer told the Inquiry Officer Lord William Hunter that “it was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd but one of producing a sufficient moral effect, from a military point of view, not only on those who were present but more specifically throughout Punjab. There would be no question of undue severity”.\textsuperscript{108}

There were demonstrations all over India especially in the Punjab against the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh. Apart from infantry the authorities even used aircraft to subdue the uprisings and demonstrations. An aircraft that took off from Lahore dropped three bombs on the protestors in Gujranwala on 14\textsuperscript{th} and 15\textsuperscript{th} April and also used the machinegun fire.\textsuperscript{109} The military even used armed trains to fire at
the demonstrators in Kasur. It was reported that about 334 people were killed elsewhere in the province in the attacks made by the military on the demonstrations. General Dyer had enforced a “crawling order” from 19th to 24th April which forced all Indians using the street (Kucha Kaurianwala) to crawl on all four where the missionary Ms Marcella Sherwood had been assaulted by the angry mob.\textsuperscript{110} This humiliating order required that people should walk on all four with their noses to the ground. The Martial Law Order required that the Indians must dismount and salute with their right hand respectfully in presence of Europeans. There were many cases when infringements of the\textit{ salaam} orders were punished by whipping and beating. The Jallianwala Bagh killings and the humiliating orders by the British authorities caused resentment among the Punjabis. This resentment led to many non-cooperation movements by the Indians against the British.

**Key Political Developments in the Punjab from 1919-1937**

The 1920s were the most crucial times for the political India after the First World War and those who had helped the British were being rewarded with\textit{ jagirs}, titles and honorary administrative and judicial posts. The Punjab took full advantages of the Britain’s generous mood. The British at the same time wanted to win the hearts of the Punjabis after the tragic incident at Jallianwala Bagh. Since the Muslims had been wholeheartedly with the British wartime efforts, they responded positively after the war and in the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1919 there were 94 reserved seats in the Punjab Legislative Council out of which 71 were elected ones including 32 for Muslims. In 1920, out of these 71 elected members, 35 were Muslims, 21 Hindus, and 15 Sikhs.\textsuperscript{111} Early 1920s witnessed the Hindu Muslim
unity during the period of the Khilafat and Non-cooperation movements. The Khilafat movement originated after the defeat of Germany and its allies at the hands of the British and her allied forces. Since Turkey had sided with Germany and religiously was considered as custodian of holy places of the Muslims around the world including the tomb of Hazrat Ayub Ansari (R.A) at Istanbul. The Muslims of subcontinent were very much concerned over the fate of Turkey at the hands of the British. So in order to voice their concerns and to protect the institution of Khilafat, Muslims all over India staged demonstration in favour of the Khilafat institution and the safety of the sacred places in Turkey. The All-India Khilafat Committee and the Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Hind were the main Muslim organisations leading the Khilafat Movement. Later on the Congress also joined hands with the aforementioned Muslim organisations and the AIML for the protection of Khilafat and to cement the much needed Hindu-Muslim unity in India. Even the Shias and the Ahmadis who did not believe in the institution of Khilafat supported the agitations. The nationalistic Muslims including Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, Agha Muhammad Safdar, Abdul Qadir and Lal Khan of Gujranwala saw it as the right opportunity at the right time to bridge a gulf between the ulama and the Indian National Congress. The Khilafat leaders such as Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar and Maulana Shoukat Ali Gohar commonly known as the Ali Brothers, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad etc toured the country to mobilise masses for the Khilafat cause. The landed aristocracy and the pirs did not take part in the agitations primarily hoping that the British Government would treat Turkey with leniency and would stick to her earlier
pledge that Turkey would remain intact in any post-war settlement. The local newspapers such as the *Zamindar*, the *Paisa Akhbar* were propagating the Khilafat cause in every corner of the country. People were made aware of the treaties concluded between the victors and the vanquished, the leadership’s stances and the overall public opinion. Even the *moulvis* were encouraging the Muslims after the prayers in the mosques to stand up for the protection of the sacred institution of Khilafat and the Muslim Holy places in Turkey.

The Khilafat Movement reached Punjab after a *fatwa* by Maulana Abdul Bari in January 1919 in which he stated that it was obligatory for the Muslims to wage a holy war (*Jihad*) against the infidels because their holy places were under the non-Muslim control. Since the oppressive measures taken by General Dyer and the Jallianwala tragedy shifted the attention from Khilafat movement for some time in the Punjab, Muslims from all over India met at Lucknow under the auspicious leadership of Sir Ibrahim Haroon Jafi on 21st September 1919 and set up an All-India Khilafat Committee. This was a historical moment for the Khilafat Movement which was attended by 300 delegates from all over the country. Muslim leaders like Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, Moulvi Sanaullah, Mir Maqbool Mahmood, Sheikh Nizamuddin from Amritsar and Agha Muhammad Safdar from Sialkot represented the Punjab province in the meeting. Gandhi also attended the committee and urged the Hindus to participate in the Khilafat movement. The meeting passed a resolution to observe a “Khilafat Day” on 17th October 1919. Meetings were held throughout the country on Khilafat Day in favour of the restoration of the Khilafat institution in Turkey and urging the British Government
to safeguard the sacred Muslim sites. As most of the Punjab leaders including Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew and Zafar Ali Khan had been arrested earlier, no aggressive activities took place in the Punjab on the Khilafat Day. A group of Ahmadis met with the new Lieutenant Governor Punjab, Sir Edward Douglas Maclagan assuring him of their loyalty and at the same time voiced their concerns over the Khilafat issue and the protection of the sacred places. In November 1919 the All-India Khilafat Conference decided to boycott the official Peace Celebrations after the British victory in the war. The conference also suggested boycott of British goods and non-cooperation with the government. Gandhi, however, opposed the boycott of British goods on the grounds that the local merchants would suffer more than the British. To make it even worse for the colonial masters, a *fatwa* was issued by Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal which was to declare a sinful act for the Muslims to participate in the peace celebrations.\(^{114}\)

As the Khilafat Movement grew in popularity, need for more branches of the said movement was felt. Therefore, many sub Khilafat committees were formed throughout India. In Punjab the first Khilafat committee was formed in Amritsar in November 1919 by Maulana Daud Ghaznavi.\(^{115}\) Another Khilafat Committee was formed in Lahore by prominent Muslim leaders such as Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, Allama Muhammad Iqbal and Choudhary Shahabuddin etc. A resolution moved by Allama Iqbal was passed unanimously in which it was asked to the British PM Lloyd George to fulfil the pledges made by the British Government during the war to protect the institution of Khilafat and the sacred Muslim places.\(^{116}\)
By December 1919, Khilafat Committees were also formed in Gujranwala, Sialkot and Panipat. A large pro Khilafat meeting was held in Multan on 6th December 1919 which was attended by the prominent landlords of Multan like Makhdum Pir Sadrullah and Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan. The all-India leaders like Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Motilal Nehru visited the Punjab and addressed large gatherings. In December there was a huge show put on by all the major political parties of India in Amritsar where the AIML, INC, All-India Khilafat Committee and the Jamiat-i-Ulama-e-Hind held their annual session. Ali Brothers and Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew who had been released from prison headed towards Amritsar. Allama Iqbal also graced the occasion by reciting one of his poems that he had written in praise of Maulana Muhammad Ali, the founding member of the Khilafat Movement. In order to show solidarity and to cement the Hindu-Muslim Unity, the AIML held its annual session at the Bande Matram Hall in Amritsar which was generously put at their disposal by the Hindus. This goodwill gesture was very much appreciated. The AIML in return adopted a unanimous resolution and urged the Muslims in India not to sacrifice cows on the forthcoming Eid-ul-Azha. The Khilafat Conference held in December 1919 at Amritsar set up a Khilafat Fund with a target to raise one million rupees for the propagation of their cause. The amount raised for the fund reached to three million rupees within three months.\textsuperscript{117}

The INC in its annual session termed the Khilafat issue as “issue of the issues” and assured their complete support to the Muslims in their efforts to protect the institution of Khilafat. The annual session at Amritsar played a vital role in the
strengthening Hindu-Muslim Unity. Prominent Muslim leaders urged their followers to give up cow slaughter in order to eliminate centuries old bone of contention between the two communities. After the successful conference, Gandhi along with Ali Brothers toured Delhi and Lahore which provided the much needed boost to the Khilafat movement. Having got the support of the masses at large, a 77-member delegation including Gandhi met with the Viceroy and pleaded the case of caliphate and the protection of sacred sites. The Viceroy gave them a patient and courteous hearing but did not respond in a very positive manner. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had become a very proactive Khilafat leader by 1920. He even suggested *jihad* to defend the caliphate in his presidential address at the Bengal Provincial Khilafat Conference at Calcutta in February 1920. Though he later clarified what exactly he had meant by *jihad* i.e. ‘to strive for a cause through peaceful means’. The year 1920 also witnessed emergence of M.K. Gandhi as an important and most influential leader of the Khilafat movement. He toured the Punjab extensively and advocated non-violence, non-cooperation, use of *swadeshi* cloth, Hindu-Muslim unity and eventually the *swaraj*.

The British however gave a cold shoulder to all the political leaders who were involved in the Khilafat movement one way or the other. This attitude created a rift between the Muslims and colonial rulers. The Khilafat Conference that met at Calcutta gave a call to observe another Khilafat Day on 12\(^{th}\) March 1920 and this time the Punjab Khilafat Committee decided to join the party. Complete strikes were observed at Amritsar, Batala, Multan, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Rohtak, Kasur, Sailkot, Hissar and Rawalpindi without any untoward incident. The Khilafat
Movement led to some other movements in India including the ‘Hijrat Movement’, the ‘Non-cooperation Movement’, the ‘Swadeshi Movement’, the ‘Panchayats Movement’ and ‘Temperance Movement’.\textsuperscript{119} These movements were linked with the Khilafat movement in one way or the other. Another religious organisation, the \textit{Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Hind} was established in 1919 and Maulana Abdul Bari became its first president.\textsuperscript{120} The \textit{Jamiat} issued a \textit{fatwa} in March 1921 that the service in the British army was \textit{haram} (unlawful) for the Muslims. Another such \textit{fatwa} was issued in July 1921 endorsing the non-cooperation and civil disobedience against the British Government which was signed by 500 ulama. Persons who were still in the government service were labelled as \textit{kafirs} and were threatened that they would not be given a Muslim burial.\textsuperscript{121}

The Prince of Wales was due to arrive in India in November 1921 and the government was quite anxious to make it a pleasant trip for him. A group of loyalists, mostly from the “Punjab Muhammadan Association” availed of the opportunity to reassure their loyalty to the British government. They met with the Viceroy and denounced the agitations over the Khilafat issue. This delegation later on had to face the public wrath in every street meeting. The Khilafat Committee and the Congress decided unanimously to boycott the Prince of Wales’s visit and called for a complete strike in India on 17\textsuperscript{th} November 1921. Punjab witnessed a complete strike on the arrival of the Prince and the National volunteers, the Khilafat Committee and the Congress were declared as unlawful organisations in the Punjab and a number of their prominent leaders including Lala Lajpat Rai, Malik Lal Khan and Dr. Gopi Chand were arrested.\textsuperscript{122}
The time was seen to be right for M.K. Gandhi to launch the non-cooperation movement. In early 1922, it was decided that under the non-cooperation movement the people should not pay any government taxes. On 4th February 1922 a mob protested against the government in Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur District, U.P. and refused to pay government taxes. The police fired upon the protestors killing many on the spot. The resulting clashes with the police led to the police station being set on fire in which 22 policemen and chaukidars were burnt alive. Gandhi was so shocked by the incident that he immediately called off the movement without even consulting other Khilafat leaders. The people of the Punjab felt betrayed by the suspension of the non-cooperation movement by Gandhi who was also arrested on 10th March from Ahmadabad and was sentenced to six years’ imprisonment on 18th March 1922. The honeymoon of the Hindu-Muslim Unity was soon over with the suspension of the non-cooperation movement. The gap was further widened by the Moplah uprising in Malabar and the launching of Shuddhi (purification) Movement to reconvert the Muslims back to the Hindu fold.

On the Turkish front Mustafa Kamal emerged successful against the Greeks which lifted the morale of the Muslims in India. Kamal’s victory was celebrated in the streets of Lahore on 17th September 1922 and his name was also inserted in the Khutba (sermon) of the Friday prayers. The Muslims of India were hoping for the revival of the caliphate under Mustafa Kamal but the Grand National Assembly of Turkey abolished the sultanate on 1st November 1922 and also deposed the Caliph Sultan Wahiduddin. The Khilafat Conference was still quite determined to save the institution of the Caliphate for which they intended to collect one
million rupees and raise a force of 50,000 volunteers for the next civil disobedience. In the year 1923, there floated the rumour of a British possibility to invade Turkey. The Muslims of India started preparations for such an eventuality by appealing to the public to set up a fund to meet the expenditures of the war. The agitation soon spread to different parts of the Punjab. While all this was going on in India, Kamal Pasha having abolished the sultanate earlier was ready to abolish the institution of Khilafat. And to make it a reality a bill was passed by the Grand National Assembly abolishing the centuries old Khilafat institution on 3rd March 1924. The Indian Muslims were deeply hurt over the abolition of the caliphate but there was nothing that they could do except acknowledging the new republican status of Turkey. The Khilafat Movement ended without achieving its goal. Most of the Muslim leaders who were fighting for the cause of Khilafat were behind bars and those who were not, thought that their sacrifices for the noble cause had been in vain. The Hindu Muslim Unity had become a relic of the past. Next few years were to witness the communal violence as never before.

While all this was going on the communal front, the colonial rulers were busy trying to consolidate their grip on administration and agriculture of India. They were also trying to make this easier for themselves by constructing irrigational canals, providing loans to the small agriculturists, introducing new methods in agriculture, expanding the means of land transport by making new roads and repairing the existing ones, double cropping with the introduction of new seeds, introduction of mechanical harvesting and the construction of the canal colonies in
the Punjab. These measures bore fruits in a short time. With the construction of irrigational canals, more uncultivated areas came under cultivation. The cultivated area rose in 1918-19 from 44 percent to 51 percent. These canals also helped to increase Indian productivity through the introduction of new crops and also the double cropping. The exports improved immensely which benefited the local traders. The canal colonies proved to be a success. These colonies were the main contributors to the urbanisation of the Punjab in the second decade of the twentieth century. An estimated 240,000 people had migrated to these colonies from their home districts by 1921-31. The Punjabi landlords and pirs benefited immensely from these canal colonies. The British granted them lands in these colonies and they also purchased more lands on marginal prices. These land holdings were to be above 25 acres which covered about 65.5 percent of the cultivated area in the canal colonies which in 1925 was much better the provincial cultivated areas i.e. 46 percent. Punjab used to produce raw material for the factories in England even before the establishment of canal colonies but with the establishment of these colonies the province was in a better position to produce more and fine quality raw material for English factories which greatly expanded their newly merging export markets.

The introduction of the canal colonies was no doubt very beneficial for the prosperity of agriculturist Punjab and the British mills in England but only at the cost of small cultivators. Because of the Punjab colonies, India had started exporting the raw material on comparatively low prices which adversely affected the small traders in the Punjab as the land grants in most cases been made to big
landlords, pirs and well established capitalists. These capitalists were allowed to own up to 556 acres of land which eventually made them the owner of around 122,000 acres of land in the canal colonies whereas about 948,000 acres of land was granted to immigrant peasants. The migration to these colonies led to rapid increase in the population there. In Lahore and Lyallpur (now Faisalabad) districts the population rose by 21.1 percent and 20.5 percent respectively. These colonies also disturbed the original cultivated areas in different parts by a decrease in the cultivation of the traditional tracts. The western districts of Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh and Sheikhupura saw the lowest growth rates with the emergence of the canal colonies. The lands granted to the big landlords and the pirs further strengthened their hold over the common masses and they at the same time became the real kingmakers in the politics in the Punjab.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1919 had brought many changes in India generally and particularly in the Punjab. At least 70 percent in the provincial legislatures were reserved as elected and not more then 20 percent as nominated. The Muslims of the Punjab, under these reforms got 50 percent of the 71 elected seats with separate electorates as agreed upon between the AIML and the INC. The 32 elected Muslim seats included 27 rural and 5 urban ones. The important thing to note here is that out of the 64 elected seats, 51 were from the Punjab rural areas while out of 7 special seats, 4 were reserved for the landed aristocracy. It showed that keeping the war efforts in mind, the British wanted to give as much representation to the landlords of the Punjab as possible. The elections of December 1920 cemented this argument when the new Montagu-Chelmsford
Council emerged as a completely rural council with more than 60 out of 71 elected seats belonged to the elite. The Muslims secured 35 seats and were the single most solid group in the Punjab Council. The Governor of the Punjab Sir Edward Maclagan chose Fazli Hussain and Lala Harkishan Lal as his ministers in the first ministry under Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.\(^{136}\) They were chosen because of their high profiles as Punjabi leaders and because of the fact that both had shown their reservation when the Congress had decided to launch civil disobedience against the British. Fazli Hussain took charge of the Department of Education and Local Self government on 3\(^{rd}\) January 1921 and again after the elections in 1923 he was offered the same departments. Fazli worked really hard for the education in the Punjab. During his first year as minister, 200 new schools were opened and within five years this number had increased to 800.\(^{137}\) Since the Punjab was known as an agricultural province, special attention was made to introduce agricultural education in the schools. The ministry also took some much needed steps to uplift the economic condition of the school teachers. These reforms really helped the Punjabi Muslims educationally as the Muslims in the Punjab were 54.8 percent of the whole population but only 1.8 percent of that population was lucky enough to attend any school. But under the able minister ship of Fazli Hussain, this ratio rose to 5.2 percent in just five years.\(^{138}\)

The Ministry of Local Self Government also worked for the betterment of the Punjabis in general and the Muslims in particular. It revived the centuries old traditional *panchayat* System in the Punjab. In this regard the ‘Punjab Village Panchayat Act’ which came into effect on 17\(^{th}\) March 1922 was a remarkable
achievement by the Ministry of Local Self Government under Fazli Hussain. By 1925 the number of panchayats in the Punjab rose to 303. Apart from the panchayat system, the Punjab Small Town Act, Punjab Money Lenders Registration Bill and the Revenue Bills were the most important legislations initiated under the Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms which greatly helped in up raising the economic status of the Punjabis particularly the Muslims.

The Legislative Council in the Punjab provided the landed gentry with an opportunity to form alliances for protection of their own interests. Prominent landlords like Sunder Singh Majitha, Joginder Singh, Baba Kartar Singh Bedi, Feroz Khan Noon, Ahmad Yar Daultana and Makhdum Raza Shah Gilani had made their way into the council and had formed themselves into an informal group of rural interests. Being a very active politician and with ministerial experience under his belt Fazli Hussain started knitting the rural group into an organised non-communal party. Just before the 1923 elections he drafted a manifesto of that proposed party. That rural group in the council was named the Punjab Nationalist Unionist Party. The manifesto divided the aims and objectives of the parties into two parts. The first part emphasised the need for self-government within the provincial autonomy and using the Land Alienation Act to protect the rural interests. The first part also stressed on the need for better education, distribution of taxes and individual freedom. The second part recognised the freedom of religion and advocated the respect for other religions by eliminating old issues such as cow slaughter, azan, arti and playing music before the mosques etc.
This manifesto of the Unionist Party guaranteed complete provincial autonomy without introducing any territorial reconstruction that would disturb the Muslim majority in the province. The manifesto also supported the separate electorate and the working of the local self government and diminished litigation. In the elections of 1923, the Unionist emerged as a majority party. It had members like Sir Sikandar Hyat, Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana, Feroz Khan Noon, Lal Chand and even Jat Hindus like Chhotu Ram. During the initial years, the Party mainly consisted of rural gentry from the Muslims but later the prominent urban Muslims such as Mir Maqbool Mahmood, Sheikh Mohammad Sadiq and Sheikh Sir Abdul Qadir became members of the Party. The Party leader Fazli Hussain who was also the minister education and local self government used his good office to uplift the economic condition of the province after the First World War.

The other two major political parties i.e. the Muslim League and the National Congress were not in a position to challenge the Punjab Unionist Party in 1920. The Unionist Party had many advantages over those two political parties. The Unionist leaders were mainly big landlords of Punjab who derived unconditional support and loyalty from their tenants. Both the ML and INC were perceived as communal bodies working for the interest of their respective communities. Fazli Hussain had done the homework for the Unionist Party during his tenure as minister. He had won the Punjabis with the introduction of Punjab Panchayat System, the Punjab Small Town Act, Punjab Money Lenders Registration Bill and the Revenue Bills and thus the Unionists were much closer to the local Punjabi landlord than the Congress or the Muslim League. Moreover, the British were ever
ready to rescue the Unionists whenever their existence was threatened by any other political party.

The ML and the Congress enjoyed cordial relations after the Lucknow Pact in 1916 till the end of civil disobedience movement of 1922. In the Muslim League’s session of 1924 at Lahore both the ML and the Unionist agreed to maintain Muslim electoral majority because of the fact that they were in majority. The agreement antagonised the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab. The collaboration between the ML and the Unionist was during the ML’s 17th annual session but soon thereafter was the disagreement over the Delhi Muslim Proposals. The elections of 1926 gave the Unionists yet another majority when they secured 31 out of 71 seats. By that time Sir Muhammad Shafi was gaining influence in the Punjab as a representative of the Shafi League and was able to win the support of Allama Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Sir Abdul Qadir and Malik Feroz Khan Noon. A delegation consisting of Sir Zafrullah Khan and Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan visited London to inform the government that the Muslims have rejected the Delhi Muslim Proposals and they are no longer with Jinnah. This split between the Shafi League and All India Muslim League under Jinnah was very damaging for the Muslim interests. Meanwhile the British government sent a commission under Sir John Simon in 1927 to assess the current political situation and to make proposals for new reforms. The Congress and the All India Muslim League under Jinnah boycotted the Simon Commission on the plea that it did not have any Indian representative in it. The Shafi Group, however, welcomed the Commission and decided to cooperate with it. Allama Iqbal, Malik Barkat Ali, Maulana Zafar Ali
Khan and Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew however were against the Commission. There were demonstrations all over India against the Commission and slogans such as “Simon go back” were heard everywhere in the processions.\textsuperscript{143} Despite all that the Commission did its work and submitted recommendation for new reforms in India which were jointly rejected by the Congress and the all India Muslim League.

The circumstance led Jinnah to call a special meeting of the Muslim League Council in Calcutta on 11\textsuperscript{th} December 1927. Shafi Group countered this move by planning their session in Lahore the same day. The Simon Commission Report was strongly rejected by the AIML and at the same time the Punjab Muslim League was disaffiliated from the All India Muslim League.\textsuperscript{144}

The Secretary of State for India Lord Birkenhead was very much disturbed over the reception of the Simon Commission and often used abusive remarks about the local intelligentsia which offended the political parties and leaders in India. To prove him wrong an All-Parties Conference met in February 1928 to discuss and draft proposals for constitutional reforms. Only the nationalist Muslims were present to show the representation of the Muslims of India. The conference appointed a special committee to draft the future constitution. The committee was headed by the leader of the Swarajya Party, Motilal Nehru. The committee submitted a report generally known as the Nehru Report ignored the Delhi proposals. The Report also asked for the replacement of separate electorates with the joint electorates.\textsuperscript{145} The Report aired the Hindu-Muslim animosity and was categorically based on anti-Muslim sentiments. A fraction of Muslim leaders was prepared to accept the joint electorates but on certain conditions laid down in the
Muslim Conference at Delhi on 20th March 1927 under the presidency of Jinnah.\textsuperscript{146} The Congress, however, not only accepted the Report but at the same time threatened to launch a civil disobedience in case the Report was not implemented by the British Government by December 1929. Mr. Jinnah proposed three amendments to the Nehru Report at the All-Parties National Convention at Calcutta in December 1928 but these were rejected by the Hindu majority. Mr. Jinnah responded by declaring the Nehru Report as “neither helpful nor fruitful in any why whatsoever”.\textsuperscript{147} There were some nationalist Muslims including Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. M.A. Ansari and Abdul Qadir Kasuri who were in favour of the Nehru Report. Jinnah at that time did not have the full support from the Punjab as Leaguers like the Shafi Group had shown differences over the issue of Simon Commission a year earlier. In order to make their presence felt on all-India level as a representative body of the Muslims they held a special session to present Muslim demands in response to the Nehru Report. Jinnah on the other hand provided a suitable formula for the constitutional reforms known as his famous “Fourteen Points” in January 1929.\textsuperscript{148} Though the Congress rejected the “Fourteen Points”, the Muslim League insisted upon them as their goal.

The next Muslim League annual session was presided over by Allama Muhammad Iqbal in Allahabad in 1930 in which he demanded separate homeland for the Muslims of India. In his presidential address he stated that “the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India”.\textsuperscript{149} Meanwhile the Simon Commission Report, published in March 1930, was criticised by the political parties in India.
Congress was first to react to that Report by calling for a civil disobedience in March 1930. Mr. Gandhi’s started his famous 240 miles long Salt March on 12\textsuperscript{th} March 1930 from Ahmadabad to Dandi. Both Nehru and Gandhi were arrested but the government at the same time did not want to create unrest in the country over the issue of Simon Report so they announced to hold a Round Table Conference in London to listen to the viewpoints of the political intelligentsia. The Congress did not participate in the first Round Table Conference which was held at London from 12\textsuperscript{th} November 1930 to 19\textsuperscript{th} January 1931 and Muslim League was trying to counter the influence of the fraction of the Punjab group which had been given authority to choose the representatives of the Round Table Conference. Fazli Hussain was very much eager to promote the point of view of the Punjabi Muslims only who were already in a majority in the Province. The other Muslim members of the delegation included Sir Agha Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, M.A. Jinnah, Maulvi Fazl-ul-Haq, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Shah Nawaz, Ch. Zafarullah Khan and Ghulam Hussain Hidayat Ullah. The important decisions taken at the Conference were to approve a federal system for India. The Princely States assured their cooperation for an all India federation, to give separate identity to Sind etc. The Muslim delegation was in favour of Tej Bahadur Sapru’s proposal for dominion status and a responsible central government by elimination of dyarchy in the provinces.\textsuperscript{150}

The British Government knew that until and unless the Congress cooperated and attended the upcoming Round Table Conference, it would be very difficult to introduce any new constitutional reforms. So the Viceroy Lord Irwin signed a pact
with Gandhi known as Gandhi-Irwin Pact on 5th March 1931 to call off the civil disobedience and to participate in the second Round Table Conference.\(^{151}\) From Punjab Allama Muhammad Iqbal participated in the conference. Gandhi tried his best to prove that there was only one nation in India but Jinnah had other views. Gandhi rejected the minority rights and also refused to accept the representation of delegates other than those from the Congress. He demanded that the constitution making should be separated from the minority issues. Sir Shafi reacted to this and demanded that minority issue should be resolved before discussing any the constitution making. He added that the “Fourteen Points” of Jinnah should be incorporated in the future constitution which was rejected by Gandhi. Under these circumstances the Conference ended without achieving anything. The third Round Table Conference held in London from 17\(^{th}\) to 24\(^{th}\) November 1932 met with the same fate because of the stubbornness of the Congress who had launched yet another civil disobedience movement.

The British who had given ample time to the Indian political parties to decide a workable constitution but with no positive results, decided to respond in their own manner. They offered a Communal Award in 1932 and then followed up with the Government of India Act of 1935. These two played a vital role in the constitutional history of India. The Communal Award of 1932 introduced the ‘weightage system’ in India.\(^ {152}\) The Sikhs of the Punjab befitted immensely from this system as they got 18 percent of the total seats in the legislature despite of the fact they only constituted 13 percent of the total population of the Punjab. The
award retained the Muslim demand of the separate electorate but it reduced the Muslim majority in the Punjab and the Bengal.\textsuperscript{153}

Though the Round Table Conferences were perceived as unsuccessful by many but at the same time they gave the British an opportunity to understand the communal relations between the different communities in India and the recommendations made by the delegates gave them a clear understanding as how to go about with the constitutional affairs of India. Based on these recommendations a ‘White Paper’ was published by the government on 17\textsuperscript{th} March 1933 which eventually became the Government of India Act of 1935.\textsuperscript{154} This Act remained in force till the creation of Pakistan in August 1947 when it was given another name as Indian Independence Act. The act proposed federal type of legislature at the centre and the provinces for the very first time were made separate legal entities. It helped in removing the dyarchy and every province was given a council of ministers. The governments of the provinces worked under the council of ministers but the governors also had the powers to exercise their own judgement. The unicameral legislative councils were introduced in the provinces and the Punjab Legislative Council was renamed as the Punjab Legislative Assembly. The strength of the members from different communities was increased to 175 in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. The Act did not get the support of the political parties as it did not meet their demands. Jinnah termed it as a “defective document”.\textsuperscript{155} The system of diarchy which had failed miserably in the provinces was introduced at the centre, therefore the central part of the act was suspended for some time but the
provincial part was enforced on 1st April 1937, under which the elections to the provincial assemblies were to be held.

**The Last Colonial Decade 1937-47**

Before the enforcement of the Government of India Act of 1935, only 7, 45,000 Punjabis were eligible to cast their votes in the provincial elections which were only 3.1 percent of the total population. According to the new reforms the strength of the voters was increased to 2.25 million which included 13, 98,000 landlords, 407,000 tenants, 251, 000 rural voters and about 225,000 municipal voters. The government also eased the prerequisites for registration as voters. Before that only those landlords who used to pay revenue of about 25 rupees or more were eligible to cast their votes. But the Government of India Act 1935 extended the right of vote to those landlords who were paying five rupees or more as revenue. Provisions were also made for the tenants. In the past only those tenants who had at least 25 acres irrigated land or 48 acres’ arid land under their supervision but the new act made it possible for those tenants who were taking care of land as less as six acres of irrigated and 12 acres of arid land to cast their vote for the provincial legislature. As for the landlords in towns who held property in terms of houses, it was allowed to grant them the franchise if they were paying five rupees’ tax to the government as compared to eight rupees earlier. So much was done to improve the voters’ lists in India in general and the Punjab in particular but even then only one out of ten persons living in Punjab was able to cast his or her vote. The landed gentry was still in power and the non agriculturists were not allowed to contest the elections from the rural constituencies.
The political parties’ reaction over the new reforms and the Act of 1935 was mixed. The Unionists wholeheartedly welcomed the reforms as compared to ML and Congress. The Congress was of the view that after the elections of 1937 they would emerge as triumphant and would change the constitution according to their liking. Muslim League was in no position to threaten any political party in the Punjab at that time. Jinnah had come back from London in 1935 and was trying to reorganise the Muslim League. A Parliamentary Board was formed during the party meeting in Bombay in 1936 to revise the manifesto of the All-India Muslim League for the upcoming elections in 1937. The ML hierarchy knew that the Unionists were the main hurdle for them in the Punjab and at the all India level their properly organised All-India Muslim Conference could create problem for them sabotaging their claim of being the sole representative political party of Indian Muslims. The Unionists were also very much influential within the ranks of the Muslim League as 50 members representing Punjab in the Muslim League Council were also Unionists.\(^{158}\)

Meanwhile the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board was formed in May 1936. The people selected from the Punjab for the Central Parliamentary Board were mostly non-Muslim Leaguers like Maulana Zafar Ali Khan who was one of the leaders of the Ittehad-e-Milat party and Mian Abdul Aziz of the Ahrars. Both of them later resigned from the Parliamentary Board and Mian Abdul Aziz joined hands with the Unionists.\(^{159}\) Now Jinnah had to depend only on Allama Iqbal as far as Punjab was concerned.
The position of the Congress was much like the Muslim League in the Punjab. Internal rifts were weakening the Congress and at the same time they had not done enough work in the rural areas of the Punjab in propagating the Congress manifesto for the upcoming elections. Their position in other provinces was quite safe as compared to the Punjab. The Muslim League started its electioneering campaign on 12th October and four sub-committees were formed by the Muslim League Working Committee. These committees further established district committees throughout the province. Prominent Muslim Leaguers like Maulana Shaukat Ali were asked by the Central Parliamentary Board to visit Punjab and urged the Muslims to vote for the Muslim League by their fiery speeches. Congress did the same as prominent Congressites like Patel, Sarojni Naidu and even Nehru toured the province and addressed large gatherings.

On the other hand, the Unionists who had been enjoying power in the province for almost a decade had a different approach to the elections. The Unionist candidates did not address the big gatherings or arranged corner meetings or rallies asking for votes. They knew that in the Punjab the landed aristocracy and the pirs were with them who would ask their murids or the tenants to vote for the Unionist Party. This approach even led Jinnah to suspect the election results. The Unionist leadership knew the importance of the pirs in the Punjab as people follow their pirs religiously. In June 1936 the Unionist leadership contacted many prominent pirs of the province such as Pir of Taunsa, Pir of Golra, Pir Fazal Shah of Jalalpur Sharif, Pir Jamat Ali Shah of Alipur, Dewan of Pakpattan, the Pirs of Multan including the Gilanis and Qureshis and the sajjada nasheens of the Ajmer Sharif and
Nizamuddin Aoulia. The Unionists were quite successful in gaining the support from almost all the *pirs* except Pir Fazal Shah of Jalalpur Sharif who asked his *murids* to vote for the Muslim League candidate and his maternal uncle Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan.\(^{161}\)

The voting started on 18\(^{th}\) January which lasted for ten days. The results were announced on 1\(^{st}\) February 1937. The Unionist Party emerged as the single majority party in the Punjab as they were able to secure 99 out of 175 seats in the Legislative Assembly. The Congress and the Muslim League each won 19 seats. The Unionists were quite successful in the rural areas where they secured 73 out of 75 Muslim seats.\(^ {162}\) The Muslim League and the Congress were faced with a crushing defeat in the Punjab in the 1937 elections and the Unionists emerged as the only majority party based on non-communal pattern.

At the central level the results of the elections were quite shocking for the Muslims and the Muslim League. The Congress managed to get clear majority in seven out of eleven Governor’s provinces in India i.e. Bombay, NWFP, Madras, Bihar, Orissa, United Provinces and Central Provinces. The Muslim League managed to win few seats in Muslim minority provinces but lost in the Muslim majority provinces like Punjab. The British were quite happy with the overwhelming success of the Unionist Party. Loyalists like Sikandar Hyat Khan and Khizr Hayat Khan respectively became the Prime Minister and Minister for Public Works in the newly formed provincial government. Sikandar was quite successful in maintaining unity in the Unionist Party by keeping the Muslims members satisfied. He did not implement the section of the Government of India Act of 1935 which
had prohibited the *zaildars*, sub-registrars and honorary magistrates from
contesting the elections.¹⁶³ Not till 1945 most of the Muslim members in the
assembly were enjoying those honorary titles and judicial posts. The Unionist
government took some drastic measures to improve the living conditions of the
rural people such as building of medical centres, schools, model farms,
uninterrupted water supply and improved sanitation. In order to check the growing
influence of the moneylenders and to safeguard the interests of small cultivators
Sikandar introduced Second Amendment to Punjab Alienation of Land Act,
Registration of Money Lenders Act, and criticized the ‘golden Acts’ introduced by
Restitution of Mortgaged Lands Act which really offended the vested interests of
the Hindu and Sikh money-lenders in the Punjab. These agricultural reforms
helped the Unionist Party to strengthen its hold on the rural areas. Meanwhile an
All-Punjab Non-Agriculturist Association was formed by Dr. Sir Gokul Chand
Narang in July 1938.¹⁶⁴ The primary objective of this organisation was to register
at least 25,000 members and to collect 25,000 rupees in order to launch and sustain
a protest movement against these Acts. The Association however failed miserably
because of lack of interest shown by the Jats Hindus and the Sikh property owners
and it could only raise 1,600 rupees.¹⁶⁵

At the Centre, the Congress had formed government in 7 out of 11 provinces and
there were reports of the Muslims being treated unfairly by the Congress
ministries. The Muslims were of the opinion that the Congress ministries were
trying to force Hinduism on the Muslims minority by introducing Wardha Scheme,
Vidya Mandir Scheme, Bande Matram and hoisting of tri-coloured Congress flag

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on official buildings. Two inquiry reports i.e. the “Pirpur Report” and the “Sharif Report” were published highlighting the Muslim League’s point of view on the treatment meted out to the Muslims during the Congress rule.

The All-India Muslim League had other issues to worry about as the elections of 1937 had exposed the party’s standing on the political stage. The ML only managed to win just two seats in the Punjab out of which Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan of Pind Dadan Khan (in Jhelum District) crossed over to Unionist camp on a promise by Sikandar Hyat that he would be made Parliamentary Secretary. Now Malik Barkat Ali was left as the sole spokesman of the ML in the assembly. The Punjab Muslim League started to campaign for the ML cause in the rural areas. There was a dire need for establishing primary branches of ML throughout of the province. Muslim Leaguers were sent to the villages to meet the people and to get them to register as party members. The membership fee was also reduced to four annas. The provincial League was hoping to enrol at least 20,000 new members in the Lahore District only. This plan however could not be materialized as the PML became inactive for the next seven years.

At the central level Jinnah had realised the importance of the Unionists in the Punjab as a non-communal party and also the influential position of the Premier Sikandar Hyat Khan. Jinnah had sensed that in order to survive on the all India level politics, the ML had to win the support of the Unionists. So an ambiguous pact was signed by the Quaid-i-Azam and Sikandar Hyat in October 1937 at the annual ML session in Lucknow. According to this pact Sikandar was to ask the Muslim members of the Unionist Party to join the Punjab ML, hence they would
be known as the Muslim League members of the Assembly party which would come under the All India Muslim League’s Central and provincial parliamentary boards.\textsuperscript{171} The Punjab Muslim Leaguers like Allama Iqbal who was the then president of the PML, Malik Barkat Ali and Ghulam Rasool, however, were against this move. In this connection Allama Iqbal had written a letter to Jinnah complaining about the authoritative attitude of Sikandar Hyat.\textsuperscript{172}

The Punjab Muslim League’s application for the affiliation with the All India Muslim League was rejected on the grounds that its constitution was irregular. But in April 1938 another committee headed by Sikandar Hyat was formed to reorganise the Punjab Muslim League during the Calcutta Session of the Muslim League which was specially convened to discuss the situation created by the Shahidganj Masjid tragedy. In May 1938 the old Punjab Muslim League along with divisional, district and primary branches was dissolved. Despite opposition from the former office bearers of the Punjab Muslim League, Sikandar made sure that the new working committee maintained the Unionist majority by selecting only 10 old Muslim Leaguers against out of total 35.\textsuperscript{173} The committee used different tactics to delay the reorganisation of the Punjab Muslim League. It was due to timely interference of Liaquat Ali Khan who set a deadline for reorganisation of the PML by 15\textsuperscript{th} November 1939 otherwise the reorganisation committee was to be dissolved. The formation of the PML was announced to the press on 11\textsuperscript{th} January 1940. Nawab Shahnawaz Khan Mamdot, Mian Ramzan, Mian Ameer-ud-din and Syed Muhammad Ali Jafri were elected as the President, Secretary, Secretary Finance and Organisational Secretary respectively.\textsuperscript{174} All of
these office bearers of the newly organised Punjab Muslim League were staunch Unionist and were very close to Sikandar Hyat.

The Muslim Leaguers were quite perturbed over this new development and were not ready to accept the Unionists as their leaders. They even requested Jinnah not to affiliate the PML with the AIML. The protest by the Leaguers was enough to make the Central High Command to establish a Punjab Committee of Inquiry to decide the affiliation issue of the Punjab Muslim League in February 1940. The Committee which included prominent Muslim Leaguers like Nawab Ismail Khan, Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and Ch. Khaleeq-uz-Zaman decided in favour of the Punjab Muslim League on 16th March 1940.175 This was a big morale booster for the Unionist leader Sardar Sikandar Hyat as his importance and influence was noticed earlier when he was made to preside the All India Muslim League Session at Sholapur in May 1939.176 The Second World War had started on 3rd September 1939 and the Punjab once again became the central stage. The government had appealed to the political parties for their cooperation in the war efforts. The Congress in response to that appeal put some conditions to the British government. The government was in no position to even seriously think about those conditions at that time so the Viceroy declared that dominion status would be given to India after the war and the British government would consider the point of view of all the major political parties of India. In protest to this the Congress ministries resigned from their offices in November 1939. On 6th December 1939, Jinnah asked the Muslims of India to observe the “Day of Deliverance” on 22nd December 1939.177
Punjab and the World War II

When the World War II broke out between the United Kingdom and Germany in September 1939, the garrison province of the Punjab was at war too. The province was once again mobilised effectively to support the Britain’s war efforts. The Unionist Party provided its unconditional support to the British whereas the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress had their own reservations about providing assistance. The Punjab National War Front was also dominated by the Unionists who used their influence to motivate the rural masses for the war. The Punjabis who had benefited immensely during the First World War (1914-18) regarded the Second World War as yet another opportunity to uplift their economic condition and to earn social respect and honour for themselves and their future generations. The local landed aristocracy and the peasantry cooperated with the British Government in providing men and money for the war efforts. This time not only the martial races of the Punjab especially from the areas of Rawalpindi and Jhelum but also the non-martial races of the central Punjab showed keen interest in joining the armed forces. The Punjab provided one-third of the total soldiers recruited from India to be deployed on different war fronts. The Punjab Premier Sardar Sikandar Hyat Khan assured the British Government that he would be in a position to provide at least half a million Punjabis to be recruited into the army if needed. By June 1940 the Unionist government was able to raise a provincial civil guard force of about 300,000 men. Even those tribes which were termed as the criminal tribes or those which were earlier declared as unsuitable for military jobs were also given a chance to enrol in the army. The Indian army had grown
from 200,000 men at the start of the war in late 1939 to 865,200 men by late 1941 
the bulk of which comprised of Punjabis.\textsuperscript{180} At the same time an amount of about 
fifty-five million rupees had been collected for the war fund from the province. 
The cultivation ratio in the province was increased to 35 million acres in 1942-43 
as compared to 30 million acres in 1939-40.\textsuperscript{181} The food grain prices went high 
which benefited the peasantry of the province. The peasantry used that extra 
money for exemption of their lands from the money lenders. It is estimated that an 
area of about 482,681 acres thus got exempted during the years 1942-43.\textsuperscript{182} 
Having mentioned all that, it would be unfair to state that only the war brought 
prosperity to the Punjabis. At first the province showed enthusiasm in the war 
efforts but as the war dragged on, the rate of recruitment in the army decreased. 
The inflation in the daily life utilities proved to be a crack in the Unionist 
governments’ support of the British war efforts. The anti-war activists exploited 
these economic conditions to criticise the government. Different sections of the 
Congress party in the Punjab called for the non- cooperation in the British war 
efforts on the plea that India should be freed first before they could think about 
fighting Germany. The Sikh community was divided on the issue of recruitment in 
the army. In this connection the Shiromani Akali Dal was divided in to two 
factions i.e. the communist Kirti Kisans who later aligned themselves with the 
loyalist Khalsa National Party and the Jat Sikhs. The loyalist Sikhs established a 
Khalsa Defence of India League to encourage Sikh recruitment in the army but the 
internal division within that community really affected the Sikh recruitment in the 
army. The Kirti Kisan influence in the community led to their reliability being
doubted for recruitment which had been temporarily suspended in 1940. The situation resulted in the lowest Sikh Jat representation in the Indian Army by late 1941. Premier Sikandar Hyat in order to win the support of the Sikh community and also to comply with the demands of the central government signed a pact with the Akali leader Baldev Singh in June 1942. The pact was meant to increase the representation of the Sikhs in government departments where their ratio was less than allotted 20 percent. In return they were asked to help the provincial government in its war efforts. The ML was however against this pact on the grounds that it would increase the Sikh influence in the politics of the Punjab. The ML was right in its assumptions as although Baldev Singh was somewhat moderate in the ranks of the Akali Dal but there were also radicals like Sampooran Singh and Master Tara Singh who were opposed to the demand for Pakistan. The Sikh community took full advantage of the Sikandar-Baldev Pact by joining the government services wherein they started to treat the Muslims unfairly.

The food shortage gave a death blow to the Unionist-British relations. To make it even worse, Premier Sikandar Hyat Khan suddenly died on 26th December 1942. Malik Khizr Hayat Tiwana became the new Unionist leader but he inherited a much weakened government which worsened by the death of another prominent Unionist leader Sir Chhotu Ram on 9th January 1945. This situation was exploited by the Muslim League by not only criticising the central government’s food policies but at the same time exposed and embarrassed the Unionists in front of the peasantry for their requisitioning of grain supplies. The province was also facing the food shortage but the central government was asking the provincial
government to export wheat to other parts of India and on to different war fronts. The Unionist government unwillingly had to comply with the central government’s demands which damaged the popularity of the party among the rural class. The central government ordered the Punjab government to requisition the wheat stocks which was highly criticized by the members of the ruling Unionist Party. An estimated 265,100 tons of food grains were sent to Bengal from Punjab during the period from May to October 1943. The war also affected the Unionist Party’s relations with the landed elite as it was quite difficult for the provincial government to please the landlords and the pirs with grants of lands, honorary titles with financial benefits due to shortage of funds. The non-Muslim working classes benefited by offering their services as bidders for construction and supply tenders. By 1942 the masses started showing their disinterest in the recruitment and the same time people already in the services started to bunk their camps. The situation compelled the government to undertake compulsory recruitment. These tactics not only damaged the Unionist popularity in the Punjab but also gave the ML an opportunity to reorganise and come out of the influence of the unionists and even to challenge them on the political front.

**The Muslim League’s Demand for Pakistan (1940)**

After the resignation of the Congress ministries the Muslim League was seriously considering partition schemes. A committee comprising of Jinnah as Chairman, Abdul Matin Choudry, Khwaja Nazimuddin, Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan and Syed Abul Aziz was set up to examine different partition schemes. Even before this, the Sind provincial Muslim League had passed unanimous resolution
in favour of a separate homeland for the Muslims. The resolutions passed were sent to the Central Muslim League which decided to put forward that demand to the next session All-India Muslim League session at Lahore in March 1940. Shah Nawaz Khan Mamdot was the President of the Punjab Muslim League at that time. The adoption of the Lahore resolution and the positive response from all over India made the PML as the true representative and a serious contender in the provincial politics that could challenge the all powerful Unionist Party. The Unionists were all out to support the war efforts whereas Jinnah had some reservations. He wanted to win some concessions for the Muslims of India before assuring his consent for war efforts. He also asked the Muslim Unionist members of the Punjab Provincial War Board to resign but no one responded the call positively except Mamdot the only League member and the president of the PML.

The Viceroy and the Governor-General of India Lord Linlithgow made a constitutional offer to the people of India know as the August Offer on 8th August 1940. The main objective of the offer was to achieve united cooperation of all the political parties and there was also an indication that the British government intended to expand Governor-General’s Executive Council to accommodate representatives of different political parties. The Congress rejected the offer as it did not promise a national government at the Centre. The ML rejected the offer on the ground that it did not provide equality in representation of the Muslims in the government.
After the successful adoption of the Lahore resolution, the ML started to revamp the organisational structure of different provincial and district level branches of the League. The inquiries made by the All-India Muslim League in October 1941 revealed that the district ML branches of Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Shahpur, Jhelum, Mianwali, Jhang, Kangra, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rohtak and Gujranwala were non-effective and the membership of about half a dozen district branches did not exceed 15,000. In Lahore alone the basic members were only 2,000. Campbellpur District had the lowest membership i.e. 491 basic members.\textsuperscript{193} In the cities the Muslim League was only represented by the small traders, contractors, pirs and even honorary magistrates. The PML was dominated by the Unionists therefore the ML could not get enough support from the rural areas. The ML propaganda was mostly done by the Punjab Muslim Students Federation which had been reorganised by Hamid Nazami and others in 1937. The Federation was supporting the demand for Pakistan and it even held a Pakistan Conference in March 1941 at Lahore which was presided over by Mr. Jinnah himself. The conference stressed the need to mobilise the rural masses in support of the Pakistan demand which resulted in setting up the Pakistan Rural Propaganda Committee. Abdul Sattar Niazi was made the secretary of the Committee and was asked to tour the rural areas to propagate the Muslim League demand for Pakistan. The committee toured about 50 villages in twenty days and established primary branches of ML in every village that they visited.\textsuperscript{194} The important point to note here is that though the Pakistan rural propaganda committee was established on the platform of Punjab Muslim Student Federation but the President of the PMSF Mian Bashir Ahmad
was not willing to confront the Unionists and even tried to stop the Federation to celebrate “Pakistan Day” in March 1942. But after his resignation, the Federation was free to work without any pressure from anybody. The Federation in order to mobilise the Muslims of the Punjab, divided the province into four zones and students groups were occasionally sent to these zones to spread the message of AIML in 1943.

In order to break the constitutional deadlock in India, the leader of the House of the Commons Sir Stafford Cripps came to India on 23rd March 1942 with some proposals generally known as the Cripps Plan. The Plan was rejected by the ML because the Plan was for a single union of India and it had no clear arrangement for the creation of Pakistan. Gandhi called the Plan as a “post-dated cheque on a bank that was failing”. The Sikhs as well as the Scheduled Castes rejected the plan. The Congress in order to put pressure on the British government launched its “Quit India” Movement in August 1942 asking for the withdrawal of the British rule from India. The AIML however did not support the “Quit India” Movement. Jinnah even called the movement as the anti Muslim action of the INC regarding it as political blackmail. The government took a severe action against the movement and most of the prominent Congress leaders including Gandhi were arrested. However, the Muslim League remained busy taking care of the organisational matters of the party. In order to establish new and reorganise the existing branches of the AIML, a Muslim League Workers’ Board was formed at the Muslim League Workers Conference held in Lahore on 5th January 1943. The conference was headed by the President of the Lahore Muslim League Nawabzada Rasheed Ali
Khan and was represented by all the prominent Leaguers of the Punjab. The Board’s primary objective was to register half a million people as the members of the Muslim League and to collect at least 200,000 rupees for the Muslim League’s central fund. The office bearers for the ML workers Board were also elected in the same conference.

The Punjab Muslim League’s President Mian Bashir Ahmad was however, quite perturbed over the establishment of the Muslim League’s Workers Board. Mian Bashir Ahmad wrote a letter to Jinnah on 30th January in which he conveyed his concern over the Board’s establishment. He was of the view that the Board was established to rival the Punjab Muslim League.\textsuperscript{200} The General Secretary of the Board Nawabzada Rasheed Ali Khan tried to explain the aims and objectives of the ML Workers Board to convince the PML’s President that the Board was not meant to be a rival of the PML. Jinnah did not want a confrontation between the Muslim Leaguers at that time over the establishment of local board so he sent a telegram to the General Secretary of the Board on 13\textsuperscript{th} February 1943 to suspend all political activities of the Board.\textsuperscript{201} In accordance with Jinnah’s orders the Muslim League Workers Board was suspended on 9\textsuperscript{th} March 1943. At the same time Jinnah received complaints against Nawab of Mamdot that he was hindering in establishment of primary branches of ML in Ferozpur.\textsuperscript{202} Since Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan Mamdot was the biggest Muslim landlord in East Punjab and was quite influential among the Pathan tribes of the province, Jinnah did not think it necessary to investigate the complains made by Khan Rab Nawaz Khan, the propaganda Secretary of the suspended Muslim League Workers Board.
By that time the ML was gaining popularity in India. Jinnah had emerged as the undisputed leader of the Muslims and hence that the time was ripe to pressurise the Unionist’s leadership to merge completely into All India Muslim League and a Muslim League Assembly party to be formed in the Punjab Government. The ML leadership stressed on the importance of rural propaganda and for that purpose the MSF was used effectively along with the fiery speakers such as Shaukat Hyat, Mumtaz Daultana, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mustafa Shah Gilani and Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan Mamdot. These Muslim Leaguers toured the four divisions of the Punjab and addressed large gatherings of the Muslims in Montgomery, Lyallpur, Sheikhupura, Sargodha, Jhang, Sialkot and Rawalpindi in June and July 1943. The rural population was not told about the tricky politics of all-India level but were simply asked to work for the creation of Pakistan in the name of Islam. Despite this drastic propaganda campaign the ML was not successful in convincing the rural population because the landed Unionists were quite influential in the rural areas where tribal and economic bonds were much important than the political ones. This argument was strongly reflected in the results of the Punjab District Board Elections and the bye-election for the provincial assembly where the Unionist Party swept the polls in 1944. What the ML failed to understand was that at that time it was not possible to win election only by creating religious slogans and convincing the masses by going door to door. The Unionists were successful because they had the cooperation of the landlords and the pirs which was considered to be the perfect recipe for winning elections. The Muslims of the Punjab needed more than mere religious slogans.
How could an ordinary cultivator afford to vote for the ML candidate when his landlord was supporting the Unionist candidate? The ML realised the importance of the *pirs* and the landlords in the regional politics. The ML diverted its attention toward the peasants who were greatly affected by the war. They started supplying medicines free of cost to the peasantry. They even used to supply food grains and clothing to the needy. They promised betterment in the social and economic lives of the rural masses on realisation of Pakistan. The members of the PMSF were briefed before visiting the villages that they should engage the people and should listen to their economic grievances and should try to attribute them with the policies of the Unionist government.

Soon the ML emerged as a leading Muslim political party in India under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. His growing popularity made Gandhi to write a letter to the Quaid asking him to meet to discuss the matters concerning the politics of the Indian sub continent. The meetings between the two leaders that are generally known as the Gandhi-Jinnah talks were held in Bombay at Jinnah’s residence situated at Mount Pleasant Road from 9th September to 24th September 1944. The talks were partly held directly and partly through correspondence. Gandhi made it clear that he had come in personal capacity and was not as a representative of the Congress. Jinnah explained to him that the Muslims were a separate nation that was different from the Hindus; therefore, their demand for a separate home land was justified. Gandhi however tried to convince Jinnah that the Lahore Resolution would ruin India but at the same time he proposed that the Muslim majority areas should be demarcated by a commission.
approved by both the political parties and the fate of these areas should later be
decided through referendum. After the referendum these areas could form a
separate dominion. What he really meant was that the power should first be
transferred to the Congress and Congress would allow the Muslim majority areas
to form government not as an independent sovereign state but as a part of the
Indian Federation. Jinnah obviously did not agree to this proposal and the talks
ended in failure.207

The Muslim League even benefited from the war which left a large number of the
Punjabi soldiers unemployed. The Unionist government was not able to
accommodate the returning soldiers in the canal colonies and only about 20
percent of the total returned soldiers were absorbed in different government
organisations. The Muslim League became very active in the Rawalpindi division
as most of the soldiers had been recruited from that division. The ML workers used
to help these unemployed soldiers to get new jobs and they had even established
many committees for the welfare of these returning soldiers. The ML vigorously
exploited the Unionist’s government policies vis-à-vis the soldiers who had fought
for the British and were lucky to come back home. Internal quislings in the ranks
of the Unionist Party also paved the way for the ML. After the death of Sikandar
Hyat in 1942 the Unionist Party was split into groups such as the Khattars, Noons
and Tiwanas. The Khattar tribe from the Campbellpur District had three candidates
for the president ship of the Unionist Party and the PM of the Punjab such as
Muzaffar Khan, Mir Maqbool Mehmood and Nawab Sir Liaquat Hyat Khan. The
Noon and Tiwana group had one joint candidate Malik Khizr Hayat Tiwana who
had been also the minister for Public Works in the Sikandar’s Cabinet. The Governor of the Punjab Glancy after consulting with the other members of the Unionist Party made Tiwana as the Premier. In order to preserve the unity of the Party, Sikandar’s son Sirdar Shaukat Hyat was unanimously elected the sixth member of the Khizr Cabinet but the two could not go along well with each other. The relationship worsened when Shaukat Hyat started giving statements favouring the creation of Pakistan which was against the Unionist policy. Jinnah exploited the inexperience of Khizr Hayat for the benefit of the ML at the all-India level. He met Khizr in March 1944 to establish the ML ministry in place of the Unionist ministry. Khizr did not agree to this and the dialogues failed on 27th April 1944 which led to the expulsion of Khizr from the League on 27th May 1944. The death of Sir Chhotu Ram weakened Unionist Party in 1944. Gradually the Party lost its popularity in both the East and West Punjab giving way to the ML in West and the Congress in the East Punjab. By 1945 most of the Muslim Unionists from the rural Punjab had left the Unionist Party and come over to the Muslim League.

Meanwhile at the all India level, the British were trying to come up with a solution for the future status of India. Lord Archibald Wavell had come to India as Viceroy in October 1943. He proposed a scheme to end the political stalemate generally known as the Wavell Plan. The Plan offered to set up an Executive Council in which Muslims and the Caste Hindus were to get equal seats. The new cabinet was to run the administration of the country for an interim period and at the same time draft the future constitution backed by the public mandate. In connection with this Plan the Viceroy convened a conference at Simla on 24th June 1945 to get the
feedback on that proposal. The Viceroy proposed an interim government at the Centre where apart from the war; all the portfolios were to be given to the Indians. He also mentioned that there would be parity of representation between the Hindus and Muslims. The ML demanded that all the five Muslim members of Executive Council should be from Muslim League whereas the Viceroy insisted that four Muslim members should be from the Muslim League but the fifth should be a Punjabi Muslim but not from the Muslim League. The Congress also supported this. In fact, the Congress and the Viceroy wanted to have a Unionist Muslim from the Punjab for the executive council, in that case Malik Khizr Hayat Tiwana, the Unionist Premier of the Punjab. The Congress also rejected Muslim League’s claim of being the sole representative political body of the Muslims of India. On these issues the Conference could not make any headway and ended in July 1945. At the end of the Conference Jinnah demanded general elections to determine the position of the political parties in terms of public support. In response to that demand the Viceroy on 21st August 1945 decided to hold general elections in the following winter.

Elections in the Punjab 1945-46

Like the rest of India, Punjab became a centre stage for the political “drama” that was to unfold shortly. All the major political parties in the Punjab were busy canvassing the masses. The Punjab branch of the Indian National Congress was established in 1890 and being an urban party was not popular in the province. In the provincial elections of 1936-37 it had got only 18 out of a total of 175 seats in the assembly. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was the chief organiser of the
Congress’s election campaign in the Punjab but he failed to give an attractive manifesto for the betterment of the people of the Punjab. To make things even more difficult for the Congress, most of the nationalist Muslims left Congress and joined the Muslim League. The other important non-Muslim party was the Akali Dal which was founded in 1920 and was presently being led by the fundamentalist leader Master Tara Singh. Though most of the Sikh population was in Punjab yet they were not even the second largest community in the Punjab. The Communist Party which was founded 1921 failed to make an impression before the elections. The Muslim communists joined the Muslim League and being trained workers used their skills to propagate the Muslim League manifesto in the rural areas of the Punjab.

The non-communal Unionist Party was the Muslim League’s main rival in the Punjab. It had always been the King’s Party since its establishment in 1932. They had won the previous elections but their policies especially during the war dented their popularity and before the elections of 1945-46, its manifesto could not even win the support of the Unionist members. Most of the Muslims left the Party and joined the Muslim League which benefited immensely.

The Khaksars and the Ahrars were two nationalist Muslims parties. The Khaksars Movement was started by Allama Inayatallah Mashriqi in 1930. This was the most organised militant movement and wanted to establish Islamic system, to serve the millat and to struggle for the economic betterment of the people. The Khaksars were not anti-Muslim League; instead Allama Mashriqi had allowed the Khaksars to join Muslim League but Mashriqi was against the partition of Punjab and
The Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam was founded by the Khilafatists in 1929 but its first general meeting was held on 31st July 1931. It was basically a religious party that wanted to establish the Islamic rule in the country after the independence and to foster better relations with other communities. Its main leaders were Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Ghazi Abdur Rehman, and Maulana Habib-ur-Rehman Ludhianvi etc. Ahrars were not so resourceful and lost support during the Shahidganj Masjid issue. The Ahrars were opposed to the Muslim League and even tried to disrupt the electioneering campaigns of the League in the Punjab and even attacked the leaguers during corner meetings. The ML by that time had only one thing to prove that it was the sole representative political body of the Muslims of India.

The previous elections in 1936-37 were a bitter experience for the Muslim League. At that time the ML failed to convince the Muslim masses of their ideology and party program. However, the ill-treatment meted out to the Muslims in the Congress-ruled provinces from 1937-39 proved to be a blessing in disguise for the ML. Now the Muslims were convinced that their salvation lay in supporting the Muslim League as the only representative political party for the Muslims of India. From 1937 to 1943 there were 61 provincial bye-elections on the Muslim seats in India. The ML secured 47 Muslims seats, the independent Muslims 10 and the Congress only managed to secure 4 Muslim seats. There had been 14 bye-elections to the Muslim seats for the Central Assembly from 1934 to 1943. The AIML was able to win 7, the independent Muslim 5 and the Congress only 2 seats. During 1943-45, there had been 11 bye-elections in the provincial assemblies and
the ML had won 8 seats, the Independent Muslims 3 and the Congress was unable to secure even a single seat. And for the Muslim seats in the Central Assembly there were 4 bye-elections in which the ML won all the 4 Muslim seats. The success in the bye-elections was a true morale booster for the Muslim League leadership and the workers. In the forthcoming elections of 1946-47 the ML had to compete against many adversaries including the Unionist Party, the Congress and the Nationalist Muslims such as the Ahrars, the Khaksars, *Jamiat-ul-Ulama-e-Hind*, the Khudai Khidmatgars, Momins and Azad Muslims Board etc who were opposed to Pakistan and were supporting the Congress.

The ML did not publish a lengthy manifesto like the Congress. The Quaid simply told the Muslims of India that every vote cast in favour of the ML candidate would be considered a vote for Pakistan and every vote against the ML would be for the Hindu Raj. He also stressed that the results of the elections would definitely prove that the AIML was the only representative organisation of the Muslims of India. The Congress manifesto represented a future democratic state with fundamental human rights to its citizens, and a secular state with stress on a better economy for the tribal areas. Things were difficult for the ML even in the Muslim majority areas. In the Punjab the Unionist Party under Khizr Hayat Tiwana was one of the strongest political parties. It had been in power for quite some time. Majority of the landlords and title holders were the members of the Party. In the NWFP the Khudai Khidmatgars, a patent ally of the Congress party, led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan were opposing the ML. The Sindhi Landlords were supporting the Congress. In Bengal the ML was better organised under Hussain
Shaheed Suhrawardy and the *pirs* also played pivotal role in popularising the League’s message. Jinnah’s visit in the last week of February also boosted the morale of the Bengali Muslims. ML was now a masses party with its branches in every province, division, district and even towns of India. The Central and Provincial Parliamentary Boards were set up for selecting candidates for the elections.

The Punjab Muslim League launched its campaign in the rural areas where prominent leaders like Mumtaz Daultana and Atta Ullah Jahania made extensive tours to propagate the Muslim League manifesto. Daultana was a very rich and influential landlord whereas Attaullah Jahania was a *pir* with thousands of devoted *murids* in the Punjab. This new approach of the PML worked like never before. In 1937 the PML had no finances or public support to win the elections but things were changed in 1945-46. Now they had the money of the landlords and also the unconditional supports of the *murids* and the general masses alike. Now the Leaguers were in a position to raise religious slogans and link the Pakistan resolution with the Islamic ideology. These landlords not only put their resources at the disposal of the AIML but also toured all the divisions of the Punjab and addressed large gathering at Montgomery, Lyallpur, Sargodha, Jhang, Sialkot, Sheikhupura and Rawalpindi. According to an estimate over 15,000 attended the meeting at Multan and about 10,000 at Montgomery. According to the PML sources 17 primary Leagues with 2,000 members had been established in Mianwali alone in July 1945.  

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The pirs of the Punjab also helped the ML immensely by issuing fatwas in favour of the ML. Apart from the landlords and the pirs, the students and women of the province also worked for the Pakistan demand. The MSF of the Punjab along with the students of the Aligarh University toured nearly every village in the Punjab. The efforts made by students were appreciated by the ML High Command. Jinnah exclaimed that “Perhaps the students do not know that by organising this successful movement, they have changed the course of history of India”. 222

The women Muslim Leaguers of the Punjab also took part in the freedom struggle under the leadership of prominent leaguers like Begum Salma Tasadduque Hussain, Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz and Begum Bashir Ahmad. Apart from the Punjab Girl Students Federation, other Muslim women organisations such as the Women’s National Guards, Women’s Defence League, the Women’s Teachers’ Union and the League Women’s Committee led by Begum Bashir Ahmad worked side by side with the PML for the electioneering campaigns. These League women used to organise charity and cultural shows for the poor Muslim families. 223 The Muslim women also stressed on their menfolk to work for the cause of the Muslim League and the Muslim League candidates. The dedicated efforts of the Punjab Muslim League made it an overwhelming force in the province that not only challenged the Unionists but even routed them and other opponent parties like never before.

The elections for the Central Assembly were held in November 1945. The Muslim League nominated its candidates for the 30 reserved Muslim seats. There were six reserved Muslim seats from the Punjab province which the PML’s candidates were
able to win. An estimated 93 percent of the province voted for the Muslim League. Overall the Muslim League was able to secure all 30 Muslim seats for the Central Assembly. On Quaid-i-Azam’s call a “Victory Day” was celebrated throughout India on Friday 11th January 1946.\textsuperscript{224}

The provincial elections were the most crucial and decisive stage of the elections. In order to boost the confidence of the Muslim League candidates from the Punjab, the Quaid visited Punjab in January 1946 and addressed a large gathering in Lahore.\textsuperscript{225} There were total 175 constituencies of the Punjab. Out of these 175 there were 86 Muslim seats including 2 Muslim women’s seats. The ML had nominated 84 candidates, the Congress 76, Akali Dal 26, Communist Party 27, \textit{Majlis-e-Ahrar} 18 and the Radical Party had nominated 3 candidates to contest the provincial elections. Apart from 84 Muslim League candidates, as many as 87 Muslim candidates contested the elections as independent candidates. Before the polling 9 Congress and 3 ML candidates were declared successful unopposed.\textsuperscript{226}

The polling started on 1st February and continued till 15th February 1946. The ML and the Congress were two main political parties contesting the provincial elections and both secured most of the seats. The Congress won 930 seats and became a majority party in eight provinces. The ML however won 440 out of 495 Muslim seats. In the Punjab the ML won 79 out of 86 Muslim seats.\textsuperscript{227} In Sind, Bombay, Madras, CP and Orissa the ML succeeded in securing all Muslim seats. However, in the NWFP where the pro Congress Khudai Khidmatgars were quite popular, the ML could only manage to win 17 out of 38 Muslim seats in a House of 50. In Assam it got 31 out of 34, in Bengal 113 out of 119, in Bihar 34 out of 40
and in UP 54 out of 66 Muslim seats. The Quaid congratulated the Muslims all over India for their success in the general elections.

Meanwhile, the Cabinet Delegation with its plan for the future of India had arrived and the Quaid really wanted to utilise the League’s tremendous victory in both the Central and Provincial elections at this occasion. A convention of Muslim League Legislators was convened at Delhi on 7th April, 1946 which lasted for three days.

Quaid-i-Azam, at this junction, elaborating on Pakistan, remarked:

So far as Muslim India is concerned, the conception of a united India is impossible. If any attempt is made to force a decision against the wishes of the Muslims, Muslim India will resist it by all means and at all costs….We are prepared to sacrifice anything and everything but we shall not submit to any scheme of government prepared without our consent.

Other prominent Leaguers also spoke on that occasion.

PML’s Civil Disobedience Movement against Khizr Hayat Tiwana

The Congress leadership was very much perturbed over League’s victory in the general elections. Soon after the results were announced the Congress started influencing other parties not to cooperate with the ML in the formation of ministries. The governments were formed in various provinces. In the Punjab, the AIML led by Nawab of Mamdot had 79 out of 86 Muslim seats. The ruling Unionist party had only 10 Muslim seats. The Congress and the Sikhs entered into an alliance and laid down three conditions for their cooperation with the AIML. Firstly, the Congress would be free to nominate ministers belonging to any community. Secondly, that the Congress-Akali group would have seats in government, and thirdly, that the question of Pakistan would not be brought before the provincial assembly. These conditions were unacceptable for the AIML so
later they tried to make a settlement with the Akali Sikhs who insisted that in course of the creation of Pakistan, a Sikh State would be formed in the Punjab. As it was impracticable for the ML, the talks failed with the Akali Sikhs. Then the Congress entered into an alliance with the Akali Sikhs and the Unionist Party to form a coalition ministry under Khizr Hayat Tiwana. The formation of the Khizr Government in the Punjab on 7th March 1946 triggered hatred against the British and the Punjab government. A general strike was observed in the Punjab on 9th March 1946. The day was celebrated as the “Traitors Day” or “Yaum-i-Ghaddaran-i-Islam”. In the same month a Cabinet Mission comprised of Lord Pethick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander arrived in India on 24th March 1946 to discuss the constitutional and political issues with the Viceroy and the Indian political leaders. Jinnah made it clear to the Mission that the Muslim majority areas should be grouped together to make a separate and independent Pakistan. Sir Stafford Cripps was the most active member of the Mission and arranged for a conference of the Indian leaders at Simla to discuss the political issues. The Congress party represented by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Nehru, Patel and Abdul Ghaffar Khan insisted on a single Constituent Assembly to frame the constitution for an All India Federal Government. The ML on the other hand demanded that two separate constitutional making bodies should be set up to frame the constitution of Pakistan and Hindustan respectively. Both the parties were not willing to accept the proposals made by the other. In order to end the deadlock, the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission published a statement giving their own solution of the constitutional problem in May 1946. According to this statement they
rejected the idea of two independent sovereign states and proposed a single federal system for India. The Mission proposed a central interim Government where the entire portfolios were to be allocated to the Indians. Gandhi was all out to criticise the Mission and called it ‘an appeal and an advice’.

His endorsement made the Congress Working Committee to demand the transfer of power in India to a predominantly Hindu legislature on 24th May 1946. The Muslim League however decided to cooperate with the Mission’s proposals on 6th June 1946. The process of the formation of the interim government became very difficult when the Congress refused to accept the formation of the Interim Government. They objected to give equal seats to ML as the Viceroy had distributed 12 seats for the Interim Government including 5 seats each to Congress and the ML, 1 to the Sikhs and 1 to the Christians. The Congress demanded that out of 5 seats allotted to the Muslim League, and one should be given to a non-Leaguer Muslim nominee of the Congress. The Viceroy in reply gave one more seat to the Congress but even then the Congress did not agree to the proposal of giving 5 seats solely to the ML. The Viceroy invited 14 persons to join the interim government including Jinnah which the later excused to accept as he would probably be wanted to serve on the constitution making body. The Viceroy insisted that the interim government would be formed whether or not any major party accepted it or not and in case of the refusal of any major party, the government would be formed with the willing parties.

Its been alleged that there was a secret understanding between the Viceroy and Congress provided that in case of the Congress refusing to join the interim
government the Viceroy would not ask the ML to join the government along with other willing parties.\textsuperscript{238} In connection to this clandestine arrangement the Congress declined to participate in the interim government but accepted the Cabinet Mission’s long term plan of constitution making. The ML in response to that refusal showed their willingness to join the interim government but the Viceroy formed a caretaker government on 4\textsuperscript{th} July 1946. The ML felt betrayed and decided to resort to “Direct Action” on 16\textsuperscript{th} August 1946 and to withdraw the ML’s approval of the short term as well as of long term proposals of the Cabinet Mission.\textsuperscript{239} The Congress thereupon immediately agreed to join the Interim Government. At this juncture the Viceroy invited the ML to join the interim government which the ML accepted.

In order to safeguard the Muslims interests in India the Muslim League National Guards were reorganised in mid 1946. Many primary branches of the MLNGs were established all over India to counter the activities of the RSS. The Punjab Government which had hitherto remained a passive spectator to all such activities but on the pretext of alleged collection of arms by the private organisations, the government decided to stop such activities and on 7\textsuperscript{th} January 1947 arrested 40 MLNGs at Lahore. This was followed by a formal ban upon the MLNGs and the RSS under Section 16 of Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act on 24\textsuperscript{th} January 1947.\textsuperscript{240} Carrying of flags and wearing the uniforms of both the MLNGs and the RSS was declared unlawful. The Punjab League decided to offer resistance and not to comply with the order of the Punjab Government. On the same day the police raided the office of the MLNGs in Lahore. The prominent Muslim Leaguers
including Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Begum Shah Nawaz, Nawab Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Sirdar Shaukat Hyat and Malik Firoz Khan Noon offered resistance and 7 Muslim Leaguers present at the office were arrested. The arrests of the Muslim leaders triggered the civil disobedience movement against the Khizr Ministry. The PMSF decided to launch a forceful protest against the ban on the MLNGs and the arrest of the provincial leaders. The Punjab Premier was perturbed with the latest situation in the province and on 26th January 1947 he ordered to release all the provincial leaders but they refused to come out of the jail until their demands were met. However, they were released forcibly on 27th January 1947 soon to be rearrested on charges of incitement. Entry of the pro-League papers was banned in the Punjab. The PML Council of Action directed the Muslims of the Punjab to observe strike on 24th February to mark the completion of their one-month struggle against the Khizr Ministry. However, on 20th February 1947, the British Prime Minister Clement Richard Attlee stated in the House of Commons that India would be freed by June 1948. The announcement had its impact on the movement. The Punjab Government initiated peace talks with the detained leaders but without any success. The Punjab observed the “National Struggle Day” on 24th February 1947 which was followed by a demonstration by the Muslim women in front of the Punjab Civil Secretariat on the very next day. The League flag was hoisted on top of the building by a young Fatima Sughra after replacing the Union Jack. Meanwhile M. A. Jinnah presented a formula to call off the Civil Disobedience Movement against the Punjab Government. The Punjab Government also accepted the formula and the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim
League Nawab of Mamdot, who was at Kasur Jail called off the Civil Disobedience Movement on 26th February 1947. The Punjab Government accordingly passed orders for the release of about 15,000 civil disobedience prisoners. The successful end of the movement made the Muslims of the Punjab proud of their political struggle against a tyrant ministry. Under the compromise formula the detainees were released on 26th February 1947 and were greeted by large crowds. The ML celebrated “Victory Day” on 2nd March 1947.

Compelled by the circumstances, Khizr Hayat resigned as the Premier Punjab on 2nd March 1947 which was accepted. However, Khizr was asked to work as a caretaker Premier till the formation of a new ministry. After his resignation, Khizr Hayat stated that he resigned because he wanted the League to join hands with other parties and work for the betterment of the Muslims and of the province. The Leaguers appreciated Khizr Hayat’s decision to withdraw from the Premiership. The Governor Sir Evan Jenkins took charge of the administration and invited Mamdot, the leader of the Punjab ML Assembly party on 3rd March 1947 to form the next ministry. While the ML was still considering the offer, the Sikhs, perturbed over the latest political situation in India, could not tolerate the invitation to the League to form the future ministry in the Punjab, protested violently against the very offer of the Punjab Governor. The League retaliated which started a new phase of violence between the two communities. The communal frenzy resulted in an estimated death of one million people. The March 1947 riots set in train events that compelled approximately 14 million people to migrate to Hindu or Muslim majority areas to save their lives, honour and property.
Change of Viceroyalty

Meanwhile Lord Wavell was replaced by Lord Louis Mountbatten as the last Viceroy of India who arrived in India on 22\textsuperscript{nd} March 1947 with the main objective of a peaceful transfer of power to the Indians.$^{250}$ By mid April he was able to come up with a partition plan for India. Both the Congress and the ML accepted the plan. After the approval from the British government in England the final plan was announced on 3\textsuperscript{rd} June 1947.$^{251}$

In order to demarcate the boundaries of the Bengal and Punjab, Boundary Commission were set up under the Chairmanship of Sir Cyril Radcliffe. Each Boundary Commission consisted of equal representation from India and Pakistan. There was a proposal that the boundary disputes should be dealt with by the UNO which was rejected by Nehru. Jinnah wanted three Law Lords from England as impartial members but the Viceroy left the matter to Radcliffe to decide. The selected members of the Punjab Boundary Commission were Justice Muhammad Munir and Justice Din Muhammad representing Pakistan and Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan and Justice Teja Singh from the Indian side. The Commission was set up by the end of June 1947 and the Chairman Radcliffe arrived in India on 8\textsuperscript{th} July 1947.$^{252}$ Both the parties accepted the Radcliffe Award. The Award chopped off a number of Muslim majority areas from Pakistan. The Quaid while commenting on the Award said that “it is an unjust, incomprehensible and perverse Award”.$^{253}$ The Viceroy had announced the partition plan on radio on 3\textsuperscript{rd} June 1947. India was divided into two sovereign states of India and Pakistan. The Princely States were allowed to join either India or Pakistan. The Indian Act of 1935 was to remain
intact until both the countries were able to draft their own constitutions. The British Parliament approved the Independence Act on 18th July 1947. Lord Mountbatten became the Governor General of India where as the Quaid took oath as the first Governor General of Pakistan on 15th August 1947 and the first cabinet was sworn in.

Earlier in March 1947 after the resignation of the Premier Khizr Hayat’s Ministry the ML leader Khan Iftikhar Hussain Mumdot asked the Governor Punjab Evan Jinkins to be given a chance to demonstrate his majority in the provincial assembly. However, the Governor did not agree and assumed charge of the administration under section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935. In the meantime, Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader being fearful of a League Ministry in the province brandishing his sword outside the Punjab Assembly chambers exhorted the non-Muslims against formation of a League Ministry. This triggered the out break of widespread communal disturbances in the province as would be described in the next chapter.
References and Notes:


7 Mirza Lutf Ali, trans., *Tarih-i-Sher Shahi* (Delhi: n.p., 1805). The *Tarih-i-Sher Shahi* or *Tuhfat-i-Akbar Shahi* was written in Persian language by Abbas Khan Sarwani in 1580 at the behest of Emperor Akbar.


13 Bell, *Annexation of the Punjab*, ibid, p.105; C.V. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sumnuds Relating to India & Neighboring Countries*, vol. II (Calcutta: Bengal Printing Company Ltd., 1863), pp.269-790; S.S. Thorburn, *Musalmans and Money-Landers in the Punjab* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1985), p.6; R.H. Haigh & P.W. Turner, *Punjab Military History in the 19th Century* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1984), p.44. According to the “Treaty of Lahore”, the *Darbar* was required to pay one and half crore rupees as war indemnity and the State was also to reduce its army to a maximum of 12,000 cavalry and about 20,000 infantry. Rani Jindan Singh was allowed to continue her role as regent for the young Prince Duleep Singh whereas Raja Lal Singh was to serve the young Maharaja as a *wazir*.


18 Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, ibid, p.28.


Tan Tai Yong, *The Garrison State: The Military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab, 1849-1947* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005), p.49. The chance of fighting alongside the East India Company’s forces provided those *jagirdars* an opportunity for winning back their assets and properties which had earlier been confiscated for siding with the Sikhs in Anglo-Sikh wars.

Tan Tai Yong, *The Garrison State*, ibid, p.49.

For details see, ‘Mobilizing the Rural Notables’ in *Garrison State*, ibid, pp.125-140.


Fazale Kareem, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan: Reformer and First Protagonist of Muslim Nationalism* (Islamabad: National Book Council of Pakistan, 2003), pp. 23-25; Dr. Rehmani Begum, *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: The Politics of Educational Reform* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1985), p.32. Begum states that Sir Syed’s father died in 1838 and in the year 1839 he was appointed as a *Naib-Munshi* at the Agra’s Commissioner Office; Shan Muhammad, *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: A Political Biography* (Lahore: Universal Books, 1976), pp.46-47. Born in a religious family of Delhi on 17th October 1817, Syed Ahmad Khan took service as a subordinate *Sirishedar* in the Criminal Department at his uncle’s office in Delhi. Then in February 1839, he was transferred to Commissioner Robert Hamilton’s office in Agra as a Deputy Reader and spent the next forty years of his life posted in a number of small north Indian towns. Syed Ahmad Khan was an educationist-
cum-political reformer and also the major formulator of the concept of the ‘Two Nation Theory’. During the 1857 revolt, he remained a staunch supporter of the English but afterwards published a sharp critique of British policies and attitudes. The significant of literary works of that period were his pamphlets An Account of the Loyal Mohammedans of India and Asbabe-e-Baghawat-e-Hind (Causes of the Indian Revolt). An Account of the Loyal Mohammedans of India was a series of three pamphlets which were later translated into English in 1860 from Meerut. For details see Rehmani Begum, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: The Politics of Educational Reform, ibid, pp.64-65. Asbabe-e-Baghawat-e-Hind which was later translated into English as the Causes of the Indian Revolt (1857-58) by two of Sir Syed’s British friends Sir Auckland Colm and Col. J.F.I. Graham in 1873. In Causes of the Indian Revolt he pointed out the root causes of the revolt, explaining why the Indians had to go to war against their rulers. He tried to explain that it occurred mainly because of the misunderstanding of the culture, social life, customs and religion between the rulers and the masses. He published 500 copies of the booklet and later sent to British parliamentarians and prominent politicians.

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52 S.N. Banerji, A Nation in the Making, ibid, p.47; Qalb-i-Abid, Muslim Politics in the Punjab, ibid, p.8.


57 Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab*, ibid, p.11.


Calcutta; Syed Allahdad Shah, Magistrate, Khairpur, Sind; Moulana H.M. Malik, Nagpur; Hon’able Khalifa Syed Mohammad Hussain, Patiala; K.B. Col. Abdul Majid Khan, Patiala; K.B. Khawaja Yousaf Shah, Amritsar; K.B. Mian Mohammad Shafi, Barrister, Lahore; K.B. Sheikh Gulam Sadiq, Amritsar; Moulvi Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan, Delhi; Munshi Mohammad Ehtisham Ali, Oudh; Barrister Syed Nabiullah, Allahabad; Barrister Moulvi Syed Karamat Hussain, Allahabad; Barrister Syed Abdul Rauf, Allahabad; Munshi Abdussalam Khan, Rampur; K.B. Nawab Mohammad Muzzamilullah Khan, Aligarh; Haji Mohammad Ismail Khan, Aligarh; Barrister Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Aligarh; Nawab Vigar ul Mulk, Muradabad; Moulvi Habib ur Rehman, Aligarh; Nawab Syed Sardar Ali Khan, Bombay; Moulvi Mohammad Mushtaq Hussain, Muradabad and Nawab Mohsin ul Mulk from U.P. For details see, Ahmad Saeed and Kh. Mansoor Sarwar, *Trek to Pakistan* (Lahore: Institute of Pakistan Historical Research, 2002), pp.89-93.


74 Syed Qalb-i-Abid, ‘The Punjab Muslim League’, ibid, pp.69-114. Actually the Muslim League had been established in the Punjab in February 1906, Sheikh Umer Bukhsh and Sir Fazal-i-Hussain were selected as the President and Secretary. Another Muslim rival group called the ‘Shafi Group’ which was led by Sir Muhammad Shafi also emerged on the political scene in November 1907. This Shafi Group was also known as the “Progressive Group”. Both Shafi and Fazli groups attended the first session of the All-India Muslim League at Karachi in December 1907 and requested for affiliation of their Punjab Muslim Leagues with the AIML. Shafi Group succeeded in affiliating PML with the AIML. For details see F/162, *Muslim League Papers*, National Archives of Pakistan (NAP), Islamabad.

75 Qalb-i-Abid, *The Punjab Muslim League*, ibid, p.70.


80 Nayyar Abbas, *Muslims of the Punjab and the World War I*, ibid, pp.25-26; *Civil & Military Gazette*, 20th September 1914.


82 Zamindar, 14th August 1914.

83 Nayyar Abbas, *Muslims of the Punjab and the World War I*, ibid, p.29.

84 *Paisa Akhbar*, 14th August 1914.

85 *Paisa Akhbar*, 26th September 1914.


87 *Paisa Akhbar*, no. 2344, 26th September 1914.


90 M.S. Leigh, comp., The Punjab and the War (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1922), p.34.
92 Michael O’Dwyer, India as I Knew it, ibid, pp.216-217.
93 Nayyar Abbas, ibid, p.43; Tan Tai Yong, Imperial Home-Front, ibid, p.398; M.S. Leigh, The Punjab and the War, ibid, pp.34-35.
94 Michael O’Dwyer, India as I Knew it, ibid, p.227.
95 Nayyar Abbas, ibid, p.47; M.S. Leigh, The Punjab and the War, ibid, pp.34-35.
99 Ian Talbot, Punjab and the Raj, ibid, p.44.
100 John S. Hoyland, Indian Crisis, ibid, p.84.
104 Gandhi, et al., The Congress Punjab Inquiry, ibid, p.51. General Dyer had arrived in Amritsar on the night of 11th April 1919 from Jullundur and was only commanding a small force of about one thousand men. For details see, Sir Michael O’Dwyer, India As I Knew It, ibid, pp.263-283.
109 Michael O’Dwyer, India As I Knew It, ibid, pp.301-303; Satya M.Rai, Punjabi Heroic Tradition, ibid, pp.118-119; Rupert Furneaux, Massacre at Amritsar, ibid, pp.88-98. Martial Law was officially proclaimed in Amritsar on 15th April 1919 and General Dyer was appointed as
Martial Law Administrator. On 16th April Dyer went to Lahore to meet Sir Michael O’Dwyer who had been very keen to suppress the disturbances. He came back to Amritsar on 19th April where he visited the injured Miss Sherwood at the Fort Hospital. After leaving the Fort he issued the infamous “crawling orders”. However on 25th April 1919 the orders were withdrawn because Sir Michael O’Dwyer had shown displeasure as by that time about fifty locals were forced to crawl and at least six young men were publicly flogged in the same street. His crawling orders were severely criticized by the members of the Hunter Committee. For more information please see M.K. Gandhi, et al., The Congress Punjab Inquiry, ibid, p.61; Satyapal & Chandra, Sixty Years of Congress, ibid, p.245.

111 S. Qalb-i-Abid, Muslim Politics in the Punjab, ibid, p.33.
114 M. Naeem Qureshi, Pan-Islam in British India, ibid, p.93; PPAI, 6th December 1919, No. 47, p.690.
115 Zarina Salamat, The Punjab in 1920’s, ibid, p.64
116 The British Government had stated that “the Mussalmans of India should rest assured that nothing will be done by us or our allies in this War which is likely to injure their religious feelings and sentiments. The holy places of Islam shall remain immune from molestation and every care will be taken to respect them” (official declaration by the Government of India in November 1919 along with the Declaration of War were circulated publicly in every corner of India) for details see, Syed Mahmud, The Khilafat and England (Patna: Patna Printing Press, 1921), pp. 11-12.
117 Qureshi, Pan-Islam in British India, ibid, p.184.
119 “Hijrat Movement” was suggested by Ali Brothers from Chindwara jail. In Punjab Maulana Daud Ghaznavi and Ataullah Shah Bukhari were the main advocates of hijrat or migration towards Afghanistan. All-India Khilafat Committee met on 1st & 2nd June 1920 and resolved that hijrat was optional but not mandatory. By the end of July 1920, approximately 8,000 emigrants were at the borders of Afghanistan. The Afghan Government however was interested to take professionals and craftsmen as most of the migrants were uneducated. When Kabul was saturated by the refugees, they were sent to a colony specially allocated for them in the Jabl-us-Siraj. However when things were getting out of hands for the Afghan authorities, the King Amir Amanullah forbade any emigration through a firman on 13th August 1920. The Afghan agent in Peshawar also started persuading migrants not to start their journey towards Afghanistan for which he was badly abused by the intending refugees. When questioned by a prominent Khilafist Sheikh Ghulam Sarwar about the imposed ban on the hijrat, Amir Amanullah replied that he had only postponed the hijrat and would resume the refugee movement from India at a time when the Afghan Government would be in a position to properly resettle the incoming refugees. However, by September 1920 muhajireen started returning via Peshawar. Not only the returnees felt betrayed but many of them could not survive the rigorous weather and died on the way back to Peshawar. For an in-depth study of the Hijrat Movement please see Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, North-West Frontier Province: History and Politics (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2007), pp.39-56. The “Non Co-operation Movement” was initiated by Gandhi on 10th March 1920 and on 14th March the Central Khilafat Committee endorsed Gandhi’s suggestion of non co-operation movement. Main features of the movement included renunciation of the titles, boycott of courts, refusal to co-operate with the government in any activity. On 29th August 1920, the Punjab Provincial Muslim League also resolved in favor of non co-operation. “Swadeshi Movement” literally meant locally produced. In this movement Gandhi emphasized the importance of using the locally manufactured household items. Boycott of the foreign cloth was the main feature of the movement. Khaddar became
popular. Another important movement was “Panchayats Movement”. Due to the non co-operation movement, national courts were boycotted; Panchayats were established in rural areas such as Jullundur, Rohtak, Hissar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur by 1921. Cases such as theft, assault, liquor etc. were dealt with in those panchayats. In 1922 it spread to Ferozepur, Ambala, Amritsar, Karnal and Attock where Shariat Law was implemented. In 1921 there were 162 panchayats, in 1922 there were 53 and out of those 53 only 9 were working and in 1923 there was none. Another notable movement that emerged during the Khilafat Movement was the “Temperance Movement”. It was an attempt to reduce liquor consumption on moral and social grounds plus to reduce government’s revenue.


124 Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British India*, ibid, p.237; Qazi M. Adeel Abbasi, *Tehrik-e-Khilafat*, ibid, p.252; Ainsle T. Embree, *India’s Search for National Identity*, ibid, p.82. Gandhi was charged with preaching disaffection against the government for which he pleaded guilty. Justice Broomfield remarked about Gandhi that he was a great patriot, a great leader and a man of high ideals.

125 PPAl, no.41, October 1922, p.421.

126 Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British India*, ibid, p.252.


131 Sukhwant Singh, ‘Emergence of Capitalistic Tendencies in the Punjab Agriculture under British Rule’, ibid, p.54.


133 Sukhwant Singh, ‘Emergence of Capitalistic Tendencies’, ibid, pp.53-54.

134 Sukhwant Singh, ‘Emergence of Capitalistic Tendencies’, ibid, pp.53-55.


139 Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab*, ibid, p.49.


145 Burke & Quraishi, The British Raj in India, ibid, pp.264-68.

146 M. Rafique Afzal, A History of the All-India Muslim League: 1906-1947 (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.75; Dr. Raiz Ahmad, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Second phase of his freedom struggle, 1924-1934 (Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies, 1994), p.87; Latif Ahmed Sherwani, Pakistan in the Making: Documents and Reading, ibid, pp. 400-401. Other participants of the informal conference included Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Dr. M.A. Ansari, Imam of Jamia Masjid Delhi, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Mr. Abdul Mateen Ch., Maulvi Syed Murtaza, Nawab Muhammad Ismail, Mr. Abdul Aziz, Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub, Sir Abdul Qaiyum, Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shafi Ismail etc. It was resolved in the conference to agree to the joint electorates issue on the conditions that Sind should be separated from Bombay and be declared as a separate province; reforms should be introduced in NWFP and Baluchistan provinces similar to other provinces of British India; in Punjab and Bengal the proportion of representation should be according to the population of the communities; in central legislature Muslim representation should not be less than one third. In response to these demands the Congress Working Committee which met on 21st March 1927 appreciated the decision taken at the Muslim Conference to accept the joint electorates. A committee consisting of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar was constituted to work with the Muslim leaders on the issues of joint electorates and Muslim demands.

147 M.A. Jinnah’s speech which he delivered at the All-Parties National Convention on 28th December 1928, in Latif Ahmed Sherwani, Pakistan in the Making, ibid, p.415.


152 Jamil-ud-Din Ahmed, Middle Phase, ibid, p.135; Kazmi, A Concise History of Pakistan, ibid, p.123.

153 Jamil-ud-Din Ahmed, Middle Phase, ibid; Rubbani, Pakistan Affairs, ibid, p.139.


155 Rubbani, Pakistan Affairs, ibid, p.141.

156 Tahir Kamran, trans., Punjab, ibid, p.116.

157 Tahir Kamran, Punjab, ibid, p.117.

158 Tahir Kamran, Punjab, ibid, pp.121-22.

159 Tahir Kamran, Punjab, ibid, p.123.


161 Ian Talbat, Khizr Tiwana, ibid, p.68; Ian Talbat, Punjab and the Raj, ibid, pp.109-110.
Wardha Scheme of Education: After the formation of Congress ministries, M.K. Gandhi published an article entitled “Criticism Answered” on 31st July 1937 in Harijan. In his article he proposed an education system to be carried out in all the provinces administered by the Congress party. He convened a conference at Wardha (C.P) on 22nd and 23rd October 1937 and invited all six provincial education ministers. The conference resolved that free and compulsory education be provided for first seven years; the medium of instruction should be the mother tongue; education should be productive and finally that the proposed education system should cover the remuneration of the teachers associated with this system. A committee under Dr. Zakir Husain was appointed to prepare a complete syllabus which submitted its report on 2nd December 1937. The report was later called as the Wardha Scheme and was enforced in the Congress administered provinces in March 1938. The committee had recommended the idea of Ahimsa (non-violence) and territorial nationalism. The Muslims regarded the Wardha Scheme as an attempt to corrupt the thinking of Muslim youth and therefore, rejected and even launched protests against the scheme. For details see Waheed Ahmed, ed., The Nation’s Voice: Towards Consolidation, ibid, p.543.

Vidya Mandir Scheme: The Vidya Mandir Scheme envisaged setting up of a “People School” in every village or group of villages within a radius of a mile having no school existed and where 40 boys and girls of school going age were available. It aimed at formation of healthy and hygienic conditions of body and mind and to provide instructions in subjects to give pupils “a living interest in their environment”. There were to be Marathi Vidya Mandirs, Hindi Vidya Mandirs and Urdu Vidya Mandirs according to the needs and circumstances of the residents of each place. Vidya Mandir Scheme was another facet of the Wardha Scheme of Education. The scheme was worked out behind the back of the Muslims. It was allegedly aimed to nurture Hindu mentality and outlook and force it down the throats of Muslims. Whenever Muslims raised the slightest protest against its imposition they were branded as communalists and disturbers of peace. For more information about Muslim Leaguers views about the scheme please see, Sharifuddin Pirzada, Foundations of Pakistan, vol. II, ibid, pp.305-307. See also Vidya Mandir Scheme (Nagpur: Government Printing, 1938).

Bande Mataram: The song Bande Mataram (Hail to Mother) was taken from the Bengali novel Anandamath published in 1882 and written by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. It is believed that Bande Mataram was sung by Rabindranath Tagore at Congress Annual Session of 1896. After the partition of Bengal in 1905, a procession of Hindu students took to roads on 7th August 1905 singing the Bande Mataram. The plot of the novel is based on the anti-Muslim sentiments and the song Bande Mataram is considered as a war cry to kick the Muslims out of India. For a complete English translation of Bande Mataram please see, Waheed Ahmad, ed., The Nation’s Voice: Towards Consolidation, ibid, pp.544-547. As for Jinnah, he did not regard Bande Mataram as a national song and questioned the Congress flag as the national flag of India. For details see, Pirzada, Foundations, vol.II, ibid, p.305.
H. Motamedi
Pakistan
Nation’s Voice: Towards Consolidation
November, 1937; Tahir Kamran, trans., Linlithgow
Movement: The Growth of the Muslim League in North-West and North-East India, 1937-47
Jidd-o-Jahd: 1939
press statement appealing the Muslims to celebrate 22
full cooperation of the Muslims of India, it will have to take the All-India Muslim League into
confidence which was the sole representative political party of the Muslims of India.

Towards Consolidation
had issued a proclamation on 4
(Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 2001), pp.298-307. The Viceroy of India Lord Linlithgow
Settlement in India
Papers (QAP), F-1049/3, NAP; Z.H. Zaidi, ed., Jinnah Papers, vol. X, Quest for Political

Shamsul Hassan Collection (SHC), P & P I: 18, 1st November 1937, P & P I: 19, 10th
November, 1937; Tahir Kamran, trans., Punjab, ibid, p.149.
Ifitkhar Haider Malik, Sikandar Hayat Khan, ibid, p.79; Ashiq Hussain Batalvi, Hamari Qaumi

Movement: The Growth of the Muslim League in North-West and North-East India, 1937-47
Ifitkhar Haider Malik, Sikandar Hayat Khan, ibid, p.83; Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, Pathway to
Ifitkhar Haider Malik, Sikandar Hayat Khan,ibid, p.83.

Waheed Ahmed, The Nation’s Voice: Towards Consolidation, ibid, p.371; H. D. Craik to Lord
Linlithgow, 17th May 1939 in Lionel Carter, Punjab Politics, 1936-1939: The Start of Provincial

Jaswant Singh, Jinnah: India-Partition-Independence, ibid, p.269; Waheed Ahmed, The
Nation’s Voice: Towards Consolidation, ibid, p.417; H. D. Craik to Lord Linlithgow, 15th
December 1939, in Lionel Carter, Punjab Politics: 1936-1939, ibid, p.419, see also ibid, pp.407,
reading the statement in the press, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to Jinnah on 19th December 1939 in
which he hinted that differences between the two communities had been widened after Jinnah’s
press statement appealing the Muslims to celebrate 22nd December as “Day of Deliverance” and
“thanks giving”. Then again on 10th December 1939 Rajendra Prasad wrote to Nehru in which he
informed him that he and Maulana Azad were of the view that Congress should not indulged into
any negotiations with Jinnah. However, he asked for both Gandhi’s and Nehru’s opinion over his
said suggestions. For details see S.A.I. Tirmizi, The Paradoxes of Partition, ibid, pp. 882-886.

For a detailed study please see, S.M. Burke, The Landmarks of the Pakistan Movement
(Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 2001), pp.298-307. The Viceroy of India Lord Linlithgow
had issued a proclamation on 4th September 1939 (see, Waheed Ahmad, ed., The Nation’s Voice:
Towards Consolidation, ibid, pp. 552-556; The Civil & Military Gazette, 5th September 1939)
which brought India into World War II. The Congress leaders were of the view that they should
have been consulted before the Declaration of War whereas Jinnah maintained that since India was
a British dependency therefore a mere declaration was needed. The Viceroy invited Gandhi on 5th
September 1939 who very tactfully told the Viceroy that he was in no position to commit anything
as everything had to be discussed in the Working Committee of the Congress. However, the official
Congress response came on 15th September 1939 when Congress Working Committee resolved that
only if the British were fighting for the protection of democracy then she should first end her
imperialist ambitions and establish complete democracy in India so that its people must enjoy the
right of self determination. After meeting with Gandhi on 5th September 1939, the Viceroy had also
met with Jinnah who personally empathized with the British and her allies. The Muslim League
officially responded through a Working Committee resolution on 18th September 1939 in which
they did not criticize the Declaration of War instead they asked for the governors’ presence to
check the Congress ministries and to protect the Muslims in the Congress controlled provinces. For
a detailed study of the Emergency Meeting of the Working Committee of All-India Muslim League
held at Delhi on 17th & 18th September 1939 under the president ship of Jinnah, please see, Liaquat
Ali Khan, comp. Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League: From December 1938 to March 1940
(Delhi: All-India Muslim League, 1940), pp.25-28. The resolution stated that if the British wanted
full cooperation of the Muslims of India, it will have to take the All-India Muslim League into
confidence which was the sole representative political party of the Muslims of India.
In response the Viceroy issued a public statement on 17th October 1939 in which he stated that
India would attain dominion status; Government of India Act 1935 would be open for amendments;
minorities were assured that due consideration would be given to their demands in any possible constitutional reforms. The Congress not much impressed by the public statement tendered resignations from the Congress ministries by 15th November 1939. The Working Committee of the AIML had met on 22nd October 1939 but it did not either rejected or accepted the Viceroy’s public statement however it called for further clarifications. For details see, Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation’s Voice: Towards Consolidation*, ibid, pp. 560-566.

181 Tan Tai Yong, *Punjab and the Raj*, ibid, p.144.
182 Tan Tai Yong, *Punjab and the Raj*, ibid.
185 Tan Tai Yong, *The Garrison State*, ibid, p.297;Iftikhar Haider Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan*, ibid, pp. 51, 131. The clauses of the Sikandar-Baldav Pact included the provision of 20 percent allocation of seats for the Sikhs in jobs in the Punjab province and the assurance that the Punjab Premier would support the Sikh representation in the central legislature; Tan Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana*, ibid, p.86; Christine Effenberg, *The Political Status of the Sikhs during the Indian National Movement: 1935-1947* (New Delhi: Archives Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1989), pp.131-137. This Pact was signed between the Chief Minister of Punjab and the Leader of the Unionist Party Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan and leader of the Sikh Punjab United Party Sardar Baldev Singh. The Pact was published on 15th June 1942. In response to providing concessions to the Sikh community, the Unionist Party was to get requisite support from the Sikhs in Punjab against the Congress party. As a result Sardar Baldev Singh was made the Minister of Development in the Punjab on 26th June 1942.

188 Tahir Kamran, trans., *Punjab*, ibid, p.162.
190 M.A. Jinnah to Shahnawaz Khan, 28th June 1940, F.97/17-18, QAP, NAP; M.A. Jinnah to Shahnawaz Khan, 5th July 1940, F.97/19, Quaid-i-Azam Papers (QAP), NAP; Shahnawaz Khan to M.A. Jinnah 21st July 1940, F.97/20-4, QAP, NAP.
192 Satyapal, *Sixty Years of Congress*, ibid, pp.327-220.


Amerjit Singh, *Punjab Divided*, ibid., p.110; Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics*, ibid, p.93; Tahir Kamran, *Punjab*, ibid, pp.176-77; Circular issued by the Muslim League’s Worker Board, Punjab, 5th February 1943, in F.828/1, QAP, NAP.

Mian Bashir Ahmed to M.A. Jinnah, 30th January 1943, in F.701/28-31, QAP, NAP.


The members of the Muslim Students Federation (MSF) were assigned the task of traveling to the remote areas of the country propagating the Muslim League cause. They used to visit Muslim majority towns and used to meet people after *juma* prayer to appraise them about the political situation. After convening at the grass root level they used to organize corner meetings and public gatherings in the populated areas where fiery Muslim League speakers such as Mustafa Shah Khalid Gilani of Rawalpindi, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, and Sirdar Shoukat Hyat etc used to visit and address. These propaganda techniques of the Muslim League bore fruits in the 1945-46 general elections.

Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics*, ibid, p.95.


For details see, Sirdar Shaukat Hyat Khan, *The Nation that Lost its Soul* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1995), pp.110-125. Shaukat was later dismissed from Khizr’s Cabinet by the Governor; Tahir Kamran, *Punjab*, ibid, p.190.


The Tribune, 30th December 1945; Iffat Jabeen, *Punjab Main Muslim League ka Kirdar*, ibid, p.144.
As my colleagues and I set foot on the soil of India, we bring to the people of this country on behalf of the British people a message of cordial friendship and good-will. We have come to settle with India and not to adjudicate on the rival claims of different political parties and settle dispute among them….we have come but with one purpose in view, it is, in conjunction with Lord Wavell, to discuss with the leaders of India and her elected representatives how best to speed up the fulfillment of your aspirations to take full control of your own affairs and thus enable us to complete the transfer of responsibility with pride and honour to ourselves.


Ian Talbot, Khizr Tiwana, ibid, p.149.

Ian Talbot, Khizr Tiwana, ibid; Transfer of Power (TP), ibid, VI, p.1136; Qalb-i-Abid, Muslim Politics, ibid, pp.298-99.

K.K. Aziz, Chronology, ibid, p.370; Ian Talbot, Khizr Tiwana, ibid, p.150.


Interview between Jinnah, Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Mr. Alexander, 17th June 1946, No. 556, TP, ibid, vii; Jinnah Papers, ibid, vol. XIII, pp.447-49.

Hodson, The Great Divide, ibid, p.151.


Dawn, 26th January 1947.


Evan Jenkins to Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, 5th March 1947, in F.126/8-9, QAP, NAP; *TP*, vol. IX, pp.867-68; *IAR*, 1947, p.42.


Chapter Two
Partition and the Communal Riots in the Punjab

Background

It is a general perception that the Hindus and Muslims led a peaceful co-existence during the medieval times in the Indian sub-continent. This however is not based on facts as right from the arrival of Islam in the sub-continent there had been incidents of communal tension between the native communities and the new arrivals. The differential identities had become entrenched much earlier before the British set foot on the land and cemented it into a single entity. Shortly after the death of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb a communal clash took place in Ahmadabad city in Gujarat in 1730 A.D. when the Hindus lit the Holi fire in a Muslim neighbourhood. The Muslims not to be outdone slaughtered a cow the next day on the same spot in order to level the score. The Hindus enraged by the act attacked the Muslims who had gathered there. One Muslim was killed in that clash exacerbating communal tension in the vicinity. The riots started leaving many casualties on both sides. Apart from the damage caused to the property, the city remained on a standstill for nearly four days. The situation forced some influential people representing both communities to request the Emperor Mahmood Shah to intervene. State power was used to return sanity to Ahmadabad.1

Another incident of communal rioting was reported in Banaras (now Varanasi) in 1809 over the issue of a mosque said to have been built by Aurangzeb allegedly on the site of a Hindu temple. At least fifty mosques were destroyed and several hundred people were killed from both sides.2
The Hindus and the Muslims fought together in disastrous mutiny of the 1857. In order to avoid such uprisings on an all-India level, the British resorted to a number of measures pivoted on the infamous “divide and rule policy” in India. The said policy changed the nature of communal riots in India. Earlier there had been riots on the basis of religion but after the inception of the British Raj, it shifted from religious factors to political reasons which naturally resulted in more riots and casualties then ever before. A series of communal riots took place at Multan (1881), Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Delhi (1886), Rohtak (1889) and Isakhel (1893) let alone several other minor communal clashes in different parts of India. Out of many reasons behind those riots, one was the negligence shown by the local administrations. Peace prevailed in those parts of the India where the authorities took all the possible precautionary measures to prevent a communal clash. In case of the Delhi riots in 1886, the Deputy Commissioner, G. Smyth neglected to take necessary precautionary measures despite the prevalent ill-feelings amongst the Muslims after locating a pig’s head in the Jamia Masjid of Delhi. The Hindus at the same time were repeatedly complaining about a possibility that the Muslims intended to sacrifice cows on the Eid-ul-Azha. Smyth could not even decide in time the final route for the Ram Lila and Muharram processions and when he did he could not communicate his decision properly which resulted in a bloody clash between the Muharram and Ram Lila processions at the Chandni Chawk in Delhi. But it should not be concluded that all the riots were caused by the administrative negligence. Both the Hindus and the Muslims had many differences with each other on the issues of religion, social setup, language and politics etc. Competition
for jobs and political representations also created grievances and disputes between the communities. The situation came to such a pitch in 1889 that the Queen Victoria of England became alarmed about the communal situation on **Muharram**. The Indian Government kept a watch on incidents of this nature and submitted a detailed report in December 1893 to the British Parliament for the period 1889-93. It was evident from the report that the higher authorities in Britain were keen on maintenance of differences between the two communities in order to serve British purpose of ruling a divided and weakened India.

Before the partition of the Punjab in 1947, the province comprised 29 districts. The relations among various communities viz. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians were trouble free. From 1922 to 1926 India witnessed the deterioration of relations between the Hindus and Muslims. During that period riots occurred in different parts of the Punjab including Lahore, Multan, Amritsar, Rawalpindi and Karnal. Multan was one of the five divisions of the Punjab and was consisted of six districts namely Multan, Montgomery, Lyallpur, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan and Jhang. In the beginning of 1922, the Punjab Governor Sir Edward Maclagan informed the Viceroy Lord Reading that the communal differences between the Hindus and Muslims were hypersensitive. The communal disturbance on the occasion of **Muharram** festival at Multan on 3rd September 1922 claimed seven lives and multiple injuries to about five hundred people, apart from damage to the property worth millions of rupees.

The communal hatred continued to mount with each passing year. The Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of India were trying to organise themselves for emergent
situations. The Hindus started their notorious *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements in order to reconvert the Malkana Rajputs and other low castes who had either converted to Islam or Christianity. The *Sangathan* Movement was sponsored by Pandit Malaviya to prepare Hindus for militant actions. In response to that the Muslims of India founded the *Tabligh* and *Tanzim* movements. At the same time the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (National Voluntary Service Association) was founded in 1925 by Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, a Nagpur Brahmin. After the communal riots in Nagpur in early 1920’s, Hedgewar backed by his strong Hindu sentiments formed the RSS in order to organise and protect the Hindus. The volunteers received regular physical training and when the next riots occurred, the Muslims were confronted by a well organised Hindu group.

In Rawalpindi District, a Sikh-Muslim rioting broke out on 14th June 1926 outside the Singh Sabha Gurdwara in Raja Bazaar. It was reported that immediate cause of the disturbance was a Sikh procession playing band to celebrate a Sikh festival. On 13th June, a Sikh procession about 15,000 strong, carrying the Sikh’s holy book *Guru Granth Sahib* with five armed guards exhibiting naked *kirpans* was marching through the streets of Rawalpindi city on their way to Singh Sabha Gurdwara. The procession did not stop playing band even when passing in front of the mosques. This incited the Muslim community and on the next day the Muslim gangs attacked the Ganj Mandi and Raja Bazaar destroying 172 shops owned by the non-Muslims. The loss was estimated as no less than six lakh of rupees whereas the loss by burning the account books and deeds was approximately about 11 lakh rupees. The casualties included 11 Muslims, 2 Sikhs and 1 Hindu dead and
dozens seriously injured from both sides. On the night of 16th June, two Hindu *sahukars* (money-lenders) namely Lachmandas and his son Mali Ram were murdered and their houses and shops were looted and then burnt down by the outsider hooligans in Saidpur, a village situated at the foot of Margalla Hills, about twelve miles away from Rawalpindi city. Two *gurdwaras* were also damaged by the fire but the important point to note was that not a single Muslim from the village took part in the raid and none of them denied protection to Hindus who went to their doors with their wives and children. The very next day a rumour spread in the village that a *jatha* of well armed Akalis had concealed themselves in the forest of village Nadala (presently in sector I-8, Islamabad) to avenge the previous night’s looting and killings. The forest was searched by the police but they could not find any Akalis there.

A year later riots occurred at Lahore from 3rd to 7th May 1927 over an alleged insult to a Sikh girl by a Muslim near Haveli Kabli Mal in Dabbi Bazar. At least 27 people were killed and about 300 persons were injured. The summer of 1927 witnessed tense relations between Hindus and Muslims because of the blasphemous remarks by the publisher Mahashay Rajpal and the author Pt. M.A. Chamupati of the pamphlet ‘*Rangila Rasul*’. Economic boycott of the Hindus was observed in all the Muslim majority areas especially in some parts of the tribal areas in North West Frontier Province where Hindus were expelled from their houses by the Afridis in July 1927. Both the *Rangila Rasul* and the *Risala Vartman* from Amritsar which had also published a blasphemous article entitled *Sair-e-Dozakh* (A walk through the hell) were forfeited throughout the province.
Following this incident, the Home Member of Government of India Mr. J. Crerar introduced a bill to amend the Criminal Law in this respect “with the object of making it a specific offence intentionally to insult the religion, or outrage the religious feelings of any class of His Majesty’s subjects”. The offence was made non-bailable by an amendment moved by the Muslim members and the bill was passed by a clear majority. After normalization of the situation, most of the Hindus who were expelled by the Frontier Afridis returned to their homes in the tribal areas. During 1923-27, about 450 people were killed and nearly 5,000 were injured in a series of communal violence. One of the reasons of the communal riots in the Punjab was the presence of the Sikh factor. Almost all of their holy places were located within the Punjab region and whatever was going to affect the Punjab was ultimately going to affect the Sikh community. A militant Muslim organisation, the Khaksars was established by Allama Inayatullah Mashriqi in 1931 which had a strong Muslim ideology but were against the politics of All-India Muslim League and often used to call Mr. Jinnah as a “betrayer of Muslim interests”.

Meanwhile, the British Prime Minister James Ramsay MacDonald (1866-1937) announced his “Communal Award” on 16th April 1932. This award created more bitterness between the Sikhs and the Muslims. The Muslims lost their majority in the Punjab and Bengal provinces as according to the Award, the Muslims of the Punjab got 49 percent seats despite the fact that they were in majority of between 55 to 56 percent. The Sikhs of the Punjab felt more affected from the Communal Award. They were of the opinion that their existence as a nation was more
important then their strength in population. They were clearly not happy with their representation of 13 percent in the provincial assembly. They thought that at least 20 percent seats would have been minimum quota acceptable to them.\textsuperscript{24}

The Shahidganj controversy in July 1935 was another very important event in exacerbating the animosity between the Hindu-Sikh coalition and the Muslims in the Punjab. In the compound of Shahidganj Gurdwara, there was a mosque which was built before the construction of the gurdwara during the Sikh rule in the Punjab. During the Ranjit Singh’s times, the mosque was used as the residence of the granthi (Sikh priest) and he also used to take rent of the shops attached to the building. The ancient building was in dilapidated condition and the Sikhs occupants once wanted to sell it to Muslims but no one came forward to pay the price. In 1925 the Gurdwara Act was passed and the gurdwara and the Trust properties worth billions were placed under the control of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC). After necessary formalities the Shahidganj compound was transferred to the Lahore branch of SGPC in March 1935.\textsuperscript{25} The SGPC started renovating the compound and demolishing the old buildings. This created unrest among the Muslim community who started to protest against the demolition of the mosque in the Shahidganj compound. A mason while demolishing a wall fell down and was crushed under the debris and died on 27th June 1935. This incident spread a rumour in the city that the mason was punished by God for demolishing of the mosque. The next day a larger number of Muslims started gathering around the compound. The Deputy Commissioner and the City Magistrate of Lahore arrived on the scene and ordered the workers to continue
work on other buildings but leave the mosque for the time being. Sikh *jathas* were holding counter demonstrations against the Muslims. This further triggered the hostile atmosphere. A committee for the protection of the Shahidganj mosque, *Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Masjid Shahidganj* was formed which included a large number of Unionist Muslims, lawyers, journalists, influential and religious people like Mian Abdul Aziz. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, in a meeting clearly said that “if no settlement were reached on this issue, it would only result in bloodshed. The Muslims would not hesitate to make any sacrifice in preserving the emblem of religion and God”. On 6th July, a group of Muslims met with the Governor Sir Herbert Emerson and abrest him about their concerns. The Governor agreed to look into the matter. But on 7th July, the Sikhs began to demolish the mosque under the cover of darkness and by next morning it was razed to the ground. The Muslims were furious and felt that they had been betrayed by the Governor who called British troops from the cantonment and posted them at the Shahidganj. The Governor also imposed an overnight curfew and censorship on the press.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan after addressing a huge public meeting in Lahore formed a group *Majlis Ittehad-i-Millat* to fight for the restoration of the mosque. The volunteers were to dress in blue shirts. In response to that the government arrested Maulana Zafar Ali Khan along with Syed Habib, Feroz-ud-din Ahmad and Malik Lal Khan. A public meeting was held by the Muslims on 19th July at Badshahi mosque after the *juma* prayers. The speakers vehemently urged the public to march towards the Shahidganj Masjid. Throughout the night the crowd was building up. The next morning a mob of about two thousand gathered at the
entrance of the Lunda Baazar in front of the police station. In order to disperse the crowd, the police fired twice into the crowd but to no avail. When the situation got worse on 21st July, the authorities opened fire on the crowd and by the time the crowd dispersed more than a dozen Muslim were dead. Lahore continued to remain tense up till 6th November when a Sikh was fatally wounded by a Muslim which once again triggered the ill-feelings between the two communities. It was estimated that from 1931 to 1938, the Punjab witnessed as many as 60 communal riots between the two communities.

The Punjab remained quite peaceful during the Second World War and there was no major communal disturbance after the Shahidganj affair. After the War when the rest of India was aflame, the province of the Punjab was relatively quiet. During this time both the Hindu and Muslim militant organisations were building up strength for a possible armed conflict in the near future. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) was formally launched in the Punjab by Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Bhai Parmanand and Dharm Vir in 1938. The Muslim militant organisation such as the Khaksars, Ahrars and the Muslim League National Guards were also organising themselves during the early 1940s. The lull before the storm was finally ended in early 1947 when the world witnessed the worst communal riots in the subcontinent.

Blood-spattered Punjab, 1947

The start of the year 1947 witnessed the problematic communal situation in the Punjab. It was thought by the Indian political intelligentsia that the communal problem would end with the departure of the colonial masters. Amongst the
British officials, Sir Bertrand James Glancy, the Governor of the Punjab (7th April 1941- 8th April 1946) was the first one in 1945 to predict a communal clash of a high magnitude on the partition of India. He believed that the Sikhs would not recognise a Muslim government peacefully. Lord Wavell, the Viceroy also suggested to the British Prime Minister Clement Richard Attlee in March 1947 that the British should have a careful planning in order to avoid any catastrophe at the time of partition. He also shared the information given to him by the Director of Intelligence Bureau (D.I.B.) that the British were living on the edge of a volcano and that Congress if dissatisfied was likely to raise more trouble than the Muslim League. Attlee wanted to fix a date for the British withdrawal from India whereas Wavell was against fixing of a date. He wanted to persist with the Cabinet Mission Plan. He held that the withdrawal of the British without solving the communal problem would result in widespread riots. But the Prime Minister did not agree to his proposals. Wavell feared that the history would not forgive the British if unrest and riots broke out with their withdrawal so he offered to resign as the Viceroy of India.

The nuisance within the Punjab was due to the animosity between the major communities who were not ready to live under the dominance of the other. The problem started on 24th January 1947 when the Punjab Government banned the Muslim League National Guards (MLNG) and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The ban was followed by searches of the offices of both the RSS and MLNG. The Muslim Leaguers at the Head Office of the Muslim League National Guards at Lahore resisted the search
operation. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din refused to permit the search and immediately telephoned other prominent Leaguers to assist him. The Leaguers responded to his call immediately and within no time they reached at the MLNG’s office and resisted search. These Leaguers included Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Sirdar Shaukat Hyat and Malik Firoz Khan Noon. The police arrested them under Section 353 of the Indian Penal Code. A number of steel helmets were found in the office during the search operation. On 24th and 25th January the arrests led to disturbances in Lahore. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, a prominent Muslim Leaguer called this banning as “an attempt to ban an important part of the activities of the Muslim League itself”. Even Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary AIML reacted strongly against the ban on the MLNGs. On 25th January there was a well attended meeting held by the Muslim Leaguers at Mochi Gate. Tear gas was used by the police to disperse the crowd and at least eight Muslim League MLAs were arrested. On 28th January, the Punjab Government lifted the ban on both the RSS and MLNG. The Muslim League held many processions in the city and Sirdar Shaukat Hyat of the All-India Muslim League was reported to have said that “Khizar Ministry must be made to go no matter at what cost to Muslim League. They would put out 15 million Muslims to break law”. All important Muslim Leaguers from Lahore were arrested and were sent to places outside Lahore. The Punjab Muslim League’s civil disobedience movement lasted for over a month but because of the discipline in the party not a single incident of violence was reported.
Meanwhile, Master Tara Singh was threatening violence in case of partition of the Punjab. He held many meetings throughout the Punjab especially in Amritsar convincing his followers to prepare themselves to die for the survival of their religion. In early February 1947 he called for organising an Akali Fauj.\textsuperscript{46} A special propaganda party was also formed to be headed by Kartar Singh to offset the influence of the Muslim League.\textsuperscript{47} The situation became very tense when on 2\textsuperscript{nd} March 1947 Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana tendered his resignation.\textsuperscript{48} The next day, the Governor of the Punjab, Evan Jenkins summoned Khan Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot and asked him to form a Muslim League government. The Sikhs backed by the Congress were very much perturbed by the emerging situation. Master Tara Singh while addressing a meeting of Akali high command at Sardar Swarn Singh’s residence in Lahore said that:

If we were not able to resist the formation of Muslim League Ministry we are bound to be thrown into an endless trouble and will not be in a position to save our honour, life and property. The combined power and the conspiracy of British and the Muslim League must be resisted.\textsuperscript{49}

It was decided to hold a meeting of Panthic Assembly Party in the Punjab Assembly’s Hall at the Charing Cross. After the meeting on 3\textsuperscript{rd} March 1947, Mater Tara Singh led the members outside the Punjab Assembly Hall in Lahore through its main gate shouting violently “Pakistan Murdabad”. At the same time there was a group of Muslim Leaguers led by Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din who were about to fix a Muslim League flag over the Assembly building. Master Tara Singh drew his sword and shouted that nobody could install the Muslim League flag as long as Punjab was united. He allegedly tore the Muslim League flag into pieces. Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din controlled the Muslim mob and a brutal clash was temporarily
avoided. Later that evening at Kapurthala House, Master Tara Singh continued in the same tone:

Oh Hindus and Sikhs! Be ready for self destruction like the Japanese and the Nazis. Our motherland is calling for blood and we shall satiate the thirst of our motherland with blood. By crushing Moghulistan we shall trample Pakistan...for that reason I started reorganising the Akali Party....We have in our hold the legs and limbs of the Muslim League and we shall break them. We shall rule over them....I have sounded the bugle. Finish the Muslim League.

Tara Singh also chanted the slogan of the tenth Sikh Guru, “Raj karega Khalsa, aki rahe na koi”, meaning “the pure Sikhs will rule, and no resister will survive”.

The situation in the Punjab especially in Lahore was very tense. Encouraged by the provocative speeches made by the Akali leaders, various Hindu and Sikh groups organised anti-Pakistan processions. On 4th March 1947 trouble started in Lahore when a non-Muslim mob started shouting anti-Pakistan slogans and pulling down Muslim League flags. The mob also attacked a Muslim locality using firearms. The communal riots rapidly spread across the Punjab province. On 5th March 1947, in Lahore alone 18 persons were killed and a large number was injured. The incident led to rioting in the cities and rural areas of Amritsar, Rawalpindi and Multan. Master Tara Singh asked his community to celebrate 11th March as anti-Pakistan Day. According to the hierarchy of the Sikhs, “it was better to die with sword in hand than to live the lives of slaves”. In Lahore the Mohallah Defence Committees were organised by the RSS volunteers. The members of these committees especially the students of the DAV College, Lahore were busy in their bomb-throwing campaigns in the Muslim localities whereas the MLNGs were reported to have been stabbing the Sikhs throughout the city. A mammoth meeting was organised in Fateh Chand College in which some prominent Hindu leaders
like Gokal Chand Narang, Goswami Ganesh Dutt, R.B. Ram Saran Das, R.B. Gopal Das M.L.A. and others declared Master Tara Singh as the saviour of the Hindus and Sikhs and elected him as the Director of the Council of Action of the Hindu-Sikh anti-Pakistan Front against the Muslims.\textsuperscript{58} The formation of new militant organisation and fiery anti-Pakistan speeches by Hindu and Sikh leaders led to severe rioting in different places in the Punjab. On 24\textsuperscript{th} September 1947, a train carrying Muslim passengers was stopped and burnt by a non-Muslim mob near Kamoke in Gujranwala District.\textsuperscript{59} The communal atmosphere in Amritsar was also very grim. An anti-Pakistan meeting was held in Amritsar on the evening of 4\textsuperscript{th} March 1947 where it was decided by the participants not to allow the Muslim League to form a government in the Punjab and if the ML would be successful in forming a government, it would not be allowed to function. The speakers in that meeting used abusive language against Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim League. The Muslims responded by shouting pro-League and pro-Pakistan slogans. The two factions immediately crossed swords. At least two Muslims and one Sikh were wounded which created panic throughout the city.\textsuperscript{60} When the reports of the violence in Amritsar reached in the Muslim majority areas, the Muslim inhabitants there decided to retaliate. This resulted in massacre of Sikhs and Hindus living in the Muslim majority areas of West Punjab especially in Rawalpindi, Lahore and Multan Divisions.

**Communal Riots in West Punjab**

Rawalpindi Division was the worst riot affected area in which the Sikhs perished in large numbers. The communal tension was mounting even before the
resignation of Unionist Ministry in March 1947. The Punjab Muslim League had
launched its civil disobedience movement against the coalition ministry of Malik
Khizar Hayat Tiwana. The movement lasted for 34 days during which rallies were
organised to demonstrate the hatred against the Unionist-Congress alliance. The
Muslim League processions were parading through the streets and bazaars of
Rawalpindi shouting pro-Pakistan slogans. These gathering were alarming for the
minority community especially the Hindus and Sikhs who were mostly money
lenders and businessmen. They had their properties throughout the Rawalpindi
Division. Due to their social status they were not liked by most of the Muslims of
the locality. The trouble started in early March 1947 when Master Tara Singh, the
Akali leader hailing from Gujar Khan in Rawalpindi District shouted “Pakistan
Murdabad” on his way out of the Punjab Assembly in Lahore.\textsuperscript{61}

The situation in Rawalpindi was also very tense. The voluntary militant non-
Muslim organisations including the Akali Fauj, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
(RSS), Mahabir Dal, Shakti Dal and Bajrang Sewak Akhara were urged upon to
work collectively against the Muslims. A new volunteer organisation “Revengers”
was formed to “protect” the Hindu-Sikh interests.\textsuperscript{62} The RSS workers began to
collect funds for buying arms. Following the Lahore Sikhs, the Hindu students at
Rawalpindi also took out a procession on 5\textsuperscript{th} March 1947 and during an exchange
of hot words a Muslim student was stabbed.\textsuperscript{63} The very next day local Hindus and
Sikhs mostly Duggals held a notable anti-Pakistan meeting, waylaid a Muslim
Leaguer’s car, removed the Muslim League flag and stabbed the owner’s son. A
rumour spread that the Rawalpindi Jamia Masjid had been razed to the ground by
the non-Muslims and the streets were full of Muslim corpses. In the meantime riots were reported from Multan and some League minded people from Hazara had threatened the non-Muslims of Taxila and Murree. Many villages were burnt and non-Muslims were besieged and killed. On 8th March 1947, the same mob attacked the Hindu-Sikh community in different parts of Rawalpindi.

On 8th March 1947, the President of the Cantonment Muslim League allegedly invited about 11 prominent Hindus and Sikhs to his home to form a Peace Committee in order to re-establish the communal harmony among the communities. It was allegedly reported that seven out of eleven non-Muslim members were murdered on the spot and another two who were lucky to escape death, received serious injuries. The raiders were at times pushed back by the residents who used to fire at the raiders from the roof tops. The total number of casualties during the two days of communal rioting in Rawalpindi was estimated to be 50 killed and about 200 wounded. On 9th March riots were also reported during the curfew hours. The ‘Up Frontier Mail’ heading towards Peshawar was detained at Chaklala by a Muslim mob of about 300 to 400 armed raiders. Another train ‘Down Frontier Mail’ was stopped by a mob near Taxila railway station. The passengers were dragged out of the train and were brutally beaten by the frenzied mob resulting in about 50 casualties.

On 16th March 1947, the Punjab Governor Sir Evan Jenkins paid a personal visit to the riot affected areas in Rawalpindi and met with Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mamdot and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din. Meanwhile riots were also reported from Taxila, and Ghora Gali in Murree whereas the situation in Rawalpindi City was
brought under control by deploying the army in the disturbed localities. The raiders had headed towards the rural areas and on 9th March it was officially announced that major part of residential Murree area had been gutted by fire. The Municipal Committee of the Rawalpindi City had to dispose of at least 37 dead bodies of Sikhs and Hindus in just two days of violence. Military patrols were despatched to the different affected villages in Rawalpindi after the news of considerable loss of life and property was reported from the towns in the suburbs of Rawalpindi. Houses and shops were looted and then burnt down. After the looting and arson episode, on many occasions, the non-Muslims were asked to convert to Islam and if they did so, their lives would be spared but not their properties. But if they refused then they were either put to sword or burnt alive and their young women were taken away as booty.

Sardar Baldev Singh, the Indian Defence Minister in the Interim Government had an aerial view of the riot affected areas. He also visited the refugee camp in the cantonment area where about 5,000 non-Muslims had been accommodated. At this camp he was informed by some Sikhs that they had been forcefully converted to Islam, their hair cut and their beards trimmed by the belligerent Muslims. The Minister later received a deputation of the Hindu and Sikh leaders from Rawalpindi and the surrounding areas who apprised him of their miseries.

Disturbances were reported from Kahuta Tahsil of Rawalpindi District where the army reached on 9th March 1947. The non-Muslims were evacuated without any moveable property to Civil Rest House from where they were escorted to a safer place. The military that was deployed later on in Kahuta brought situation under
control by 18th March and the government machinery was once again functional.  

On 10th March 1947, a mob of Muslim hooligans invaded Bewal village in Gujar Khan shouting ‘Ya Ali Ya Ali’. The non-Muslims barricaded themselves in two improvised shelters. In the evening the raiders set fire to a number of marked houses inhabited by the Hindus and Sikhs. On the next morning couple of other Muslim gangs arrived on the scene and set fire to the gurdwaras and the shelters where the non-Muslims were hiding. Almost all the inmates were burnt alive. Many girls saved their honour by self immolation. There were also cases of inhumane torture on the non-Muslims. One of the residents, Mukand Singh was dragged by his legs with his eyes removed from their sockets.  

On the same day another massacre took place in Doberan village in Kahuta Tahsil where the Sikhs used ammunition to fight the raiders but soon they ran out of ammunition and were asked to come out of the gurdwara under the promise that their lives would be spared. About three hundred came out and were taken to Barkat Singh’s house. But during the night the roof was ripped open and kerosene oil was poured in the house burning alive all the inmates. The next morning, the remaining non-Muslims came out of the gurdwara and died fighting with the Muslim groups and only a few were lucky to escape the carnage.  

Three young girls were raped publicly in Qazian, a village where a Sikh named Santa Singh was hiding after killing one of the Muslim raiders. He and his son were later dragged out, hacked to pieces and then burnt. On 11th March 1947 the lucky survivors were rescued and evacuated by the military.  

More than one hundred men were killed and more than fifty were forcibly converted to Islam in Narali village in Tahsil Gujar Khan. It was reported that few
women also committed suicide by jumping into a well. At Dhamali, in Tahsil Kahuta, raiders retreated after being fired at by the non-Muslim defenders. The raiders came back on 12th March with reinforcement and starting burning the houses. A Hindu offered money for the safety of the village. The raiders took 14 thousand rupees and left. The very next day the raiders again appeared, the villagers were outraged and in frustration attacked the raiders but were outnumbered and almost the entire non-Muslim population was slaughtered.77

According to an unofficial report at least 2,500 people were killed in Rawalpindi District up till 25th March 1947. Mr. John Scott, the Deputy Inspector General of Police announced that the government had taken elaborate measures to prevent communal clashes and to restore public confidence. He further added that courts under the Punjab Safety Act would be set up to try all cases relating to communal disturbances.78 This announcement led to the arrests on large scale. Till 28th March at least 1,000 persons were arrested from Rawalpindi District on charges of taking part in rioting. Moreover, about 150 people were arrested from Hazara District in connection with the communal violence in Murree.79 Apart from arrests, the authorities also discovered a huge quantity of looted property and hundreds of illicit arms, besides two country made bombs which were recovered from a house in Mohallah Amarpura in Rawalpindi city. A Hindu detained and interrogated by the Rawalpindi police confessed that he and his associates had been procuring arms from the North-West Frontier Province and had also manufactured bombs at Rawalpindi and Lahore. He also confessed that the RSS was been funded by influential people for the purchase of arms. According to him the method
employed for smuggling arms was to pack them in boxes and label them as containing medicines. The police was also trying to recover the abducted women with the help of the military.

The Campbellpur police arrested five alleged ringleaders in the village Chakri, about 27 miles from Rawalpindi. These men included Major (retd) Fateh Khan, K.B. Hayat Khan, Ch. Taj Muhammad Khan (Zaildar), Subedar Aurangzeb Khan and Munshi Gulab Khan, a teacher at the District Board School. According to the F.I.R. these men were leading a Muslim mob and after refusal of the non-Muslim villagers to change their religion, ordered arson and massacre. Mr. Taylor, the Deputy Commissioner, accompanied by the Superintendent of Police visited Chakri and inspected the burnt gurdwaras and houses. More then a dozen bullets were extricated from gurdwara walls. The situation in Rawalpindi in general was getting from bad to worse; looting, murder, arson and rape were orders of the day. With the Independence Day approaching, the minorities’ fears were on the rise.

The beginning of August 1947 witnessed chaos all over the Punjab. Militant gangs of all communities were busy rioting in the streets of the Punjab. Thousands of young girls of Hindu, Sikh and Muslim origin were abducted by the members of the other community and despite the efforts made by the military; most of them were never recovered. On 11th August 1947, a deputation of Hindus and Sikhs led by Bhagat Lachmi Narain, President Hindu Sabha and Bar Association met Sheikh Anwar-ul-Haq, the newly arrived Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi. They apprised the Deputy Commissioner of the communal situation in the city and requested him to take adequate precautions on 14th August 1947 for the safety of
the Hindus and the Sikhs. Sheikh Anwar-ul-Haq gave them a patient hearing and assured them that all possible steps would be taken for the safety of the minorities.\textsuperscript{82} While all these meetings about the anticipated riots on Independence Day were in progress, Mr. C.L. Coates the City Magistrate of Rawalpindi, issued an order under the Punjab Safety Ordinance on 9\textsuperscript{th} August 1947 which was to be effective till the end of that month. The order prohibited holding of processions and demonstrations in any public place within cantonment limits of Rawalpindi except processions purely of a religious nature for which written permission been granted; carrying of arms or any other article which could be used as an offensive weapon was also banned.\textsuperscript{83}

Under these heinous communal shadows, Pakistan came into being on 14\textsuperscript{th} August 1947. The Sikhs were outraged by the partition of the Punjab as most of their holy places remained in Pakistan. Master Tara Sing incited his followers to attack the trains leaving for Pakistan. In retaliation the Muslims too began to attack the trains leaving for India. Exodus of refugees started from both sides of the Punjab. Many Muslims were killed in cold blood on their way to West Punjab and it was vice versa. In some cases children were torn into pieces and maimed. Heaps of dead bodies were seen in the streets. Several trains full of dead bodies reached Lahore and Amritsar which once again triggered the communal violence in both parts of the Punjab. A Muslim mob killed at least 15 Sikhs in a gurdwara in Lahore.\textsuperscript{84} On 14\textsuperscript{th} August 1947 the Boundary Force troops found 35 mutilated bodies of Sikhs who had been killed at the Lahore railway station. They also found a group of Hindu women whose breasts were systematically mangled by the Muslim
hooligans. The angry Muslim mob burnt the main gurdwara in Lahore on 15th August. The bodies were so cluttered and messy that it was impossible to count or recognise them. The Muslim mob also found a go-down in Sheikhupura in which a large number of Hindus and Sikhs had taken refuge. The captured Hindus and Sikhs were dragged out of the go-down and were gunned down by the Muslim police and ex-army men. There were some rare cases in West Punjab when the non-Muslims were asked to either convert to Islam or prepare for dire consequences.

Mr. Vir Bhan, the Deputy Director of Industries and his wife were stabbed in their home at Lahore by four Muslims disguised as coolies. The police had not only deprived Mr. Bhan of his personal belongings but also accused his daughter of the stabbing on 14th August 1947. A District Engineer Mr. S.P.R. Sawhney was stabbed to death in his office in Lahore on 12th September 1947. Earlier Madan Gopal Singh, the Registrar of the Punjab University had been stabbed to death in the University on 1st September 1947. The situation in the suburbs of Lahore District was also very critical after 14th August. At times it was easy for the people of border villages to escape to the Indian Punjab but there were numerous cases of gang attacks on the refugees on their way out. One such incident occurred at Pattoki on 20th August when about 250 non-Muslims were killed by a Muslim mob. They also looted the non-Muslim property and their houses were set on fire at Kasur where riots broke out on 18th August resulting in more than 90 non-Muslim casualties.
Sheikhupura was considered to be a safe place in West Punjab until August 1947 when Muslim refugees started to pour in from East Punjab. They narrated horrifying accounts of the atrocities committed by the Hindus and Sikhs on the Muslims in East Punjab. The Hindus and Sikhs evacuees were stabbed by the Muslim gangs at the Sheikhupura Railway Station. The Hindu and Sikh police of the city had also been disarmed by their Muslim colleagues. Many non-Muslims were killed in the rice mills where they had taken refuge.  

The Hindu Muslim relations in Sialkot had been cordial before March 1947 when about a dozen non-Muslims were stabbed to death by the Muslim miscreants. The situation was quickly brought under control by the military and after that the atmosphere remained normal until the day of partition of India. On 14th August 1947 a train from Wazirabad to Sialkot brought fifty dead bodies of the non-Muslims. The train was allegedly stopped by the Muslim driver at Nizamabad where the Muslim mob butchered the inmates in cold blood. Before attacking the non-Muslim localities, conversion to Islam was offered as a guarantee of life and those who refused were put to death immediately. The Sikhs were forcibly clean shaved, non-Muslims were forced to eat meat and there were reported cases when some of them were even circumcised.

Rajiana Rattan in Sialkot was raided on 22nd August 1947. The non-Muslims as a set pattern were asked to convert to Islam which they refused after a consultation. In order to save their lives, they hid themselves in the local gurdwara. The rain started and the Muslim mob took shelter in the empty houses. The non-Muslims taking advantage of this started running towards the fields in rain, when rain
stopped they were followed by the mob. At least ten were captured and put to
death while the rest were lucky to escape towards the Jammu State. Wazirabad in
Gujranwala was plundered on 13th August when a refugee train carrying the non-
Muslims was stopped by the mob which had collected from the neighbouring
Nizamabad, situated about a mile away from Wazirabad. It is important to note
that Nizamabad was the centre of cutlery industry and a large quantity of locally
made knives and daggers were sent from Nizamabad to different parts of India. Gurdwara Rori Sahib was desecrated and burnt and a large number of non-Muslim
factories in Kamoke were set on fire on 22nd and 23rd August 1947. At the
Wazirabad Railway Station all the non-circumcised passengers were killed by
armed Muslim mob. Hafizabad was attacked on 24th August resulting in huge
loss of property. The Hindus of Kaleke Mandi were warned that if they would not
convert to Islam they would all be murdered. The Hindus in order to save their
lives agreed but they refused to surrender their women to the Muslims. The
Muslims after hearing this attacked them and more than ten non-Muslims were
massacred on the spot and about forty received serious injuries.

There were also some Muslims of the locality who actually protected non-Muslims
from the raging mob. One such incident was reported from Chak Ghazi where
Lambardar Fateh Mohammad and Mian Rehmat Khan safely escorted their non-
Muslim villagers to Akalgarh refugee camp. On 19th August 1947, the Punjab
National Bank, the Grain Market and the Imperial Bank were burnt in Gujarat. In
Mandi Bahauddin, the Hindu community took part in a public function celebrating
the birth of Pakistan on 15th August. A rumour later spread that the Sikhs of the
neighbouring villages were planning to attack the Muslims of the Mandi which led to the attacks on Kanjo and Jalalpur Jattan villages on 18th August.99 Chak No. 26 was a Sikh majority village inhabited by the Sikh Rajputs of the Rathore clan. The chak was surrounded by the Muslim dominated chaks and in order to avert any possible attack on the village by the Muslims, the Sikhs built a surrounding seven feet high wall around the village and a ditch over four feet deep beyond that wall. There were four doors guarded by Shahidi Jathas. On the night of 17th August, the Muslims approached the chak with beating drums, ladders, camels and spades apart from firearms and swords. The leader of the Muslim mob Jahan Khan while negotiating with the Sikhs told them that it’s a Muslim country now and the Sikhs will have to hoist the Pakistani flag and abide by the rules of Pakistan. The Sikhs agreed to that and the mob retreated. Alarmed by the Muslim intentions the Sikhs later on started to evacuate the Chak 26 until 24th August when further evacuation was stopped after the spread of rumours that some Muslims were burnt alive by the Sikh military and now it was not safe for the Sikhs to move around. At that stage only about 300 non-Muslims were left in the village who were supposed to take valuables to East Punjab. The same evening, the village was attacked by the armed muggers with 303 rifles. Around 100 men were brutally killed and nearly 50 were injured. There were few lucky survivors who escaped the carnage.100

On the night of 19th August, two Muslims walking in a street at Montgomery (now Sahiwal) during the curfew hours were shot dead by the Sikh soldiers of the Boundary Force. The Muslims were outraged by these killings and they vowed to avenge. A number of shops and mills owned by the non-Muslims were looted and
burnt down by a Muslim mob. Following these disturbances, Pakpattan was also attacked, looted and burnt on 23rd and 24th August. Riots also occurred in Chak Daula Bala, Arifwala, Kandianwala and Bhila Gulab Singh in Montgomery District. Tandlianwala in Lyallpur District was raided on 26th August where the Muslim mob burnt down a gurdwara.

In Rawalpindi city, trouble started on 15th August when a number of non-Muslims were stabbed on the streets. The very next day, Kartarpura Mohalla was brutally attacked by the Muslim thugs and was completely plundered. Khalsa High School and Khalsa College were also destroyed on 17th August. Important non-Muslim localities such as Mai Veero-ki-Banni, Pul Shah Nazar, Nimak Mandi, Mohanpura and Mohallah Talwaran were also looted by the armed gangs. About eleven trucks left Rawalpindi for Poonch under military escort on 11th September. The caravan was attacked on their way and nine out of eleven trucks were looted and all the non-Muslim passengers were killed in cold blood. Many girls were also abducted by the raiders.

On 30th August 1947, an unfortunate incident took place on the Murree Road in Rawalpindi when two non-Muslim women were shot dead and four others including a Muslim bus driver were injured. At Bhara Kahu, people were stopping the lorries which were bound for Kashmir in order to loot and plunder. Four stabbing cases were reported in the city on 30th August 1947, three proving fatal. The Sikhs of Gujar Khan offered much resistance to Muslims raiders. The Sikhs were heavily armed and used to fire from the roof tops on the Muslims who suffered severe causalities daily. A rumour spread that the Sikhs and Hindus had
murdered thousands of Muslims in Gujar Khan town and the police had also arrested some Muslims. The Muslims of the neighbouring villages on hearing that rushed toward Gujar Khan with what ever weapon they had in revenge for their Muslim brethren. They were helpless in the town due to the presence of the army and police contingents. They however, fell back on the non-Muslims in the villages. The Hindus and Sikhs were brutally massacred by the Muslim villagers in Gujar Khan and Kahuta Tahsils. Master Tara Singh’s home in Harnal village in Gujar Khan Tahsil was set on fire by an outraged Muslim mob.\textsuperscript{105}

In Jhelum District, riots started on 25\textsuperscript{th} September 1947 when an armed mob attacked the Machine Mohallah. The non-Muslims were warned about such an attack so they entrenched themselves in four or five heavily fortified houses in Mohallah Gobindpura. The Muslim military allegedly asked the non-Muslims to send their women and young girls for safety who were never heard of after that day. Immediately after that a general massacre took place in which hundreds of non-Muslims were killed and thrown into Jhelum River.\textsuperscript{106}

In Bahawalpur State, riots started after 15\textsuperscript{th} August in which a number of non-Muslims lost their lives. Allahabad was attacked on 18\textsuperscript{th} August. The non-Muslims were asked to embrace Islam if they wanted to live. Several hundred Hindus were converted to Islam. The next day a Muslim state official arrived there and asked if the Hindus had accepted Islam through their free will. Since the officer was quite sympathetic, they replied that they were forcibly converted. The Muslims of Allahabad wanted to attack the newly converts but the State official arrested the leader of the gang and asked his military squad to shoot any Muslim who created
any disturbance. On 19th August 1947, the Sikh passengers of a train coming from Bhatinda were put to sword at the Bahawalnagar Railway Station. After that the looting and arson started in the town which resulted in deaths of thousand of non-Muslims, arson, rapine and abduction of young girls and desecration of the gurdwaras and temples.

**Communal Riots in East Punjab**

Communal riots simultaneously started in East Punjab on 6th March 1947 where arson and looting the Muslim property became the order of the day. It is estimated that around four thousand Muslim shops and property were looted and burnt down in Amritsar. This was the time when the radical Sikhs were organising and recruiting volunteers for the notorious Akali Fauj and Shahidi Jathas whose membership exceeded 10,000 in a span of few months and the jathas were organised in all the districts of Punjab to counter the Muslim League National Guards.

On 10th August 1947, all Muslim policemen in Amritsar who opted for West Punjab were disarmed and the vacancies were filled with the Sikhs, Indian National Army (I.N.A.) members and volunteers of the RSS who had already been trained in guerrilla warfare. Apart from looting, arson and killings, Muslims girls were also abducted by the armed jathas in vehicles with Patiala State number plates. It was reported that up to the middle of August 1947, about 1,000 people mostly Muslims had been killed in the Amritsar District. The Muslims in reprisal also attacked the Sikh dominated area of Majha in the south of Lahore and Amritsar and it was estimated that around 170 people from both sides lost their
lives in a single day. The dawn of the Independence witnessed the most horrific scenes of communal disturbances in the subcontinent. The very next day Amritsar was set ablaze. The police had deserted the city and the Sikhs were testing their sword skills on the Muslims as most of the Muslim males were butchered in cold blood and only a small number was lucky to escape the rampage. A large number of Muslim girls were paraded naked in the streets of Amritsar outside the Golden Temple. They were then gang raped and put to death. A Muslim village, Bagga Kalhunagel in Amritsar District was attacked by an armed Sikh jatha of about 6,000 strong on 17th August resulting in brutal slaughter of 120 Muslims including women and children. The jatha after the bloodbath also abducted 17 girls from the village but luckily five girls were recovered by the military afterwards. Another village Hoshiarnagar was also raided by the Sikh jathas of the neighbouring villages. The Muslim villagers offered some resistance but ran out of ammunition and tried to negotiate with the assailants. The Sikhs asked them to leave the village and promised them that they would be allowed to leave unharmed. When the villagers came out of their hideout they were butchered in ferocious manner even the women and children were not spared. It is reported that about 1,000 Muslims were killed and almost 50 young girls were abducted. After the butchery arson was committed in the entire village. On the same evening other Muslim villages of Gharial, Barnala, Algo and Jodh Singhwala were also attacked by armed jathas. The mass killings of Muslims forced them to flee towards the West Punjab in order to save their lives. The Muslim villagers of Dinowal, Qaziwala and Mathrewal formed a refugee party of about 3,500 people and started to move towards the
western borders of the Punjab. The party was attacked at Jandiala by the Sikh *jatha* armed with rifles, swords and kirpans. The *jatha* was also accompanied by at least 70 military men in uniforms. Only 300 Muslims were lucky enough to escape the mass execution. Many young girls were taken away forcibly.\(^{114}\) Chak Sikandar, Police Station Ram Das in Amritsar was raided three times by Hindus and Sikhs in August 1947. The *jathas* were accompanied by 60 to 70 raiders on horses. Before the attack was made, the villagers were having a peace meeting and a Sikh *jathadar* was also one of the participants. A Hindu went to him and whispered something in his ears which made him leave the meeting immediately. After a short while an armed non-Muslim *jatha* arrived in the village to kill and commit arson.\(^{115}\) Muslim villages of Gill Toot and Kirian were also attacked by the raiders on 21\(^{st}\) and 22\(^{nd}\) August despite the understanding by Kirian and some adjoining Sikh villages that the Muslims would be protected. It was reported that a Sub-Inspector of Police posted at the Sirhali Police Station instigated the Sikhs to attack the Muslims. At least 150 Muslim lost their lives and 20 women were said to have been abducted by the *jathas*.\(^{116}\)

Gurgaon District was worst affected where the Hindu Ahirs with firearms supplied by the neighbouring Sikh States started invading the Muslim villages which caused thousands of human casualties.\(^{117}\) Even the staunch Congress leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Patel and Baldev Singh couldn’t deny the facts that the Muslim of Gurgaon suffered the most at the hands of the non-Muslims.\(^{118}\) Passenger trains at Bajwa, San, Gurgaon and Gari Railway Stations were held up during early September 1947. The hooligans pulled out the Muslim passengers and killed them.
A fierce attack by the RSS on Gurgaon was repulsed by the Muslim villagers on 3rd September. The raiders later fell upon the vulnerable neighbouring villages of Jarsa, Bassal and Badshahpur. Hassanpur was raided on 8th September by the Hindu Jats assisted by the Gurgaon Police. It is estimated that around 800 Muslim males were shot dead and the raiders also abducted few young girls. The Hindu Jats also attacked the Hodal village on 12th September killing all the 400 males of the village. The Muslim evacuees from Sehan were on move towards a safer place when they were attacked by the Hindu Jats. The Muslim convoy was escorted by some Muslim subordinates of the Gurgaon Police with some soldiers of the 3/5 Punjab Regiment. The Hindu Jats also opened fire on the soldiers but when the Muslim policemen fired back the hooligans and the soldiers started shooting the Muslim police. It was estimated that approximately 600 Muslims were killed while about 50 women were taken away by the Hindu Jats. During the last week of September Muslim villages of Dhulkot, Manpur, Nimka, Nai, Bichhaur and Indana were attacked and then burnt down to ashes. Around 200 Muslims were killed in Shahjahanpur and about 20 were forcefully converted to Hinduism. A Muslim village Dabwali in Hissar District was attacked on 26th August 1947 by armed gangs of Hindus and Sikhs killing at least 86 Muslims including the Naib-Tahsildar Akhtar Hussain. Biwani village was also attacked on 1st September. The police and military allegedly did not try to stop the invaders. Muslim corpses were lying in the streets. There was no one left to carry and bury the dead Muslims so the authorities hired 30 sweepers to dispose of the dead bodies. Hansi was another Muslim locality in Hissar District which was looted and plundered on 3rd
September by a huge non-Muslim mob who was assisted by the Hindu and Sikh police. It has been alleged that one Sub-Inspector Sampuran Singh led the frenzied mob along with his police force and butchered at least 300 Muslims. The non-Muslims looted the Muslim property, disgraced their women and burnt their houses.

In Gurdaspur, the Sikh community assured their Muslims neighbours that they would help them on their way to Pakistan but at the same time they also sent information to the *Shahidi Jathas* about the movement of the refugees. The *jathas* attacked the isolated patches of Muslim refugees and killed them on the spot. The Sikhs who once promised to help their Muslim neighbours also joined the *jathas* in butchering the fleeing Muslims. Fatehgarh Churian in Gurdaspur District was attacked by an armed Sikh *jatha* of 6,000 strong. A local Christian army officer however repulsed the attack but unfortunately he was replaced by a Sikh on 7th September which led to another attack by the Sikhs on the same evening. Muslim men were butchered in cold blood and their womenfolk were abducted in large numbers. Those who resisted abduction or rape were mercilessly put to death and then their bodies were thrown into a well used by the Muslims.

Ferozpur District was attacked and plundered by the Sikhs on 17th August. The village was surrounded by the Sikh, Hindus and the troops from Moga District. The males were ruthlessly put to sword and the women were dragged out of their houses and collected in a three storeyed building and were forced to convert to Sikhism which they bluntly refused. They were also kept without food or water but the starvation and even the loss of their menfolk could not force them to change
their religion. The non-Muslims tried to molest them which forced many of them to jump from the building to save their honour.\textsuperscript{126} The Muslim villages of Tungwali, Bibiwala and Gobindpura were also attacked during the month of August. The raiders then proceeded towards another village called Goganand in Ferozpur District on 24\textsuperscript{th} August. The Muslims when they came to know about the intended attack packed their belongings in order to move to a safer place. When the Sikh \textit{jathas} came to know about the intentions of the Muslims of Goganand, they fell upon the village and killed most of the men, women and children.\textsuperscript{127} Those who survived set themselves for another destination.

The situation in Ludhiana District was also intense after 15\textsuperscript{th} August 1947. Armed Sikhs dressed in military uniforms used to fire on the Muslims from the roof tops in Kucha Khiljian in Karipura in Ludhiana District. Muslims were looted and plundered on public places and those who were hospitalised were poisoned by the extremist Hindus and Sikhs.\textsuperscript{128} Muslim subordinates in the police force had been disarmed and expelled from service on 24\textsuperscript{th} August 1947 and were replaced by the ex-members of the Indian National Army. At the same time the Field Ganj and Abdullahpur were experiencing the havoc at the hands of armed \textit{jathas}. It was reported that about 6,000 armed Sikhs were busy in the blood bath in Ludhiana District. On 3\textsuperscript{rd} September, they raided Tehara, Modewal and Malian Bajan. Luckily most of the Muslims of these villages had already evacuated to the other side of Sutluj River but some unfortunate Muslims who were left behind were butchered in cold blood. On 8\textsuperscript{th} September 1947 at least 30 Muslims were killed and about 66 were injured as a result of bombs thrown on the Muslim refugees in
Muslim refugee camps in Ludhiana were in terrible state where attacks were made with the help of the local police and even the water supply to the refugee camps was cut off by the raiders. Muslims in Ambala were facing hell at the hands of armed *jathas*. People were moving towards West Punjab and on their way they were looted and their womenfolk were abducted by the non-Muslim gangs. On 24th September, around 125 Muslim refugees were attacked at Ludhiana by a *jatha* headed by Lieutenant Nirbal Singh of the Patiala Army resulting in the death of thirteen women and many more were abducted by the raiders. Abdullahpur, a small town in Ambala District was also attacked by a non-Muslim mob. The Muslims were butchered mercilessly and their property was looted and houses burnt down. A Sikh Sub-Inspector, Prakash Singh arrived on the scene and when he realised that the culprits were Hindus and Sikhs he disarmed his Muslim constables and distributed their rifles among the non-Muslim constables. He was later on reported to have taken part in the riots along with his constables.

On 2nd September 1947, the village Kangnan in the Jullundur District was raided by an armed *jatha* of about 1000 strong. The Muslim villagers put up strong resistance which repulsed the invaders but they again attacked the village on 3rd September in greater numbers and well assisted by the military lorries. The *jathas* started firing on the villagers from different directions which made them flee their houses. The raiders chased the Muslim *kafla* and attacked them near Sariwal resulting in number of fatal causalities. The Indian Home Minister Sardar Swaran Singh along with Pratap Singh and Narindar Singh used to visit the
villages of the East Punjab and were allegedly organising the Akali Party. Attacks were made on the Muslim localities of Bhopa Rai, Dherian and Sianiwal, Mohalla Pucca Bagh and Chak Mughlani in Jullundur District throughout September 1947. As a result of mass killings the surviving Muslims of these areas started migrating to western parts of the Punjab. The non-Muslim mob mostly consisted of Kapurthala State troops also joined the local police in depriving the Muslim evacuees of their valuables. Heavy rains further aggravated the miseries of the Muslim caravans moving out of the Jullundur District. It is estimated that around 1,000 Muslim evacuees mostly old men and women died of heavy rains and flooding. Most of the dying evacuees were loaded into the trucks for dead bodies and were reckoned as dead.\textsuperscript{133}

The situation in the Sikh princely states had worsened after the partition. The rulers of those states not only had their own ambitious plans but at the same time they were poisoned by the radical leaders like Master Tara Singh. The Maharaja of Patiala, Yadavindra Singh was planning to rule over the East Punjab and the Sikh states of East Punjab, along with the western districts of the United Province, with Delhi as his capital. His agents freely distributed arms among the Sikhs and he was in constant contact with Sardar Patel the Home Minister of India. He was often observed making regular visits to Delhi for instructions.\textsuperscript{134} The Maharaja, while addressing the 1\textsuperscript{st} Sikh Infantry Regiment at Patiala on 3\textsuperscript{rd} April 1947 announced that his army was ready to protect and to make any sacrifice for the community.\textsuperscript{135} His statement immensely pleased the radical Master Tara Singh who had started to mobilize the Sikhs for guerrilla action under the guidance of Giani Harbans Singh.
The Council of Action was also busy raising money to buy arms for the Akali jathas to be used in the massacres. It was estimated that the committee had collected between 10 to 12 lakh rupees. RSS was also approached to be a part of the campaign against the Muslims.\textsuperscript{136} The Sikhs states generously funded the jathas. The states of Patiala, Alwar, Dholpur, Bikaner and Nabha were reported to have provided the Sikh jathas with rifles, revolvers and other ammunition. The State of Faridkot provided jeeps and trucks while Kapurthala and Kalsia states provided money and training facilities for the RSS workers from Ambala.\textsuperscript{137} The Akali jathas were later seen driving fast jeeps with light machine guns and rifles, which showed that they had been provided from the military stocks.\textsuperscript{138} The Maharaja of Patiala established huge refugee camps in different parts of his state for the non-Muslim coming from West Punjab. It was estimated that around 50 to 70 thousand refugees were brought to these camps. These refugees were incited to take revenge for the atrocities suffered by them in West Punjab. They were trained in killing and arson by the paid Akali propagandists who were brought from different parts of India by Maharaja’s agents.

On 1\textsuperscript{st} August, a Hindu was mysteriously murdered which led to disturbance in Patiala city. About 5 thousand non-Muslims armed with firm arms and swords were on the streets killing Muslims on sight and looting their property.\textsuperscript{139} In these states thousands of Muslims were either killed or driven out. The reason behind the massacres in the Sikh states was that the non-Muslims wanted to remove any possibility of Muslim majority in the areas adjacent to Pakistan and to strengthen their case of accession to India.\textsuperscript{140} The rulers of the Sikh states were planning to
send their troops along with the Sikhs of the Indian Army to capture back Lahore,
Lyallpur and Montgomery districts after the withdrawal of the British forces.\textsuperscript{141}
Moreover, when the refugees from West Punjab started reaching East Punjab they
exaggerated the atrocities committed by the Muslims of the West Punjab and
incited the locals for revenge. This unrest even alerted the Patiala Government who
feared that the arriving migrants were a threat to law and order.\textsuperscript{142} A rumour was
current in Patiala that the ruler was killed by a Muslim named Major Farooqi. The
ruler in fact had left diplomatically on vacations. The non-Muslim made it an
excuse to kill their Muslim neighbours. Even the state army joined the raiders. A
24-hour curfew was imposed in Patiala but even during the curfew hours, armed
Sikh \textit{jathas} entered Muslim houses, killed the inmates, looted their properties,
abducted young girls and before leaving committed arson.\textsuperscript{143} On 8\textsuperscript{th} September the
Muslim inhabitants of Bara were asked to pay five rupees per person as a
guarantee for a safe exit from the village. They were not allowed to carry more
than one box and one bedding for the whole family. The Muslims agreed to the
demands but when ready to leave, they were fired upon by the \textit{jathas} and their
property was looted. Only one Muslim was reported to have escaped the
bloodbath. Similarly, the Muslims of Bassi were forced by the local Sikhs to leave
their ancestral homes for “Jinnah’s Pakistan” as Patiala was in India so there was
no space for the Muslims in Patiala.\textsuperscript{144} It was estimated that around 14,000
Muslims were mercilessly butchered by the frenzied mob. The remaining Muslims
started to migrate in order to save their lives, honour and property. Out of 4,36,539
Muslims of Patiala State, 1,88,000 took refuge in refugee camps and other
concentrations like Bahadargarh Fort, Bassi Camp, Roza Sharif in Sarhind, Samana, Talwandi and Jhagger in Naili area.\textsuperscript{145}

In Kapurthala State attacks had started after 14\textsuperscript{th} August 1947. On 4\textsuperscript{th} September 1947, the Muslim village of Kohal was raided by more than eight hundred armed Sikhs who were also accompanied by eight to ten state troops with machine guns. On the next day the state army and the police was also seen moving around in military trucks. A refugee train with about 5,000 Muslims on board was derailed while passing through Kapurthala State territory. It was reported that the Chief Minister and the young Prince Kanwar Sahib were seen on a military truck observing the massacre as if it was a pleasure hunt. The armed Sikhs pulled out the passengers and killed them in cold blood.\textsuperscript{146} The State also announced that there would be a train service from Kapurthala for three days. They also announced that it would be escorted by the military troops and those who wanted to migrate could avail this opportunity. A law was enacted which forbade the Muslims to sell their moveable or immoveable property and those who wished to migrate were to forfeit whatever property they owned in the State. A refugee train carrying around 10,000 Muslims left for Jullundur escorted by the Commander of the State Forces, Jai Singh. The unfortunate train was derailed at Khojewala by the armed Sikh \textit{jathas}. Only about 1,000 Muslims escaped the mayhem. The abducted women were forcibly stripped. The frenzied mob even took off the clothes of dead bodies.\textsuperscript{147} It is important to note that before partition the population of Kapurthala was dominated by the Muslims. They were about 56.5 percent of the whole population but by the end of 1947 there was not a single Muslim left in Kapurthala. It was
estimated that around 250,000 in Kapurthala and about 50,000 in Nabha were killed in cold blood by the non-Muslim jathas.\textsuperscript{148}

On 22\textsuperscript{nd} August, Mohalla Khokhran in Faridkot State was raided by the Sikhs. The jatha was assisted by the Superintendent of Police Ram Singh and one Captain Gurbachan Singh. The Muslims of the mohalla resisted the attack gallantly and the jatha retreated. On 18\textsuperscript{th} August 1947 the Muslim village of Nathu Wala in Faridkot State was attacked by the Sikhs along with a military and police force resulting in the death of several people and abduction of a number of young girls. The city of Faridkot had eight gates and when the Muslims started to leave the city, seven gates were closed and the evacuees were only allowed to exit through a single gate. The Maharaja was also present to watch the proceedings. The refugees were not allowed to carry personal belongings having weight of more then 5 kilograms. Any luggage exceeding that limit was taken by the State authorities.\textsuperscript{149}

However, the Hindu and the Sikh troops appointed to escort the Muslim evacuees refused to fire at the non-Muslims hooligans. The communal frenzy was at its peak and the non-Muslims miscreants were not even ready to spare those Muslims who had openly opposed the creation of Pakistan. One such incident was reported when Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, a prominent Muslim Congress leader and the President of Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, after sensing the danger to his life and property migrated to Delhi.\textsuperscript{150}

The Muslims in the states started collecting at certain places where they were already in majority such as Malerkotla City, Jamal Pura, Bassi, Sanaur, Loharu and Samana in order to save their lives and properties. But at the same time they were
not relying on the strength in numbers, they were also collecting whatever arms they could get hold of for their personal safety.\textsuperscript{151} However, they were no match to the well armed Sikh \textit{jathas} who were also aided by the RSS volunteers. Trains passing through the states were attacked by those \textit{jathas} in a much organised manner. They avoided attacking the large concentrations of the Muslims and were not attacking every refugee train going to Pakistan. They used to note the timings of the trains and their safety measures. The Sikhs used to wait for the trains on a certain junction or they would block the tracks with the help of huge logs or stones forcing the trains to halt. And if the train was to be a Pakistan special they would butcher the passengers indiscriminately and would take away the young girls as bounty to be distributed afterwards. And if it happened to be a mixed local train, they would judge the passengers physically whatever their appearances looked like. All the circumcised males were to be put to death immediately. As for the attacks on the Muslim villages, they used to target a village after taking notice of its vulnerability and then surround the village so that no one could escape the butchery. Then they would open fire from all sides with machine guns and rifles and later with grenades and petrol bombs. And after making sure that they had caused enough panic and destruction, they would move in to slaughter the remaining men. There existed another group within that armed \textit{jatha} which consisted of elderly Sikhs who would capture young girls of the devastated village.\textsuperscript{152} The armed \textit{jathas} were mainly composed of ex-military men who were experienced in weaponry and target shooting, secondly, they were much better
armed than their victims and thirdly, they exploited the advantages offered by the landscape.

The rioters on both sides of the Punjab were using inhuman and torturous methods of killing such as beating with clubs and stones, mutilating the bodies with knives, *kirpans* and swords and even burning alive. Shooting to kill was not as common as it was comparatively merciful. It seemed that there were competitions in savagery and barbarity. A British Officer of the Punjab Boundary Force once discovered four roasted bodies of Muslim children on spits in a village which was raided and plundered by the Sikhs.\(^{153}\) The Sikhs were so ruthless in their attacks in Amritsar that they used to cut the breasts of the women, spear the young boys, rape the women in front of their family members and cut the parents into pieces in front of their children.\(^{154}\) Though the tenth guru in Sikhism Guru Gobind Singh forbade his followers to have sexual intercourse with Muslim women yet they ignored his teaching in 1947 and not only gang rape was a regular practice but they even engaged in the trading of kidnapped Muslim girls.\(^{155}\)

**Isolated cases of communal harmony**

The Punjab was in flames and the communal frenzy had victimised thousands of people who had lived together from centuries were now slaughtering each other like animals. Any talk about a possible communal harmony during the partition days was considered to be very strange and unrealistic. Even then there were some reported cases on both sides of the Punjab where members of one community did their best to save the members of the other community. Some lost their lives at the hands of their own community members as they were termed as traitors by saving
the lives of members of communities other than their own. The reason behind these isolated cases of tranquillity was the absence of economic competition and extremism within that particular locality.

One such example was Malerkotla State which was ruled by a Muslim Nawab Sir Muhammad Ahmad Ali Khan Bahadur in the East Punjab. Malerkotla was spared from bloodshed when its neighbouring Muslims localities were experiencing the worst communal riots. Both the Muslims and the non-Muslims relate the absence of violence in Malerkotla in 1947 to the blessings of Guru Gobind Singh. Apart from the blessings it was the arrangements made by Nawab of Malerkotla that helped to prevent any communal disturbance. The police and army were stationed at the borders to prevent any external aggression unlike other Sikh States where the rulers aided the hooligans and jathas by providing them with arms, vehicles and financial support to attack Muslim localities for ethnic cleansing. Apart from the efforts made by nawabs and ruling families, many cases were reported when ordinary neighbours risked their lives to save the members of the “enemy” community. Rawalpindi which was set ablaze during partition did witness isolated cases where the Muslims saved the lives, honour and properties of their non-Muslim neighbours. Some prominent non-Muslims of Rawalpindi including L.H. Ram, Thakur Dass and Tirlok Singh publicly praised some Muslim individuals who saved properties, lives and honour of their families during the partition riots by posting appreciation letters to newspaper editors. These non-Muslims were mostly residents of Lalkurti Bazaar, Mohalla Sardar Bishan Singh and Mohalla Mukhan Singh at Mamooji Road. Raja Mohammad Azam Khan and
his son Raja Mohammad Ihsan provided the non-Muslims families with food and shelter. They were also assisted by one Mehr Allah Bakhsh, Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police in order to repulse any possible attack by hoodlums.\footnote{158}

The Hindus of Arani Brahaman, a village near Kallar in Rawalpindi District were saved by the gallant efforts of a Member District Board, Ch. Chaman Khan. He sheltered all the non-Muslims of the village including women and children in his home and placed an armed Hindu guard at the door with instructions not to open the gates at any cost. He also stood along side the Hindu guard with his rifle to fight any aggressors. He repulsed the raiders thrice and then shouted loudly from the roof top that the raiders would have to cross over his dead body to get to the non-Muslims refugees. Later he successfully escorted the non-Muslims to their destinations along with their valuables. In a statement to the press Ch. Bishan Das Bhatia, the General Secretary of the District Congress Committee publicly eulogised the efforts of Ch. Chaman Khan in saving the lives of non-Muslim inhabitant.\footnote{159}

Another incident of this nature was reported from Amritsar where Major M.S. Pathania of the First Dogra Regiment rescued about twenty Muslim girls of Chamyari in Ajnala Tahsil who had been left behind after an attack by the armed Sikh \textit{jatha}. Major Pathania not only rescued the girls but also escorted them to safety and it was because of his efforts that the girls safely reached Lahore on 10\textsuperscript{th} September 1947.\footnote{160} Similar cases were reported from the DAV College Refugee Camp where a Muslim army officer brought four young girls who had been rescued by him after their family members were killed during the riots. In another
such incident a Head Constable who was on duty at a railway station in West Punjab recognised a Hindu girl who was about to be taken away by her captors. The constable rescued her at gunpoint and brought her to the DAV College camp to be transported to India. A Hindu relief worker reported an ordinary Muslim villager who concealed two Hindu girls in *burqas*, passing them of as his family members brought them to the safety of the camp.\(^{161}\) A group of Hindus evacuees from Lyallpur was passing through Faizpur village in Sheikhupura District in trucks when heavy rains and flooding forced them to halt. It was at this point that the party was attacked by the Muslim goons of the surrounding localities. Fortunately, four Muslims from the Faizpur village taking considerable risk drove away the hooligans and saved the lives of at least 30 Hindus. They also gave them sanctuary in their homes for five days before they were safely handed over to Indian Military Evacuation Organisation at Lahore.\(^ {162}\)

**Role played by the politicians in deterring violence**

The hierarchy of both Muslim League and the Congress did not expect the disturbances of that level at the time of partition. Jawaharlal Nehru had predicted in 1946 that the question of communal violence would end with the departure of the British from India.\(^ {163}\) The Quaid also never took the matter seriously. Leaguers tried to persuade him that the All-India Muslim League should organise armed groups to be used at the time of the partition of India but he bluntly rejected the idea.\(^ {164}\) The leadership was quite perturbed over the communal turmoil in the Punjab. They could not predict the communal frenzy and the mass migration across the newly established borders.
The leaders from both sides used their good offices to deter the communal violence in East and West Punjab. Certainly this was not what they had been struggling for over decades. The mass killings of minority communities on both sides were a worrying point for the leaders of both the main political parties. The central leadership in both the dominions was working side by side with the Punjab authorities in making peace and assuring the minorities that saving their lives and properties would be the main priorities of their governments.

In order to persuade the Muslims to look after their non-Muslim neighbours and to ease the communal tension, Mr. Jinnah issued a statement in which he reminded the Muslims that “protection of minorities is their sacred duty”. He urged the Punjab Muslim Leaguers to give their “unstinting, whole-hearted cooperation to the Punjab administration to restore immediately order in the province”. The Muslim League leaders like Mian Iftikhar Hussain and Mumtaz Daultana approached Governor Jenkins and offered their services in restoring peace in West Punjab. Malik Feroz Khan Noon who was at times allegedly taken for a trouble maker was also reported appealing for peace. He suggested that in order to avoid communal clashes, the communities should not listen to the rumours that create ill willing. As Rawalpindi District was the worst riot affected area in West Punjab, the local Muslim League leaders like Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani, Ch. Zafarulhaq MLA, and Syed Mubarak Ali Shah, MLA started touring different villages of Rawalpindi carrying the message of peace and good will and asking the Muslims to protect their non-Muslim neighbours. They stressed upon the importance of obeying Jinnah’s orders to protect the minorities. They also listened
to the complaints of the local residents. In order to reach larger audience, both Gandhi and Jinnah jointly denounced the communal riots and appealed for peace and tranquillity. On 15th April 1947 they signed and also authorised the publication of a declaration which was initiated by the Viceroy. The declaration reads:

We deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the utmost disgrace on the fair name of India and the greatest misery to innocent people irrespective of who were the aggressors and who were the victims. 
We denounce, for all times, the use of force to achieve political ends and we call upon all the communities of India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder, but to avoid, both in speech and writing, any incitement to such acts.

The declaration had its impact on the communities and a decline in the communal clashes was reported though it did not last for long. But both the elderly politicians did not give up their struggle for restoring peace in India especially in the Punjab. The month of August 1947 witnessed the partition of India and the birth of two states India and Pakistan. The Sikhs were outraged over partition of the Punjab because their holy cities were located within Pakistan. The Congress and Muslim League leadership was asking for peace and were advising their followers to remain calm and to protect other communities. A prominent Muslim Leaguer Sirdar Shaukat Hyat Khan was reported to have said that since Pakistan has been created, it was the duty of the Muslims living in Pakistan to restore peace. The Quaid also showed his grief over the Punjab killings and asked Muslims to remain calm and patient and not to retaliate. He hoped to see a disorder-free Pakistan. The controversial ML figure, Malik Feroz Khan Noon who was once known for his provocative statements was very much moved by the bloodbath in the Punjab.
He issued a statement on 30th August 1947 in which he appealed to the Muslims to stop fighting against the Hindus.\textsuperscript{173}

The new Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, Jawaharlal Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan joined hands in order to restore peace and normality in riot affected areas. They left Lahore on 30th August 1947. They stopped on a road from Okara to Montgomery where a huge refugee caravan was passing through. Most of them were Sikhs who had survived the Sheikhupura killings. Nehru was deeply moved by the miseries of the refugees but it was reported that the refugees showed little interest in his presence. Nehru wanted to talk to the refugees so he asked a family where they were from. An old lady instead of answering his question asked him that “if you wanted to partition Punjab why did you not arrange for the exchange of population earlier—see what misery has come on us”. Nehru did not answer the old lady. While he was touring Hoshiarpur, Nehru met with some Muslim refugees who were asked by the local Sikhs to vacate the village by nightfall otherwise they would be killed. Nehru got furious after hearing this and warned the Sikhs that he would take extreme measures against them if any harm was done to those Muslims.\textsuperscript{174}

Both the politicians were trying their best to persuade the people not to leave their ancestral homes. One such incident was reported when a group of non-Muslims asked Nehru to help them evacuate to India, Liaquat immediately intervened and asked the evacuees not to even think about leaving. He urged the minorities to stay in Pakistan. In Lyallpur, while addressing a public gathering Nehru declared that West Punjab was the heart of Pakistan and if that heart was ruined the whole
Pakistan would be ruined. Apart from the two prime ministers, other prominent personalities from both sides were also touring the riot affected areas for the restoration of peace and harmony. Even Master Tara Singh notorious for his provocative speeches against the Muslims made an appeal for the restoration of peace on 5th September 1947. The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha also appealed for peace in Delhi on 7th September. The Secretary of RSS in Delhi, Prakash Dutt Bhargava also issued a statement asking for peace in Delhi.

The two prime ministers in utter disappointment issued a joint statement in which they said that the rioters would be shot on the spot. They also assured the evacuees that their refugee camps would be protected by the troops of their own religion, meaning that Muslim refugee camps would be protected by the Muslim troops and Hindu and Sikh refugees would be protected by the non-Muslim troops. The statement was received as a relief for the refugees who were not even safe within the refugee camps.

In West Punjab the Muslim Leaguers were also touring the disturbed areas as per order by the Father of the Nation and the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, the Food Minister of Pakistan, who was known for his fiery speeches before the 3rd June Plan, was also addressing the non-Muslim and Muslim gatherings in order to persuade the non-Muslims to stay in Pakistan and to warn the Muslims to stop committing atrocities on their non-Muslim neighbours otherwise they would be dealt with severely. While addressing a public gathering at Mandi Bahauddin in Gujarat on 6th September 1947 he said that he was in deep sorrow and with keen regret. He assured the non-Muslims that after the subsiding
of the present events, Pakistan would be a safe haven. He asked the non-Muslims to stay in Pakistan as this brutal phase of history would soon be past. Commenting on the communal riots he said that such acts could never be justified under any circumstances and arguments, no matter moral, religious or even political. He later addressed gatherings at Jhelum and Jalalpur Jattan which were attended by a large number of non-Muslims. Ghazanfar Ali Khan was repeatedly cheered throughout his speech especially when he said that “murder and other atrocities are against the very tenets of Islam” he further added that “every Muslim should hang his head in shame over what has happened here”. Addressing the non-Muslims particularly he said that “if you insist on evacuation, we shall provide all security. I stand before you in shame”.178

Addressing a gathering at Jhang, where a large number of Muslims were also present, Ghazanfar said that “the Muslims are weakening the very foundations of Pakistan by indulging in to the mayhem”. In Lyallpur while speaking to the Muslim League cadres he said that he was there as Quaid’s representative and wanted peace at all costs. He further added that the wealth of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan was State’s property and any attempt to destroy it would be considered as a hostile act against the State.179

Other prominent Muslim Leaguers including Sirdar Shaukat Hyat, Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah Khalid Gilani, Nawab Mamdoot, Mian Mumtaz Daultana etc were also visiting the troubled areas in West Punjab appealing for peace and to convince the non-Muslim minorities to stay in Pakistan. Unfortunately, no such visits were made by any East Punjab non-Muslim politician to stop the killings and to give a
ray of hope to the fleeing Muslims from East Punjab. Appeals were made to restore peace in Delhi being the capital of India. M.K. Gandhi while addressing a post prayer meeting in Delhi said that “let not future generation say you lost the bread of freedom because you could not digest it, stop this madness”. Sardar Patel appealed to the refugees to stop retaliations as it was hampering the peace process and creating difficulties in the evacuation of the refugees.

Towards the end of 1947 massacres on both parts of Punjab had lessened as there were no more Muslims left in East Punjab and no Hindus and Sikhs in West Punjab. The riots and butcheries had forced the Muslims and the non-Muslims to leave their ancestral homes where their forefathers had lived and died and to migrate toward an unknown place. They were about to enter into the second phase of their miseries which was to safely cross the borders and find food and shelter for their families.

The partition massacre in Punjab in 1947 was not the first incident in the history of united Punjab. The Muslims and the non-Muslims have been fighting each other over the issues of religion and customs such as cow slaughter, jatka and playing of music during prayer times but the important thing to note here is that the killings were very much limited and there were isolated cases of riots once or twice a year. But when the causes of riots shifted from religious to political, there appeared more riots within a month than ever with even greater casualties. The partition of the Punjab left all the major parties unsatisfied. Both Muslim League and the Congress wanted to have a united Punjab for themselves, whereas the Sikhs wanted to have Punjab as a Sikh State. All their religious places along with their
industries were in Punjab. So they were quite perturbed over the partition of Punjab. They tried till the last moment to save Punjab from partition. Provocative speeches which were made from all sides paved the way for the communal clashes throughout Punjab. The politicians from Muslim League and Congress were unable to predict the consequences of the partition. No one had foreseen the killings of humans on such a large scale in which more then one million people lost their lives. About 75,000 women were either raped or abducted during the riots in India. The British after creating a mess were on their way back as they were not in a position to control the bloodshed even if they wanted to. The Punjab Boundary Force was poisoned with communalism and there were reported incidents where members of the army and police were seen looting and committing arson along with the armed jathas and hooligans.

Not everyone was involved in the frenzy; there were some isolated cases where a group of people or even individuals risked their lives to save the members of the other community. Some army and police officers were also praised for their efforts in restoring peace and escorting the evacuees to safety. The politicians from both sides were perturbed over the mass killings on both sides so they started touring the troubled areas appealing for peace and asking the people of other communities not to evacuate. The miseries did not end by just deciding to evacuate their homeland; the Muslims fleeing their homes in East Punjab had to worry about crossing the borders safely without losing a family member either by death or abduction. The exodus was yet another test for the Muslim evacuees. How they crossed the borders and shifted to the temporary refugee camps are the questions that we are going to discuss in the next chapter.
References and Notes:

1 N.S. Saksena, Communal Riots in India (Noida: Trishul Publications, 1990), p.10.
3 This was the first incident of its kind in Multan. The riot started on the issue of erecting pinnacles of a temple in the fort of Multan. The Muslim dargah of Baha-ud-Din Zakria was located near the fort and the Mukhadum of the dargah was against the height of the pinnacles as he feared that they would expose the Muslim ladies who would be visiting the dargah. For details see Kirpal Singh, ‘The Hindu-Muslim Riot in the Punjab 1881’, Punjab History Conference Proceedings (Patiala: Punjabi University Press, 1971), pp. 288-95.
6 Ikram Ali Malik, ‘Role of Administration in the Punjab Riots, ibid, p.43.
8 Naranjan Das Mohaya, ‘A Study of Communal Riots in Multan, ibid, pp.401-2.
9 Farooq Ahmad Dar, Communal Riots in the Punjab 1947 (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2003), p.38. Shuddhi is a Sanskrit word literally meaning purification. Since the Shuddhi movement was initiated by the Arya Samaj in early twentieth century it is understood as the re-conversion back to Hinduism from Islam or Christianity. Swami Dyananda Saraswati launched this movement to reconvert the newly converted Muslims and Christians back to Hinduism. Swami Shraddhanand established the Indian Hindu Purification Council in 1923 and started reconverting without making any headlines. But soon it offended the Muslims and Christians who claimed that Hindus had no right to convert any person. The trouble stared with the re-conversion of Malkana Rajputs who had earlier embraced Islam. The Shuddhi movement managed to reconvert 7815 Muslim and Christians back to Hinduism as the movement was against the untouchabilty. Swami Shraddhanand was however shot dead by a Muslim named Abdul Rashid on 23rd December 1926. The Sangathan movement was started by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and it literally meant the organization of people especially for the purpose of community defense. It was launched in the United Provinces and focused mainly on stopping the conversion from Hinduism. Under the banner of this organization Hindu boys and girls were given physical training to compete with Muslims. The Muslims of India responded the Shuddhi and Sangathan movement by Tabligh and Tanzim movements. These Muslim movements were similar in nature with the Shuddhi and Sangathan movements. Tanzim means organization and Tabligh means conversion. The Tabligh movement was aimed at warning the Muslims against the propaganda of the Arya Samaj, train them for a possible jihad and convert the non-Muslims to Islam. Whereas the Tanzim movement started preaching the orthodox Islam to the Muslims with accordance to Holy Quran, Sunnah and the Shariah law.
17 Nijjar, History of the United Punjab, ibid, pp.153-54; Rangila Rasool was written by a member of Arya Samaj called Pandit M.A. Chamupati or Khishna Prashaad Pratab in 1927. The book enraged the Indian Muslims and it even forced Gandhi to write in Young India that the circulation of Rangila Rasool be stopped and both the writer and the publishers should be punished according to the law. Under pressure form the public the Government of the Punjab filed a case against the owner of Arya Books & publishers Mahashay Rajpal in the Lahore High Court as he had refused to disclose the name of the author. The case was prolonged for four years and Rajpal was sentenced for one and half year’s imprisonment along with a fine of 1,000 rupees but shortly he was acquitted. He was later stabbed to death by Ilm Deen in his bookshop on 6th April 1929. The assailant Ilm Deen was trialled for murder and was sentenced to death which was carried out on 31st October 1929 in Mianwali Jail in West Punjab.
18 Nijjar, History of the United Punjab, ibid.
19 Nijjar, History of the United Punjab, ibid, p.155. Section 295-A was enforced stating that deliberate and malicious acts intended to outrage religious feelings of any class by insulting its religion or religious beliefs were made criminal offences with punishment up to four years imprisonment or with fine or both.
22 Farooq Ahmad Dar, Communal Riots in the Punjab, ibid, p.56.
23 S.M. Burke, Landmarks of the Pakistan Movement (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 2001), p.2 47; Stanley Wolpert, A New History of India (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p.319. After the end of Second Round Table Conference on 1st December 1931, the British Prime Minister James Ramsay MacDonald stated that the inter-communal relations in India were the biggest obstacle for a possible solution of the legislative problem in India. Therefore, he announced the Communal Award for India on 16th August 1932. This Award recognised the separate electorate for Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Scheduled castes. Muslims were able to claim more seats in Hindu majority areas and similarly Sikhs were awarded more seats in the Punjab. The Muslims were to constitute 1/3 in the Central Legislative Assembly. Sind was granted the status of a separate province and NWFP was to be treated as rest of the provinces of British India. According to that Award the Muslim constituencies in Punjab were to be 86 out of 175; 119 out of 250 in Bengal; 36 out of 50 in NWFP; 34 out of 60 in Sind; 34 out of 108 in Assam; 66 out of 228 in UP; 14 out of 112 in CP; 30 out of 175 in Bombay; 29 out of 215 in Madras and 42 out of 175 in Bihar and Orissa. However, it did not prove to be very beneficial for the Muslims as they became a minority in the Muslim majority provinces such as Punjab and Bengal whereas Baluchistan was not included in the Award as it had not secured the status of a province at that time.
28 Report on the Shahidganj Affair, ibid; The Civil and Military Gazette, 16th July 1935.
30 Gilmartin, Empire and Islam, ibid, p.101.
31 Ambedkar, Pakistan or the Partition of India, ibid, p.170.


Assault or criminal force to deter public servant from discharge of his duty—whoever assault or uses criminal force to any person being a public servant in the execution of his duty as such public servant, or with intent to prevent or deter that person from discharge his duty as such public servant, or in consequence of any thing done or attempted to be done by such person in the lawful discharge of his duty as such public servant, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.


44 Jenkins to Lawrence, 29th January 1947, in Mansergh, ed., *Transfer of Power*, ibid, p.572.

45 Jenkins to Lawrence, 29th January 1947, in Mansergh, ed., *Transfer of Power*, ibid.


47 *Punjab Police Abstract of Intelligence* (PPAI) for the week ending 8th February 1947 and for the week ending 15th February 1947, paragraph no. 96, p.66; Also quoted in Dar, *Communal Riots in the Punjab*, 1947, ibid, p.69.

Lionel Carter, comp., & ed., *Punjab Politics, 3 March-31 May 1947: At the Abyss-Governors Fortnightly Reports and other key documents* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2007), pp.49-54; Also see Foot note no. 4 of chapter three.


50 Bajwa, *Fifty Years of Punjab Politics*, ibid, pp.76-7.


52 Patrick French, *Liberty or Death*, ibid, p.334.

53 *Note by Sir E. Jenkins, 4th March 1947, OIOC Cat No.R/3/1/176,NDC, MFU Accession No.34; Punjab Police Abstract of Intelligence*, dated 8th March 1947, paragraph no. 149, p.105.


55 Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *History of the United Punjab*, Vol.III (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 1996), p.204; Nripendra Nath Mitra, *The Indian Annual Register*, ibid, p. 43. According to the *Indian Annual Register* 17 people were killed and 82 were injured because of police firing


57 Dar, *Communal Riots in the Punjab*, ibid, p.71.

58 Harcharan Singh Bajwa, *Fifty Years of Punjab Politics*, ibid, p.78; Extract from the *PPAI* for the week ending 8th March,1947, paragraph no. 145, p.104; Also quoted in Rukhsana Zafar, comp. *Disturbances in the Punjab 1947*, ibid, p.85.

59 *Jenkins to Wavell, 5th March 1947*, in Mansergh, ed., *The Transfer of Power*, ibid, p.865. The Pakistan government took serious notice of the Kamoki massacre. A meeting of the Emergency Committee of the Cabinet was held in Karachi on 27th September 1947. The participants included the Governor-General of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah;the Honorable Minister for Finance; the Honorable Minister for Communication; the Honorable Minister for Interior, Information & Education; the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet. The members condemned the brutal attack on the non-Muslims. It was also agreed that the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan should ask the West Punjab Government to issue a statement on the Kamoki incident condemning the attack and promising the non-Muslims that their special trains would be heavily guarded in future. In another meeting of the Emergency Committee of the Cabinet which met on 13th October 1947 to discuss the safety of the non-Muslim refugee trains, it was agreed that under any circumstances the Sikh troops would not be used to guard the non-Muslim trains moving in the Pakistan areas. For details see, File No. 133/CF/47 entitled “Guard for non-Muslim refugee Trains”, in NDW, Cabinet Division, Islamabad. Then on 30th September 1947, pressnote from the Ministry of Evacuation and Rehabilitation was issued in which the government denied the involvement of Muslim troops and stated that the train was attacked by a Muslim mob and the military escort responded by firing at the miscreants killing 78 and injuring a large number as well. For details see, File No. 101/CF/47 entitled “Attack on refugee special trains at Kamoki: Gujranwala Dist.” In NDW, Cabinet Division, Pakistan Secretariat, Islamabad.


Government of West Punjab, *The Sikhs in Action* (Lahore: West Punjab Government Press, 1948), p.8. Raja Subah Sadiq and Mr. Aftab Ahmad who were graduate students at the Gordon College Rawalpindi in 1947 also endorsed the events of March rioting. An interview with Mr. Haq Nawaz Chohan was conducted in 2003 for my M.Phil. thesis on Rawalpindi Muslim League. Mr. Chohan was the first Muslim to be stabbed by the non-Muslims in Rawalpindi in March 1947. For a Congress version of rioting in Rawalpindi, please see, Prabodh Chandra, *Rape of Rawalpindi* (Lahore: Punjab Riot Suffers’ Relief Committee, 1947).


For more details see, Patrick French, *Liberty or Death*, ibid.

*The Civil and Military Gazette*, 13th March, 1947. The prolific fiction writer from Indian subcontinent Saadat Hassan Manto has narrated the painful agony of the communal intolerance in many of his works. In one of his satire *Khaad* (Manure) he empathizes with a Sikh who was forcibly clean shaven by the Muslim mob in West Punjab. For a complete text of *Khaad* please see Appendix-III, p.587.


Khosla, *Stern Reckoning*, ibid, p110.


Khosla, *Stern Reckoning*, ibid, p.112.


*The Civil and Military Gazette*, ibid.


Patrick French, *Liberty or Death*, ibid, 347; Dar, *Communal Riots in the Punjab*, ibid, p.105; Khosla, *Stern Reckoning*, ibid, pp.124-5. Khosla stated that about three hundred and fifty non-Muslims were confined in the Gurdwara Hargobind on Temple Road, Lahore and the gurdwara was being guarded by a unit of Hindu military. On 14th March the Hindu guard was replaced by the Muslim guard. The same evening, a number of fire balls were thrown inside the gurdwara and when the non-Muslims came out because of the flames, they were shot or stabbed by the Muslim National Guards.


Khosla, *Stern Reckoning*, ibid, p.124; *The Pakistan Times*, 3rd September 1947, ‘M.G. Singh’s death by stabbing not communal’. The West Punjab Government, the Vice Chancellor and staff of Punjab University Lahore regretted the death of Prof. Singh but claimed that it was an act of a university employee hence it was not a communal attack.
Khosla, *Stern Reckoning*, ibid, pp.125-6. According to Khosla, the Lahore cantonments witnessed the rioting and arson on 16th August. The Muslim mob did not allow the Fire Brigade to extinguish the fire which resulted in the damage to the property worth millions. He further stated that from 21st August to 1st September the whole of the cantonment area was plundered and the non-Muslim houses were illegally occupied by the local Muslims.


For the riots in Kamoke see Waseem Butt, trans., *Punjab Ka Batwara-1947*, ibid, pp.351-353.


Khosla, *Stern Reckoning*, ibid, p.156.


Ikram-ul-Haq Raja, *Tarikh-i-Gujar Khan* (Lahore: n.p., 1994), p.301; Gurbachan Singh Talib, comp., *Muslim League Attack on Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab 1947*, ibid, 346; G. D. Khosla, *Stern Reckoning*, ibid, p.112. Khosla stated that Master Tara Singh’s uncle, Gokal Singh was also killed by the mob and Kuri Dalal and Dehra Khalsa villages were also looted and burnt. He further stated that “in Thoha Khalsa some Sikh women were thrown into a well, others jumped in of their own free will to save themselves from being raped.” Mst. Zarina Begum and Muhammad Sarwar Khan of village Saang (former Taragarh) in Gujar Khan also recalled the burning of Master Tara Singh’s house.


Dar, *Communal Riots in the Punjab*, ibid, p.91.


Situation Reports on Disturbances in East Punjab and Contiguous Areas, NDC, ibid; Zafar, *Disturbances in the Punjab*, ibid, pp.395.


Dar, *Communal Riots in the Punjab*, ibid, p.87.
120 Zafar, *Disturbances in the Punjab*, ibid, pp. 399-100.
121 Zafar, *Disturbances in the Punjab*, ibid, p.400.
123 Zafar, *Disturbances in the Punjab*, ibid, p.400.
125 Zafar, *Disturbances in the Punjab*, ibid, p.399.
126 Zafar, *Disturbances in the Punjab*, ibid, p.399.
127 Zafar, *Disturbances in the Punjab*, ibid, p.400.
143 Zafar, *Disturbances in the Punjab*, ibid, p.408.
144 Zafar, *Disturbances in the Punjab*, ibid, p.409.
147 Zafar, *Disturbances in the Punjab*, ibid, p.404.
149 Zafar, *Disturbances in the Punjab*, ibid, p.396.
150 Dar, *Communal Riots in the Punjab*, ibid, p.110.
154 Collins and Lapiere, *Freedom, ibid, pp.336-7.*
P. Virdee, *Partition and Locality: Case Studies of the Impact of Partition and its Aftermath in the Punjab Region 1947-61*, unpublished PhD dissertation, Coventry University, UK, 2004, pp.103-107; the legend has it that two of Guru Gobind Singh’s sons were executed by the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1705. The Nawab of Malerkotla, Sher Mohammad Khan wrote a letter of protest to Emperor Aurangzeb. Guru Gobind Sing after hearing about the protest letter blessed the house of the Nawab and Malerkotla that ‘his roots shall remain forever green’. This blessing is commonly known as Guru’s “hua da naara”. The Sikhs were very reluctant to attack a territory which was blessed by their Guru.

For details see, Government of West Punjab, *Note on the Sikh Plan*, ibid.

The Pakistan Times, Lahore, 9th April 1947.

The Pakistan Times, 10th April 1947.

The Pakistan Times, 17th September 1947.

The Pakistan Times, 3rd October 1947.

The Pakistan Times, 10th October 1947.


Patrick French, *Liberty or Death*, ibid, p.334

Dawn, 18th March 1947.


The Pakistan Times, 9th April 1947.

The Pakistan Times, 16th April 1947.


The Pakistan Times, 3rd September 1947.

The Civil and Military Gazette, 3rd September 1947.


Chapter Three

Evacuation and State’s Response: March-December 1947

The United Nations Convention of 1951 defined the status of refugees as “the people who have been forced to leave their country because of fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion”.¹ The refugees under the present study are those Muslims who had been driven out of India into Pakistan at the time of partition or the fear of disturbances connected with the partition. The partition of the Punjab province witnessed both the anticipatory and acute migration after the disturbances had broken out in March 1947.

The anticipatory migration after March riots was much less than the acute migration after the partition in August 1947. The reason for this lesser anticipatory migration was that the people living on the border areas had little inkling about the likely demarcation of boundaries. The Muslim League also did not favour the Muslim evacuation from the East Punjab before the formal demarcation of boundaries, though people in minority districts had started to evacuate during and after the March riots in the Punjab. The Muslim minorities in East Punjab and the non-Muslim minorities in West Punjab especially Hindus and Sikhs had realised during those riots that their future was no longer safe in the lands of their forefathers. There were of course groups of people who hoped that the frenzy would end with the departure of the British and things would again be back to normal. Those who had migrated earlier were lucky in most of the cases to reach sanctuaries where they were in majority and thus were safe in case of a communal
clash. Even the politicians were asking them to stay on where they were as nobody was certain about the Partition Plan. The Punjab province tasted the bitterest fruit of the partition. The ordinary Punjabis had no clue about the eventual partition of their province. It was the Radcliffe Award which created unrest in the province.²

Now the Sikhs and the Muslims were the main parties in that feud. Sikhs were furious over the partition of Punjab as most of their holy places were situated in West Punjab which was going to be a part of the Pakistan. They also had their industrial strength in West Punjab so they were not ready to accept the partition of the province by the formula of Radcliffe. They wanted to have a separate Punjab State including the Princely Sikh States and the North Western part of the Punjab.³

Incited by the radical Sikh leaders like Master Tara Singh and Gianni Kartar Singh the Sikhs started an armed campaign which was not against the British Raj but against the Muslims of the Punjab. Retaliatory attacks were also made on the non-Muslim localities by the Muslims hooligans who were also supported by ex-military men. The communal trouble forced the minorities to leave their homes and head towards unknown but safe destinations. A vast number of these evacuees from either side were killed by the gangs of other communities or fell victims to natural disasters such as heavy rains, floods and epidemics. The evacuation was in two phases; firstly, after the March riots and secondly after the announcement of the Radcliffe Award.

**First Phase of Evacuation/Migration**

The Punjab witnessed the worst orgy of communal riots after the resignation of the Khizr Ministry on 2⁰ March 1947.⁴ The riots were triggered off in the wake of the
Governor asking the Muslim League high command to form a Muslim League Ministry in the Punjab which infuriated the Sikh community resulting in the death of nearly a million people mostly in the Punjab. After the March riots the minority communities living in both parts of the Punjab started thinking seriously about a possible migration to the other part in order to save their lives, property and honour. The migration was on a low key as the refugees and the evacuees did not want to encourage the raiders. So there were isolated pockets of the refugees leaving East or West Punjab. The politicians from both sides were trying their best to convince the minorities that they are going to be safe and their rights would be guarded by the majority community. Laws were being enacted to recover the abducted persons and forced conversions and marriages were termed as illegal. The Muslims living in the East Punjab had to face the wrath of the hostile non-Muslim gangs. The entire Muslim villages and the localities were decimated by armed jathas and large numbers of Muslim women were abducted. The few who were lucky to escape headed towards West Punjab. Most of the Muslim refugees were either killed or wounded on their way to the Punjab borders. Those who survived brought with them the haunted memories of the carnage that they had gone through. Migration to the majority areas became the only option left to the minority community in any particular area. Even appeals made by the leaders of the majority population could not stop the evacuating minorities to stay put. It seems that the leadership was unaware of the situation that was to shatter the very structure of the province. Nehru was not in favour of migration of the native population. He remarked that it was not in favour of the majority of the people to
The riots uprooted about 4.4 million Muslims in the East Punjab alone which amounted to 32 percent of the entire population there. Apart from East Punjab, at least 2.3 million Muslims were trying to reach to the transit camps in order to save their lives. Thus an estimated 6.7 million people were stranded in East Punjab and were waiting to be evacuated. Similarly, about 5.4 million non-Muslims had to be evacuated from West Punjab, Sind and North-West Frontier Province. These non-Muslims included 3 million Hindus, 1.5 million Sikhs and about half a million Scheduled Castes.

Those Muslims, who had left their ancestral homes after the March 1947 riots and headed towards the western parts of the Punjab, faced many problems. This was the anticipatory migration. This can also be termed as the fear of the majority Hindu and Sikh communities in East Punjab and the Sikh States. Those Muslims who were lucky enough to survive the killings had to leave their native places and properties. The armed Sikh *jathas* used to attack the Muslim villages and towns during the night, killing almost all the male population and abducting women and young girls for rapine, forced conversions and marriages etc. Persons who were lucky to get away with all that were either killed or wounded on their way to the Muslim majority pockets or the transit camps from where they were supposed to be transported to the western Punjab areas. This anticipatory migration was full of dangers as the riots were the order of the day. Every body was after the throat of the members of the other community. There were no military escort available for the refugees, no arrangement for food or health care was available for the convoys and therefore they were easy prey to armed raiders en route. The situation in the
West Punjab was also very difficult for the non-Muslims. Retaliatory attacks were being made on the non-Muslims especially in Lahore, Multan and Rawalpindi divisions. The Hindus and Sikhs of the Rawalpindi suffered grievously and the survivors were forced to leave their homes and were kept in the military camps at Wah near Rawalpindi and the cantonment buildings of the army. These camps accommodated around 40,000 non-Muslim evacuees and the authorities were also trying to establish camps at Kala near Jhelum. About 4,000 non-Muslims evacuees from towns and villages of Rawalpindi were looked after by the Hindu-Sikh families living in the city. The situation was almost the same in the East Punjab areas especially Amritsar. Sirdar Shaukat Hyat who had visited Amritsar met with the Punjab Governor Evan Jenkins on 10th April 1947 and apprised him of the plight of the Muslims of Amritsar at the hands of the Sikh armed *jathas*. Hyat told the Governor that there were at least 2,000 refugees in the Amritsar City who had lost their properties and were being fed by the Muslim League. He requested Jenkins that a part of the Fruit *mandi* near Chauk Farid in Amritsar should be handed over to the Muslim League to accommodate the Muslim refugees. Apart from Amritsar, Muslims from Faridkot and Patiala States, Bhatinda, Gurdaspur, Ambala and Karnal Districts were also on the run.

The Muslim League Central Relief Committee in Amritsar was managing the Muslim refugees from their office located at MAO College. Hakim Rehmat Ullah, Secretary of the Relief Committee was taking care of about 2,337 Muslim refugees accommodated in six different refugees camps located at Nawankot Idgah, Akhara Bhangian, Dila Bangian, Bazaar Abdullah Khan, Hussainpura Gharbi and Shah
Ghaus. There were about 2,000 more Muslims who were thrown out of employment because of the social boycott by the non-Muslim community. About 800 out of these 2,000 were skilled labourers of the textile factories mostly living in the Chowk Pragdas area. The Committee was trying to arrange capital for these 2,000 unemployed Muslim workers and others in the refugee camps to work as vegetable vendors to earn livelihood for their families. Despite shortage of resources and money, the Relief Committee managed to provide a pair of clothing and milk for the babies and children of the Muslim refugees.

Meanwhile, a Muslim delegation consisting of Mian Muhammad Shafi of the Pakistan Chamber of Commerce and Mian Muhammad Amin, the Secretary of the Anjuman-e-Islamia met the Secretary Civil Supplies Department Mr. M.R. Sachdev, the Director of Cloth Mr. Kanwar Brahm Nath, and the Director of Civil Supplies Mr. I.J. Khan. The Muslim delegation told the aforementioned government officials that the Muslims of the affected areas wanted their separate quota of yarn so that the workers could start their own factories. They also stressed upon the Secretary Civil Supplies Department that it was the duty of the State to provide employment to those skilled labourers whose jobs had been taken away because of the social boycott from the majority community.

The situation in West Punjab was also threatening as a bomb exploded in the non-Muslims camp at the Lahore Railway Station on 12th June but luckily no loss of life or property took place. The explosion created panic among the non-Muslim evacuees. At the same time the Leaguers from the East Punjab were sending telegrams to the Punjab Governor about the plight of the Muslim evacuees.
Sheikh Sadiq Hassan MLA, the President of the City Muslim League Amritsar complained to the Punjab Government that the Rationing Department had rejected their request to import wheat from all over the Punjab which the generous Muslims of the province were willing to spare for the Muslim refugees in Amritsar. He requested the Governor to intervene in the matter himself to save the Amritsar Muslims from starvation.\textsuperscript{14} The Quaid-i-Azam also requested the Muslims all over the world to donate for the Pakistan Fund on 16\textsuperscript{th} June 1947 in order to utilize various tasks directly or indirectly connected with the impending partition of India. He remarked:

\begin{quote}
I, therefore appeal to the Mussalmans to send me without delay their contributions. Without finances all this gigantic business cannot be performed satisfactory. I am sure that every Muslim will appreciate and understand how necessary it is at this moment to give his or her help immediately whatever can.\textsuperscript{15}
\end{quote}

The Muslims responded positively to the Quaid’s appeal. Apart from Muslim businessmen, traders, lawyers and industrialists even the daily wagers contributed to the Pakistan Fund. It was reported that the Sialkot Tonga Association also decided that every tonga driver who would overload his tonga would donate one rupee for the Muslim League Relief Fund.\textsuperscript{16} There were isolated cases of non-Muslim evacuees coming back to their homes after the March riots. One such incident was reported from Mianwali District where a large number of non-Muslim evacuees who had left their homes had come back after receiving assurance of safety by the District Magistrate Khan Bahadur Sardar Ghulam Hassan Khan Leghari.\textsuperscript{17} This was further encouraged by Gandhi who during his short visit to Rawalpindi on 31\textsuperscript{st} July 1947, advised the Congress workers not to leave their homes.\textsuperscript{18}
A memorandum dealing with the evacuee and refugee problem was handed over to Mr. C.N. Chandra, the Refugee Commissioner by the General Secretary of the Rawalpindi Divisional Rehabilitation Committee on 30th July 1947. The memorandum contained workable suggestions for the rehabilitation of refugees and resettlement of evacuees along with the statistics regarding the non-Muslim population, the number of villages and the proportion of property and agricultural land belonging to the non-Muslims. Meanwhile the Muslim refugees started to pour into the West Punjab areas in thousands daily. Over 5,000 Muslims had entered into Lahore during the first week of August 1947. The Punjab Muslim League was doing all it could to facilitate the incoming refugees. About half a dozen refugee camps were set up in and around the suburbs of Lahore. The main camp was setup at the NWR Walton Training School where arrangements were made to accommodate at least 20,000 refugees. The ML appointed Khan Bahadur Sheikh Fazal Illahi, the Director-General Public Relations as the Refugee Officer and also the In-Charge of the Walton Refugee Camp to provide accommodation and other bare necessities to the riot affected Muslim refugees. The Muslim League Relief Committee managed to institute local charities in Lahore to meet with the expenditure of the refugee camps. The Medical students and doctors provided voluntary services to nurse the wounded and traumatised refugees in the camps. Apart from relief camps a large number of the Muslim families living in Lahore took in refugee families to live with them. By that time Walton Camp had received around 15,000 refugees from East Punjab. These camps were providing the refugees with two square meals a day and breakfast in
the morning. Since August was also the month of Ramadan, therefore facilities of *sehri* and *aftari* were also provided to the fasting refugees. A special cloth depot for the refugees was opened in Lahore near the Model Town Transport Bus Station where the refugees were allowed to have their quota of clothing. Because there were many Muslims women who had lost their male family members and were on their own, a need was felt to open a separate refugee camp run by the Muslim League women volunteers only for the purpose of looking after the traumatised women.21

**Second Phase of Evacuation:**

By 15\textsuperscript{th} August 1947, India had been split up into two separate sovereign states of India and Pakistan. The Radcliffe Award had divided the provinces of Bengal and the Punjab. The demarcation left millions in a minority in what was their majority area before the partition. The partition of the Punjab accelerated migration from both sides. The non-Muslims of the westerns part were on the move toward the eastern part and the Muslims living in the East Punjab and the Sikh states were struggling to reach the border to get into West Punjab. Despite the appeals of the political leaders from both sides to stay on, millions were marching towards safety in an unknown land.

Both the governments were trying their best to rescue, evacuate and resettle the refugees who were arriving in large numbers. Having no precedent in the past, the authorities on both sides had no clue as how to cope with that kind of emergency. However, the government of West Punjab was facing more problems than its counterpart as the former had no physical means for the resettlement of refugees
coming from East Punjab. The Punjab Muslim League Relief Committee at Lahore managed to acquire 30 armed trucks to be used for the evacuation of the Muslim refugees from the East Punjab and neighboring areas. The trucks accompanied by armed escort were dispatched to Amritsar on 14th August 1947 to evacuate stranded Muslims.22 On 15th August 1947, Sir Francis Mudie was sworn in as the Governor of West Punjab at the Government House in Lahore. Mr. Justice Munir of the Lahore High Court administered the swearing-in ceremony which was attended by the hierarchy of the Punjab Government including influential Muslim Leaguers.23 Earlier the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore Mr. Zafar-ul-Ahsan and Mr. Muzafar Ahmad ICS were sent to Amritsar to be appointed as Liaison and Relief & Refugee Officers at Amritsar.24 On 16th August 1947, over 900 Muslim refugees managed to reach Lyallpur safely where they were received by the Secretary District Muslim League Choudhary Aziz-ud-Din, MLA. The Lyallpur District ML had opened a number of relief and refugee camps there through the donations by wealthy Muslims and the Muslim League Relief Fund.25

The representatives of both East and West Punjab Governments met on 17th August 1947 at Ambala to discuss the mutual transfer of evacuees. The West Punjab Government was represented by Sirdar Shaukat Hyat and Mian Mumtaz Daultana whereas Dr. Gopi Chand and Sardar Swaran Singh represented the East Punjab Government.26 The West Punjab Governor Francis Mudie stressed the importance of a quick transfer of refugees, he also asked for assistance by the Central Government for provision of special trains for evacuation and transfer of refugees. Major-General Thomas Wynford Rees (1898-1959) of the Punjab
Boundary Force (PBF) told the representatives that the evacuation by rail had already started. He appraised the members about the work done by the railways specially the Frontier Mail which had evacuated a large number of people. He also stated that in Lahore arrangements were made to shelter the 5,000 non-Muslims in college buildings. During the meeting, Indian Prime Minister Nehru asked for the employment of 50 or 100 lorries to complete the evacuation of non-Muslims from Gujranwala District. In reply, the Commander PBF pointed out that lorries had already been employed and estimated that the present task would be completed in next 10 days. The commander however emphasized the provision of extra trains. Mr. Nehru also stressed the desirability of setting up a high level committee between the Governments of East and West Punjab for effective coordination. It was agreed that such a committee comprising two ministers each from East and West Punjab would be set up and the committee would meet regularly for coordinating administrative measures. It was also agreed that two liaison officers would be appointed at Lahore and Amritsar to interact with the Punjab Boundary Force and with the civil administration. Both governments gave assurance of facilitating the liaison officers of the other country. As for the working of the PBF, it was agreed to reduce the area covered by the PBF in accordance with the advice given by the East and West Punjab Ministers’ Committee after consultation between the Commanders-in-Chief of India and Pakistan and the Commander of the PBF. The meeting ended with the agreement that the proposed visit of the two Prime Ministers to Lahore and Amritsar should take place as planned.
Meanwhile, situation in Jullundur was becoming critical as the relief camps were also attacked by the hooligans. A group of about 200 Muslim refugees from Jullundur and Hoshiarpur reached Lahore on 19th August 1947 along with the prominent Muslim Leaguers of the area who later met with the West Punjab Premier Mamdot, Sirdar Shaukat Hyat and Mian Mumtaz Daultana. They apprised the Leaguers about the communal situation in the East Punjab. In this connection the West Punjab Premier along with some ministers met the Commander of the Punjab Boundary Force, General Rees and discussed with him the measures for the organization and protection of the Muslim refugee camps in East Punjab. The Finance Minister Mian Mumtaz Daultana even sent a telegram to the East Punjab Government to “adopt prompt and ruthless measures to stamp out lawlessness as quickly as possible and to offer all out help to the Muslims in those parts, otherwise the possible reaction of these occurrences was prone to create such conditions in the West Punjab which may be beyond our control”.

In response to this telegram Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava assured Daultana that the East Punjab Government was doing whatever was possible to handle the situation in East Punjab. He further cemented his government’s commitment by the remarking that “the governor and I am reaching Jullundur on the evening of 21. Sardar Swaran Singh is already there. The Governor is visiting Hoshiarpur and other affected areas soon after his arrival in Jullundur”.

The West Punjab Government also held meetings to discuss the various proposals to offer protection to the refugee caravans and to evacuate those Muslims who were still marooned in the rural areas. The Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru
was also requested by the West Punjab Government to visit the riot affected areas of East Punjab immediately to help save Muslims lives and property.\textsuperscript{32}

In Lahore, circumstances were getting tougher for the relief workers in terms of feeding and providing shelter to such a large number of refugees on daily basis. Appeals were made by the Leaguers to the people of Lahore who had been comparatively less affected by the riots to come forward and contribute generously in order to alleviate sufferings of their distressed brethren who had made sacrifices for the achievement of a cherished land. The people of Lahore responded positively to these appeals and not only they donated heavily into the Muslim League Relief Fund but also accommodated a large number of refugees in their homes.\textsuperscript{33} Refugees were also pouring into other cities of the Punjab as about 400 hundred refugees reached Rawalpindi on 20\textsuperscript{th} August 1947. Most of them were accommodated in temporary relief camp established at the Islamia High School on Murree Road. Sheikh Anwar-ul-Haq, the Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi ordered the city management to open a regular refugee camp immediately. He also appointed Rao Akbar Khan, Magistrate First Class as the Officer-in-Charge of the refugee camp.\textsuperscript{34} Arrangements were also made to utilize the military barracks and tents were also requisitioned for the temporary accommodations of the refugees.

In order to coordinate evacuation and relief work in Punjab, a Refugee Committee consisting of five ICS officers was appointed. Khwaja Abdul Rahim was appointed the Officer-in-Charge of rescue and evacuation work; Mr. I.U. Khan was to arrange food supplies to all the relief centers in the West Punjab including Lahore. Messrs Malik Abdul Manan and Zafarul Ahsan were assigned to arrange for the
housing of the incoming refugees. Mr. Atta Mohammad Khan was appointed as the Refugee Welfare Officer. The government also appointed Mr. A.M. Malik as the Liaison Officer in East Punjab to act as a link between the refugees and their relatives.\(^{35}\)

The Communication Department of the Government of Pakistan also established a camp post office in the Walton Training Refugee Camp where the telephone facility was also provided. News related to the evacuation of Muslim refugees and about the affairs of the vacated property were broadcasted regularly.\(^{36}\) The government at that time was not fully equipped to tackle the refugees who were pouring daily into West Punjab in thousands; therefore, it was understandable that the West Punjab Government was not encouraging the complete exodus of the Muslims from Gurdaspur and other central districts. However, the Muslims were to be concentrated in strong pockets to avoid attacks by armed gangs.\(^{37}\) The West Punjab Government managed to open three new refugee camps at Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana that were to be supervised by the officers of the West Punjab Government.\(^{38}\) Four Muslim companies of 10\(^{th}\) Bloch Regiment were dispatched to the disturbed areas of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur. A convoy of eight trucks along with military escort was also sent to Amritsar to evacuate the Muslims. It was announced by the West Punjab Government that all inquiries about the whereabouts of the refugees should be directed to Officer-in-Charge of Rescue and Evacuation Mr. Khwaja Abdul Rahim who would get in touch with the Liaison Officer in Amritsar along with all the information about the refugees in the West Punjab and other areas.\(^{39}\) An estimated 1.5 lakh Muslim refugees had crossed
into the West Punjab by last week of August 1947. About 90 thousand were stationed in Lahore, 35 thousands in Kasur and the remaining 25 thousands were dispersed in different parts of the West Punjab. Muslims living abroad were also donating for the Muslim refugees. The Indian Muslim artisans of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company at Abadan, Iran donated 51,298 rupees to the Mayor of Lahore for the Punjab Muslim League Relief Fund.\textsuperscript{40}

The West Punjab Government issued a press note on 23\textsuperscript{rd} August 1947 in which it requested general public to come forward and help the provincial authorities in order to assist refugees who were pouring into the refugee camps every day. The government also requested the students to assist the refugee camps organizers in keeping up the record and information about the missing relatives of the refugees in camps. Doctors and other medical staff were asked to work with the wounded and traumatized refugees on voluntarily basis or on remunerations. The doctors were asked to register their names with the Inspector General of Civil Hospitals at the Civil Secretariat Lahore. The people of West Punjab were requested to donate groceries including \textit{sarson} oil, pulses, vegetables and rice in whatever quantity to the In-Charge of the Walton Training School Camp Mr. A.M. Leghari. The local \textit{zamindars} were also urged to place their wheat stocks in the nearest \textit{mundis} for sale.\textsuperscript{41} The educational institutions were also trying to contribute with whatever they could manage for the welfare of Muslim refugees. The Principal of the Punjab Agricultural College at Lyallpur appealed to the vacationing students of his college through press on 26\textsuperscript{th} August 1947 to cooperate with the authorities in relief and evacuation work and to report to the West Punjab Public Relations Directorate or
to the In-Charge of the refugee camps Mr. Leghari in order to register themselves as volunteers.\footnote{42}

Because of the frequent attacks on the refugee trains, the railway staff was quite reluctant to report to their respective officers despite the armed military and police escort provided to them when on duty. This staff absence was creating problem for the authorities to carry out the evacuation work. Therefore, a final notice was issued to the absentee employees of the railway department to return to work by 25\textsuperscript{th} August 1947 otherwise to face the disciplinary action against them. Despite those difficulties five special refugee trains ran on 22\textsuperscript{nd} August 1947 including two trains from Amritsar to Campbellpur (present day Attock), one from Lahore to Amritsar, one from Lahore Cantonment to Amritsar and one from Narowal to Lahore. The West Punjab Director of Public Relations announced in a communiqué that there were two special trains running everyday bringing Muslim evacuees from Amritsar to Lahore. Apart from that five convoys of motor lorries were also scouring the streets of East Punjab to bring home the Muslim evacuees.

The communiqué further stated that an estimated 25,000 Muslims were being brought over to West Punjab from East Punjab everyday. The contingents of the Pakistan Army were also guarding those refugee camps in East Punjab where the Muslim evacuees were not sure as to migrate to Pakistan or return to their native places in East Punjab after the restoration of peace in the region.\footnote{43} A group of East Punjab Muslims including Ch. Mohammad Hassan Khan, leader of the Muslim League party in East Punjab met with the Indian Prime Minister Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Abul Kalam Azad urging them to act immediately to stop
violence in East Punjab. The Indian PM assured the deputation that the
government was doing all it could to get things normalized in the East Punjab. He
also told the Muslim deputation that he had stressed upon the government officials
to take drastic measures against the troublemakers and to help the victims in every
possible manner. Meanwhile, in the West Punjab the government decided to raise
Home Guards to assist the police in rehabilitation work. The West Punjab
Government also appealed to all the able-bodied persons and ex-military and
police men to enlist themselves in the Home Guards to ease the pressure on the
military and the police of the province. The government also set up a non-official
advisory committee on evacuation of Muslims refugees from East Punjab and their
resettlement in the West Punjab. The committee was consisted of Mian Abdul
Aziz, MLA, as Chairman, Mr. Hamid Nizami as Secretary, Malik Ghulam Nabi,
Maulana Ghulam Murshid, Major Muzaffar Saqi, Begum Fatima Sahiba, Malik
Wazir Mohammad, MLA, Prof. Ashfaq Ahmad Khan and Mr. Zahurdin Pal as
members.

The Muslim youth was very enthusiastic and wanted to share the burden of relief
and rescue. The Muslim Students Federation (MSF) was also very active in the
relief work. The President of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation in a press
statement in Lahore appealed to the students to participate in the noble cause of
relief and rehabilitation of Muslim refugees. He urged the MSF to collect cloths,
utensils and other basic necessities at the same time cooperating with the camps
administration. He asked members of the MSF to collect food grains from the
villages and also keep a vigilant watch on the go-downs of food grains, clothes and
other stocks and at the same time be ready to protect those go-downs and properties from arson or destruction.\textsuperscript{46} The MSF of Campbellpur District was also very effective in the Punjab Governments’ relief efforts. Under the leadership of Sheikh Anwar Latif Amjad they initiated a scheme to get employment for 2,000 refugees stationed at Mansar Camp. They started contacting management of the cement factory at Wah near Rawalpindi and the Dhulian and Khaur Oil Fields for employment of the refugees and fortunately the management responded positively.\textsuperscript{47} The Secretary of the Campbellpur MSF Ch. Afzal Ali Gill acknowledged and praised the district authorities for providing aid to the Muslim refugees at the Mansar Camp. The members of the MSF Campbellpur also opened a camp library for the refugees.

The army was not only involved in the gigantic task of rescue and relief of the Muslim refugees; it was also having its say in the policy making with regard to the rehabilitation of the refugees. The Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army General Frank Messervy also attended the cabinet meeting of the West Punjab Government and discussed with the cabinet members the difficulties and problems that were being faced by the army during the rescue and relief operation. In response to the request of the West Punjab Government, the Pakistan Army took over the evacuation of Muslim refugees and also the management of the refugee camps in the West Punjab on 28\textsuperscript{th} August 1947.\textsuperscript{48} The decision was taken during the conference between the ministers of the West Punjab Government, the C-n-C of the Pakistan Army General Frank Messervy and the Commander of the Punjab Boundary Force General Rees. It was decided that the evacuation work would be
done in collaboration with the Punjab Boundary Force which would raise the average rate of evacuation to about 75,000 daily and will provide the West Punjab Government with an opportunity to fully concentrate on the management of refugee camps in the Herculean task of rehabilitating the refugees. An army general was to stay at Lahore to supervise the army’s relief work. The Pakistan Broadcasting Service Lahore inaugurated the programs for the refugees on 27th August 1947 and managed to broadcast about 4,000 messages during the last week of August concerning the whereabouts of the missing refugees.

The hierarchy of both the governments including both prime ministers, the Defense Minister of India Sardar Baldev Singh and Communication Minister for Pakistan Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar extensively toured the riot affected areas of both East and West Punjab. After the completion of their tours an inter-dominion conference was held on 29th August 1947 at the Government House Lahore. Other important representatives included the Food Minster Pakistan Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Secretary General Pakistan Government Ch. Muhammad Ali, Deputy Prime Minister of India Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, C-in-C of India Gen. Sir Rob Lockhart, the Governor West Punjab Sir Francis Mudie, the Premier of West Punjab Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan Mamdot, the Finance Minister West Punjab Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, Revenue Minister West Punjab Sirdar Shaukat Hyat Khan, the Governor East Punjab Sir Chandu Lal Trivedi, the Premier East Punjab Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, Home Minister East Punjab Sardar Swaran Singh, Commander PBF Gen. Rees, Brig. B.S. Chimni and Brig. Stevens. The Conference reiterated the importance of maintaining law and order in both parts of
the Punjab. It was decided that both governments should exercise all their resources for the protection of refugees and evacuees. Therefore, both the provincial governments resolved to cooperate in order to speed up the movement of refugees. The means of transportation including railway trains, motor lorries etc were to be utilized for shifting evacuees as well as refugees.\textsuperscript{52}

The representatives of both provincial governments undertook the responsibility of establishing and running the evacuee and refugee camps in their respective areas and for provision of all the basic necessities of life there. The conference also discussed the mechanism of the refugee movements. It was decided that the evacuation from both parts of the Punjab would be organized by the military authorities with well planned escorts. Liaison officers were to be appointed in all important districts by both provincial governments for the evacuees and for maintaining close contact with the concerned authorities. Illegal seizure of evacuee property was not to be recognized by both the central and provincial governments. It was decided to appoint the Custodians of Refugee Property for the agricultural lands, shops, factories, residential property, insurance companies, banks and religious and cultural institutions. According to the agreed clauses the evacuees were allowed to take with them limited moveable property, licensed weapons, food, domestic animals, bullock carts and non-commercial vehicles.\textsuperscript{53} The representatives also agreed not to recognize forced conversions and forced marriages. Special attention was made towards the recovery and honorable restoration of abducted women. It was also agreed to protect and rebuild the religious institutions in the riot affected areas. Maintaining effective liaison for the
exchange of information about evacuee movements was also to be ensured. In respect of stranded government officials either opting for one dominion but living in the other, it was considered important that they should be provided facilities to transfer so that the administrative system could work smoothly. The issue was discussed in depth and both the governments agreed to provide every facility to the migrating officers. Both parties decided to deal severely against complaints of lawlessness and in order to dispel baseless rumors about refugee related issues, both governments decided to issue daily communiqués to give a factual report. The members also took notice of the irresponsible and baseless reports in some newspapers and decided to take serious action in such cases.\(^{54}\) The same day on 29\(^{th}\) August 1947, the sixth meeting of the Joint Defense Council was held at Government House Lahore presided by the Council Chairman Lord Mountbatten. It was attended by the Governor-Generals of India and Pakistan, both Prime Ministers, Governors of East and West Punjab, both C-in-Cs, Commander Rees of Punjab Boundary Force, Sardar Baldev Singh Defense Minister of India, the Communication Minister of Pakistan and Claude Auchinleck, Supreme Commander etc. The meeting discussed the role and future of the Punjab Boundary Force. It was agreed to abolish the PBF and both India and Pakistan Governments were to take direct responsibilities of their respective territories. It was argued that communal disturbances had spread to territories beyond the control of PBF. In fact about 70 percent attacks on the railway trains occurred outside the PBF controlled areas.\(^ {55}\) Lord Mountbatten the Governor General of India favored the idea of setting up of military head quarters by both the governments at Lahore. The
Commander PBF Major General Rees stressed the importance of free movement and providing protection to the officials of 4th Indian Division Head Quarters in West Punjab. As for the disbanding of the PBF, the Supreme Commander Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck proposed that the PBF be disbanded and a new arrangement could take effect on midnight 31st August 1947. So after detailed discussions the meeting agreed to disband the PBF and new arrangements to take place from midnight of 31st August 1947.\textsuperscript{56} It was also agreed that:

- The Head Quarters of 4th Indian Division and the Lahore Area Head Quarters would be located at Lahore in order to maintain close liaison between the two HQs. The 4th Indian Division HQ was to take over the area on the Indian side including civil districts of Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Ferozpur, Amritsar, the separated parts of Lahore District and Ludhiana. Whereas the Lahore Area HQ would control the boundary areas including the civil districts of Sialkot including Shakargarh Tahsil, Gujranwala, Lahore, Sheikhupura, Lyallpur and Montgomery.

- The West Punjab Government would assure protection and freedom of movement to the personnel and the transport of the 4th Indian Division in West Punjab.

- As soon as possible all units of Punjab Boundary Force belonging to Indian Army will be located on the Indian side of the border and all units of the army on the Pakistani side and mixed units would be spilt so that they can be located accordingly.\textsuperscript{57}
About the welfare of refugees, the Governor-General of India Lord Mountbatten opened the discussion with the argument that whether army personnel of one dominion should be lent to the other for the protection of refugee camps and caravans on the move. He also admitted that there was a possibility of armed clashes between the two armies. It was agreed that until and unless the troops of their own communities were made to guard the refugees, there would be unrest and fear amongst the people on the move. The Indian Premier Jawaharlal Nehru reported the panic among the non-Muslim refugee camp at Wah near Rawalpindi when a purely Muslim guard was posted to guard the refugees. However, Governor Mudie hoped that under such an arrangement the strength of the Sikh soldiers employed on the protection of refugees in West Punjab would be reduced to minimum. The Indian Premier however pointed out that the proposals for the protection of refugees did not guarantee arrangements for the protection of refugees en route to their camps. The Commander of the PBF immediately responded to this remark by stating that the period of refugee movement from evacuation point to the camp was the most dangerous one in terms of gang attacks and abductions. The Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan while speaking to the conference delegates hoped for a speedy repatriation of refugees from camps to their homes as according to him the general situation had improved. He also trusted that the evacuation would reduce and suggested that the refugees in smaller camps should be moved to larger camps.58

The discussions on the welfare of refugees ended with agreement on the following points:
The army personnel would be loaned to work in other dominion for the protection of refugees in camps and convoys. These loaned troops would be under the command of a military commander of their respective areas. The number of loaned troops would be kept to minimum and for the only duty of “close guarding” the refugees. Their strength in numbers would be agreed upon by the two military area commanders. In only essential cases they might be employed outside the boundary areas.

Both the governments would appeal to the minorities in their area not to move on their own but only under proper guards and government auspices.

Both the governments would increase the number of Refugee Commissioners and their staff. As both the governments were also concerned over evacuee property, they agreed to appoint a Custodian of Refugee Property and stressed for a better liaison between the two custodians. During the meeting Lord Mountbatten stated that he had received a proposal from Liaquat Ali Khan advocating the use of aircraft against the armed bands especially for the protection of refugee caravans. The Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah however emphasized the importance of reconnaissance value of the aircrafts. The Commander PBF instanced the protection of railway tracks as one of the important use of the aircraft. The representatives later agreed to use the military aircraft for the assistance of ground troops and therefore both the Defense Ministers were urged to examine the employment of aircraft on emergency basis. On the question of measures to be taken against the armed bands, the meeting agreed that private companies of more
than five men, in possession of arms or wearing any uniform be declared as illegal; each government would establish concentration camps to detain armed bands; each government would publicly announce that armed bands committing any crime would be shot on sight. The meeting also discussed the importance of press, leaflets and situation reports. It was agreed that a Press Camp would be set up at Lahore with a view to facilitating the press correspondents who would be reporting to the Public Relations Committee and similar arrangements would be made to radio correspondents.

Lastly, the meeting discussed in detail the transfer of the government employees from both dominions as had been stated by Mr. Nehru that about 400 employees of the East Punjab Government were stranded in West Punjab. On that subject the Pakistan Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan stated that 6,000 Pakistan Government employees were still awaiting evacuation from Delhi. He also stated that arrangements were already made to evacuate 2,000 government employees by air to Lahore. Both the governments agreed to facilitate the transfer of government employees by air from Delhi to Lahore and vice versa. The reminder of the Pakistan Government employees with heavy baggage were agreed to be sent by trains and the Indian Government assured its responsibility to provide protection to these government employees whilst they were in Delhi. After the Lahore Conference both the governments in a joint statement on 14th September 1947 announced that no evacuee convoys and temporary camps about to move east or west-words would thereafter be subjected to any search by police or the military. The governments also reiterated their earlier assurance that evacuees would be
allowed to carry with them their moveable properties within the limits of transport available. 65

A joint press communiqué was issued on 15th September 1947 describing organized steps to be taken with the cooperation of both the governments and their police and military forces for the recovery of abducted women. It was also stated that women social workers and private social organizations would also be given responsibilities in that noble endeavor. The communiqué announced that persons having any information about the abductees should immediately conduct the Deputy Commissioners of their areas who would then forward that information to the provincial government. 66

In the meantime, the Governor West Punjab Sir Francis Mudie along with his daughter Miss Mudie and niece Miss McQueen visited Sialkot and Gujrat to gather first hand information about the disturbances. They also inquired from the local people about the difficulties and problems relating to evacuation and refugees. 67

Lady Mountbatten also toured the riot stricken areas in Jullundur and Amritsar where she visited the refugee camps and hospitals accompanied by the Indian Health Minister Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Governor of East Punjab Sir Chandu Lal Trivedi. 68 After visiting the camps in East Punjab she headed towards the West Punjab. While Miss Jinnah, sister of Pakistan’s Governor-General M.A. Jinnah limited her activities to Karachi and other parts of Sind, visits by Lady Mountbatten, wife of Indian Governor-General to West Punjab had a much more significant impact on the British officials and also on the Indian representatives. In Lahore she met with the Governor Francis Mudie, Refugee Minister Raja
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, the Prime Minister Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Finance Minister West Punjab Mumtaz Daultana, Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan Mr. Sri Prakasa and with General Rees. She visited Lahore, Rawalpindi including the refugee camp at Wah, Sialkot and Gujranwala. She also visited the hospitals where the wounded refugees were treated. In this connection she visited the Sir Gangaram Hospital in Lahore where she was touched by the dedication of the relief workers across the Punjab borders. She later paid tribute to the relief workers in the refugee camps and hospitals in a broadcast over the BBC saying that “these selfless men and women are the unknown heroes of India”. She also mentioned the young Muslim lady doctor who had left her Delhi practice to work in a refugee centre in Gurgaon. At the refugee centre and at the hospitals, the leaders and the commoners of all the nationalities were given opportunities to put forward their views before Lady Mountbatten. They spelt out the physical and psychological problems faced by the refugee communities on both sides of the border. On her way back she held meetings with Chief Justice Dewan Ram Lal, Master Tara Singh and General Rees at Amritsar. She also met with Pakistan C-in-C General Messervy at Rawalpindi and held discussions with him.

A group of Muslim Leaguers from Jullundur including Messrs Shamsul Haq, Fazal Hussain and Farzand Ali met with the Finance Minister Daultana in Lahore and apprised him about the plight of the Muslims evacuees from Jullundur. They requested the Minister to arrange for some expeditious evacuation from the troubled areas of East Punjab especially the Jullundur District. The Punjab Government sent the motor lorries the very next day to evacuate the Muslim
refugees from isolated pockets. By the last week of August the Muslim refugees who had crossed over to West Punjab from East Punjab exceeded the 400,000 figure. This was the official figure of those who were evacuated by the official arrangement but there were also many who had left their homes in East Punjab on their own and had been lucky to cross the border alive. In order to accommodate such a large number of refugees the Government of Pakistan was also expediting the work of requisitioning the evacuee property. In order to ensure the transparency, the authorities used to publish the names of those ex-employees or volunteers who for any reason were not associated with the refugee work or had been expelled from service in the camps or other relief and rehabilitation related work. Life in the refugee camps was a mixture of traumatized memories and rays of hope as among the refugee women there were many who were blessed with babies in the maternity centers of the Walton Refugee Camps. Up till the last week of August 1947, there were about twenty reported births mostly girls at the camps. These mothers and newly born babies were looked after by a team of dedicated doctors and nurses headed by Dr. Miss Niaz who herself was a refugee from Jullundur and Dr. Mrs. Qureshi. At this critical juncture Lt. Col. Illahi Bukhsh, the Principal of the King Edward Medical College Lahore requested the final year students to serve in the refugee camps along with the doctors and nurses in order to provide better and speedy services to their Muslim brethren. By the first week of September 1947, about 1, 50,000 refugees from East Punjab reached Kasur and during the same week around 75,000 were sent to Montgomery (Presently Sahiwal) District. Miss McQueen, the niece of Governor Mudie
accompanied by the Inspector General of the Civil Hospitals visited Kasur to inspect the sanitary arrangement in the refugee camp. The Muslim League’s Women’s Wing was also working with the refugee women and young girls. Fatima Begum appealed to the Muslim nurses and girls who had been trained as first aid volunteers to come forward to help women in refugee camps in the West Punjab. Those willing were asked to contact the Secretary of the Zanana Muslim League immediately for allocation of duties.  

Apart from the Muslim relief organizations, several foreign missionary organizations were also helping the local authorities in their rescue and relief efforts. The Officiating Secretary of the American Presbyterian Mission Punjab, Dr. James Manry in a press note called upon all the American missionaries working in the hilly areas of the Punjab to come down to the plains and start the relief work in both parts of the Punjab. The Anglo-Indian community of Pakistan also showed their loyalty by organizing a crowded public meeting at the Burt Institute on 1st September 1947 to pay homage to those who had suffered in the cause of freedom. President C.E. Gibbon of the Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan presented a cheque of 4,000 rupees to Malik Feroz Khan Noon to be given to the Quaid-i-Azam for the Refugee Relief Fund. Gibbon said “I cannot resist from observing that if the Government of Pakistan is to be popular and efficient, it cannot afford to ignore or exclude minorities particularly the Christian minority which forms a very substantial minority in the land.” As a result of the massive campaign by the foreign missions, about 25 Anglo-Indian women with
nursing experience volunteered to work in the Mayo Hospital Lahore with the refugees.  

By September the situation began to improve in Gurdaspur where a large number of non-Muslim refugees were pouring in from the West Punjab. Gurdaspur was also the centre of activities of the Ahmadiya community having no political association with any party especially in Qadian City. The members of the Ahmadiya or the Qadiani community living in London were quite concerned about the safety of their community especially the Head of the Ahmadiya Community Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad and his followers living in Qadian.  

Lord Mountbatten was approached to pressurize the Indian Government to ensure the safety of the Qadian Centre and the community.  

The East Punjab Government was busy strengthening the Liaison Section in Lahore by recruiting more Assistant Liaison Officers. They also requested the Indian Government to provide them with the military officers of the ranks of Majors or Captains for appointment as Liaison Officers to expedite the evacuation of the non-Muslims.  

Different political and social organizations from NWFP including Frontier Congress Parliamentary Party, the Salars of the Khudai Khidmatgars, Zalme Pakhtoon and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema met at Sardaryab on 5th September 1947 to discuss the political situation in the province. The representatives of all the parties including Abdul Ghaffar Khan appealed to the Pashtoons of the NWFP to help the victims of communal disturbances in the Punjab. At the same time the conference resented the presence of the British officers in administration of the province and the tribal agencies. A resolution was passed condemning the Governor-General’s action by which the Dr.
Khan Sahib’s Ministry had been dismissed and a minority Muslim League Ministry installed in the Frontier Province.\textsuperscript{83}

However, in the West Punjab the government was under pressure to provide more troops for the evacuation of the Muslims who were still stranded in East Punjab. Their evacuation was done mostly by the non-Muslims and British escorts who had no interest in the safety of the Muslim evacuees. The editors of the six Muslim dailies including \textit{The Pakistan Times, Nawa-e-Waqt, Zamindar, Ehsan, Eastern Times} and \textit{Shahbaz} sent a telegram to Jinnah requesting him to despatch Muslim troops to guard the Muslim areas and the camps in the East Punjab until the evacuation process was completed.\textsuperscript{84}

The Muslims of Ambala were also waiting to be evacuated. In fear of being done to death by non-Muslims, the residents of the Sadar Bazaar areas in Ambala sent a distress telegram to the Premier Mamdot of West Punjab on 4\textsuperscript{th} September 1947 stating, “Ambala Cantonment condition is serious. Looting and daylight murders have started. Pray immediate help and evacuation arrangements”.\textsuperscript{85} Mamdot repeated the message to the Governor-General of Pakistan, Governor of West Punjab and to the Secretary Relief Committee Lahore. The traders of the West Punjab were also very keen to help the miserable brethren from East Punjab. The business community of West Punjab was also ready to help the refugees in any way possible. The Pakistan Federation of Commerce and Industry at Lahore requested the Refugee Commissioner and the Employment Exchanges in West Punjab to provide them with names of the skilled craftsmen and technicians from East Punjab in the refugee camps. The Federation decided to accommodate those
refugee artisans by providing them with jobs in their factories and other organisations so that they could earn respectful livelihood for their families. By the first week of September 1947 the District Magistrate of Lahore announced that around 12,000 houses had been allotted to the refugees and there were only 4,000 houses left in Lahore to be allotted to the Pakistan Government officials and their families who were about 5,000 in number and for the Punjab Government officials who would be stationed in Lahore after migrating from East Punjab. The District Magistrate expressed his regret that it would not be possible to allot more houses to the refugees and those who had already got the allotment letters were asked to contact the Magistrate Office on the given dates so that they may be allotted houses and those who had not gotten any allotment letter were asked to proceed to other towns such as Sialkot, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura, Sargodha and Montgomery where evacuee houses were available to be allocated to Muslim refugees. The Muslim MLAs from both East and West Punjab met on 2nd September at the Mamdot Villa in Lahore under the Presidentship of Punjab Premier Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot to discuss various proposals for providing speedy help to the Muslim refugees in the camps and to chalk out a comprehensive plan for their rehabilitation. The participants also discussed the means to engage the public in the colossal relief work.

Despite the miscalculations in evacuation and rehabilitation, both the governments had the audacity to indulge in the blame game. One such reported incident was the war of press statements between Master Tara Singh, Sardar Beldev Singh on the one hand and the Pakistan Minister for Food, Agriculture and Health Raja
Ghazanfar Ali Khan on the other. It started when Master Tara Singh in a telegram to Sardar Baldev Singh the Defence Minister of India, made an allegation that thousands of non-Muslims had been murdered in the refugee camps and in convoys in West Punjab because of no or inadequate military escort. Ghazanfar denied the allegation as pure fabrication. He challenged Master Tara Singh to hold an independent inquiry in the refugee camps in both East and West Punjab and also by monitoring the convoy movements in either direction. Ghazanfar provided some details of the successful evacuation of the non-Muslims from the West Punjab. He stated that there were about 10,000 non-Muslim evacuees in refugee camps in Gujrat and not a single attack was made on the camps. Similarly, the refugee camp in Jalalpur Jattan had about 5,000 non-Muslims and was guarded by the Muslim soldiers yet there was no incident of communal attack on the inmates. There were other non-Muslim camps in different parts of West Punjab such as Mandi Bahauddin accommodating 40,000 non-Muslims, in Lyallpur with more than 30,000, in Jhang and Chiniot with about 25,000 refugees and in Sargodha and Pind Dadan Khan Camps where the non-Muslims were about 15,000 did not report any Muslim attack on any of those camps. Ghazanfar further clinched the argument by claiming that he had himself visited those camps from 3rd to 11th September 1947. He blamed the Indian Government for not taking prompt actions to stop attacks on the Muslims camps and convoys. He argued that there was hardly any refugee camp in the East Punjab which had not been attacked or threatened by the armed gangs and also the casualties resulting from attacks on refugee special trains, lorries and foot convoys were very high. Though, he
admitted that there were attacks on the convoys going east from West Punjab at various places a few miles from Lahore. The Prime Minister Nehru however contradicted the statement made by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. While all this was going on, news were coming from Ludhiana where Muslims of four villages including Samrala, Shahpur, Cawnpra and Ghumna were waiting to be evacuated. The troops of Nabha State were also harassing the concentrated pockets of Muslims who were also facing acute food shortages and hoping that the Pakistan Government would do something for the evacuation immediately or at least the areas where the Muslims were gathered together would be made the refugee camps.

It was comparatively easy for the West Punjab Government to set up refugee camps in their own province rather than in East Punjab because of several constraints, for instance the Public Health Department of West Punjab Government opened maternity and child care centres throughout the refugee camps in their province to facilitate the births and to provide better care to the new born and infants. Till mid September the Walton camps dealt with 177 maternity cases. The Health Department was also busy taking care of the cholera epidemic that had erupted in the refugee camps. In Lahore only the authorities had vaccinated 16,210 people for cholera and 16,772 for small pox till 27th August 1947. The authorities were also fighting against malaria. A unit was specially formed to spray DDT to disinfect the refugee camps environs. Despite the efforts by the Health Department at least 17 persons died of cholera and one from small pox in two camps at the Walton. The sanitary arrangements were not ideal as the lower class Hindus of
Lahore who were mostly the sweepers had gone to India resulting in the shortage of sanitary workers. The authorities of the refugee camps however managed to arrange 50 temporary sweepers from Sheikhupura District to meet the camp requirements.\(^9^3\) The medical department of the West Punjab Government arranged for 600 more beds for refugee patients from Kasur camps in Mayo Hospital Lahore. The government also arranged for special transport service to carry the sick and wounded from Kasur camps to Mayo Hospital. A Central Medical Store was also opened in Lahore to provide medicines, bandages and other medical equipment to other parts of the Punjab.\(^9^4\)

Refugees were still coming in large numbers both alive and even as dead bodies. A refugee train taking Muslims from Delhi was attacked at the Beas Railway Station killing 160 Muslims including 59 children. A number of Muslim women were abducted at Harbanspura. About 106 wounded were among the lucky ones to reach Lahore.\(^9^5\) Another refugee train was stopped three miles south east of Ludhiana by armed gangs. The military escort fought back with the raiders for 45 minutes. Three attackers were confirmed dead whereas 12 Muslim passengers lost their lives, 37 got injured and about 40 were reported missing.\(^9^6\) The train reached Lahore via Jullundur. Many attacks on the Pakistan Special trains were reported in the month of September 1947. There were about 500,000 refugees in Lahore by the first week of September 1947 and the District Magistrate had already requested the refugees to move further on to other districts in the West Punjab. The Government of the East Punjab was also coming up with new ideas to expedite the evacuation of the non-Muslims from the West Punjab and other parts. In this connection they
appointed a Transport Controller at Amritsar. He was to take care of the vehicles to be used in evacuating refugees from East and West Punjab. His duty was to plan the sending of convoys into West Punjab after consulting with the East Punjab Liaison Officer Mr. M.R. Bhide at Lahore. There was an agreement between the East and West Punjab Governments that no truck or lorry would be allowed to travel empty. This arrangement was a blessing in disguise for the stranded Muslims in East Punjab because the lorries and trucks that were supposed to pick up the non-Muslims from West Punjab and then carry them to the East Punjab were to collect the Muslim evacuees from East Punjab on their way back to West Punjab for evacuation of non-Muslims. About 100 trucks carrying Muslims refugees left Amritsar for Lahore during the first week of September 1947. The refugees who were lucky to reach West Pakistan were not yet out of danger specially women. There were two incidents when bodies of young refugee women were found near the Bibi Pak Daman in the Civil Lines area and near the Shah Alami Gate area in Lahore. It was later discovered after the arrest of a suspect that an organised gang was working in Lahore to entice young refugee girls from the Walton Refugee Camp. Another heinous case was reported from Dhobi Talab near Temple Road where a wealthy person tried to molest a young Muslim girl that he brought from the Walton Camp. The crowd apprehended the offender and the poor girl was again sent back to the camp. Such like incidents created concerns in the official ranks and the refugees were so shocked that it was hard for them to believe that their honour was not even safe in the land for which they had sacrificed everything.
The West Punjab Government had meagre sources to cope with the refugee problem and at the same time maintain law and order. It was not possible for the government to arrange evacuation and rehabilitation of refugees by itself and was in desperate need of help from the local wealthy families and the political parties. The Jamaat-i-Islami’s leader Maulana Abul Ala Maudoodi came forward and appealed to the people of Pakistan to help the Muslim refugees from India. In a press statement on 5th October 1947, he said, “I make a general appeal to the people of Pakistan to come to the rescue of their brethren from Hindustan. Thousands of volunteers, whole-time or part-time are required to devote themselves to the task of yeoman service”.

He further added that those who wanted to work with the Jamaat-i-Islami’s relief efforts were welcome to meet him in the camp set up by the Jamaat at the Islamia Park, Poonch Road in Lahore. He urged that the Jamaat was looking for volunteers who believed in diligence, sincerity of purpose and honesty of work. Relief work was badly needed because of the rigours of approaching winters and the refugees were still out in the open. Escaping death on their way to Pakistan was not the only threat; they had to face the cruel weather as well. There were many hundreds who died on the way because of cold, cholera and heavy floods. The government though aware of the problem could do nothing much. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan appealed to the foreign countries to help Pakistan with warm clothing for the refugees in camps and the Muslim evacuees on their way to Pakistan. He stated:

Two and half million refugees will shortly have to face the rigorous of the western Pakistan winter. It is of the utmost importance that they be provided with warm clothing and blankets. Refugees from India are reaching Pakistan exhausted, under-nourished, sick and in many cases suffering from extreme maltreatment. Most of them possess nothing
but the clothes they arrive in .... Pakistan has not a single woollen mill. Gifts of warm clothing etc will be of immense value if despatched at once.\textsuperscript{100}

Similar appeals were also made by the Punjab Government, influential politicians and charitable organisations. Mr. A.H. Masud, In-Charge of the \textit{Bait-ul-Mal} Lahore appealed to the Lahore citizens to donate new clothes for the refugee children to be worn on the occasion of \textit{Eid-ul-Zuha}. He said that though the Muslims of Lahore are generously donating worn-out clothes for refugees, Muslim girl volunteers were working long hours to mend those warm clothes but it would be nice to provide new clothes for the refugee children who had lost their parents. The workers of the Punjab Muslim Student Federation offered help and cooperation to the \textit{Bait-ul-Mal} Lahore for collecting new clothes for the refugee children.\textsuperscript{101} Another such appeal was also made by the Headmaster of Rang Mahal Mission High School Lahore to the old students of the schools not only to collect but also contribute clothes for the refugees before severe winter struck. The school had already collected and distributed nearly three hundred garments and some quilts. The schools also appealed to the former and present students to contribute as much cash as they could to purchase more quilts.\textsuperscript{102}

Meanwhile, the Quaid-i-Azam addressed a large public gathering in the University Grounds in Lahore on 30\textsuperscript{th} October 1947 which was attended by the Punjab Premier, Ministers, Chief Justice, American Consul, British Deputy High Commissioner, a large number of civil and military personnel and local people. In his speech he urged the Muslims to work for the betterment of the State and safeguard the minorities living in Pakistan. Speaking about refugee influx he remarked:
Your immediate task is the rehabilitation of millions of our distressed and unfortunate brethren who are either already with us or who have still to join us in Pakistan, bereft of all they possess or had in this world. The least we now can do for them is to receive them as our own brethren. No decent or sane person should consider that they are an unwelcome burden thrust on us. Save all you can and give towards the relief of these victims of bestiality and vandalism who have suffered all this for the sole reason that they are Muslims.\textsuperscript{103}

The appeal met a generous response. Within the span of just one week the donations received were doubled than before. Even a cricketer suggested that there should be a cricket tournament in Lahore in which not only the teams from Peshawar, Karachi, Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Multan but also a Refugee XI should also be included to make it a crowd puller tournament. The income of that tournament was to go to the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund.\textsuperscript{104} Meanwhile reports of refugees settling in different districts were some what comforting for the West Punjab Refugee Ministry as Mr. S. Anwar-ul-Haq, Deputy Commissioner of the Rawalpindi District, in a press statement on 7th September 1947 stated that about 4,000 Muslim refugees had arrived in Rawalpindi District and out of whom about 3,000 were accommodated in Mansar Camp and about 200 were looked after by the Pir of Golra Sharif and the rest were living with friends and other relatives in the district. He also stated that the Hindus were being evacuated from the Wah Camp by trains and also by air.\textsuperscript{105}

The donations were used in providing food, shelter and clothing to the refugees in the camps. The refugee camps like the Walton Camp were organised in a way so as not only to take care of basic needs of refugees but also to protect their properties and personal belongings. Despite the efforts made by the doctors and other volunteer organisations such as Red Crescent Society and Friends
Ambulance Unit, many refugees were dying every day due to cholera and frostbite. The properties of these deceased refugees were kept in safe custody of the Security Officer of the refugee camp to be handed over to their legal heirs after proper identification. The properties of the women and children who had been separated from their families were also kept with the Security Officer.\textsuperscript{106}

The West Punjab Government appointed eight Liaison Officers in various districts of East Punjab to work in close touch with the East Punjab Government Officials in order to facilitate better protection and evacuation of Muslim refugees. These Liaison Officers included:\textsuperscript{107}

Mr. Nasir Ahmad, ICS
Chief Liaison Officer East Punjab (Jullundur Cantt)

Mr. Tariq Ismail, PCS
District Liaison Officer Jullundur

Mr. Ghulam Rasul, PCS
District Liaison Officer Hoshiarpur

Khan Bashir Ahmad Khan, PCS
District Liaison Officer Ludhiana

Mr. Naseem Mahmud, PCS
District Liaison Officer Gurdaspur

Malik Khuda Bukhsh, PCS
District Liaison Officer Ambala

Mr. Salahuddin, PCS
District Liaison Officer Ferozpur

Mr. Zahid Umar
District Liaison Officer Amritsar

The duties of these District Liaison Officers included declaring concentrations of Muslims as camps within the meaning of agreement between India and Pakistan. Such camps were to be guarded by the static Muslim military guards; to make sure that food, shelter and medical aid was provided to the refugees; to find and eradicate the irregularities and if needed taking up the matter with higher civil or military authorities. In order to transport the Muslims refugees from villages or
small pockets to larger camps the District Liaison Officers had at their disposal a number of trucks and lorries. These Liaison Officers were also responsible for supervising evacuation of Muslim refugees. Arrangement of special trains, road convoys was to be supervised by the Military Refugee Commission and West Punjab Government.

The government received reports that looted property and illegal ammunition had been transported to the other side of the border. In this connection the West Punjab police detained a non-Muslim convoy on the Grand Trunk Road in Lahore on their way to India. The police recovered a considerable amount of gold, silver, cash and an unlicensed pistol. Apart from these, counterfeit coins with some spare material for manufacturing were also recovered by the police. Despite these recoveries, no refugee was arrested and the stolen items were returned to the owners by the Cantonment Magistrate Sheikh Ghulam Ahmad. However, unidentified property was taken into police possession. The Magistrate also arranged for food for at least 100 persons during the detention.¹⁰⁸

About 500,000 refugees of village Nadala in Kapurthala State were facing intolerable treatment at the hands of the Dogra soldiers. They requested the Pakistan Government to either evacuate them by sending special trucks and lorries or be provided with military escort so that they could come to Pakistan as foot caravans.¹⁰⁹ Mr. Mohammad Hassan the General Secretary of the City Muslim League Panipat wrote to the Deputy Commissioner of Panipat on 1ˢᵗ September 1947 requesting arrangements for the transfer of Muslim population of Panipat and
its suburbs to the Panipat Refugee Camp as they were faced with extinction by the local non-Muslim community and the armed gangs.\(^{110}\)

The Ahmadiya community living in and around Qadian were under severe attack by the armed *jathas* of Sikhs and Hindus. According to reports about 77 villages were attacked. It was reported that 54 villages were completely set on fire and about 147 women abducted. In order to divert the attention from these atrocities a press note was issued by the East Punjab Government accusing that a group of about 16 Muslims dressed in military uniforms had attacked a Sikh village killing many non-Muslims. The propaganda statement also accused the Ahmadiya community that the Qadian Headquarters was providing a strong base for well organised armed raids including air raids against the Hindus and Sikhs of the area. The authorities at the Ahmadiya Headquarters in Lahore issued a bulletin asking the East Punjab Government to refute publicly all baseless charges against the Ahmadiya community.\(^{111}\)

Up till 12\(^{th}\) September 1947, the total number of refugees from East Punjab mounted to 12 lakhs and approximately 6 lakhs were absorbed into the agricultural lands of West Punjab. For refugees from East Punjab there were four main entry gates into West Punjab including Lahore, Kasur, Narowal and Sulemanki Bridge. Out of these 12 lakh refugees, the Lahore gate received around 500,000, Kasur 400,000, Narowal 200,000 and Sulemanki Bridge received about 100,000 refugees till the second week of September 1947.\(^{112}\) The resettlement process was also going on for those refugees. Approximately 2.5 lakh refugees were resettled in the Nilibar Colony of Montgomery and Multan District, about two lakhs in the rest of
the Montgomery District and Lahore whereas the remaining were sent to the districts of Jhang, Sargodha, Gujrat, Gujranwala and Sheikhupura.\textsuperscript{113}

The Pakistan Government was aware that the gigantic task of rescue and rehabilitation of the displaced persons was very difficult without the support of a proper institution specially tasked for this purpose. In this connection the Ministry of Evacuation and Rehabilitation was created with effect from 10\textsuperscript{th} September 1947 under the temporary charge of the then Minister for Interior, Information & Education Mr. Fazlur Rehman. The portfolio was later renamed as the Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation and was placed under the charge of the Minister for Food, Agriculture and Health Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan through an official notification on 27\textsuperscript{th} December 1947.\textsuperscript{114}

On 12\textsuperscript{th} September 1947, the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah launched an appeal for a fund for the relief and rehabilitation of the refugees. The fund was to be known as the “Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund (QARF)”. The Fund was to be administered by a Central Committee of six members including the Quaid-i-Azam; the Finance Minister; the Minister for Refugees, Evacuees and Rehabilitation; the Governor of Sind; the President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League and the Auditor-General of Pakistan (Treasurer).\textsuperscript{115} The Provincial and District Committees were also to be formed on the same pattern as that of the Central Committee. On this occasion the Quaid said:

I appeal to the nation to come forward with generous contribution to this fund and stint no sacrifice or effort for this purpose. There are millions who are living in safety and security and enjoying the comforts of life while countless number of their fellow human beings have suffered and are suffering grievously.… Let every man and woman resolve from this day to live henceforth strictly on an austerity in respect of food, clothing and other amenities of life and let the
money, food stuffs and clothing thus saved be brought to this common pool for the relief of the stricken. The winter is approaching and in the Punjab and Delhi particularly it is very severe and we must provide refugees protection against it.\textsuperscript{116}

People all over Pakistan responded positively to this call and donated generously in the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund. Meanwhile, the government was doing all it could to facilitate the refugees. The Department of Industries West Punjab initiated the resettlement of refugee skilled workers in the factories and other commercial arrangements. The department also provided help to the industrialists to restart their factories which had been closed due to disturbances. The skilled workers were advised through the press to register themselves with the local employment exchanges which were set up in most of the refugee camps. Those refugees who wished to start their own business were encouraged to do so and the government helped them by sending them to suitable places like durrie weavers were sent to Gakhar, woollen hand-loom weavers to Jhang and cotton weavers to Gujrat and Multan.\textsuperscript{117} The production of yarn was not satisfactory as most of the factories were closed or their owners had migrated to India. The Department of Industries was encouraging the owners of the factories to return and resume work but even then there were many abandoned factories and workshops that were to be allotted to experienced industrialists preferably refugees. According to the Department of Industries only those were preferred for the allotments who could afford initial capital for repair as well as operating. They were also required by the government to pay reasonable rent for the machinery and the building.\textsuperscript{118}

The complicated system of allotment and deplorable state of refugees made them complain to the West Punjab Government. Their plaint was that the mohallahs’
chaudhries or people like them were allowed to allot houses to whosoever they wanted irrespective of other considerations laid down for allotment of evacuee houses. They also complained about the unavailability of the list of houses available for allotment or those which had been already allotted. The refugees who were lucky enough to get allotment made on paper, had to wait for weeks to enter the property in person.¹¹⁹

But even these refugees were considered lucky as compared to those in East Punjab still waiting to be evacuated. Though there was an agreement between the two government that the lorries and other motor transport should not be travelling empty but trucks and motor vehicles coming from East Punjab were some times entering West Punjab without any Muslim refugees and at the same time they did not think it necessary to pick Muslims from the Walton Camps to other parts of the West Punjab from where they were supposed to pick the non-Muslims. So the West Punjab authorities instructed the police not to let empty lorries, buses and trucks to enter Pakistan but to be sent back immediately. And just in case there were no Muslim refugees at the starting point of these motor vehicles then the convoy was to furnish a chit issued by the District Liaison Officer representing the West Punjab Government in East Punjab confirming that there were no Muslim refugees to be evacuated from that place. At the same time the police check posts at the Ravi Road and Multan Road were instructed not to allow the lorries and trucks to pass the barriers for travel into the interior West Punjab until and unless they had picked up Muslim refugees from Walton camps for dispersal into different places in West Punjab.¹²⁰ In order to stop movement of the privately
financed trucks from West Punjab to the East Punjab, the government started issuing No Objection Permits (NOP) signed by the Commissioner for the Refugee Movement or some one authorised on his behalf. Without the requisite permits private buses or trucks were not allowed in East Punjab. However, the private cars were exempted from such permits and were allowed to travel across the border. The police were also instructed to stop motor vehicles belonging to owners in West Punjab and were only licensed for public use. 121

A refugee caravan of about one lakh strong accompanied by armed escort along with tanks of 18th Cavalry started from Jullundur on 13th September and by 15th September while it was crossing the Beas River was halted at the Baisakhi fairground by the East Punjab authorities who refused to give passage through the normal traffic. 122 In order to construct new roads to enable the caravan to keep moving toward West Punjab, the Pakistan Government sent bulldozers, sappers and miners to assist the workers. The delay in reshaping the passage for the caravan resulted in heavy casualties due to starvation. At the same time about 50,000 Muslim refugees also waiting to be linked with the main caravan at Khilchian were subjected to ruthless searches by the East Punjab authorities. The sanitary conditions at the Jullundur, Baraham, Rahon and Phillaur refugee camps were far from satisfactory as there was no clean drinking water or adequate food for the inmates. 123

The decision made by the two governments that the refugees should not be subjected to search on their way to East or West Punjab was made at the Inter-Dominion Conference attended by both the Prime Ministers and the Governors of
East and West Punjab in Lahore on 14th September 1947. The press release after the conference stated that:

Irrespective of any control or previous administrative orders to the contrary, no convoy of evacuees and no temporary camps of evacuees about to move from West to East Punjab and from East to West Punjab will be subjected to any kind of search either by the police or the military and both governments reiterate their previous decision that the evacuees will be permitted to take away at their discretion and within the limits of available transport movable property, including licensed weapons, food, domestic animals, carts and motor vehicles which are not licensed for public use.\(^{124}\)

Soon after the press release the West Punjab Government ordered the authorities dealing with the evacuees and refugees to implement those orders without even waiting for any direct written orders. The government at the same time was trying to resettle the refugees at hand. Since the camps were crowded with incoming refugees, efforts were made to provide them with some sort of employment so that they could take care of their families and should not expect the government to feed them. In this connection the government of West Punjab announced the allocation of vacant shops in the walled city of Lahore to displaced persons by 16th September 1947. The government also announced that those locals of Lahore whose shops had been burnt or destroyed during riots were also eligible to apply for the allocation of these shops. The illegal occupants of the evacuee properties were warned to vacate them otherwise the government would take severe action against them. But even having said that they were asked to apply for the allocation along with other contenders if they so desired.\(^{125}\)

The local authorities along with the foreign relief workers were working in multiple shifts to make things liveable for the refugees in the camps. Prominent leaders were also visiting the refugee camps in order to keep a check on the
performance of the people working there. One such visit was made by Begum Liaquat Ali Khan to the cholera centre at the Ganda Singhwala in Kasur District and after having found the cholera vaccine to be in short supply she made arrangement for its import from Paris by a special plane. Meanwhile arrangements were also made to get vaccine from India.\textsuperscript{126}

Physical rehabilitation of the displaced families was not the only problem faced by the government. It was not always possible to resettle and provide bread and butter for refugee families and at the same time arrange employment in the same profession as they were following before migration. For a number of reasons, the evacuees did not show interest in employments that were available or arranged for them by the government in order to provide for their families. Apart from ordinary refugees the government had to facilitate a large number of students, technicians, engineers, doctors, teachers, policemen and even soldiers. In order to compensate and facilitate the refugee medical students of the Glancy Medical College Amritsar in the medical institutions of West Punjab, the Principal of the King Edward Medical College Lahore invited them to his college with full particulars of the courses previously attended so that they could be admitted there for completion of their medical education.\textsuperscript{127}

Apart from medical students, about 40 to 50 percents of the Muslim students studying pure sciences and technical subjects at Lahore came from East Punjab. The communal riots and large scale exodus had compelled those students to discontinue their studies and run back to their homes. Besides absorbing those refugee students there were hundreds of Muslim students in West Punjab studying
scientific or technical subjects with the assistance and support by the individuals and associations from East Punjab. One such organisation was the Anjuman Tarraqi-i-Talim-i-Musalmanan-i-Hind of Amritsar. The partition disrupted the business of those sponsors resulting in the discontinuation of scholarships.\textsuperscript{128} Now the Muslim students from both East and West Punjab were looking towards the Pakistan Government for financial and logistic support so that they could resume their studies and serve the nation.

The West Punjab Government after considering the situation prohibited engagement of private trucks, lorries and motor cars for evacuating refugees from East Punjab and other parts of India which created unrest amongst those who were in a position to hire such motor arrangements to pull out their stranded relatives from the disturbed areas. The West Punjab authorities were also not issuing permits for the private cars etc to be attached to the military caravans whereas the trucks of the Public Works Department (PWD) were allowed to move with the military convoys in order to transfer the luggage and the relatives of the PWD employees from East to West Punjab. The non-Muslim were moving from Lahore to different parts in India with their personal belongings including the pet animals. The relatives of the Muslim refugees in West Punjab were pleading with the West Punjab authorities to issue them with permits to cross over to East Punjab in private transport to evacuate and collect the belongings of their relatives. The West Punjab Government later on allowed the private cars to move with the convoys into East Punjab for evacuation purposes.\textsuperscript{129}
After accessing the slothfulness in the evacuation process, the Director Public Relations West Punjab, in a press note asked the owners of trucks, buses, lorries and even jeeps to lend their vehicles for recovery of the marooned refugees in India. The owners of such vehicles were given the incentives that they would be dully compensated for their vehicles. Those willing to lend their vehicles were asked to hand over their vehicles to the Officer-in-Charge Mr. Rischmiller at the Vehicle Depot at Sultan ki Sarai. They were also to inform the Evacuation Commissioner Khwaja Abdur Rahim about the details of their vehicles.

Even a common citizen at that time was not aloof from the refugee problem which Pakistan was then facing. People were thinking as how to ease the sufferings of the incoming refugees and how they could participate in the facilitation work and what had to be done by the government for such resettlement. One such example was seen by a letter written by a woman named Ismat from Ludhiana to editor of The Pakistan Times in which she begged that all government officials in Pakistan should contribute to the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund by not accepting a single penny as salary. Explaining her suggestion, she stated that almost all the leading politicians in Pakistan Government were either big landlords or well established industrialists like Mamdot, Daultana and Liaquat Ali Khan etc. Their salaries in thousands would not increase their wealth to a great deal, she added, but if given to the Relief Fund, it could be better utilised. Addressing the relatively poor government officials, she suggested that they should limit their salary to 1,500 rupees per month.
By mid September 1947, the Montgomery District authorities with the help and support of the local Muslim Leaguers were able to resettle at least 400,000 Muslim refugees in the district. The authorities had divided the process into two main departments i.e. reception of refugees and their resettlement. In this connection reception points were established at all the important towns of the districts including Okara, Arifwala, Chichawatni, Pakpattan and Dipalpur. These reception camps were all equipped with medical, sanitary and food requirements and were accommodating at least one thousand refugees at a time. The camps were under an official supervisor assisted by three assistant supervisors who were responsible for feeding and providing necessary medical aid.132 Apart from these officials many volunteers, members of the Muslim League National Guards and students lent their support in the administration of those camps. The stores were well supplied to avoid any undue shortage of food.

These reception camps were later converted into distribution centres from where refugees were shifted to different parts for proper rehabilitation. Four families of homogenous nature were considered as a unit per square of land for the allotment of agricultural land. The authorities adopted a systematic allotment procedure in which a *patwari* was given responsibility for one hundred squares of land and six *patwaris* were under one *kanungo*.133 Six lawyers were recruited as magistrates to look after the new settlers. These magistrates tried to persuade the locals of Montgomery to loan their bullocks and other agricultural instruments to the refugees so that they could start earning for their families. Hundreds of weavers, oilmen, carpenters, *dhobies*, *bhishties* and vegetable growers were resettled by the
authorities in the Montgomery District. The local authorities also announced that the district could also resettle at least 3,000 Class A businessmen and those who were willing should contact the Deputy Commissioner for further instructions.

The Lahore District Magistrate Mr. Zafrul Ahsan announced in a press statement that accommodation was available for doctors, *hakims, vaids*, lawyers, businessmen, industrialists, shopkeepers and skilled workers in the towns of Pattoki, Chunian, Kot Radha Kishan and Changa Manga. The statement also showed the availability of limited accommodation in Lahore City for the doctors, educationalists and industrialists in Qila Lachhman Singh and the refugees from Jullundur, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur, Ambala and Gurdaspur were instructed to apply at the offices of Lahore Corporation. The applicants were however asked to furnish applications attested by a Municipal Commissioner or any Member of the Legislative Assembly. The Education Department of West Punjab initiated a program to re-employ the refugee teachers into schools and colleges. In order to collect information about the available opportunities for teachers, an Information Bureau was set up in the office of the Director of Public Instruction. The Bureau was to interview the concerned teachers, register the applicants and then forward their applications to the Divisional and District Inspectors of Schools who were also asked to establish similar kinds of Bureaus in their offices.

Meanwhile, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din was sworn in as a Minister for Refugees in West Punjab on 18th September 1947. The very next day an Inter-Dominion Conference took place in Delhi. The Indian side was represented by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Patel, Defence Minister
Sardar Baldev Singh whereas the Pakistani group included Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Ghulam Muhammad. Before the start of the conference an aide memoire prepared by Mr. Nehru was circulated among the participants.\textsuperscript{137} Basically it was a set of points or grievances to be discussed with the Pakistan Premier. The points included:

- There are complaints that the resolutions passed at the previous inter-dominion conferences have not been fully implemented. India has admonished its own people and has taken severe action against the culprits; where as the Government of Pakistan has taken no such action.

- High officials in the Pakistan including Mr. Jinnah, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Liaquat Ali Khan and Sir Zafrullah Khan have made fiery and one sided speeches against India which could lead the public to believe that Pakistan did not want to promote peace but to continue the conflict.

- The daily newspapers in Pakistan especially \textit{Dawn} from Karachi and \textit{Zamindar} from Lahore were making baseless threats of war and even extermination of the Sikhs. The Pakistan Government has done nothing to curb such reports.

- It was agreed on a previous conference that concentration camps would be set up for the armed bands. The East Punjab Government has passed an ordinance authorising the aforesaid setup whereas the West Punjab Government has done nothing in this regard. The East Punjab and U.P. Governments have fined the evil-doers whereas the West Punjab Government has not fined any criminal.

- The protection given to non-Muslim evacuee caravans was inadequate therefore those caravans had come under attacks.
Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has complained about the lack of medical attention and food in the Muslims refugee camps in East Punjab but he did not mention any exact place.

A number of non-Muslims evacuees including women coming out of West Punjab were found to be completely naked. They had been searched rigorously and were stripped of their belongings. This had infuriated the public in Amritsar and a convoy of 400,000 which was moving to East Punjab was insufficiently protected with shortage of food and was in danger of heavy causalities.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has referred to the Indian Government’s responsibilities as regard to the happenings in the Sikh States. He should have known that under the Agreed Terms of Accession, the Indian Government was not supposed to interfere in the internal affairs of the acceded States. However, Indian Government has been trying her best to impress upon the States that they should carry out the generally agreed policies between the Governments of India and Pakistan and the former had intervened on different occasions as well.

The Indian Government was trying to evacuate the Pakistan employees and their families from Simla.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had suggested that Pandit Nehru should make Amritsar as his Headquarter. The Government of India was making close contact with the East Punjab Government.

There had been reported cases of organised fatal attacks on the non-Muslim special trains heading toward India especially in Balloke Head, Daban Singh,
Sacha Sauda, Mian Channu and Lahore. This was a clear indication of lawlessness in West Punjab.

- It had been agreed on 14\textsuperscript{th} September 1947 that the evacuee camps and convoys were not be subjected to any searches but there were rigorous searches of the non-Muslims at Wah Camp and then at Jhelum. The evacuees were deprived of their valuables including the licensed weapons and at Wah the camp authorities did not provided the refugees with food for four days.

- Forced conversions were reported to have taken place in West Punjab and in Sind in large numbers.

- Through reliable reports the Government of India came to know that a large number of armed tribal people numbering at least 50,000 had been brought from North-West Frontier into West Punjab on motor transport. These tribesmen were found shouting slogans like “\textit{Chalo Delhi}”. This act could only lead to the conclusion that the Pakistan Government has some hostile intentions towards India.

- The Indian Government was unable to understand the reasons behind the refusal of Government of Pakistan with regard to the stationing of Indian Deputy High Commissioner in Peshawar whereas the Indian Government had never objected any such request by the Pakistan Government. It meant that the situation in NWFP is very dangerous for the non-Muslims.

- Mr. Chundrigar the Pakistan Minister for Commerce has refused clearance to Indian shipment at Karachi and stated that it should proceed directly to Bombay.
• India had been supplying vaccines to the Pakistan Government and now had received a further huge order. It was not clear to us that why the Pakistan Government needed the vaccination in such a large quantity. Was this also going to be used for the non-Muslim evacuees?138

On the day of the meeting this aide memoire was circulated amongst the participating ministers. It was thoroughly discussed and the members reached the following conclusions:

• The representatives of the Pakistan Government agreed to investigate the statement associated with Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan in New York.

• Religious institutions and places of worship were not be occupied by members of the other communities and every possible step was to be taken to ensure their safety.

• Both the governments agreed that the refugee would not be subjected to any search and would be allowed to carry personal belongings.

• The Government of Pakistan agreed to reconsider the appointment of Indian Deputy High Commissioner at Peshawar and also allowed Mr. K.L. Panjabi to visit Peshawar on behalf of the Indian Government for ten days to report on the actual situation in the province.

• Both the governments agreed to evolve a common formula with regard to their intervention in the internal affairs of the acceded States. Meanwhile both agreed to exercise their moral pressure on the States in cases such as the protection of the minorities.
• The Government of Pakistan took notice of the complaint that Banks in Pakistan were not allowing the non-Muslims to take out their records. The government also took note of the complaint that the non-Muslims evacuees waiting to be evacuated from Hyderabad Sind were being harassed.

• The Pakistani Government also made it clear that it had got no objection to the R.I.A.F. transport squadrons flying from Ambala and Amritsar to aerodromes in Pakistan territory to bring back Indian officials with their families and other evacuees. The Indian Government agreed to transport Muslim refugees from Ambala and Amritsar to Pakistan. The Pakistan Government also agreed to provide protection to the personnel flying civil aircraft.

• The Government of India made note of the complaint that Muslim evacuees in East Punjab camps or on their way to West Punjab were poorly fed and agreed to take the matter up with the East Punjab Government.

• Both governments agreed to take steps to prevent the publication of false and inflammatory reporting.139

The implementation of the governmental decisions was interested to various departments. But various political parties and the student community also had a magnificent role to play in welcoming and rehabilitating the refugees. There is no doubt that the Muslim student organisations in Punjab and all over Pakistan worked day and night for the relief and rescue of the Muslims from East Punjab and other areas of India. They did not care about their education or other family matters and were working on one-point agenda i.e. to shoulder the burden of incoming refugees. Being educated they were aware of the earlier precedents of
students working for the national causes. Keeping in mind the War Degrees issued
to the British students who joined the British armed forces and could not complete
their degrees because of their war efforts, the student volunteers working in the
refugee camps in West Punjab asked to be exempted from their examinations and
to be given free degrees. The suggestion was supported by few and rejected by
few high officials. Those who were in favour of the students’ demand said that
since the students were engaged in similar work of national importance so in return
they should have been granted degrees without having to appear in the exams as a
token of government’s appreciation for their dedication. But those who were
against the educational concessions argued that in British universities examinations
were just a formality as there were hardly any failures but here in Pakistan and
India the passing rate was very low and the exams were the real test of ability. So
by means of educational concessions if a student was going to get a degree after
working for six months in refugee camp and without going through any
examination, it would enable him to apply for any job that was truly meant for that
qualification. The important thing to note was that he might be an excellent
refugee worker and that quality might earn him a better position in a relief
organisation but he did not have the right to be known as Master of Arts or Science
without going through any sort of examination to test his abilities. Leaving ones
studies and opting to work full time in the refugee camps was not an intelligent
idea. Working in the camps was a national duty and so was to study for the better
future. The authorities should have facilitated the students to perform both their
duties just like the Chinese did in the Sino-Japanese war where the students who
were fighting alongside regular armies were taught even on the battle front by their university teachers.\textsuperscript{141}

The situation in the East Punjab refugee camps was quite alarming as there were reports that about 20,000 Muslim refugees were still stranded in the Dhamrai refugee camp in Gurdaspur Tahsil.\textsuperscript{142} These refugees were in constant danger as the guards of the refugee camps were non-Muslim and thus the inmates were open to attacks from the armed \textit{jathas}. The absence of the medical and sanitary facilities was an invitation to epidemics in such camps. An additional problem was that of lost children who either had been separated from their families or were the only survivors of carnage. The West Punjab Government set up a record office for the lost children in the Mozang High School at Lahore. The Refugee Commissioner Lahore in a press note requested all the in-charges of the refugee camps and general public to send all refugee children to Mozang High School camp and advised people looking for their lost children to contact the authorities at that camp.\textsuperscript{143}

Dr. A.H. Siddiqui, the West Punjab Inspector General Civil Hospitals in a press interview stated that the health department was doing all it could to reduce the sufferings of the injured and traumatised refugees. The government had arranged for 1,200 beds in Mayo Hospital Lahore, about 400 beds in F.C. College, 150 in Gulab Devi Tuberculosis Hospital and about 300 makeshift beds were made available in the university hall. Speaking about the cholera epidemic he said that medical teams had been stationed at four main refugee entry points including the Jassar-Narowal, the Wagha-Lahore, the Ganda Singhwala-Kasur and the
The medical teams were faced with two main tasks, firstly to treat the wounded refugees and secondly to treat the cholera sufferers. The medical teams inoculated the incoming refugees in order to bring the epidemic under control.

The Jassar-Nawal gate was hit hard during the early phase of evacuation as there were a lot of surgical cases requiring medical attention. The sanitary conditions were made worse by the heavy rains and flooding. Cholera was to some extent controlled through vaccination though there were some isolated cases. The refugees from Amritsar were lodged in the Walton camps and surgical cases were treated in the Mayo Hospital where the bedding capacity was increased from 600 to 1,200. The Wagah-Lahore sector was cleared from cholera threat as the inoculation camps were set up on the border. The casualty rate was comparatively high at the Ganda Singhwala sector so the small hospital at Kasur had its bed capacity augmented from 35 to 1,000 beds by setting up a ward at the Town Hall, Islamia School etc. The staff from the King Edward Medical College shouldered the burden of the Kasur Hospital by providing the logistical support. The sector was also severely infected by cholera. A special Infectious Diseases Hospital was also set up at Ganda Singhwala. Apart from Kasur camp a special medical unit consisting of four doctors and four medical students was operating in Pattoki treating cholera patients. Another such unit was also established in Okara. The refugees arriving in Montgomery brought the epidemic with them where another special Infectious Diseases Hospital was set up to treat the patients and to vaccinate others who were likely to catch the disease. The cholera patients from Sulemanki Bridge.
Sulemanki sector were also treated in the Montgomery Infectious Diseases Hospital.  

Muslim women employees in the West Punjab also worked alongside their men colleagues in facilitating the refugees. Women relief organisations had been setup in every district and were called the Pakistan Voluntary Service (Women’s Section). A meeting of the representatives of the Punjab Women Muslim League under the Presidentship of Begum Ra’ana Liaquat Ali Khan was held at the Government House Lahore on 21st September 1947. A coordinating committee was set up under the charge of Miss McQueen. About 100 women delegates from East and West Punjab attended the meeting and presented their reports on the work done by different women organisations for the relief of women refugees.

Maulvi Ghulam Mohyuddin, a prominent Muslim Leaguer from East Punjab stressed the need of visits by the West Punjab Leaguers to the refugee camps in East Punjab. In a press interview on 23rd September 1947, he stated that only essential personnel should be allowed to congregate at Lahore and the government should arrange for their accommodation. Speaking about the evacuation plan he suggested that the evacuees in the East Punjab should not only be guarded and escorted by the Muslim troops but at the same time the West Punjab Ministers should also pay visits to the refugee camps there just like the visits by the East Punjab ministers and Sikh leaders to West Punjab. He criticised the poor rationing arrangements made by the East Punjab Government in the Muslim refugee camps. He suggested to the West Punjab Government that before the start of their journey from East Punjab the convoy should be provided with water and
other necessary ration supplies. He further suggested that on the border, there should be reception camps where the refugees should be sorted into different groups according to their professions and area of resettlement. The in-charges of these reception camps should be made aware of the availability of the evacuee houses in various districts where the refugees could be directly sent for settlement without halting at Lahore. From the reception camps, he suggested, the refugees should be properly equipped with food and other essentials and at the same time should be guided properly in the districts where they were to be rehabilitated.

The Punjab Public Health Department under the direct orders of Col. Jaffar, the Public Health Commissioner Pakistan Government had set up a chain of hospitals in the refugee camps. All the incoming refugees were received, where they were inoculated and then quarantined there for 72 hours before they were allowed to continue their journey into the settlement camps etc. In order to minimise the risk of inoculated persons mixing with the incoming refugees, the authorities used to mark the inoculated refugees with red colour which distinguished them from the non-inoculated. An estimated four hundred thousand refugees had been inoculated by the end of September 1947.148

From March to the end of September 1947 there were about 2 lakh refugees who entered Bahawalpur State from East Punjab, Bikaner and other adjoining states. Out of these 2 lakh refugees approximately 70,000 were settled on the evacuee lands and chaks. These refugees were provided with accommodation, basic tools for cultivation and necessary utensils. They were also made to look after the standing cotton and millet crops abandoned by the non-Muslims. They were
promised to get their share at the harvest as a return for their labour. The authorities also provided them with Rabi crop seeds to start sowing for the next season. About 15,000 refugees were allotted houses and shops in towns and mandis. The state authorities also helped them out to start new work and to get employed as farm labourers. Many Muslim refugees were absorbed by their relatives and friends in the State.

An estimated 100,000 refugees were temporarily accommodated during transit from Bahawalpur to other parts of West Punjab. The State Government provided at least 50,000 refugees with food and other bare essentials. The State also set up first aid posts at Bahawalpur, Samasatta and Mcleod Ganj Railway Stations and free medical aid was given to incoming refugees at Sulemanki Headworks. Approximate figures showed that the maximum exodus of non-Muslims and the arrival of the Muslim refugees into West Punjab took place in Montgomery, Lyallpur, Sialkot and Sheikhupura Districts. An estimated 325,000 non-Muslims evacuated and about 450,000 Muslim refugees were brought into Montgomery District. In the Lyallpur District there were about 350,000 Muslim refugees where as the non-Muslims evacuees numbered about 175,000. Same was the case with Sheikhupura and Sialkot Districts where the number of the incoming refugees was much higher then the non-Muslim evacuees. This imbalance created administrative problems because of a much higher number of incoming refugees.

Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, the Refugee Minister of West Punjab in a press conference at the Lahore Residency on Friday 26th September 1947 stated that the staffs of the Refugee Ministry were to work double shift from 9 am to 9 pm. He also hinted the
possibility of a legislation to deal with the squatters, grabbers of land and evacuee property and “local” refugees. He also stated that the government would not recognise any private transactions and exchanges that might harm the legitimate interests of the refugees. The refugee department was under the Principal Secretary Mr. Moss whereas Khan Bahadur Sheikh Fazal Illahi was the Joint Secretary and Mr. Akhwand was the Under Secretary. Pir Ahsan-ud-Din and Nawabzada Ata Mohammad Khan Leghari were the Commissioner of Evacuation and Commissioner of Refugees respectively. Mr. S.M. Sarwar and Mr. Nasim Mahmood were working as Deputy Commissioner of Evacuation and In-Charge of camps under Commissioner of Refugees respectively. Speaking about the corruption in the Refugee Department, the Minister admitted that there were reports of corruption in the department but mostly from the drivers. However, he hoped that the on-going corruption would be checked under the new arrangements by which each convoy was to be accompanied by a military officer and a political worker from the West Punjab. He also stated that there would be a women volunteer organisation functioning on the railway stations to help and guide women to their destinations. The unclaimed women were being housed in the Ganga Ram Widows’ Home located at the Ravi Road Lahore. The Minister reiterated his ministry’s policy on missing and abducted women and children. He told the press that the government was keeping complete record of the abducted persons but despite the inter-dominion agreements, the Ministry was facing problems due to non-cooperation by the East Punjab authorities. At the same time,
he assured the nation that the government was determined to utilize all its resources to find and rehabilitate the abducted women.  

The convoy movement was once again resumed between the East and West Punjab on 26th September 1947. The West Punjab Government despatched 1,000 maunds of wheat to be used in the Muslim refugee camps in Hoshiarpur and Jullundur. Habib Bank also contributed to the relief efforts by donating 50,000 rupees to the Quaid-i-Azam’s (West Punjab) Relief Fund. Winter was approaching and the government was finding it difficult to provide adequate protection to all the inmates of the refugee camps. To cope with the situation, the Central Committee of the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund appealed for woollen clothes, jackets, lihafs, razais (blankets) etc to be sent to the provincial relief committees. At the same time the death rate in the refugee camps was increasing due to starvation, fatal injuries and cholera. The medical and sanitary conditions in the refugee camps highlighted the necessity of putting the administration of these camps under competent persons with efficient, dedicated and social staff. In this connection Mr. S.M. Sharif the Director of the Public Instructions welcomed the steps taken by the Lahore Education Department and the students by providing part-time relief workers.

About 40,000 Muslim refugees on foot left Amritsar for Wagah on 29th September and about 100,000 were encamped around the Manawan Police Station as the general traffic for Lyallpur, Sheikhupura and Gujranwala had been disrupted due to heavy rains and flooding. To cope with the situation, the West Punjab Government had made arrangements to feed these refugees properly in the camps near Manawan Police Station area. While all this feeding was going on in West
Punjab the East Punjab authorities were harassing the Muslim refugees on the railway stations by searching their luggage. A Muslim refugee special train from Kalka arrived at Lahore without the goods vans. The passengers reported that they were given a brief notice at the railway station at Kalka to board the Pakistan Special without their luggage.\textsuperscript{154}

A conference of the leading businessmen was held at the DAV College, Lahore on Thursday 2\textsuperscript{nd} October 1947 under the presidency of Mr. M.D. Khan the Magistrate In-Charge to discuss allotment of shops and other business centres to refugees in Lahore. The delegates included Mian Amir-ud-Din Mayor Lahore Corporation, Dr. M.D. Taseer, Dr. A. Waheed of Ferozsons, Messrs Hira and Sons, Messrs Handeval, Mr. Abdullah Khan, Messrs Mohammad Azeem, Mohammad Shams-ul-Haq and Mr. Abdullah Khan of Amritsar.\textsuperscript{155} The conference discussed the availability of evacuee shops with the delegates who showed positive response in helping the provincial government in providing employment for the refugees. The West Punjab Government had provided 1,500 \textit{maunds} of flour, rice and wheat and about 100 \textit{maunds} of salt to the Muslim refugees on the other side of the border as the government there was not providing them enough food items.\textsuperscript{156} The office of the Accountant General Military Pakistan announced donation of five percent of their pay and allowances for the month of September to the Quaid-i-Azam Refugee Relief Fund. Responding to Quaid’s appeal, the Amir of Bahawalpur Ala Hazrat Jalaat ul Mulk donated five lakh rupees. Two cheques of 250,000 rupees each were enclosed with a letter by the Prime Minister of
Bahawalpur Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani.\textsuperscript{157} He also informed Jinnah about the relief and rehabilitation work done by the Bahawalpur State Government.

Governor Mudie directed the Deputy Commissioners to submit a survey report on refugee camps in their respective districts. The Deputy Commissioners were also asked to give details of expenditure and other requirements. The Governor directed the Deputy Commissioners to act as the chairmen of the district committees for the Relief Fund and those district committee were to work in closest cooperation with the district women’s committees that were likely to be set up for the facilitation of widows and young girls, orphans and blind persons. The Deputy Commissioners were also asked by the Governor to invite the presidents of the district Muslim Leagues to be the members of the district committees for the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund.

According to an estimate the non-Muslims still awaiting evacuation from West Punjab by the end of September were about 10, 43,500. Out of these approximately 397,200 were in Lyallpur, about 100,000 were in different camps in Sheikhupura, Gujrat, Sargodha, Rawalpindi and Multan. The Peshawar camps had about 5,000 non-Muslims refugees and about 3, 00,000 non-Muslims were housed in different outside camps and in small pockets.\textsuperscript{158} The Pakistan Border Police at Wagah returned two Indian motor convoys on 30\textsuperscript{th} September 1947 in spite of a pass chit from Major Sultan Ali Shah of the Pakistan Advance MEO. They argued that the convoy did not contain any Muslim refugee from the East Punjab. The Indian convoy tried to explain that since there were no more Muslim refugees left
in Amritsar, it was not possible for the convoy to bring any Muslim refugee in their convoy that was meant for Churhkana and Jaranwala.\textsuperscript{159}

Meanwhile, a meeting of the East Punjab MLAs was held at the “Pipals” (An evacuee bungalow at Dev-Samaj Road, Lahore) on Friday 3\textsuperscript{rd} October 1947 in which three sub-committees were formed with a view to helping the rehabilitation of Muslim refugees in West Punjab. The three subcommittees included the subcommittee for the civil supplies consisting of Ch. Nasrullah Khan, Rana Nasar Ullah Khan and Ch. Akram Ali. The sub-committee entrusted with the supervision of the refugee work consisted of Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, Khwaja Ghulam Samad and Mian Wali Mohammad Goher. The third sub-committee was to meet the Minister of Education every day to brief and discuss with him the problems of the refugees. This committee was comprised of Dr. Hameed Ullah Baig, Ch. Ali Akbar and Ch. Ghulam Farid. The participants of the meeting urged the West Punjab Government to provide escorts to the Muslim evacuees from East Punjab. It also requested the Punjab Premier Nawab Mamdot for a room to be allotted in the Punjab Civil Secretariat for the office of the sub-committees.\textsuperscript{160}

The refugees were still pouring into the refugee camps especially the Walton camp in large numbers every day. The camps were getting crowded and thus making it difficult for the authorities to look after every individual. The staff and volunteers were much less in number than required. So it was quite difficult for them to properly receive the incoming refugees, inoculate them and also treat their wounds, make entries and also to distribute food, warm clothing and other health care facilities. The situation compelled the Lahore Deputy Commissioner to appeal to
the general public for at least 400 volunteers to work in the refugee camps. The prospective volunteers were given an incentive of two rupees’ payable to them at the end of the day’s work.\textsuperscript{161} Contrary to that appeal there were some people who voiced the issue that there was no such pressing need for volunteers to be employed in the refugee camps. It was reported that there were many educated young girls who used to visit the offices of the Zanana Muslim League and also the Mayo Hospital in order to be of any help to the wounded and traumatised refugee women but their services were not accepted by the camps authorities. Same was the case with male volunteers who used to visit the refugee camps and the hospitals. So the general public was in two minds as whether there was really a need for volunteers or it was just media hype. The railway department had an important role in the evacuation and transfer of refugees as the trains were running non-stop from east to west and vice versa. Though their importance cannot be denied but at the same time the railways was the most deficit department as the refugees were not supposed to pay any fare for themselves or their luggage. It was not possible for the government to pay the salaries of the railway employees in time or to regularly provide the fuel to keep the engines running. There were many refugees travelling by trains who were financially in a position to pay fares for the whole family as well as their luggage. In order to generate some money for keeping the engines running, the three upper classes in railway coaches were said to be reserved for the ticket holders only. Though it did not work as intended but somehow it facilitated the railway department in effective evacuation of refugees.
The refugee movement was still underway when a group of 2,000 Muslim refugees reached Lahore from Jullundur by train on 4th October 1947 and at the same time another foot convoy of about 15,000 strong was on its way from Beas. A gigantic foot convoy of over 100,000 Muslim refugees crossed into Pakistan via Grand Trunk Road on 2nd October 1947. The Military also brought in about 2,800 Muslims from Batala. Apart from these arrivals about 50,000 Muslims were still in transit camps at Beas, 100,000 in concentration camps at Amritsar and Khilchian and about 90,000 at Wagah waiting to be moved. The Pakistan Government had provided two hundred and forty maunds of food for the refugees in those refugee camps. Daily food consumption at Wagah included 200 bags of atta, 10 bags of daal and about 50 bags of rice. An appeal was also made for the free supply of milk for the needy refugees. The Manawan and Walton Camps were also consuming a lot of food stuff every day. After couple of weeks except for the camp at Lahore Railway Station, all other camps in Lahore were closed down and refugees were sent to Walton camp.

A high level meeting of the representatives of both India and Pakistan was held in Lahore on Sunday 5th October 1947 to discuss the evacuation problem. The Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan presided the meeting. The participants discussed the arrangements made by the respective governments for safe and speedy evacuation of the refugees across the borders and for feeding them en route. Influential leaders from India and Pakistan attended the meeting and gave their suggestions for facilitating refugee movements.
Meanwhile, Governor Mudie appraised the Prime Minister about the difficulties faced by his government regarding refugees and their rehabilitation. He also spoke about the unwanted interference by the local ministers. He however appreciated the appointment of Mr. Ede V. Moss as the Refugee and Evacuation Commissioner Pakistan and for allowing him a free hand to choose his own team. Governor Mudie suggested that Mr. Moss be provided with a Financial Advisor by the Pakistan Government. He also emphasised the need for a financial settlement between the Centre and the Punjab province as in his view the refugee rehabilitation was much more than a provincial matter and unless the West Punjab was supported by the Centre it was likely to go bankrupt.\footnote{163}

The centre-province relations over the refugee problem were so important that W.V. Grigson, the Secretary of the Central Ministry of Refugees on 9\textsuperscript{th} October 1947 defined the following key issues in a memorandum:\footnote{164}

- Mr. Moss was appointed as Refugee and Evacuation Commissioner by the Central Government but the responsibility of the whole refugee work in West Punjab fell on his shoulders. The government in order to have a better coordination between the Centre and its departments made arrangements with the consent of the PM that Mr. Moss, apart from being the Refugee and Evacuation Commissioner of Pakistan, would also serve as ex-officio Secretary to the provincial government in the new Ministry of Refugee and Rehabilitation.

- As for the performance of Mr. Moss both as the Pakistan Commissioner and Secretary to the Provincial Refugee Ministry, he had to assist the provincial
government in handling the refugee problem and also to go on tours to refugee camps in East Punjab and so was the case of his counterpart from India.

- Some times his duties as Secretary to the provincial government were so heavy that his job as a Pakistan Commissioner for Refugees had started to suffer. He also had problems with the provincial government as he was not a whole-time officer there and at the same time he did not receive the same support from his subordinates as a full-time officer would have got.

- Hence a suggestion is made that Mr. Moss should be relieved from his provincial duties and he should be allowed to work as a Central Officer and be asked to make more tours across to East Punjab as the most important work for him was the organisation of the refugee camps there by using his good offices.

- Mr. Moss had developed excellent personal and professional relations with the Head of the Pakistan MEO, Brigadier Stevens so he could guide the policy of the MEO from the civil side and as the refugees were the main priority of the government therefore all liaison should be properly handled by the Pakistan Commissioner for Evacuees and Refugees under the foreign office delegated powers. Not only this but all the district liaison officers should be appointed by the Evacuee and Refugee Commissioner and they should work directly under him.

- In order to achieve friendly relations between India and Pakistan informal contacts between the Refugee and Evacuee Commissioners from both sides should be encouraged.
Apart from the working of the joint MEOs, other liaison officers could not properly work due to certain reasons, one of them being the security issue as any liaison officer appointed by the West Punjab Government could not walk freely in the hostile Sikh territory of the East Punjab whereas the liaison officers from East Punjab had no life threats as such even if they were not allowed to work freely or at all. Therefore, Mr. Moss should be allowed to select four serving or retired British officers and then the government should retain the services of those 11 liaison officers who had been appointed to work for the recovery and evacuation.

Though Mr. Moss has one temporary officer Brigadier Robertson working as Pakistan Deputy Commissioner for Refugees but he needed to have some one who could work as his permanent Deputy and he should have been an ex-I.C.S. or ex-I.P. Officer. In addition, Mr. Moss should have proper staff working under him.

The Ministry of West Punjab Refugee and Rehabilitation should have the services of a whole time Financial Adviser at Lahore.

Both the West Punjab and Sind Governments should be asked to form Cabinet Executive Committees to meet every day to review the refugee and evacuation situation.

(W.V. Grigson, Secretary, 09-10-1947)

Apart from issuance of such memorandums, the Ministry of Refugees was heavily dependent on running of railway services for the evacuation of refugees. The railway organisation was the principle channel for evacuation between the two
dominions. For this purpose, a railway meeting was held in the MEO Headquarter at Lahore on 12th October 1947. The participants included Mr. P.N. Thapar, Commissioner of Refugees, East Punjab; Brigadier H.S. Stevens of Pakistan MEO; Brigadier H.M. Mohite and Lt. Col. Jagit Singh of MEO India; Mr. W. A. Hewitt of N.W. Railways Lahore; S.B. Karnail Singh, Area Officer Amritsar; Major A.M. McDermott and Major G.D.A. Malone of D.Q (Movement) of Pakistan MEO and Liaison Officer East Punjab Railways (L.O.E.P.R.) Mr. A. E. Atkinson.165 During the course of discussion Brigadier Mohite told the participants that he wanted a free hand in the allotment of trains to the priority areas where non-Muslims were waiting to be evacuated. However, Brigadier Stevens remarked that in past their numerous requests to send the trains to priority areas in East Punjab had been ignored by the MEO India. The Refugee Commissioner of East Punjab said that MEO Pakistan had never given any information about the starting of trains for East Punjab. However, it was admitted by the representatives of East Punjab Railways (E.P.R.) that trains sent by them to Nakodar and Quadian had never arrived at their destinations. The representatives of both governments agreed to ensure that at least four fully loaded trains would cross the border daily in each direction whose starting point would be chosen with consensus. In this connection, Brig. Mohite had to choose the priority for non-Muslims’ evacuation by trains and similarly Brig. Stevens was made responsible for the evacuation of Muslims from India. It was also decided to submit a formal request to Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan to obtain an agreement from the Government of India for the thorough running of railways in both directions.166
Meanwhile, the Cabinet held a meeting of the Emergency Committee on 13th October 1947 to form Pakistan-Punjab Refugee Council in order to oversee the relief and rescue operations by different departments. Since it was a highly important matter, all important personalities including Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah were present at the meeting. Other prominent members included the Governor of West Punjab, the Premier of Pakistan, Ministers for Finance, Communication, Interior, Information & Education, Refugees & Rehabilitation and the Premier of West Punjab. Speaking on the occasion, the Governor West Punjab Sir Francis Mudie categorised the refugee problem in three aspects. According to him the first one was to regard the refugee issue as purely a provincial issue when dealing with the allotment of lands to refugees for settlement purposes. Secondly, it should be viewed as inter-provincial relationship between the Punjab which was receiving the bulk of the refugees and Sind and NWFP who were also to absorb the surplus refugees. Thirdly, it was with regard to India-Pakistan relations over the refugee related issues. The members of the meeting also stressed the importance of establishing cabinet committee with powers to issue direct orders about refugees and to record the proceedings and orders issued by that committee. It was proposed that the Head Quarter of the committee should be at Lahore and the proposed committee should report to the Emergency Committee of the Cabinet at Karachi. It was also proposed that the committee should consist of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, the West Punjab Premier and the Refugee Minister of West Punjab. The said committee was to have a joint central and provincial secretariat and the central Ministry of Refugee’s Secretary Mr.
Grigson was also to work as its Secretary. The decisions and orders passed by the proposed committee were to be implemented by the concerned departments of the West Punjab Government. Later through open discussions many recommendations were made by the members such as the inclusion of the Governor West Punjab Mr. Mudie in the Cabinet Committee. At the same time Mr. Moss was selected to be the Head of Administration & Movement in the Pakistan-Punjab Refugee Council.\textsuperscript{169}

In his first report the Refugee and Evacuation Commissioner in Consultation with the Secretary of Ministry of Rehabilitation highlighted the difficulties facing his department. The report was sent to all Honourable Ministers as well as the Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on 14\textsuperscript{th} October 1947 which gave the figures of the Muslims in East Punjab before partition.\textsuperscript{170} The report showed that there were about 53.83 lakh Muslims in East Punjab and there were about 34.59 lakh Hindus and Sikhs in West Punjab. So on basis of those figures, the West Punjab Government had to absorb at least 20 lakhs more refugees than the evacuees who had left West Punjab. It was quite obvious that it was not possible to give exact figure in the early days of evacuation because it was un-controlled and was also impossible to obtain exact figures from the district officers.

In the Lahore Conference on 5\textsuperscript{th} October 1947 it had been decided by both the Indian and Pakistan Governments that the evacuation should be completed by 15\textsuperscript{th} December 1947 provided the roads and railways were to be completely operational after the floods.\textsuperscript{171} The Pakistan Government was going through the available options for evacuation of the stranded refugees in East Punjab and adjoining
States. These options obviously included the foot caravans, trains, military transport and even by air.

**Foot Convoys**

The foot convoys of the refugees mostly consisted of 40,000 to 100,000 persons and their lengths varied from two to five kilometres of a human chain. It was the most convenient way to move such a large number of refugees from one place to another. Earlier the authorities had felt the need to recheck the movement of the foot convoys from both sides especially from the districts away from the border such as Jullundur and beyond East Punjab in India and Sheikhupura and Lyallpur in West Punjab in order to avoid clashes and to help the incoming refugees to reoccupy the vacant lands. Both the MEOs came up with a Joint Evacuation Movement Plan on 20th October 1947 to transport the remaining 38 lakh Muslims from East Punjab and adjoining States and also 18 lakh non-Muslims from West Punjab and the NWFP. In this connection certain routes were reserved in East and West Punjab. According to the said plan the Muslims were to leave East Punjab starting from Ludhiana to Jullundur, Amritsar and then onwards to Lahore along the G.T. Road and similarly the Sikhs were to go out via Ferozpur and pass on to Ludhiana.

As for as evacuation of non-Muslims from West Punjab was concerned, the Sikhs were required to head from Sheikhupura and Lyallpur to the canal head works at Balloki on the river Ravi in order to by pass Lahore and on to Ferozpur. However, the incoming Muslim refugees were to proceed from Lahore to either Sheikhupura or Lyallpur. There were also a large number of Muslims who were to be dispersed
towards Gujranwala and Gujrat.\textsuperscript{173} However, the plan could not be properly implemented as it was initially intended to be. There were many reasons behind the improper working of the plan and one of them was that the Sikhs in Amritsar had blocked the passage of Muslim refugees for a fortnight which added to their existing miseries.\textsuperscript{174} The situation became worse when a sudden disaster caused by a flood in Beas River on the G.T. Road dam drowned thousands of Muslims in the convoy halted there. Compared to this, the non-Muslim convoy movement was relatively smooth as there were only 500 reported casualties on their way out to East Punjab and well before the flood as at least 1.5 lakh had managed to cross the river Ravi at the Balloki Head. About 50,000 Muslims managed to cross over later but the floods had deteriorated the roads which interrupted the refugee movement for several days. The movement was resumed later on with the help of the Sappers who constructed a Bailey bridge on 5\textsuperscript{th} October 1947. There were some casualties from cholera as it was practically impossible for the medical teams to reach the needy patients on the move. Indian Government’s attempt to feed the non-Muslim refugees on their way to India though air drops was a failure as the containers of food burst in the air spilling the contents and those two containers which fell intact killed two unfortunate Sikh evacuees.\textsuperscript{175} The road convoys was the most dependable and effective way of transporting refugees as it was easy for them to bring their cattle along with plenty of food supply when they had full quota of bullock carts for short distances up to 100 miles. Those who had to evacuate over longer distances had to rely on the rail transport as most of them had sold their cattle and bullock carts in order to survive
or to move with less baggage. In Ambala Division Muslim refugees had waited for so long to be evacuated that eventually they had to sell their cattle and bullock carts in order to survive. Thus the railways remained the only viable option to evacuate Muslims from Ambala to Lahore. Attacks on refugee caravans were very common and both the governments were under pressure to take every step possible in order to protect the refugees. In September 1947 an agreement was signed between the two governments in order to provide safety to the refugee convoys. According to this agreement armed guards from the Pakistan Army were to be provided to protect the Muslim evacuees in the East Punjab camps and similarly the guards were to be provided from the Indian Army to protect the non-Muslims evacuees in West Punjab. This step decreased the attacks on the refugee camps. It was also agreed between the two dominions that the evacuees would be protected on their way by escorts comprising an equal number of troops from either dominion. This however failed to achieve its desired results. There were cases of non-Muslim escorts refusing to help their Muslims partners in East Punjab against the non-Muslim attackers. The civil authorities were aware of the police’s involvement in the organised attacks on the refugee trains. The Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar Mr. Nakul Sen arrested two policemen attacking and plundering the moving columns of Muslims refugees on 20th September 1947.176 Similarly on 17th September 1947, Brigadier Bristow, the Commander 11th Brigade made a statement during a conference presided over by the East Punjab Governor that the police was not only ineffective but they were taking active part by helping the armed jathas for their attacks on the refugee trains. All other Brigade
Commanders present at the conference endorsed his statement. The reason for the failure of this nature was the non-availability of the troops required to guard the refugees. The Pakistan Government was short of troops as a large number of their troops were stationed in far off cantonments in India.

The authorities on both sides soon realised that the practice of person-to-person searches in the refugee caravans was in fact delaying the movement of refugees by days. It was agreed that person-to-person searches should be discontinued and the refugees should be allowed to take with them their moveable luggage. But in practise it proved very difficult to implement those orders and thus it led to mistrust between the two governments.

**Movement by Railways**

The real mass migration started with the over crowded trains. It was soon felt that running of refugee trains with free facilities to the evacuees was inevitable. The rail service was to work under the army, the same manner as it did during wartime.

In this connection the Pakistan Army set up an organisation to work under the command of Brigadier F.H. Stevens on 28th August 1947. The organisation was called the ‘Military Evacuation Organisation’ (hereafter MEO) and since it was a military organisation it had the backing of all army departments. Lahore became the Headquarters of MEO Pakistan. The Indians also set up a similar military organisation with the same name at Amritsar under Brigadier B.S. Chimni with effect from 1st September 1947. The formal letter for the regularization of the raising of organisation was issued from the Army Head Quarters Delhi on 18th
October 1947 to the Head Quarter MEO India in Amritsar. In the earlier days the Indian organisation was also called as the Chimini Organisation.

The importance of railway was very much evident in the mass transportation of refugees. Besides being one of reliable and fast means of transport, the railway was considered as safer than the foot caravans. The governments wanted to have a higher share as regard to allocation of refugee special trains which led to conflicts and bitter feelings between the evacuating authorities of both sides. A railway meeting was held in the MEO Headquarters at Lahore on 12th October 1947 where the representatives from both sides agreed to ensure that at least four fully loaded trains should move daily in each direction.

The refugee movement by train speeded the population transfer from far off places but the trains were generally very crowded which at times resulted in casualties. Since these trains never had to drop the passengers at the transit camps it not only saved time but also the change over of the refugees was quite satisfactory as the refugees of the similar classes in rural or urban areas were exchanged with the same classes across the border. The main disadvantage of the rail movement was that it could take only a certain number of passengers in a single trip as compared to the foot convoys where the length of the convoy could be miles long with thousands of refugees. A fully loaded train including the roof tops was supposed to carry a maximum number of 4,000 passengers in a single trip. Secondly, the refugees were not allowed to take their plough cattle or other livestock in the trains which were essential requirement for cultivation of land. Thirdly, the trains were
an easy target for the armed *jathas* as the military escort provided on these refugee trains was not adequate.

This fear of railway transportation made the authorities to come up with a protection plan for the migrating population. In this connection an inter-dominion conference had taken place at Lahore on 27th September 1947 to discuss railway security. It was agreed that the military authorities should receive early information about the exact timing of the refugee trains passing through the vulnerable areas. The railway authorities were advised to pass on such information to both the Military Evacuation Organisation and the Railway Head Quarters. The civil authorities of the districts were made responsible for ensuring safe passage to the refugee trains in their respective districts. The Conference recognized the inadequate facilities provided to the police with regards to the protection of refugee trains in case of armed attacks. Therefore, it was agreed in the conference that the local police be directed to inform the nearby military installation if they suspected any armed gathering for attacking a refugee special train. It was also recommended that commanding officers must be allowed to use railways and other civil telephones for passing on the messages relating the movement by trains and halting points. The participants suspected that the railway control office was being used to pass on information about the railway movement to armed *jathas*. Therefore, it was recommended that army personnel should be posted in every railway control room to prevent such leakage of information.

The meeting recommended that the stopping points of the refugee trains should be reduced to the minimum and if possible should confined to the fuel filling stations.
only where the military should be deployed to prevent any untoward incident. It was suggested that the railway movement should be during the day time and curfew should also be imposed in the vicinity when the refugee special trains were passing. Apart from that a collective responsibility was also to be imposed with regard to the tampering with the railway tracks. Military escort was to be split into three detachments namely front, centre and rear in guarding the trains on both sides of the track. It was hoped that the measures suggested would greatly control attacks on the refugee trains moving in either direction.

**Movement by Military Transport (M.T.)**

The Military Transport Convoys were also an important part of evacuation or clearance of refugee pockets. The loading capacity of the Military Transport was much less then the trains as a M.T. convoy of 25 trucks was supposed to carry about 1,000 passengers. But because of its military escort the casualty rate was much less than in any other mode of evacuation. The MEO India was better equipped with military trucks. Since there was an agreement between the two MEOs, the Indian MEO really helped her Pakistani counterpart for evacuating Muslim refugees from different isolated pockets. These military trucks were being used for the short distances such as from Lahore to Amritsar and back. The Indian MEO had around 1,200 military and civilian trucks at their disposal. Later their strength was subsequently doubled with the induction of 1,000 more trucks. These military transport trucks evacuated and transferred about 313,400 non-Muslims and about 209,440 Muslims to safety from peak days to 15th November 1947. These trucks not only transported a large number of Muslim refugees from
Amritsar and Jullundur to Lahore, they also helped in the dispersion of refugees into interior of West Punjab from Lahore. All this was possible only because of the close cooperation of both the MEOs. The Commander of MEO India Brigadier Mohite also acknowledged the services of personnel and officers of Pakistan MEO specially the Lahore Area Commander Major-General B.W. Key, Deputy Commander Brigadier Mohammad Iftikhar Khan and the Commander of Pakistan MEO, Brig. H. Stevens.\footnote{186}

**Movement by Air**

Air transportation being very expensive could only evacuate a handful of refugees. But it was the most effective and safe means of transportation during the partition period. It was mostly used to evacuate those government employees who were either stranded in remote and isolated areas or were not willing to travel by caravan, motor transport or the trains out of fear of death, loss of property or more so honour of their family members. The Government of Pakistan was in need of civil servants and clerks to man its administrative services and many of those Muslim clerks or the civil servants in Delhi who had opted for Pakistan, were too scared to take any means of evacuation but the air transport. The government then had to charter aeroplanes for the transportation of these individuals and their families mostly from Delhi.

In this connection, the Cabinet in a meeting in August 1947 decided to ascertain from the U.S. Consul at Lahore the details of the offer made by his government for providing 10 D.C. IV planes to be used in the evacuation of important Muslim officials and their families.\footnote{187} It was agreed that the planes if allotted to Pakistan
Government would be used to evacuate government servants from Delhi and other places. Initially six or seven flights were carried out daily from Delhi, Multan, Rawalpindi, Peshawar etc. Later the introduction of 18 Dakotas and 2 York planes of the British Overseas Airways Cooperation (B.O.A.C.) bolstered the air transportation during September 1947. The fleet carried out approximately 1,962 flights from 15th September to 7th December 1947 transporting about 28,000 non-Muslims out of Pakistan and about 18,000 Muslim evacuees from India. Though the air transport was the most reliable transportation but at the same time it cost a lot, therefore priority was given to the government servants. Both the dominions wanted to evacuate government servants as early as possible. The Pakistani Government needed to have administrative staff and officers whereas the Indians were desperately short of technical, railway, police, postal and telegraph staff for the smooth running of their administrative machinery. The authorities on both sides later on allowed ordinary passengers to use the air evacuation facilities on payment.

**Refugee Camps**

Camps became essential for the temporary accommodation of incoming and outgoing refugees in both parts of the Punjab. During the initial evacuation, people did not go through any refugee camp reason being that either there were no refugee camps or people just wanted to cross over as early as possible or the distance that they had to cover was comparatively very short. There were some lucky refugees whose relatives were waiting for them on the other side to take them home. But for those whose destination were unknown or were far off or the entry points were
restricted, camps were essential. In this connection the West Punjab Government established two main refugee camps at Wagah in Lahore for the incoming refugees and at Wah in Rawalpindi for the outgoing non-Muslim evacuees. The administration of these camps was running effectively apart from occasional difficulties and shortcomings due to breakdown of the liaison and shortage of medical staff. The camps were now registering incoming refugees to keep a record of their dispersal to onward locations.

The refugees who had time on their side and no visible danger to their lives when they moved towards Pakistan managed to keep essential food items with them along with their bullock carts, so they had no real worries about feeding themselves or their families. The non-Muslim evacuees from West Punjab had to undergo one major search. During one of the searches the authorities confiscated 10 tons of grain which was later on restored to the evacuating Sikhs under orders from the West Punjab Government. The government was also providing food to those delayed caravans in West Punjab whereas the situation facing the Muslim evacuees in the East Punjab camps was disappointing as the inmates were half starved and had little supplies of food for their arduous journey towards Pakistan. To make things even worse they were deliberately delayed their passage through Amritsar which resulted in many deaths at the hands of Sikh armed jathas. A series of Muslim graves at Wagah are an evident proof of deaths of Muslim refugees due to starvation and cholera.

Muslim evacuees in East Punjab camps were supposed to be fed by the East Punjab authorities until they crossed over to West Punjab but they failed to do so
pleading shortage of food supply whereas the reality was a bit different. Had the Indian Government not wasted the food supply in ‘air drops’, that food could have been used to feed the starving Muslim refugees in East Punjab camps. Despite its limited resources the West Punjab Government was doing whatever it could to provide food to the incoming refugees and also the evacuating non-Muslims. The ration per head provided in these camps included six chhataks of atta or rice, one chhataks each of daal and vegetables and one seer of firewood. Apart from that milk was also provided to children, nursing mothers and sick and exhausted refugees. This ration had cost the West Punjab Government about four to five annas per head every day. Special arrangements were made to treat the cholera patients as they were provided with soft food and tea mixed with gur. Incoming refugees were also inoculated against cholera. The medical arrangements were done by the provincial medical service under the able and dedicated supervision of the then Inspector General of Civil Hospitals Dr. Siddiqui. The government also sent an S.O.S. appeal to the foreign countries to provide cholera vaccine. The provincial committee of the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund was distributing instalments up to 50,000 rupees to the needy districts under the supervision of respective Deputy Commissioner for relief work. To provide the refugees with warm clothing the Red Cross distributed 17,211 garments with the help of Civil Supplies Department and the N.W.R. Clothing Factory at Moghalpura and about 13,702 garments were sent to refugee hospitals. The Sind Government also provided bandages and other medical supplies and warm clothing to the Punjab Government. In the earlier months after partition the rehabilitation was very simple
as the Muslim cultivators from East Punjab were replacing the West Punjab’s non-Muslim cultivators. Then to make things more professional and to avoid any possible corruption or mismanagement the Settlement Officer was made In-Charge of maintaining records of the refugees. He was also responsible for securing employment for non-agriculturists. The District Officers started allocating the villages with vacant lands to the agriculturist arrivals. It was estimated that by 10\textsuperscript{th} October 1947, at least 11, 67,000 Muslim refugees out of 17, 00,000 registered ones had been resettled in West Punjab.\textsuperscript{194}

The resettlement of the non-agriculturist refugees was also very important and by the end of September 1947, the Employment Exchanges had registered at least 7,846 non-agriculturist refugees in both Punjab and Sind. Out of these about 1,000 were reemployed. In the Sind and Baluchistan, there were 11,976 registered non-agriculturists out of whom 3,824 were placed in jobs. So in general western Pakistan had 19,822 non-agriculturist refugees registered and later 4,824 were reemployed.\textsuperscript{195} The West Punjab Government was however much worried about the incoming refugees from Ambala Division because if they had been kept in the refugee camps for long they would be forced to sell their cattle or they would soon die out of starvation. The West Punjab Government knew it had to arrange for liberal \emph{taccavi} grants to resettle these Ambala agriculturists. Apart from these the government made arrangements in the camps for the separate accommodation of widows and orphans or those who were separated from their families during their evacuation process. The West Punjab Government also appointed a Custodian of Evacuee Property and eventually established the post of a Registrar of Claims for
the Muslim property left in India or abandoned by the Muslim evacuees. Due to the timely efforts made by the authorities working in the refugee camps the cholera epidemic was finally checked by the end of October. The camps personnel used to intercept the incoming refuges and inoculate them before settling them in the refugee camps and at the same time they also kept the camps clean with providing hygienic food and fresh water.

At least 67 Muslim women were rescued and recovered from the East Punjab Sikhs and were brought into the Baoli Camp on Friday 31st October 1947. Out of these unfortunate women twenty-nine were restored to their respective families or relatives the very next day and the remaining ones were sent to the Sir Ganga Ram Widows Home.\(^{196}\) Forced by the severity of the approaching winter, the authorities at the transit refugee camps in Wagah chalked out a plan to erect a series of corrugated iron sheet huts for the protection of the incoming refugees. Initially they made 400 huts out of 1,200 proposed.\(^{197}\) The authorities also provided medical facilities including a maternity home and healthy food for refugees.

Refugee and Rehabilitation Minister of Pakistan Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan visited the Wagah transit camp along with Pakistan Government’s Commissioner for Refugees Mr. Moss on Saturday 1st November 1947.\(^{198}\) In their visit they spoke to the incoming refugees and inquired about their needs and also inspected the working of the camp authorities.

In order to deal with the incoming refugees and their rehabilitation in the West Punjab, the formation of special committee called as ‘Pakistan-Punjab Council’ had been announced by both the Central and the West Punjab Governments. The
Prime Ministers of Pakistan and of West Punjab, the two Ministers for Refugees and the West Punjab Governor were to constitute the Council. The newly formed Council had a joint secretariat in Lahore under the Pakistan Refugee Minister and the decisions made by the council were implemented by the West Punjab Government’s various departments.199

The total number of refugees in Walton group of camps was 121,559 on Tuesday 4th November 1947, out of which 7,444 were new arrivals and about 2,282, were sent out to be resettled. A press note issued by the government confirmed the occurrence of 54 casualties in the camps. A new refugee camp at Harike Road was established called the Baoli Camp which had 25,500 Muslim refugees.200 The camp hospital contained 70 starvation patients. Meanwhile a motor convoy that had left Lahore on 2nd November reached Patiala on 6th November to evacuate Muslim refugees but was denied entrance into the town by Patiala Brigade Headquarters.201 They denied the entrance saying that the evacuation of the Muslims from Patiala would be done according to the plans made by the Brigade Headquarters and the complete evacuation might take four to five days.

In order to boost the refugees’ morale and the camp administration, the Quaid-i-Azam along with Miss Fatima Jinnah and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, the Refugee Minster paid a short visit to the Walton Refugee Camps and Anglo-Pakistan Hospital in Lahore on Thursday 6th November 1947.202 Finding the Father of the Nation amongst them the refugees started shouting slogans of Pakistan Zindabad, and Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad. Jinnah encouraged the doctors and nurses to “work more and more”. On this occasion Atta Mohammad Khan Laghari, the Refugee
Commissioner Lahore presented a purse of 5,600 rupees on behalf of the camp employees for the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund. Jinnah gave Message for the refugees saying that:

No self respecting person wishes to depend on the hospitality of the others or beg from them. Refugees must help each other. They must work in whatever capacity they can thereby assisting the State in tackling the colossal refugees’ problem that Pakistan faces today. Nothing is going to shake Pakistan.  

During his visit to the Anglo-Pakistan Hospital Jinnah was received by Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha, Mr. C.E. Gibbon and Col. S. M.K. Malik. Jinnah spoke to the wounded Muslim refugees from Kapurthala. A Muslim refugee boy garlanded Mr. Jinnah in the Hospital where Jinnah seemed to be satisfied with the medical arrangements and he personally thanked Dr. Miss Hutton for her devotion and hard work. From there he proceeded towards the Chinese Barracks where he was taken to the camp dispensary and then to the kitchen. On this occasion he commented that “make the refugees work. Do not let them nurse the idea that they are guests for all times”. He also visited the female dispensary where Muslim girl volunteers were attending to the refugee women. He also noticed the *pardah* arrangements for the ladies section of the camp.

On 7th November 1947 the Ministry of Refugees West Punjab indicated that it had plans to establish specially constructed winter camps throughout West Punjab to protect and shelter the refugees from the rigorous winter and epidemics. In this connection the Ministry instructed the Deputy Commissioners to provide accommodation to the refugees in those camps and if there was no room available in the camps then to arrange their accommodation in the abandoned evacuee houses. Special steps were taken to ensure the transparent transfer of property. The
Ministry warned that those who had occupied the abandoned houses on false representations were to leave the houses immediately and those refugees whose only means of livelihood was cultivation should be allotted those houses.

The British Friends Service Unit, an Anglo-American humanitarian organization was quite active in the relief and rescue operations in both parts of the divided Punjab. Two of the Unit’s members i.e. Mr. Horace Gunday Alexander and Mr. J. Richard Symonds toured both parts of the Punjab as unofficial representatives of East and West Punjab Governments in order to gain first hand information about the relief and rescue operations and the state of evacuee camps. They took a fortnight tour inspecting the evacuee camps in both parts of the divided Punjab. Mr. Alexander toured the East Punjab whereas Mr. Symonds visited the West Punjab. Both arrived in Lahore on 11\textsuperscript{th} November 1947 and informed the press the motives behind their voluntary inspection of the minority camps in the Punjab.\textsuperscript{206} They described their voluntary task to both the governments as “an effort to ameliorate the lot of the refugees in the camps in the two provinces and to expedite their evacuation”. Both expressed their confidence in the sincerity of efforts of high officials for the restoration of peace and order in their respective areas. However, they also complained that the lower staff was unhelpful in most cases and showed an indifferent attitude. Mr. Symonds, who had visited 14 districts of the West Punjab inspecting the evacuee camps of the non-Muslims, expressed his satisfaction at the treatment meted out to the camp evacuees in terms of supply of rations and security measures. Whereas Mr. Alexander who had been touring the East Punjab evacuee camps stated that the ration supply was poor and there were
inadequate arrangements for the approaching winter. Mr. Alexander also told the press that around 500 Muslims had been forcibly converted in the Kurali Camp in Ambala District and only after their conversion they were allowed to go back to their ancestral villages. He further stated that there was not a single Muslim left in Jullundur District except in the camps, although pockets of Muslims could be seen moving about in towns of Ambala Division. Mr. Symonds appreciated the efforts made by Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan for the restoration of inter-communal peace and good-will in West Punjab; however, he said that “it is my impression that in spite of the good treatment accorded to the non-Muslims, they would not stay back in Pakistan”.

He further elaborated that the non-Muslims are concentrated in certain parts of the country and felt that they had been caged in that locality and therefore, they may not ever feel the touch of real freedom. Moreover, while the high officials were very sympathetic towards the non-Muslims, there were complaints about their subordinates who some times did not carry out the orders of their superiors.

The evacuation of the Muslims and non-Muslims from both East and West Punjab was in full swing during the early phase of November 1947. Every day trains carrying at least 3,500 passengers were arriving from and into both parts of the Punjab. By 12th November the evacuation of the non-Muslims from the Gujranwala camp was completed and similarly all the Muslims had been evacuated from the Adampur camp. Apart from helping the government with their rehabilitation efforts the military was also busy recovering abandoned women. On 14th November, 34 Muslim women and 12 children were recovered and handed
over to SDO of Kasur by the Indian Army and similarly about 100 non-Muslim women were recovered by the Pakistan Police and about 70 by the Pakistan Army were handed over to a non-Muslim evacuee camp at Jhang on 15\textsuperscript{th} November 1947.\textsuperscript{209} The very next day a Muslim caravan of about 80,000 entered Pakistan through Sulaimanke Bridge. A refugee special train carried about 12,000 Muslim refugees from Ambala and Sadhana etc. Approximately the same number of non-Muslim evacuees left for India. Reports were also coming in from the East Punjab Government that almost all the Muslim girls who were abducted from a convoy on 15\textsuperscript{th} November had been recovered from Hoshiarpur.\textsuperscript{210} The Superintendent of Police in Amritsar Rao Bahadur Chaudri Ram Singh told the press on 20\textsuperscript{th} November that the Amritsar Police along with the military had recovered about 252 Muslim women and 90 children during last month’s raids and had handed them over to the West Punjab authorities. He also told the press that apart from women and children they also managed to recover the looted property worth about 18, 00,000 rupees along with ammunition including Bren guns and revolvers etc.\textsuperscript{211} Meanwhile, the number of refugees in Walton camps rose to 150,128 on 20\textsuperscript{th} November 1947 whereas the Baoli camp’s population was figured as 27,581 with 16 casualties out of exhaustion. There were about 32 cases of small pox found amongst the refugees coming from Ambala.\textsuperscript{212} These infected refugees were immediately transferred to the Infectious Diseases Hospital to save other inmates.

Apart from East Punjab and adjoining States the situation in other parts of India was not completely peaceful but comparatively normal. The Pakistan High Commissioner in Delhi Mr. Zahid Hussain told the press about the refugee
situation in Delhi where the Muslim evacuees were stationed at the Humayun Tomb Camp, Tehar and Chahtarpur in Mehrauli housing about 37,000 Muslims. He remarked that though there were attacks on the Muslims in neighboring localities but at the same time there were some Hindu families who had tried their best to protect Muslims in their locality. He also mentioned that Mr. Gandhi was also using his good offices to protect the lives and properties of the Muslims in Delhi. In fact Gandhi wanted the Indian Government to be responsible for protecting and safeguarding the mosques in Delhi even if there was not a single Muslim left in the area and at the same time he also wanted to have a word from the Government of Pakistan to promise the safety of the temples, shrines and gurdwaras in Pakistan.

On 29th November 1947, the Refugee Commissioner Pakistan Mr. Moss visited Multan and inspected the progress of rehabilitation work there. About 3 lakh non-Muslims had left Multan and about 5 lakh Muslims were sent to Multan by the West Punjab Government for resettlement. The authorities managed to resettle about 3.5 lakh by the end of November 1947. Meanwhile, the Punjab Provincial Muslim League issued an appeal addressing all those institutions and organisations that were keeping information and providing housing to the recovered persons to provide their full information bio data to the League’s office in order to pass on the information to their relatives in West Punjab for their safe return.

Even in December 1947 the refugees were still coming into Pakistan in thousands every day as a foot convoy of 100,000 Muslim refugees entered Pakistan through Ganda Singhwala. The trains carried about 21,000 Muslims from Dhoolkot,
Shahabad, Delhi and Kaithal. At the same time about 31,500 non-Muslims evacuees left Pakistan on trains from Muzaffargarh, Khanewal and Lahore.\textsuperscript{217} Motor transport also carried non-Muslims from Lahore to Panipat, Ambala and Malerkotla along with 306 \textit{maunds} of food.

Earlier an attack on a Muslim convoy from Ambala had been reported on 24\textsuperscript{th} November when a Sikh armed \textit{jatha} of at least 200 attacked the caravan near Peohowa in Kurukshetra resulting in the deaths of 35 Muslims and injuring a dozen. The looters took few bullocks with them. In this incident two attackers were also killed and one was captured by the escort. Another foot convoy leaving Ambala on 28\textsuperscript{th} November refused to proceed further fearing that it would be attacked en route when they heard that 5/1 Punjab Regiment consisting of Muslims was replaced by non-Muslim troops from the 5 Jats and 2/9 Gorkhas for escorting the Muslim refugee caravan.\textsuperscript{218}

\textbf{West Punjab Protection of Evacuee Property Ordinance (VII of 1947)}

In order to protect evacuee property, the Governor West Punjab Francis Mudie while exercising his powers conferred on him by Section 88 of the Government of India Act 1935 and after receiving instructions from the Governor-General of Pakistan promulgated the West Punjab Protection of Evacuee Property Ordinance on 1\textsuperscript{st} December 1947.\textsuperscript{219}

The main clauses of the said ordinance were as follows:

- The Ordinance was called as the West Punjab Protection of the Evacuee Property Ordinance No. VII of 1947. It was extended to the whole of the West Punjab.
• An order to carry out the provisions of the said ordinance, the provincial government was allowed to appoint a Custodian and an Additional Custodian of Evacuee Property for West Punjab. The expression Custodian meant the custodian of the evacuee property and it also included posts of Additional Custodians, Deputy Custodians and also an Assistant Custodian of the Evacuee Property.

• Every order made or signed by the Custodian was not to be called in question in any court of law.

• According to the provisions of the Ordinance, the Custodian had the powers to assume possession of the property or to take control of the evacuee property from the date of the promulgation of the order and if there was any holder of such property, he was to surrender his possession to the Custodian or any person who was authorized by the Custodian.

• Any person complying with the orders of the Custodian was not to be liable to any civil suit, criminal prosecution or any other legal proceedings.

• In case any rehabilitation authority required any evacuee property for rehabilitation purposes, it was required to send a written intimation containing all the required information about the particular property to the concerned Custodian. After fulfilling all the requirements, the evacuee property was to be taken over by any concerned authority.

• The persons, who had previously been allotted any evacuee property on lease by the rehabilitation authority without going through the prescribed procedure, were no more to be accepted as tenants or lessees and that the rehabilitation
authorities were not to be recognized as a duly authorized agent of the Custodian of Evacuee Property for the purpose of allocation. It was also made necessary for all such rehabilitation authorities to provide complete record of allotted evacuee property and the allottee to the Custodian.

- The Custodian was allowed to treat any person in possession of unauthorized immovable evacuee property as a trespasser and therefore was authorized to order that person to vacate the evacuee property. Or the said person was to be treated as an authorized tenant of that particular property on agreed terms and conditions between him and the concerned Custodian. It was also stated that if any person was recognized as a tenant by the Custodian and then he refused to pay the agreed rent in time or refused to comply with any other agreed clauses; he was to be ejected from the evacuee property as a trespasser. A declared trespasser was to be punished with imprisonment up to two years along with fine.

- A holder or occupant of evacuee property who wished for a declaration to be furnished in his name that the property under his control was not an evacuee property or it was an evacuee property to a limited extent only, was required through the provision of the said Ordinance to submit a petition to the prescribed Custodian. The Custodian, after thorough examination of the record provided by the petitioner might order detailed inquiry, or accept the petition in whole or in parts, or even reject the petition in whole or in parts.

- No transfer of any rights of any evacuee property by the evacuee or his attorney after the 15th of August 1947 was considered to be effective until and
unless that particular transfer was registered with the concerned Custodian within the prescribed time.

- The Ordinance provided the Custodian with the powers equal to those of a Civil Court in respect of summoning and cross examining the concerned parties or witnesses.

- The Ordinance repealed the existing West Punjab Evacuee Property (Preservation) Ordinance 1947.\textsuperscript{220}

Soon after the issuance of the said Ordinance, the Secretary to the Pakistan Ministry of Refugees and ex-officio Secretary to the Pakistan-Punjab Refugees Council Mr. W.V. Grigson wrote an official letter to all the Deputy Commissioners of West Punjab on 2\textsuperscript{nd} December 1947 appraising them about the newly promulgated Ordinance repealing the earlier West Punjab Evacuee Property (Preservation) Ordinance.\textsuperscript{221} He also enclosed 10 copies each of the new Ordinance along with 10 copies of the press note issued by the government on the subject. In his letter, the Secretary informed the Deputy Commissioners that Mr. Justice S.A. Rahman has been appointed as the Custodian of Evacuee Property West Punjab and Khan Bahadur Mirza Abdur Rab as Additional Custodian. He also mentioned that there would be one or more Deputy Custodians in each district with full powers of Sub-Judges. These officers were to exercise the quasi-judicial powers under the new Ordinance. The Secretary also mentioned the aims and objectives of the said Ordinance to the Deputy Commissioners of West Punjab. He also warned them not to interfere with the working of the Custodians but to
cooperate and report any irregularity to the Deputy Custodian of their respective district.222

Meanwhile, in order to maintain better living standards in the refugee camps especially the women’s section, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan along with Begum Shahnawaz and Miss McQueen visited the Walton Refugee Camps on Tuesday 2nd December 1947.223 The party met with the camp organisers and inspected the food stocks and also visited the barracks of unclaimed Muslim women and orphan children. Begum Liaquat assured the refugee women that warm clothing would be provided to them soon and she also distributed some money amongst the refugee children. She later visited the Walton Hospital and met with the medical staff and patients inquiring about their needs.

Despite the tireless efforts made by the MEOs, there were still thousands of evacuees stranded in both parts of the Punjab. By early December 1947 the Information Office in Lahore issued the official figures of evacuees which showed that there were about 269,500 Muslims in East Punjab still waiting to be evacuated. These Muslim evacuees included 97,500 from Karnal District, 20,000 from Ambala District, 6,000 from Rohtak District, 67,000 from Gujrat District, and 81,000 from Patiala State.224 At the same time Muslim refugees were still coming in to West Punjab. About 8,000 Muslim refugees entered Pakistan on foot via Ganda Singhwala on 5th December. Similarly, about 7,000 non-Muslims left Pakistan through Muzaffargarh the same day. The non-Muslims were also trying to evacuate West Punjab as early as possible. The official figures revealed that there were about 92,600 non-Muslims in West Punjab including 15,000 in Sialkot
District, 1,500 in Lahore District; 9,000 in Montgomery District; 2,000 in Multan District; 300 in Muzaffargarh District; 1,500 in Lyallpur District; 1,000 in Sheikhupura District; 1,500 in Gujranwala District; 6,000 in Gujrat District; 500 in Jhelum; 2,000 in Shahpur District and about 300 in Rawalpindi District which was one of the worst riot stricken area in West Punjab.\(^\text{225}\)

The refugees who were lucky enough to reach Pakistan were sometimes found on the roads fighting the rigours of Punjabi winter where the temperature at nights was generally between 1 to 2 degrees above the freezing point. During the second week of December 1947 at least ten refugees were found frozen to death on the roadside.\(^\text{226}\) Though the Lahore Bait-ul-Mal workers used to go out in the chilly and windy nights as part of their “mercy round” distributing *razais* and blankets to the refugees who had no shelter or enough warm clothes to protect themselves but the number of *razais* and the volunteer workers were much short of the demand in hand.

**Inter-Dominion Conference for the Restoration of Abducted Women & Children, Lahore. 06-12-1947.**

The restoration of abducted and converted young girls had become an embarrassment for both the governments. Sincere and serious efforts had been put in by the governmental and non-governmental organizations but the results were not as fruitful as the authorities had hoped for. In this connection an inter-dominion conference was called in just to discuss the said issue. The conference was held in the Cabinet Room of the Lahore Assembly Chambers on 6\(^{th}\) December 1947 under the Chairmanship of the Honorable Minister for Refugees Pakistan.\(^\text{227}\)

From the Pakistan side the conference was attended by the Minister for Refugees,
West Punjab Premier, G.O.C. Lahore Area, the Refugee Commissioner Pakistan, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, Begum Shah Nawaz, Begum Tassaduque Hussain, Miss McQueen, Miss Rabia Qari (Liaison Officer), Commander M.E.O. Pakistan, Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan in India, I.G. Police West Punjab, I.G. Police NWFP, Home Secretary West Punjab etc. From the Indian side the conference was represented by the Honorable Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation, the Home Minister East Punjab, Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, Commander M.E.O. India, Deputy High Commissioner for India in Pakistan, I.G. Police East Punjab, Chief Liaison Officer, Sardar Bhag Singh etc. During the long discussion both the parties agreed and reiterated that every possible effort would be made by official and non-official organizations to recover and restore abducted and forcibly converted women as early as humanly possible. The two governments agreed not to recognize conversions and marriages of person reported to have been abducted after 1st March 1947 and all such persons were to be restored to their original dominion. The sensitivity of the issue forced the government to conclude that personal wishes of the abducted women were irrelevant and also mentioned clearly that no personal statement would be recorded of those person before any magistrate.

The Conference stressed the importance of good governance and policing. As the prime responsibility of recovering the abducted women was of the local police of the particular area, it was also announced that police officers with good record would be rewarded with cash prizes and promotions. The Military Evacuation Organizations of the both dominions were made responsible for the safety of the
transit camps and providing escort for the transport of the abducted people from transit camps to their dominions. The Deputy Commissioners were asked to provide all possible assistance in the establishment of transit camps in their respective districts. These camps were to provide accommodation for up to 50 persons each along with free food and other necessary facilities. The Deputy Commissioners were also asked to assist the social workers in their propaganda activities for the recovery and restoration of the abducted persons.

The Conference acknowledged the significance of the social workers in that noble cause and decided to regularize their activities. In this connection the Conference agreed that the social workers would be looking after the camp arrangements, reception of the abducted women in transit camps and collections of their full information to be provided to the Inspector General of Police. The District Liaison Officers were also engaged in the restoration process by making them consult the local Deputy Commissioners and social workers in setting up the transit camps. In order to keep record of the events and for better coordination, it was suggested to hold weekly conference between the Deputy Commissioner, the Superintendent of Police, the local M.E.O. Officer, the District Liaison Officer and the social workers of the concerned district. However, this proposed scheme was not to operate in Rawalpindi, Campbellpur, Jhelum, Gujrat and Sialkot districts in the West Punjab and Gurdaspur in the East Punjab.229 The Military Evacuation Organization and the District Liaison Officers were not to operate in these districts and the recovery of the abducted person would be done by the Superintendents of Police who would collect the recovered persons in the transit camps for the purpose of transportation
to the dominion of origin. The copies of the decision taken by the conference were sent to all Deputy Commissioners concerned, 20 spare copies to the Inspector-General of Police, 20 spare copies were forwarded to the Officer on Special Duty for East Punjab Mr. K.L. Panjabi and similarly 20 spare copies were sent to the Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan at Jullundur for necessary information and communication to the liaison officers on duty.230

Conference of Prominent Women Representatives, Lahore, 12th -13th December 1947.

A conference consisting of prominent women representatives from both India and Pakistan took place at the residence of Begum Shah Nawaz at Lahore from 12th-13th December 1947.231 The focus of the conference was the ongoing campaign of recovery and restoration of abducted women and children in both dominions. The participants of the conference included Begum Shah Nawaz, Miss Maridula Sarabai, Mrs. Thapar, Begum Fatima, Miss Shah Nawaz, Miss Rabia Sultan Qari, Mrs. Z. Shah, Begum Zaka-ud-Din and Ms. Shamim Jullunduri. After the in-depth discussions for two days the conference agreed on the following points:

- The Chief Social Worker of each dominion would be in-charge of the campaign in her area for the speedy recovery of abducted women and children.

- The administrative machinery for this purpose would consist of district, divisional and provincial workers. The district social workers were to be the camp officers.

- Muslim workers were to be Camp Commanders in East Punjab and non-Muslim social workers were to be the Camp Commanders in West Punjab transit camps.
• The staff for District Social Workers would include one Deputy District Liaison Officer who would act as Resident Camp Commander assisted by an Assistant Deputy District Liaison Officer. The Deputy District Liaison Officers were to receive the same benefits as that of the District Liaison Officers. The housing was to be provided by the Deputy Commissioners, District Liaison Officers and the Chief Liaison Officers of the concerned dominion.

• Both parties agreed on the provision of diet of the standard of jail ‘B’ class in the transit camps.\textsuperscript{232}

• The camp staff was to be arranged with the consultation of the District Liaison Officer but the concerned Deputy Commissioner was to provide one local social worker, one-part time local doctor, one local \textit{chaprasi}, one cook, one water man, one sweeper and two maid servants for hygiene in the uninterrupted working of the transit camps.

• The category of the divisional and provincial social workers was to comprise Deputy Chief Liaison Officer, Officer on Special Duty and the number of Divisional Liaison Officers was to be with regard to the number of divisions concerned. The salary and other allowances of these Deputy Chief Liaison Officer, Officer on Special Duty (OSD) and the Divisional Officer were made the responsibility of their own governments.

• The Deputy Chief Liaison Officer and the OSD were to work in the office of the Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan or in the office of the Chief Liaison Officer at the Head Quarters.
- It was also agreed that the divisional and provincial social workers would be given a car with a driver by their own government including the petrol expenses. Whereas the host government would provide them with sufficient amount of petrol coupons and escort by the MEO when moving about in dangerous territories.

- Both the representative parties agreed to provide air passage to the Deputy Chief Liaison Officers under special circumstances. Not only that, it was also decided that all rest-houses would be made available to these social workers. Apart from that one male and one female social worker were to be provided to provincial and divisional social workers for assistance in the recovery procedure.\(^{233}\)

The participants unanimously stressed the importance of a joint statement requesting their respective governments to implement some of the agreed decisions of the earlier inter-dominion conference on the issue of recovery of abducted women held in Lahore on 6\(^{th}\) December 1947.\(^{234}\) The conference reiterated that both the governments should issue orders to the concerned authorities that no statement of any recovered women who do not wish to go back to her own dominion, should be recorded before any magistrate and all the statements recorded earlier be declared null and void. It was also suggested that all those recovered women who had been sent back to their abductors on the basis of their personal statements, should be handed over to the District Liaison Officer of the concerned area so that they can be transported back to their original dominion.\(^{235}\)
Inter-Dominion Meeting, 18th-20th December 1947, Delhi.

Both the governments have been involved in lengthy discussions regarding the assets i.e. insurance companies, banks, immoveable and movable evacuee property, pensions, bank deposits and certificates, removal of private property, cultural and religious institutions, exchange of prisoners and abducted women etc. The aide memoiré in respect of each dominion was exchanged between the two governments. Subsequently mutual agreements were reached between the secretarial officers and inter-dominion representatives towards the end of the year 1947. The important features of the agreements reached during these meetings from 18th-20th December 1947 were as follows:

**Insurance Companies:** It was agreed that companies which had moved their Head Offices to India would advise the Reserve Bank of Government of India on matters of accounts and policy holders. It was also agreed that the general insurance companies would be provided with all possible protection in terms of investigation of claims by their representatives. The Indian Government also agreed to provide reciprocal facilities. The procedure agreed upon with regard to investigation of claims in West Punjab was also to be followed in similar cases from the provinces of Sind and NWFP. Reciprocal facilities were to be accorded in Delhi province. Both the governments agreed that complaints regarding the delay in the settlement of claims would be referred by the Government of Pakistan to Mr. Raganathan, the Joint Secretary of the Indian Ministry of Commerce and similarly the complaints from India were to be referred to Mr. Karamat Ullah, Joint Secretary of the Pakistani Ministry of Commerce.
Banks: The Conference agreed that since the matter of transfer of banks was under discussion between the Finance Ministers of both dominions, therefore it should not be discussed in the present conference. However, the participants emphasized the importance of a joint statement with regard to the transfer of bank accounts. The conference also chalked out a proposed procedure for the transfer of Saving Bank Deposits, Postal Cash Certificates and National Certificates etc.

Evacuee Property: The Government of West Punjab had announced earlier that for the evacuee cases relating to Lahore, the last date for lodging the property claims was fixed as 15\textsuperscript{th} December 1947 whereas for other places in West Punjab the last date was fixed till 10\textsuperscript{th} January 1948. The conference representatives divided the evacuee issue into immovable and moveable evacuee property. As for the immovable evacuee property it was agreed that the ownership of all immovable property in both dominions would remain undisturbed and would vest in the evacuee owner. It was also agreed that for the evacuee property vested in the Custodian, the rehabilitation authorities may take over for temporary uses for a fixed period only for the purpose of rehabilitation of refugees coming from the other dominion. The fixed period for which the rehabilitation authorities were allowed to take over the evacuee property was not to exceed the following limits:

- Agricultural Property … 03 years
- Residential Property … 03 years
- Commercial & industrial undertakings … 04 years

In cases of properties taken over by the rehabilitation authorities from the Custodian of the Evacuee Property, the Custodian was authorised to determine the rentals to be paid by the rehabilitation authorities to the evacuee owners. In cases
where the property was not required by the rehabilitation authorities and where the evacuee owner had submitted application to the Custodian showing his intentions to manage the property himself, such properties were to be restored to the evacuee owner for proper management or disposal. And if the management of the said property had not yet been taken over by the Custodian, then on the submission of application by the evacuee owner, the Custodian was to allow him to retain the management of the property. In that case it was agreed that the evacuee owner would be given full facilities for the transfer of property either by sale, exchange or otherwise. The conference also discussed that if there arose a situation where the evacuee owner despite of the facilities available to transfer his property, found himself unable to do so, he was to proceed according to the following manner:

In case of the urban property, the evacuee owner was advised to apply to the government of the dominion where he had moved, for the transfer of his property through the official agency. In this connection both the governments agreed to set up a joint agency for valuation of the property. The proposed agency was also to arrange for the disposal of the property but it would only act as the agent of the owners on both sides. Almost the same procedure was to be adopted for the agricultural property. In this regards valuation agency was to draw a schedule of prices firstly of different types of agricultural properties such as homestead, chahi, nahri, barani, bunjar etc and secondly on territorial basis which may be districts, sub divisions and tahsil etc. After the settlement of the schedule of prices for the property to be transferred, the property would be valued and assessed. The dominions reiterated to take over all assessed agricultural property and to make
assessed valued payments to the other dominion. After taking over the agricultural property at the assessed value, the dominion would be free to dispose of the property in any manner it chose. As per agreement, each dominion was to pay the evacuee owner in their territory the assessed value of their holdings in the other dominion. This could be through allotment of lands, or in cash or both.

For the moveable property both the governments agreed that the right of the ownership of any moveable property would vest in the owner and he/she will have the rights to leave it, dispose it of, or to receive a compensation if the moveable property was required by the rehabilitation authorities.

Other issues discussed during the course of the meeting included the restoration of licensed arms and ammunition, taxation of property, removal of Holy Guru Granth Sahib’s volumes and other holy books and scriptures, unpaid bills of contractors, treatment of non-Muslims in West Punjab and NWFP and the Transfer of Property (Pakistan) Ordinance 1947 etc.

_Pensions:_ It was agreed that all the provincial governments should take immediate action to facilitate the swift transfer of the pension papers. It was also agreed that any complaints by the pensioners should be made to the Auditor General of the country where they were now residing and all such complaints were to be dealt with between the Auditor Generals of the two dominions. Those pensioners who had lost their halves of the pension payment orders were to produce a certificate from a magistrate or a gazetted officer certifying the pensioner’s identity; an indemnity bond with two sureties either from a permanent government servant or an officer not below the rank of a _tahsildar_ and both agreeing to refund the pension.
amount if wrongly paid; any evidence to prove that he was a pensioner or about his department from where he retired; and a declaration clearly stating the actual amount of his monthly pension, details of his received income and the name of the treasury or the post office from where he had received the payment. This procedure was to clear the pension payments payable from August 1947 to March 1948. The Auditor Generals of the two dominions were to collect all cases of the lost payment orders of those pensioners now residing in their respected dominions and then refer these lists to their counterparts in the other dominions so that the treasury part of the Pension Payment Orders may be transferred. It was also agreed that this procedure would be applied to all the provinces of each dominion.

_Exchange of Convicted & Under Trial Prisoners:_ In this connection, it was agreed that the Home Secretaries of the both dominions were to chalk out a foolproof procedure for the exchange of under trial prisoners. However, it was also suggested that all such persons should be collected at certain convenient centres specially meant for this purpose so that they could be cleared off properly. The Indian representatives requested same arrangements to be extended to NWFP which the Pakistan representatives agreed to consider and also requested the Indians to suspend any proceedings specially to carry out the capital punishment of any person falling under this category until the matter was separately discussed in the upcoming Inter-Dominion Minister’s Conference.

_Efforts for Abducted Women:_ Since the matter had been thoroughly discussed in the special inter-dominion meeting at Lahore on 6th December 1947, it was omitted from the agenda.\(^{237}\)
Assets of Trusts, Cultural, Educational and Religious Institutions: Such assets were divided into movable and immovable categories. Regarding the movable property, it was agreed that after the submission of application to the Custodian of Evacuee Property of West Punjab, an early decision was to be made regarding the equipment etc. that the West Punjab Government wished to retain for its own use. As for the remaining assets, the provincial governments were to grant a permit for removal by the concerned applicants. In regard to immovable property of the non-Muslim evacuees, the Indian representatives requested that special consideration be made in this regard and hoped that both the central Pakistan Government and other provincial governments concerned should take quick action as to the acquisition of the said property or its release so that the trustees could liquidate the property otherwise. Both the governments also agreed to furnish a detailed memorandum regarding the evacuee properties of Nankana Sahib and Qadian for an early decision. The meeting ended on a positive note that all the governmental institutions involved in the rehabilitation of refugees in both dominions would work with utmost sincerity and mutual collaboration.

The refugees were pouring into the border districts of Pakistan even in the month of December 1947. The last foot convoy of the year arrived Pakistan from India through Sulemanki Bridge on 21\textsuperscript{st} December 1947. The convoy included 7,000 Muslims from Gurgaon and Rajput and Meo refugees from Bharatpur and Alwar States.\textsuperscript{238} It is painful to know that the refugees from Gurgaon took about 25 days to reach Pakistan whereas some of their less fortunate companions from Alwar and Bharatpur had to shuttle from one refugee camp to another resulting in the
stretching the duration of their journey up to six months. The delay took a heavy toll on the refugees as they lost most of their family members in one attack or the other. But their last convoy which was under the supervision of Pakistan Army managed to reach Pakistan without any human causality although there was a huge loss of cattle because of shortage of fodder or exhaustion. There were also cases of small-pox among the refugees who were immediately segregated from the other refugees. The incoming refugees were all praise for the army and were relieved to reach the camps where the authorities provided them with warm coats and food soon after their arrival. The Meo refugees of this caravan were settled in Sialkot while the rest were sent to Rohri reception camp to be dispersed in the Sind Province.  

The Sulemanki reception camp was responsible to accommodate at least 5 lakh incoming refugees in the months of November-December 1947. The camp had sufficient stock of food to feed the incoming refugees for at least three days along with shelter and warm clothing before they were dispersed in different districts in West Punjab.

Out of the total Muslim population of about 59, 30,000 in East Punjab nearly 46, 80,000 had managed to evacuate with the help of MEOs by 10th December 1947. The Commander of the MEO Pakistan Brig. F.H. Stevens announced that the major task assigned to the MEO was accomplished so he and some senior British Officers would be leaving MEO Pakistan by the end of 1947. But some other important officers of the MEO were to work with the organisation till the end of January 1948. The task assigned to them was to evacuate every single Muslim
refugee out of East Punjab and to manage large scale refugee movement within Pakistan particularly those who were to be sent to the Sind from West Punjab.

Brigadier Stevens in a press conference in Lahore on Monday 22nd December 1947 stated that there were 12, 50,000 Muslims still left in East Punjab out of which 670,000 were not traceable, 180,000 were in Gurgaon yet to decide about migrating to Pakistan or to stay back in their ancestral homes and there were about 350,000 Muslims in small pockets in Ambala Division waiting to be evacuated.\textsuperscript{241}

As for abducted Muslim women, he told the press that they were approximately 50,000. He also stated that they had come to know that the Muslims in the Patiala State Forces were not allowed to leave that State by the higher authorities of the State. Brig. Steven appreciated the work done by his subordinates to evacuate about four million Muslims within three and half months despite the hurdles created by the armed Sikh \textit{jathas} and the heavy flooding in the month of September. He also acknowledged the cooperation extended by the Commander of the Indian MEO Brig. H.M. Mohite and his subordinates in the Herculean task of evacuation under the joint evacuation plan for both Muslims and non-Muslims issued on 20\textsuperscript{th} October 1947. Brigadier Stevens relinquished his position as Commander Pakistan MEO on 28\textsuperscript{th} December and was appointed as GOC II Lahore. After him Col. Daily took charge as the Commander of the Pakistan MEO.\textsuperscript{242}

Despite all the traumatic experiences the inmates of all the refugee camps did not lose heart and kept their spirits high. It was quite evident when the refugees of all the three refugee camps at Walton celebrated Quaid’s birthday by organising
events starting with the *Juma* prayers which were attended by around 50,000 refugees. They organised *qawali* parties, tug of war matches where winners got the Quaid-i-Azam *Yom-i-Wiladat* (birthday) cups, sweets were distributed among the winners and runner ups. The camps were duly illuminated during the night and specially cooked rice was given to all the refugees.

Amongst all this rejoicing 79 persons had lost their lives because of cold. In Kasur refugee camp the number of casualties was 314 in a single day. Mian Iftikhar-ud-din, the then President of Punjab Muslim League toured the city during the night along with the members of the *Bait-ul-Mal* on a truck distributing *razais* to the refugees shivering on the roadside. They also took certain number of refugees to the special “warm room” in the *Bait-ul-Mal* premises.

Despite the fact that there was no precedent in past as how to cope with the gigantic task of rescue and relief, the nascent West Punjab Government utilized every possible resource to bring comfort to the destitute refugees en route and in the camps. The authority somehow managed to rehabilitate the refugees in temporary shelters, camps, evacuee buildings and in some cases they were accommodated by their relatives amongst the local communities of the Punjab but the process of their permanent rehabilitation was appearing to be a difficult task. The West Punjab had to absorb at least a million surplus refugees as compared to the non-Muslim evacuees who had left West Punjab. The next chapter would highlight the efforts made by the West Punjab Government and the philanthropist national and international organisations during the first phase of the rural and urban rehabilitation of the refugees in West Punjab in 1948.
References and Notes:


2 The Viceroy had appointed two commissions for the proposed partition of Punjab and Bengal on 30th June 1947. Cyril Radcliffe was made the joint Chairman of those commissions. Jinnah wanted the partition under United Nations’ supervision but Nehru voted against it. For the proposed partition of Punjab Justice Din Muhammad and Justice Muhammad Munir represented Pakistan whereas Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan and Justice Teja Singh represented the Indian side. Radcliffe arrived in Lahore on 13th July 1947 but he did not sit with the commission members till the end of July. The members were asked to submit their reports and Radcliffe after going through the reports prepared his own report on 8th August and submitted it to Mountbatten on 9th of August 1947. The Radcliffe Award was made public on 17th August 1947. The Award created unrest in the province as Muslims thought that areas such as Gurdaspur, Batala and Pathankot were allotted to India by the Award but it did not allocate the Zera Tahsil of Ferozpur District and Ajnala Tahsil of Amritsar District to Pakistan. The Sikhs on the other hand felt betrayed as most of their holy places were located in areas of West Punjab which were to be included in Pakistan.


10 The Pakistan Times, Lahore, 4th May 1947, ‘Extensive Damage to Muslim Property in Amritsar’.

11 Ibid.


14 Ibid.

16 The Pakistan Times, 29th June 1947, ‘Cartoon’. The Association had decided that every member of the association, in case of over loading will one rupee for the Muslim League Relief Fund. See also Appendix-vi, p.590.
17 The Pakistan Times, 19th July 1947, ‘Mianwali no-Muslim evacuees return to their places’.
18 The Pakistan Times, 1st August 1947, ‘Gandhi arrives in Rawalpindi’.
19 The Pakistan Times, 1st August 1947, ‘Suggestion for rehabilitation of refugees in Pindi’.
22 The Pakistan Times, 15th August 1947, ‘30 armed trucks to evacuate E. Punjab refugees’.
24 Saleem Ullah Khan, ibid, p.227; The Pakistan Times, 14th August 1947.
27 Ibid.
28 Minutes of the Inter-Dominion Conference, dated 17th August 1947, ibid.
30 The Pakistan Times, 23rd August 1947, ‘Over one lakh persons rendered homeless’, ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 A similar appeal was made by the Pakistan Hindu Mahasaba requesting the Quaid-i-Azam and the Premier Liaquat to visit the riot affected areas in West Punjab; The Pakistan Times, 1st August 1947, ‘League leaders requested to visit Rawalpindi’.
33 Saleem Ullah Khan, The Journey to Pakistan, ibid, p.226.
34 The Pakistan Times, 22nd August 1947, ‘400 refugees reach Pindi’.
35 Saleem Ullah Khan, The Journey to Pakistan, ibid, p.229; The Pakistan Times, 22nd August 1947, ‘Detailed arrangements to cope with refugee problem’.
36 Saleem Ullah Khan, The Journey to Pakistan, ibid, p.229; The Pakistan Times, 22nd August 1947, ‘Detailed arrangements to cope with refugee problem’, ibid.
37 Saleem Ullah Khan, The Journey to Pakistan, ibid, p.230.
38 Ibid.
40 The Pakistan Times, 24th August 1947.
41 The Pakistan Times, 24th August 1947, ‘West Punjab Govt. invites public aid for refugees’.
42 The Pakistan Times, 28th August 1947, ‘Appeal to Muslim students: need to help refugees’.
43 The Pakistan Times, 26th August 1947, ‘No improvement in East Punjab situation so far’.
44 The Pakistan Times, 26th August 1947. The delegation met with the Indian Prime Minister on 23rd August 1947 at Delhi.
45 The Pakistan Times, 27th August 1947, ‘Committee to advice government on refugee issue’.
46 The Pakistan Times, 4th September 1947, ‘Student should help rehabilitation of Punjab refugees’.
47 The Pakistan Times, 4th September 1947, ‘Campbellpur scheme to rehabilitate refugees’.
48 The Pakistan Times, 29th August 1947, ‘Pakistan Army taking over evacuation work: West Punjab Ministers’ Conference with C-IN-C’.
49 The Pakistan Times, 29th August 1947, ‘Pakistan Army taking over…’, ibid.
50 The Pakistan Times, 31st August 1947, ‘Over 4,000 messages broadcast in refugee programme’.

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52 Ibid.

53 *Minutes of the Conference* held on 29th August 1947 between the Prime Minister and Defense Minister of India and the Prime Minister and Communication Minister for Pakistan after completion of their tour of the affected areas of East and West Punjab’ in File No. 19/CF/49, ibid.


58 Ibid.

59 It was suggested by the Governor-General of India Mountbatten that the staffs of the Refugee Commissioners should be increased, so they could send representatives to refugee centres in East and West Punjab, in Government of West Punjab, *Inter-Dominion Agreements: First Installment*, ibid, p.2.


61 *Minutes of the Sixth meeting of the Joint Defence Council* held at Government House, Lahore, on 29th August 1947, in File No. 19/CF/49, Sr.2, ibid, p.3.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid, p.4.

64 Kirpal Singh, *Select Documents*, p.507; File No. 19/CF/49, ibid, *Minutes of the Sixth Meeting the JDC, 29th August 1947*.

65 *Joint Statement* issued by the two Governments after the Lahore Conference on 14th September 1947 in *‘Inter-Dominion Agreements Relating to Matters Arising out of the Cross Migration of Muslim and Non-Muslims from India/Pakistan’*, File No. 19/CF/49, ibid.

66 *Press Communiqué*, dated 15th September 1947 in *‘Inter-Dominion Agreements Relating to Matters Arising out of the Cross Migration of Muslim and Non-Muslims from India/Pakistan’* ibid.


69 *The Pakistan Times*, 3rd September 1947, ‘Lady Mountbatten’s tribute to Muslim lady doctor’.

70 *The Pakistan Times*, 31st August 1947, ‘Lady Mountbatten visits Punjab refugee camps’.


72 *The Pakistan Times*, 30th August 1947, ‘4, 00,000 refugees reach West Punjab till August 29’.

73 *The Pakistan Times*, 31st August 1947.

74 *The Pakistan Times*, 29th August 1947, ‘Refugees’ Corner’.


76 *The Pakistan Times*, 7th September 1947, ‘Muslim girls urged to volunteer for refugee work’.

77 *The Pakistan Times*, 3rd September 1947, ‘Missionaries asked to start relief work in Punjab’.

78 *The Pakistan Times*, 2nd September 1947. Sir Malik Feroz Khan Noon assured the Anglo-Indian community that there would be no distinction between the Muslims and the Anglo-Indian in the
public services of Pakistan. Mr. C.E. Gibbon, the President of the Anglo-Indian Association of Pakistan presented the cheque of 4,000 rupees to Malik Feroz Khan Noon. On the occasion, Noon addressed the gathering and remarked that Muslim League and Pakistan had no territorial ambitions and they had accepted the Boundary Award in sportsmanlike spirit.

81 The Pakistan Times, 3rd September 1947. There were assurances by the British Government officials that the Qadian Centre was safe but the members of the Ahmadiya community were concerned for the safety of their leader Mirza Mahmud Ahmad as no one knew about his whereabouts at that time and Qadian was cutoff with the rest of the world. The Chairman of the London Ahmadiya Mosque Mr. M.A. Bajwa told the press that representations had been made to the Commonwealth Relations Department, to Lord Mountbatten and even to the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Nehru for the protection of their leader and the Qadian Centre at the Gurdaspur District in East Punjab.
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83 The Pakistan Times, 7th September 1947, ‘Pathans urged to help Punjab refugees’.
84 The Pakistan Times, 5th September 1947, ‘Telegram sent by Lahore Editors to Jinnah’.
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87 The Pakistan Times, 3rd September 1947, ‘No more houses in Lahore’.
88 The Pakistan Times, 3rd September 1947, ‘Muslim MLAs plan rehabilitation of refugees’.
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90 The Pakistan Times, ibid.
91 The Pakistan Times, 20th September 1947.
92 The Pakistan Times, 21st September 1947.
93 Saleem Ullah Khan, Journey to Pakistan, ibid, pp.238-239.
94 The Pakistan Times, 9th September 1947, ‘600 extra beds in Mayo Hospital for refugees from Kasur’.
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107 The Pakistan Times, 9th September 1947, ‘Evacuation and welfare of Muslim refugees’.
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171 The Pakistan Times, 7th October 1947. The participant of the Lahore conference included Liaquat Ali Khan; Governor of West Punjab Francis Mudie; Premier West Punjab Khan Ifikhar Hussian Khan Mamdot; Minister for Refugee and Rehabilitation Mian Ifikhar-ud-Din; GOC Lahore Area Major General Key; Secretary West Punjab Refugee and Rehabilitation Department Mr. E. Moss; Secretary Refugee Department Government of Pakistan Mr. Grigson; General Manager North Western Railways Mr. F.M. Khan; Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation Government of India Mr. K.C. Neogi; Minister without portfolio Government of India Mr. Gopalaswami Aiyengar; Chief of General Staff of Indian Army Maj-Gen. K.M. Cariappa; Secretary Government of India Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation Mr. S.K. Kripalani; Mr. Thapar from the East Punjab Government and India’s Deputy High Commissioner in Pakistan Sardar Sampuran Singh.


173 A report made by the Refugee and Evacuation Commissioner Pakistan with the consultation of Secretary Ministry of Evacuation and Rehabilitation, ibid, p. 2 D.

174 Ibid, p.2 E.

175 Ibid.


178 ‘A report made by the Refugee and Evacuation Commissioner Pakistan with the consultation of Secretary Ministry of Evacuation and Rehabilitation, ibid, p. 2 E.


182 Minutes of a Railway Meeting held at M.E.O, the Residency Lahore on 12th October 1947, in Government of West Punjab, Inter–Dominion Agreements: First Installment, ibid.


184 Record of a Conference held at Headquarter Lahore Area on 27th September 1947, ibid.


187 File No. 132/CF/47, ‘loan of aircrafts from U.S.A. for evacuation of Refugees’, National Documentation Wing (NDW), Cabinet Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad; Howard Donovan to George Marshall, No. 184, dated 5th September 1947, U.S. National Archives, 845.00/9-547. Howard Donovan was the American Counselor of Embassy at New Delhi, India and he wrote the aforementioned letter to the Secretary of State Washington Mr. George Marshall; Statesman, 4th September 1947.


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The *Pakistan Times*, 7th November 1947.

Saleem Ullah Khan, *Journey to Pakistan*, ibid, pp. 294-296; The *Pakistan Times*, 7th November 1947; The Civil & Military Gazette, 7th November 1947.

Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation’s Voice: Launching the State and the End of the Journey*, Vol. VII (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 2003), pp.103-105; Saleem Ullah Khan, *The Journey to Pakistan*, ibid, p.295; The *Pakistan Times*, 7th November 1947; The Civil & Military Gazette, 7th November 1947. Jinnah really wanted the refugees to maintain their dignity and respect, therefore he advised the camp officials not to treat the refugees as guests instead he really wanted them to work in the camps. Similar sentiments were shared by the poet Sharif Kunjai in one of his elegy titled “Muhajir” in 1949. For details see Appendix-v, p.589. Another view point by the refugees demanding respect from the locals was narrated by Mr. Hafeez Jullunduri in an elegy titled “Muhajireen Kahu ya Panaghir Kahu”. For text of the elegy please see, Appendix-iv, p.588.


The *Pakistan Times*, 8th November 1947.


Saleem Ullah Khan, *The Journey to Pakistan*, ibid, p.298.

The *Pakistan Times*, 18th November 1947, ‘Restoration of abducted women continues’; Saleem Ullah Khan, *The Journey to Pakistan*, ibid, 299.

The *Pakistan Times*, 21st November 1947.

The *Pakistan Times*, 21st November 1947, ‘Recovery of 252 women and 30 children from Amritsar and their restoration to West Punjab authorities’.

Saleem Ullah Khan, *Journey to Pakistan*, ibid, p.303; The *Pakistan Times*, 24th November 1947.


Ibid.

The *Pakistan Times*, 30th November 1947; Saleem Ullah Khan, *Journey to Pakistan*, ibid, p.305.

Ibid.
The Pakistan Times, 2nd December 1947.


File No. 19/CF/47, ibid, p.13.

W.V. Grigson to All Deputy Commissioners in the West Punjab, dated 2nd December 1947, in File No. F.34 (3)/RR-47, Pakistan Ministry of Refugees, Government of Pakistan; File No. 131/CF/47, ibid; File No. 19/CF/49, ibid.

Grigson to Deputy Commissioners, ibid, p.2.

Saleem Ullah Khan, Journey to Pakistan, ibid, pp.308-309; The Pakistan Times, 3rd December 1947.

The Pakistan Times, 7th December 1947; Saleem Ullah Khan, Journey to Pakistan, ibid, p.309.

Ibid.

The Pakistan Times, 18th December 1947, ‘Refugees dying of cold on roadsides in West Punjab’; Saleem Ullah Khan, Journey to Pakistan, ibid, p.310.

Minutes of the Inter-Dominion Conference held under the Chairmanship of the Honorable Minister for Refugees Pakistan, Lahore dated 6th December 1947, in File No. 19/CF/49, ibid.

Ibid.

‘Decisions regarding the recovery of abducted girls arrived at between the Governments of Pakistan and India at a conference held on 6th December 1947 and subsequent dates’, in File No. 3019-G/64-G, dated 14th January 1948, Category A, 19/CF/49, Sr-8, p.1, National Documentation Wing, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad.

Minutes of the Conference of Prominent Women representatives of Pakistan and of India dominions held at Residency of Begum Shah Nawaz on 12th and 13th December 1947’, in Government of Pakistan, Inter–Dominion Agreements Relating to Matters Arising out of the Cross Migration of Muslim and Non-Muslim From India/Pakistan, ibid, Sr-8, pp.2-3; The Liaison Officer of Punjab Women Volunteer Service (P.W.V.S.) Ms Rabia Sultan Qari sent copies of the Minutes of the Conference to Minister for Refugee, Evacuee and Rehabilitation, Pakistan; Begum Liaquat Ali Khan; Begum Shah Nawaz; Miss Maridula Sarabai; the Chief Liaison Officer Begum Fatima; Deputy High Commissioner for India at Lahore; Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan at Jullundur; Chief Liaison Officer for West Punjab at Jullundur; Chief Liaison Officer for East Punjab at Lahore; Brigadier F.H. Stevens of Military Evacuation Pakistan; Col. Daly; All Commissioners in West Punjab; All Deputy Commissioners in West Punjab and all the District Liaison Officers for West Punjab in East Punjab.

Minutes of the Conference of Prominent Women representatives of Pakistan and of India, ibid, clause II, titled ‘the Administrative Machinery: Diet in the transit camp’.

Minutes of the Conference of Prominent Women, ibid, clauses ‘Air Passage’, ‘Rest Houses’ and ‘Social Workers’.

‘Decisions regarding the recovery of abducted girls arrived at between the Governments of Pakistan and India at a conference held on 6th December 1947 and subsequent dates’, in File No. 3019-G/64-G, dated 14th January 1948, Category A, 19/CF/49,Sr-8, p.1,National Documentation Wing, Cabinet Division, Government of Pakistan.

Minutes of the Conference of Prominent Women representatives of Pakistan and of India, ibid.


Minutes of the Inter-Dominion Conference held under the Chairmanship of the Honorable Minister for Refugees Pakistan, Lahore dated 6th December 1947, in File No. 19/CF/49, ibid.

The Pakistan Times, 21st December 1947, ‘Arrival of the last foot convoy from East Punjab’; Saleem Ullah Khan, Journey to Pakistan, ibid, p.311.

Khan, Journey to Pakistan, ibid, p.312; The Pakistan Times, 21st December 1947.
240 *The Pakistan Times*, 23rd December 1947; Saleem Ullah Khan, *Journey to Pakistan*, ibid, pp.312-14.

241 *The Pakistan Times*, 23rd December 1947. For a pictorial evidence of Muslim evacuation please see appendix no. VII.

242 Saleem Ullah Khan, *Journey to Pakistan*, ibid, p.314.

243 *The Pakistan Times*, 27th December 1947; Saleem Ullah Khan, *Journey to Pakistan*, ibid, p.314.

244 Saleem Ullah Khan, *Journey to Pakistan*, ibid, p.315; *The Pakistan Times*, 27th December 1947.
Chapter Four

First Phase of the Rural and Urban Rehabilitation in the West Punjab: 1948

The year 1947 elapsed mainly in the evacuation of the stranded Muslim refugees from the East Punjab and adjoining States etc. Initially the incoming refugees were stationed in refugee camps built specially for their reception in West Punjab and from there they were dispersed to different areas in the province. Apart from the initial reception, the authorities along with the Pakistan Army especially the Military Evacuation Organisation (MEO) and some voluntary relief organizations like Red Cross, Friends Ambulance Unit had also evacuated refugees from small pockets in East Punjab and adjoining states with special concern for recovery of abducted women and children.

In such an atmosphere the entire nation including women, children and students were trying their utmost to ease the sufferings of traumatized refugees in whatever possible way. Most of the students were working as volunteers in refugee camps all over West Punjab. The working women also felt proud to work along with their menfolk in the noble cause of resettling devastated Muslim refugees. In order to alleviate the sufferings of women refugees, the Punjab Muslim League Women’s Committee launched an extensive relief and medical campaign in the West Punjab camps. The Committee established the Pakistan Women’s Volunteer Service (PWVS) on 25th August 1947 under the president-ship of Begum Ra’na Liaquat Ali Khan. The PWVS channeled their relief effort into four different categories which included the camp corps, the station corps, the hospital corps and the nursing division. The PWVS also established the work parties and distribution
centers to attend to unfortunate refugees who were on route to refugee camps or further on to resettlement areas.

Both the Women’s Relief Committee and the PWVS were based in Lahore at 11, Egerton Road. The agenda of those volunteer organizations was such that just within a week of their establishment more than 250 women and young girls volunteered to work in refugee camps, hospitals and other relief institutions.\(^2\) It was due to the strong character of the leadership which inspired the young women who had never done any physical work in their entire lives to work voluntarily from 8 in the morning till 4 in the afternoon, attending the wounded and traumatized women and young girls. Not only they worked in the refugee camps but also used to go out in trucks along with a magistrate to distribute blankets and warm clothing to shivering refugees on the roadside. The PWVS also managed to induct at least a hundred women workers within just one month of its establishment.\(^3\) The PWVS had launched a Marriage Bureau and a Nursing Training Centre for the refugee women. The response to those institutions was so spirited that hundreds of young girls registered themselves for the nursing courses and there were numerous applications in the Marriage Bureau where persons from the well-to-do local families were facilitated in marrying downtrodden refugee girls. Such dedication to the noble cause earned them the respect to such an extent that Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Pakistan’s Minister for Refugees got in touch with the Women Relief Committee. He formed a group of PWVS volunteers under the leadership of Ms Fatima Begum in order to complete the work of rescuing nearly 50,000 abducted Muslim women from India till 30\(^{th}\) January 1948.\(^4\) As a goodwill
gesture six members of the Women Relief Committee were co-opted with the Indian women’s delegation to assist them in recovery of non-Muslim abducted women in West Punjab. The PWVS also took over the Bahawalpur House to be used as shelter for middle class families and after observing their progress the government also set up an Industrial Home for refugee women and a special institute for recovered women accompanying children at Sir Ganga Ram High School (now Lahore College for Women University) on Jail Road.

Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, President of Punjab Provincial Muslim League in a statement observed that “the Muslim League is doing its duty towards the long term and short term requirements of refugees. While providing for their immediate requirement of food, clothing and shelter, I am not unmindful of the immediate and pressing problem of permanent resettlement of six million refugees from East Punjab.” He further added that against 40 lakh non-Muslim evacuees who had left West Punjab approximately 60 lakh Muslim refugees had entered West Punjab. Out of 12 lakh non-Muslim agriculturists who had left West Punjab about 24 lakh of Muslim agriculturists had entered West Punjab so the resettlement of an extra 12 lakh agriculturist refugees was not possible until and unless there were some drastic land tenure reforms enforced in the province. For that purpose he suggested that the share of landlords be reduced in such a manner that their tenants might be in a position to earn bread and butter for their families by cultivating their share. In his opinion that was the only solution to resettle the surplus 12 lakh agriculturist refugees.
Continued Evacuation

The evacuation of stranded Muslims and non-Muslims continued even in the year 1948. The evacuation parties responsible to locate and transfer the non-Muslims from West Punjab and North-Western Frontiers were well organized and logistically equipped. On the other hand, those assigned to evacuate the stranded Muslims from East Punjab and East Punjab States were not so fortunate. Their movement was sporadic characterized by fits and starts which resulted in imbalance in evacuation. To make thing worse the MEO was disbanded with effect from 10th July 1948 and the police was not capable to cope with the demanding task of relief and restoration. The politicians in the West Punjab especially the former East Punjab legislators felt uncomfortable and bickering amongst them and their counterparts was characterized by accusations and counter accusations. These internal rifts created uncertainty and constant fear of insecurity amongst isolated pockets of stranded Muslims in East Punjab and adjoining states. They were poorly fed with no medical cover resulting in high death rate due to floods and epidemic.

When the West Punjab Government was busy resettling millions of refugees in different places there still remained pockets of unfortunate Muslim evacuees in East Punjab. According to the statement by Col. Nur Khan, Senior Transfer Officer (STO) of MEO Pakistan, approximately three to four thousands Muslim refugees in Gurgaon camps were still waiting evacuation. Their physical condition was miserable and there was a likelihood of increase in daily death rate due to starvation and exposure to severe weather. These refugees included about 40 recovered Muslim women who were to be evacuated through District Liaison
Officer (DLO), Gurgaon. The Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon refused to provide them with food by saying that since it was the duty of DLO therefore he did not provide any food to recovered women for fear of an audit objection. Col. Nur Khan had to financially assist the DLO to save the poor women from starvation.  

The Pakistan Ministry of Communications had set up a “Pakistan Transfer Organisation (PTO)” in order to evacuate Pakistan optees and it was to work under the directions of High Commissioner Zahid Hussain. The main offices of PTO in India were at Delhi and Bombay. In December 1947 and January 1948 the PTO had evacuated around 44,000 optees along with their families from Delhi and United Provinces. Approximately 8,000 employees from United Provinces (UP) were evacuated by sea via Bombay whereas the remaining employees were evacuated by North Western Railways’ special trains. About 14,000 optees were evacuated from Delhi in the like manner.

Mr. K.C. Neogy the Indian Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation stated in Indian Legislative Assembly that around 150,000 non-Muslims had migrated from Bahawalpur and about 70,000 were still there and about one lakh were feared to have been converted or killed. Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Premier of the Bahawalpur State in reply to those allegations rebutted that the non-Muslim population of the State according to the 1941 Census was 221,706 and after considering the increase of population of about 12.5 percent from 1941 to 1947 the number of non-Muslims would have come to approximately 249,198. Out of these about 10,000 non-Muslims included itinerant skilled workers and traders etc who
used to come to Bahawalpur State in September and go out in April/May every year at the end of the cotton season. This section of seasonal workers had left in May 1947 but did not return in September due to the communal disturbances.\textsuperscript{11} The data of the migrated non-Muslims from Bahawalpur suggested that 178,400 non-Muslims had left the State by December 1947. Another 600 were evacuated in January 1948. The total casualties were under 1,500 and about 50,000 non-Muslims still remained in the State.\textsuperscript{12} The State reiterated that it would not recognize forced conversions which were also against the very spirit of Islam. Thus it was unlikely that about one lakh non-Muslims had been killed or converted. Gurmani also stated that he had met Dr. Sushila Nair, the personal representative of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Cross of the International Red Cross who had visited the State and according to their reports hundreds and thousands of non-Muslim casualties in Bahawalpur State was a gross exaggeration.\textsuperscript{13} By mid March 1948 approximately 41 lakh non-Muslims had been evacuated to East Punjab from western Pakistan and according to Mr. Shourie, the East Punjab Deputy Commissioner for Refugees, there remained only 700 non-Muslims in West Punjab.\textsuperscript{14} According to him there were at least 7,500 Muslim refugees in transit camps in East Punjab.

The working relations between the West Punjab and central government had become so strained that Premier Mamdot threatened to resign from the Joint Refugee Council.\textsuperscript{15} The Finance Minister Mian Mumtaz Daultana criticized Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din’s demand for dissolution of Legislative Assembly and holding of fresh elections. Daultana argued that since it was a one-party House of League’s
representatives, there was no point in demanding the dissolution of assembly or to contest new elections. The Premier criticized the ex-Refugee Minister for failing to facilitate Muslim evacuees from East Punjab whereas the non-Muslims in West Punjab had been given all help and support by West Punjab Government. He criticized the restrictions over the Muslim evacuees in going back to East Punjab for fetching their belongings whereas non-Muslims had been allowed to move into and out of West Punjab for removal of their property and its transportation. One such case was reported in Ambala District where a Muslim evacuee lawyer who had gone back to collect his library was murdered by armed gangs. The Pakistan Minister for Refugees Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan disclosed on 20th May 1948 that at least 6,000 Muslim refugees were pouring into Pakistan from India every day. About repatriating Muslims back to India he said that a large number of those repatriated Muslims wanted to rejoin their remaining family members in India. He also stated that Pakistan Government would welcome any non-Muslim wanting to come back to Pakistan as there had been cases of non-Muslims returning to Lahore who had been restored to their houses and business centers. The Minister however criticized Sind Government for not showing adequate responsibility over the rehabilitation issue. But he stated that with the establishment of Pakistan-Sind Council, a refugee & rehabilitation portfolio had also been created in the Sind Cabinet thus hoping that the provincial government would realize her responsibilities towards the national cause.

Ghazanfar while answering the question put by Mr. Nur Ahmad of East Bengal in the Central Legislative Assembly on 26th May 1948 said that till the end of May
1948 West Punjab had absorbed 54.87 lakh refugees from East Punjab and adjoining States, Alwar and Bharatpur etc. He further stated that the number of refugees temporarily settled in West Punjab according to the census was 7.46 lakh, whereas the total number of refugees in camps was 6.41 lakh whereas the refugees in Sind camps were about 24,000. Talking about the expenses the Minister stated that West Punjab had spent Rs. 30,567,880 till March 1948 on the rehabilitation of refugees. As for the recovery of abducted women he said that from 6th December 1947 to 31st March 1948 about 4,741 women and children had been recovered out of which 4,053 were restored to their families and about 529 were still held up in the camps.20 During the session the Premier Liaquat Ali Khan added that out of 556 posts in the ministries, 462 were held by Muslims and 94 by the non-Muslim Pakistanis.21 A Muslim from Malerkotla State was arrested by the police when found guilty of transporting refugees at exorbitant fares in a government truck which he had hired for removal of his personal baggage.22 Mr. M.Y. Khand, the Under-Secretary of the Refugee and Evacuee Department handed over the culprit to the Civil Lines Police Station in Lahore.

A press note issued by the Mr. K.L. Panjabi, Deputy High Commissioner for India in Pakistan on 10th July 1948 announced the withdrawal of MEO India from Lahore. The First Royal Garhwal Rifles and a platoon of 648 G.T. Company returned to India after splendid relief and rescue work in West Punjab.23 The Indian MEO had tirelessly transported Hindus and Sikhs from West to East Punjab and adjoining states and also cleared isolated pockets and recovered abducted women and children in a span of just 10 months. It is noteworthy that the
relationship between both the Indian and Pakistani MEOs was exemplary. Both worked together for a common cause and won the admiration from all and sundry. In that connection a farewell party was held to acknowledge the services of MEOs by Mr. Panjabi, on behalf of the Indian Government. He paid tribute to both the MEOs for their selfless work in both dominions. From the Pakistani side Major General Iftikhar, Mian Nasrullah the Finance Minister West Punjab, Syed Fida Hussain the Home Secretary West Punjab and the representative of MEO Pakistan Col. Sadiq attended the function.\(^\text{24}\) While that entire farewell was going on another refugee train carrying 3,700 Muslims from Karnal, Ambala and Jullundur arrived at Walton camp on 12\(^\text{th}\) July 1948.\(^\text{25}\)

The Indian Government announced introduction of permit system for residents of western Pakistan on 15\(^\text{th}\) July 1948 which was to become operational from 19\(^\text{th}\) July.\(^\text{26}\) It was however mentioned in a communiqué that it would not affect short individual visits by bona-fide officials who would be issued permits freely and swiftly. The people from eastern Pakistan were however exempted from the permit system.\(^\text{27}\) People wishing to come to India from western Pakistan were required to obtain a travel permit from the High Commissioner for India in Pakistan at Karachi or the Deputy High Commissioner or Officer on Special Duty at Lahore. As for the returnees, it was announced that those who wished to return to India to resettle, their permits were to be issued in consultation with the province or state concerned.\(^\text{28}\) Explaining the reasons for imposition of the permit system the communiqué stated that ever since March 1947 riots a lot of Muslims who had earlier fled to Pakistan had started to return in thousands. This one way traffic of
the refugee Muslims had caused complications for the Indian rehabilitation authorities who also had to absorb more than four million non-Muslim evacuees from Pakistan.

According to the communiqué the Government of India had suggested to the Government of Pakistan in mid May 1948 to organize and control the return of the minorities to their ancestral homes on a well planned government basis. The communiqué further stated that it was suggested by the Indian Government that in order to address that issue there should be an inter-dominion conference between the representatives of both countries but unfortunately, there had been little response from the Pakistani Government. In view of these and the unregulated return of Muslims from Pakistan had left the Indian Government with no choice but to introduce a permit system. Accordingly, the Indian National Airways in a notification at Lahore informed that all India bound Muslim passengers from 19th July onwards had to furnish a permit, failing so, they would not be allowed to board the aircraft. This permit system complicated the travel between India and Pakistan. It nearly stopped the people from going back into India for resettlement, business etc. The day it was enforced the 31-seat Indian National Airways aircraft left Lahore for Delhi with only four passengers aboard. But the Indian Deputy High Commissioner’s Office in Lahore was crowded with applicants and by afternoon about 2,100 permit forms had been distributed by the staff. There were three categories introduced for the permits. Firstly, it was the permanent settlement in India; secondly, for temporary visits and finally for foreigners. In this regard the applications for the permanent settlement were to be forwarded by the Deputy
High Commissioner to the provincial government concerned in India for approval. Permits for the temporary visits were to be issued freely as already stated in the communiqué but the applications before submission had to be attested by the Pakistani Officers.32

The Chief Liaison Officer East Punjab in a press conference in Lahore on 7th August 1948 stated that 151 permits had been issued to Muslim evacuees to shift their household items from East Punjab. Apart from that 43 permits had also been issued to Muslim evacuees to remove valuables from safe deposits vaults and lockers. He also mentioned that almost all the applications for the removal of valuables were accepted except for one which involved prohibited items such as machinery.33 The press notes also mentioned that in West Punjab’s “open” districts barring Lahore there were only 33 permits issued for the removal of household items and about 149 for the removal of valuables from lockers.34

The Government of Pakistan also decided to introduce the permit system for people coming to West Pakistan from India. The permit system took effect from 16th October 1948.35 A government press statement announced that the permits would be of four categories namely temporary visits, permanent settlement in Pakistan or return to Pakistan, repeated journeys into Pakistan and for entry in Pakistan as a transit passenger. The higher officials such as the High Commissioner for Pakistan in New Delhi, Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan in Jullundur or any Deputy High Commissioners for Pakistan in India or any such officer appointed by the Government of Pakistan for that purpose had been authorized to issue such permits. Apart from that the Deputy Secretary of the
Interior Ministry Pakistan was authorized for issuing permits to central government officials and the Chief Secretaries to the Governments of NWFP, West Punjab, Sind, and East Bengal were authorized for government servants in their respective provinces. For Baluchistan, the Agent for the Governor-General was authorized to issue permits to government servants in Baluchistan. With the permit system activated, the movement of refugees and other visitors was closely monitored by the authorities. However, a batch of 50 Sikh pilgrims reached Lahore on 15\textsuperscript{th} November 1948 to perform religious ceremonies on the occasion of Guru Nanak’s birthday at the Nankana Sahib at Sheikhupura District in West Punjab. Earlier the East Punjab Government had requested permission for 500 pilgrims but due to certain security reasons the West Punjab Government had only permitted 50 pilgrims. The group was received by the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore Mr. Zafarul Ahsan. Police escort was also provided by the West Punjab Government en route to Nankana Sahib. The group stayed there for four days. The party also hoped that they would visit Pakistan again to offer religious ceremonies at Panja Sahib at Hassanabdal in Attock District.

The Acting President of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) Sardar Basant Singh Moga spoke to the press at Amritsar on 17\textsuperscript{th} November 1948 after returning from their pilgrimage to Nankana Sahib. He stated that, “We had a most pleasant experience during our visit to Nankana Sahib where there was absolutely no visible sign of any hostility by the Muslim crowd which had gathered out side the gurdwara. The attitude of the Pakistan police and people was one of helpfulness”. The group expressed satisfaction over the protection of
**gurdwaras** in Pakistan. While in Pakistan Sardar Basant Singh Moga was reported to have said that the East Punjab Government should also arrange touring of the devotee Muslim pilgrims to holy shrine of Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani at Sirhind Sharif in East Punjab.\(^{38}\)

Meanwhile, the District Magistrate of Lahore issued an order on 4\(^{th}\) December 1948 prohibiting entry into Wagah Zone on the Indo-Pakistan border for a period of two months starting from the date of order.\(^{39}\) However, people owning lands or cultivating lands in the nearby areas, government or railway officers on duty or the persons having valid permits were allowed to enter or leave the area. With the improvement of law and order situation in East and West Punjab an increasing number of migrants visited their ancestral lands on the other side on one pretext or the other thereby creating difficulties for the permit issuing authorities. Establishment of further control in the permit system tended to make such visits a near impossibility.

**Recovery of Abducted Women and Children**

While there was broad understanding between the two dominions on issues effecting movable and immovable properties, recovery and restoration of abductees presented a highly traumatic and emotional problem of far greater significance. Notwithstanding any difference of opinion about the gravity of the problem, there was lack of accord on the method and procedures to be followed by authorities of either side. Many women were “voluntarily” forced to stay on with their abductors because of children born to them and also the consideration that they would be bringing shame for parents and siblings. Many of the unfortunate
abductees after being sexually abused had been sold to pimps and brothel keepers. Even those who did come back to their relative in Pakistan had to suffer social stigmatization. Nevertheless, some God fearing families accepted their traumatized young women with open arms in spite of some women being in family way or with newborn infants. The West Punjab Government was well seized of importance of the plight of Muslim as well as non-Muslim abductees. Therefore, with a view to recovering the non-Muslim women in the province the Punjab Government established a special police force. The formation of this special force in every district comprised one inspector, five sub-inspectors and 14 constables. In that connection, one superintendent of police, one inspector, five sub-inspectors and 14 constables were stationed in Lahore. A special contingent including one DSP along with five sub-inspectors and 14 constables left Lahore for East Punjab on 13th December 1947 to undertake recovery of abducted Muslim women. 40

When Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan estimated the number of abducted Muslim Women in East Punjab to be around 50,000, he was accused of “gross exaggeration” by Dr. Gopichand Bhargava Premier East Punjab. 41 In fact the figures given by Ghazanfar were from the East Punjab and Phulkian States and he had under quoted the actual figure which according to the record available with Pakistan Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation exceeded 53,000. 42 The ministry used to compile the lists of abducted women by mentioning their names, parentage, caste, ancestral village, police station, tehsil, district and place of abduction and also the name of the abductor if known along with the name of the
place where she could be located. So after that much research it was highly unlikely to exaggerate the number of Muslim women abducted in East Punjab.

A deputation of Muslim women led by Begum Liaquat Ali Khan met Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan on 6th January 1948 to discuss the recovery of abducted Muslim women from East Punjab and elsewhere. The meeting discussed different measures for relief and alleviation of recovered Muslim women living in various camps in West Punjab. The Minister gave them a patient hearing and assured them that the government would do every thing for speedy recovery of the abducted women.

Apart from abducted women in East Punjab, a large number of Muslims had been forcibly converted there. According to an estimate prepared by Fatima Begum the Chief Liaison Officer of the West Punjab Government in East Punjab, there were about 45,000 Muslims who had been so converted. There still remained thousands of Muslims stranded in different pockets in Ferozepur Jhirka and Nuh areas in Gurgaon District and from Kharwan in Ambala District. As Chairman of the Recovery of Abducted Women Committee, Raja Ghazanfar made a public appeal in which he included the name of Miss Jinnah as one of the signatories of that appeal without getting her consent or even informing her about the appeal. When Miss Jinnah came to know about this she wrote to the Minister asking him to explain her role with regard to the appeal. She wrote:

I was surprised that my name was announced as one of the signatories of the appeal issued by your committee of which you are the Chairman, to save and secure abducted women, not only without my consent but contrary to my intimation to you.
She however approved the objectives of the appeal but in order to set an example she advised Ghazanfar to get the consent of the people involved before making a public announcement.

The most important issue that was tackled very intelligently by the PWVS was to motivate young girls to join the nurses’ profession. The PWVS trained about 34 nurses and about 42 girl trainees in different centers. Begum Liaquat also appreciated the participation of the work parties in providing warm clothing for the destitute refugees. In addition, the Razai Making Centre, Employment Exchange and the Marriage Bureau were some of the few organizations that got the support from the PWVS. Referring to the misleading rumors about the recovered Muslim women she said that “not a single case had come to her notice in which people had refused to receive the recovered girls and women”. She praised the work done by women liaison officers under the able leadership of Fatima Begum. She also welcomed the formation of two battalions of Pakistan Women National Guards and termed them as a valuable national asset in emergencies.

Mr. Fazlur Rehman, the Pakistan Minister for Interior in a radio talk from Lahore on 23rd February 1948 appealed for public support in recovery of non-Muslim abducted persons. He said:

I appeal on behalf of the Government of Pakistan to every national of Pakistan to do his or her best to restore abducted women and children and thus act in the true spirit of Islam and Pakistan.

Meanwhile both the Indian and Pakistani Governments celebrated a “Restoration of Abducted Women and Children Week” in order to foster cooperation by the masses. In this connection the District Publicity Officer of the Rawalpindi Public Relations Department toured the district and spoke to large gatherings in various
places. He appealed to the people to help in restoring as many abducted non-Muslim women and children as possible.

With a view to provide honorable livelihood to the destitute recovered women the West Punjab Government sanctioned a grant of 64,695 rupees for establishment of an industrial home called the ‘Qasr-e-Istiqlal’ where women were to learn domestic crafts. Qasr-e-Istiqlal was to house 200 refugee women and about 50 children.49 The inmates were to be trained in spinning, sewing, leather goods making and embroidery techniques and were provided free board and lodging.

The Rehabilitation Ministers of India and Pakistan Mr. K.C. Neogy and Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan met on 14th March 1948 in Lahore to discuss the most pressing issues of recovery of abducted women, release of the bank securities in East Punjab and matters relating to evacuee property.50 The ministers also shared views relating to the Muslim soldiers of Patiala State Army who were not yet been evacuated to Pakistan. Besides dedication shown by majority of the civil servants and volunteers there were about 200 reports of misappropriation of evacuee property filed against the officials of different departments in West Punjab.51

The Bahawalpur Government Minister for Refugee and Rehabilitation Mukhdum-ul-Mulk Syed Ghulam Miran Shah in a press conference at Karachi on 10th May 1948 spoke about the progress of ongoing drive to recover abducted women in the State. He told the press that his government did not recognize any forced conversions or marriages and non-Muslims were being treated just as Muslims were in the State. Those non-Muslims who wished to stay in the State and were unwilling to go to India as evacuees were asked to submit an affidavit affirming
their consent to stay on in Bahawalpur. He also admitted that the recovery party inclusive of a State Police Officer, a First Class Magistrate and three officers of the Indian Liaison Organization had complained against some influential locals who had earlier on promised assistance in recovery. The Minister expressed his shock and surprise over the fast being observed by Bibi Amtus Salam, a Gandhi disciple on 4th May 1948 to express dissatisfaction over the lag in recovery work. He termed the fast as unnecessary and unjustified as no complaint had been made by Bibi Amtus Salam or the Liaison Officer or any other person in Bahawalpur State. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan while presiding a meeting of the lady social workers at Lahore on 4th June 1948 urged them to do more in restoration of abducted women and children in order to maintain their integrity as a Muslim nation. On his persuasion, wives of influential leaders toured remote areas of the Punjab for identification and recovery of abducted non-Muslim women and to supervise the ongoing work. There were allegations concerning recovery work on either side of the border. One such complaint was made by an Urdu daily newspaper from Lahore that two Pakistani Women Liaison Officers stationed in East Punjab had been arrested and searched by the East Punjab Police. The East Punjab Government refuted the allegations saying that baseless and unfounded stories being circulated by a section of the Pakistan press were bound to adversely affect the recovery process to which the governments of East and West Punjab were committed. According to their version a recovery party from Pakistan raided one Ghaiya Saini and forcibly removed his wife Amar Kaur whom they stated had been forcibly abducted, converted and later married against her will. The woman

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had originally been a Muslim and had been converted willingly in 1944. Therefore, the police had arrested that recovery party on the complaint by Ghaiya Saini’s younger brother. Later the recovery party was released on bail. They also rejected the allegation by the same paper that recovered Muslim women were being kept in notorious Delhi brothels.\textsuperscript{56} Abduction and rape by ones own community was also reported every now and then. One such incident was reported in July 1948 about a Hindu girl who had been abducted and gang raped by a group of armed Sikhs in Beas. The poor girl was rescued by Rao Bahadur Chaudri Ram Singh the Senior Superintendent of Police.\textsuperscript{57} The police arrested four Sikhs along with three Sikh women who had threatened to kill the girl if she opened her mouth. The raiding party also recovered a number of illicit arms from the abductors.

On 15\textsuperscript{th} July 1948 Ghazanfar before leaving for Iran to take up duties as Pakistan Ambassador presided over the meeting of the Central Advisory Council of Refugees at Lahore. He paid tribute to the Muslim women workers for their dedication and bravery in their recovery work. He also thanked the member of the Council for their support and cooperation. Speaking on the occasion, Maulana Daud Ghaznavi however expressed disappointment over the hygienic conditions in Gurudat Bhawan Refugee Camp at Lahore and shortly the camp commander was questioned about the management of the camp.\textsuperscript{58} The meeting also discussed the desecration of mosques and other holy places in East Punjab and it was decided to bring the matter to the notice of the central government for appropriate action. The very next day Ghazanfar visited the opening ceremony of the exhibition of toys and cotton articles prepared by Lahore Rescued Women’s Home. He expressed
gratification over the progress made by rescued women and declared that Pakistan Government would not rest until the recovery of the last Muslim girl from India. At the same time, he asserted that the only way to bring back all of “our Muslim women was to strive to restore the non-Muslim women now amidst us”.

A sum of 100 rupees was collected from the sale of displayed articles and it was decided to spend the amount on the forthcoming Eid. Many influential personalities including Begum Tasadduq Hussain, Col. S.M.K. Mullick, Miss Mridula Sarabhai, and Miss Rabia Qari attended the exhibition and encouraged the participants.

The forced abductions posed a conundrum to authorities of both sides. Sometimes it was the rigidity of the authorities that hindered the process and sometimes the abductors were influential. Besides, people were too scared to report any abduction or forced marriages. Women recovered from far off areas were lodged in neutral camps. One such camp was located in Jullundur with 160 Muslim recovered women. The Indian Government objected that those women did not want to go to Pakistan however it was agreed in an inter-dominion agreement between the two governments in June 1948 that all such neutral camps would be handed over to Pakistan Liaison Officers and the future of women lodged there would be decided by a tribunal consisting three members each from both governments.

The Chief Liaison Officer Begum Fatima complained that notwithstanding that agreement no such neutral camp had been handed over to Pakistan Liaison Officers nor were the decisions of the said tribunal implemented by the Indian authorities. She further stated that she was harassed by the Indian military at the Amritsar check post and informed that she was under arrest. Not only that, she was also thoroughly
searched by the police. She explained that after her taking charge of three Muslim girls from the neutral camps at Amritsar according to the decision of the tribunal some non-Muslim social workers came to her later that night with military personnel and asked her to hand back the girls. She refused to do so and the military persons accompanying the social workers threatened her that if she did not hand over the girls, she would be arrested. She was later arrested and released after six hours of detention on her way back to Lahore.61

Hazards of Camp Life

The first phase of migration of the Muslim refugees covered their movements from riot affected areas to the concentration areas in East Punjab and further on to reception camps in West Punjab. In the second phase the camp life in West Punjab was not free from trials and tribulations. They had to face many problems like epidemics, malnutrition, floods, severe cold and the unending trauma over the loss of their loved ones. Though the central and provincial governments were using all their resources and good offices to redress the sufferings of the inmates, the camp life was far from comfortable. The Muslim League high command was very much concerned over the well being of both the migrating non-Muslim evacuees and the incoming Muslim refugees. Deeply affected by the plight of the sufferers, the Quaid-i-Azam along with Miss Fatima Jinnah and M.A. Khuhro the Prime Minister of Sind visited the Hindu refugee camps at Karachi on 9th January 1948.62 The entourage included Major General Akbar Khan, G.O.C. Sind Area; Mr. Kazim Raza, Additional Inspector General of Police; Mr. R.A. Mahamadi, District Magistrate and Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanjee Mehta. Jinnah toured riot affected
places and also warned mischief mongers amongst Muslim refugees against
looting of non-Muslim property. He said:

I quite understand the feeling of the Muslim refugees and those who
have suffered, and they have my fullest sympathy, but they must
restrain themselves and act as responsible men, and not abuse the
hospitality that has been extended to them and forget all that is being
done for them to make their lot happier. I once more want to impress
upon all Muslims that they should fully co-operate with the
Government and the officials in protecting their Hindu neighbours
against these lawless elements, fifth-columnists and the cliques who
are responsible for creating these disturbances, and restore trust and
confidence amongst all communities.63

Later that day Jinnah was taken to the Swami Narayan Mandir in Karachi where
two thousand non-Muslims had taken refuge. Upon his arrival in the mandir Jinnah
was garlanded by three swamis of the Ram Krishna Mission. He expressed his
grief and sorrow over the loss of non-Muslim property and evacuation and assured
them of doing every thing possible to protect the interests of the non-Muslim
community in Sind. The party was then taken to another non-Muslim refugee camp
at the D.J. Sind College. During his visit the Quaid-i-Azam made personal
inquiries from the inmates and assured them that everything possible would be
done by the Pakistan Government in order to protect, feed and evacuate the non-
Muslim evacuees to India.64

The West Punjab Government had provided full access to international relief
organizations and observers in visiting the refugee camps and gain first hand
information. A group of United Nation’s Relief & Rehabilitation Agency
(UNRRA) visited refugee camps to study the conditions of the inmates on 17th
January 1948.65 The representatives included Miss Molly Flynn and Mr. E.
Barger.66 Miss McQueen, the Honorary Secretary of the Punjab Red Cross
accompanied the representatives of UNRRA to the Shahdara, Bowli and Walton refugee camps. They inquired from the refugees and the camps’ officials and collected data on the rehabilitation.

Major General Abdul Rahman, Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner in India went round inspecting camps at Ludhiana, Ambala, Karnal and Panipat where the rescued Muslim abducted women and recovered converts were kept. He reported that there were about 5,336 abducted women and 45,931 converts in Karnal District alone who had also been subjected to humiliation and torture.67

Begum Liaquat Ali Khan in a press conference in Lahore on 7th February 1948 praised the work done by the women relief organizations in providing shelter, food and clothing etc to the traumatized women. She said:

By putting their shoulder to the wheel during the critical days after the partition, women of Islam had added a glorious chapter to the history of the nation’s struggle for freedom.68

She specially mentioned that the Pakistan Women Volunteers Service (PWVS) had been formed on 26th September 1947 to include West Punjab women in the gigantic task of relief and rehabilitation.69 The response to the PWVS was so great that between the months of September 1947 to February 1948 there were about 300 women volunteers working in the province. Apart from PWVS there were other women relief organizations at the Sir Ganga Ram High School which had accommodated about 2,000 women and children. Bahawalpur House also sheltered 42 families and an industrial school with 200 women. Another Rescue Home had sheltered about 200 women.70

A group of 21 refugee legislators had been incorporated in the West Punjab Assembly through an ordinance by the Governor-General of Pakistan.71 They
severely criticized the rehabilitation policy in the West Punjab Government by pointing out the lack of cooperation between the central and the provincial governments in rehabilitation work. They also spoke against the condition of the refugee camps in West Punjab stating that the camp refugees at times had gone without food, shelter or even the essential medical aid. The leader of the refugee MLAs group Ch. Muhammad Hussain urged the government to own the Rajput and Meo refugees. He also demanded speeding up of the prisoner exchange program. Sufi Abdul Hamid opposed the plan to send refugees to Sind fearing that the Sind Government was reluctant to receive the refugees. He stated that if the government was unable to keep them in West Punjab they would rather go back to India and face death. Rao Khursheed Ali Khan said that if the committee for checking allotments had been established as planned and had done its job properly there would have been sufficient land available in the West Punjab province and a large number of refugees would have been absorbed there. Another member of the group Ch. Nasrullah was unhappy with what he called “un sufficient” grant for the rehabilitation in the central budget for the year 1948-49 and asked for its increase. Referring to the amount of four crore rupees reserved for refugees in provincial budget he stated that the said amount when distributed would come to six and half rupees per refugee per annum which could not be regarded as satisfactory. He urged the government to absorb the surplus 2 lakh refugees in West Punjab instead of pushing them out to other provinces.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan along with his wife visited Ganga Ram Refugee Home in Lahore on 7th April 1948. They were also
accompanied by Miss McQueen and Miss Mudie. The party was received by Mrs. R.F. Craster, wife of the Military Secretary to Governor West Punjab, and the Lady Superintendent of Ganga Ram Home Begum Zaka-ud-Din Khan. The party visited the cotton thread ball factory where more than 120 refugee women were employed on 40 rupees per month. The delegation also visited Ganga Ram Refugee Hostel, the hospital, school and the health centre and expressed their satisfaction on the working and general conditions there.

A police–refugee clash occurred in the Bowli camp about eight miles east of Lahore on 16th April 1948. The clash resulted in the death of two Ranghar Rajput refugees and injuring eight persons including four policemen. Both the parties allegedly used firearms. According to the police version the clash started when the refugee insisted on eating beef which had been declared injurious to health by the Sanitary Inspector who later reported the matter to the police. In response the police had caught one refugee and taken him to the police post. The trouble started when his fellow Ranghars surrounded the police post and wanted to set it on fire. In order to disperse the crowd a constable opened fire which resulted in the death of one of the protestors and in retaliation to which the refugee protestors also opened fire injuring one policeman. The DSP immediately rushed to the spot. His car was surrounded by refugees and the police fired in self-defense killing another refugee. The dispersing refugee however managed to snatch two police rifles and a roznamcha from the police.

The camp refugees came out with their own version. The leader of the Rajput refugees from Panipat and Karnal Mr. Rahim Khan, a seventy-year-old man stated
that in protest against the police savagery, the Bowli camp refugees had decided not to draw rations from the depot and wanted to return to India. He stated that “it is better to go back to India and get killed at the hands of the Hindus than to rot here and suffer the police brutality”. Referring to the firing incident he stated that the refugees wanted to slaughter a cow for eating beef. The police asked for their share in the meat. The refugees were willing to give them a due share but the police wanted to have a bigger chunk which the refugees could not afford. The police later took the animal with them along with one refugee. The refugees surrounded the police post in order to get their animal back and to free their comrade. The police suddenly opened fire killing one refugee and injuring many others. The Rajput leader also complained that they had been rotting in the camp for the last five months without adequate food or any land for rehabilitation; therefore, they had decided to go back to India. The Government’s version was that the Sanitation Officer had embargoed cooking of beef in the camp and his presence meant that the arrangements for shelter, food and sanitation were satisfactory. But to contradict the official version a half starved group of refugees dressed in the same ragged clothes that they had been wearing for months went to the office of daily *The Pakistan Times* on 17th April 1948 along with some plates of cooked rice that they wanted to show. The cooked item was the cheapest quality of rice, half cooked and without any spices or any other ingredient except dirt. It was so smelly that it could never have been approved fit to serve in the refugee camp by a member of the sanitation committee, had there been any.
The Muslim refugees from the isolated pockets in East Punjab brought amongst them some cholera sufferers to the West Punjab camps. In order to cope with the epidemic, the government started spraying the refugee camps and also used aeroplanes for that purpose. In order to inoculate a large number of people in the camps and surrounding areas 192 specially trained inoculators were hired and at the same time arrivals from East Punjab were required to get themselves inoculated at the nearest health centers. The outbreak kept the authorities busy in treatment of infected patients and the inoculation of vulnerable. In Walton camp alone about 500 patients were under treatment. Right from the beginning of the outbreak in the camps on 4th April 1948 till the end of that month there were about 1,100 cases of cholera in Walton Chinese Barracks, Aerodrome and Model Town camps out of which 110 proved to be fatal. With the start of May 1948 the temperature started to rise. It became difficult for the authorities to keep a moderate temperature with fans in the barracks with corrugated iron roofs. The camp authorities inoculated one and half lakh refugees in Walton Camp and were trying to vaccinate another one lakh in Bowli, Shahdara and Ravi Road camps.

The British High Commissioner in Pakistan Sir Laurence Grafftey Smith accompanied by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan visited the Rescued Women’s Home in Lahore on 24th April 1948. The party was informed that there were 5,600 rescued women out of which around 5,000 had been handed over to their relatives in West Punjab and the remaining 600 were housed there. The High Commissioner was satisfied with the housing facilities for the refugee women and specially the
weaving machines and the installation of the spinning wheels for their employment.

A group of 500 Rajput refugees demonstrated in front of the Punjab Secretariat in Lahore on 30th June 1948. They criticized the government for not being able to solve their rehabilitation problem even after keeping them in camps for more than nine months. They complained about the sanitary and food conditions in the camps which according to them were unbearable. They demanded district-wise rehabilitation if the government really wanted to stop the situation from deteriorating further. Meanwhile, the West Punjab Government had provided an incentive to the students to work in the refugee camps for six months so as to get their degrees completed in lieu of period served in the camps. There was a reported theft in the records of the West Punjab Muslim Student Federation which was perceived by some that the government was not interested in giving the students their degrees which had been promised. In this connection Zia-ul-Islam the President of the PMSF assured the students that they would get their degrees shortly. He advised the candidates to furnish fresh applications.

In order to maintain a record of the refugees in camps the government announced holding a census in the West Punjab. Accordingly, all unsettled refugees were asked to stay in camps where refugee families were to be issued special identity cards on 4th July 1948. The government also insisted that it would accommodate only fresh arrivals in camps from India and those in possession of ID cards were to be allowed to draw rations. Thus it was in their own interest to stay in camps unless directed to leave.
The government had planned to resettle the camp refugees within two months onwards from mid July 1948. Since the census had been taken in the refugee camps and ID cards issued to the inmates so only those having ID cards or the new arrivals were allowed to stay in the camps. According to the plan, a responsible camp official was to escort refugees to their place of settlement and was required to stay with them until they were rehabilitated in the evacuee’s houses and were in possession of agricultural lands for cultivation. The said official was also to liaise between the refugee settlers and the local administration and local community to ensure that the settlers were not harassed.

There were some reservations amongst the refugees with regard to the hardships faced by them by staying on in the refugee camps. Abdul Hamid Khan Soofi, MLA West Punjab Assembly held a press conference over that issue at Lahore on 24th July 1948. He criticized the rehabilitation progress as thousands who had temporarily been accommodated in muffasil areas were returning to the Lahore camps on the plea that they had been poorly rehabilitated. If they were allotted lands for cultivation, there were no residential houses and where accommodation was provided, there was no adequate ration. The refugees therefore were returning to Lahore camps to consume the ration meant for camp inmates. He further accused that refugees in Bowli Camp were being refused ration on frivolous grounds and during the last fortnight around 1,000 people were starving and to make it even worse, it was next to impossible for them to approach the camp commandants or the high officials of the Refugee Ministry. The MLA was of the view that the camp authorities were using mean tactics just to discourage the
returning refugees and the inmates. He warned the authorities against serious consequences for which the West Punjab Government would be held responsible.\textsuperscript{90} There were conflicting reports about an attack on the protesting refugees by the police. Both parties had their own version of the event. According to the official version a refugee procession was formed on 5\textsuperscript{th} August 1948 in Multan.\textsuperscript{91} The procession provocatively demonstrated and shouted indecent slogans. The local officials tried to defuse the situation by urging the procession leaders to disperse. While the negotiations were still under way another procession was formed which threatened to become violent. Failing to disperse the procession which was termed as an unlawful assembly the police brought the situation under control by a mild lathi-charge during which three or four processionists and two or three policemen sustained injuries.\textsuperscript{92}

A meeting of the refugee legislators was held in Lahore on 9\textsuperscript{th} August 1948 in which the participants decided to form an independent bloc within the existing Muslim League party. The group wanted to pressurize the government in favor of their district-wise rehabilitation demand. They invited their sympathizers to join the group. The meeting resented allotment of evacuee factories to local capitalist businessmen. The meeting condemned the lathi-charge and firing on procession and appointed a committee to investigate the incident under the chairmanship of Ch. Fateh Mohammad Sial.\textsuperscript{93} As for the district-wise demand it was opposed by Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, the representative of urban interests amongst the refugees. It was therefore agreed that their demand would not apply to the urban refugees or in cases of transitory agriculturist laborers.\textsuperscript{94}
Refugees engaged in different menial professions were getting politically restive for protection of their rights. They had formed small unions of work based organizations and were out on the roads time and again to pressurize the officials. One such refugee organization was called the Anjuman-i-Khowanchan Faroshan headed by a fiery speaker Maulvi Abdullah who claimed to speak for 15,000 hawkers. He addressed a gathering of 100 hawkers who had collected in front of The Civil & Military Gazette compound Lahore on 5th August 1948. He stated that refugees working as hawkers had been harassed by the government officials and were being forced out of their jobs. He warned that if their grievances were not redressed the Anjuman would resort to direct action.

Meanwhile, the Shahdara Refugee Camp was declared unhygienic and unsanitary and its inmates were asked to shift to Wah Refugee Camp near Rawalpindi. Some of them who had found jobs in the Lahore city and were earning good wages did not want to leave the camp and were pressurizing other refugees so that the authorities might not close the camp which was threatened with an epidemic. After a week long deadlock about 500 refugees were amenable to shift to Wah refugee camp. The spokesman of the West Punjab Refugee Department hoped that more refugees would agree to move out of the camp. Two bogies carrying refugees were attached to a train leaving for Rawalpindi on 11th August 1948. The spokesman also indicated that the Ravi Road refugee camp would likewise be closed down.

The refugee women in camps were kept busy learning different small businesses such as making durries, toys, niwar, hand fans and baskets by expert refugee women. Not only they were learning skills but at the same time they were being
paid for their work. They were encouraged by the announcement that their products would be displayed in an exhibition. A working group of about 300 women was given the task of mending and repairing donated clothes so that they were fit to be distributed.\textsuperscript{98} Amongst the refugee women those who knew knitting were provided with free cotton and wool from the refugee department. In addition, a thread ball factory was set up at the Ganga Ram Refugee Home to enable the orphan women to be self supportive.

Rao Khurshid Ali Khan, refugee legislator and an accredited leader of Rohtak Rajputs was arrested under section 3 of the Punjab Safety Act on 24\textsuperscript{th} August 1948.\textsuperscript{99} In retaliation to his arrest about 50,000 Ranghar refugees from race course camp in Montgomery took out a huge procession in defiance of the Punjab Public Safety Act. The processionists were armed with firearms, spears and \textit{lathis} and were threatening to turn violent. They even tried to attack a police station at Saddar area. A police constable was manhandled by the mob that snatched his loaded rifle. In view of the situation a \textit{lathi}-charge was made under the directions of Mr. Irshad Hussain Shah Magistrate Section 30 who was present at the scene along with the Superintendent of Police. Tear gas was also used to disperse the procession but it was of no use, instead a member of the procession fired a shot. The police responded by firing warning shots. This triggered the already tense situation which resulted in injuries to a couple of police constables. The processionists shouted provocative slogans that they had come to kill and die. The police realized that they would be overwhelmed in short time so an announcement was made that if the procession did not disperse immediately the police would open fire.\textsuperscript{100} As the
announcement did not have the desired effect the police fired some volleys to disperse the processionists. A ceasefire was soon ordered and when the ground was cleared the police collected five dead bodies and seven injured people who were sent to civil hospital for treatment. The police also arrested ten processionists under section 19 of the Punjab Safety Act. According to a Special Representative of the daily *The Civil & Military Gazette*, there were about 11 fatal causalities and about fifty processionists were seriously injured during the clash. Soon after the incident the police reinforcement along with armed cars arrived on the scene under the supervision of Deputy Inspector General of Police West Punjab Mr. W.D. Robinson. The police surrounded the Race Course where the firearms had allegedly been dumped by the refugees. It was stated that the incident took place because Rao Khurshid had instigated his clansmen. Rumors were already rife there that the disturbance at Montgomery was due to a disagreement between the district authorities and the refugee leader who had been deprived of his residential quarters.

Following the clashes, a three-man inquiry committee was formed by refugee legislators on 26th August 1948 at Lahore to investigate the unfortunate incident. The committee included Choudhary Ali Akram Khan, Maulvi Ahmad Jan and Choudhary Wali Muhammad Gauheer. It was later stated that the government had not appointed such a committee. The Deputy Inspector General of Police West Punjab Mr. W.D. Robinson shortly got in touch with about 100 prominent refugee representatives from the Race Course camp on 25th August 1948. The refugee leaders agreed that there should be searches in the camps for recovery of arms.
However, Raja Hassan Akhtar, the Deputy Commissioner of Montgomery denied any untoward incident at Montgomery saying that the refugees were calm and were soon to be transferred out.\textsuperscript{106} The refugees who had earlier refused rations at the Walton Camp came to regret their action and distribution of ration was resumed.

The West Punjab Government in order to save embarrassment came up with an explanation over the loss of lives in Montgomery. They accused Rao Khursheed for inciting the refugees for not cooperating with the authorities and to resist the refugee census in camps for regulating the supply of rations and permanent rehabilitation.\textsuperscript{107} It was due to his influence that the Ranghars remained in the camps and those rehabilitated on land had been persuaded to return to camps thereby causing trouble for the inmates. The Ranghars, according to government sources, under instruction from Rao Khursheed had refused to be enumerated and also threatened the enumerators.

A press note blamed the Ranghar refugees for unrest in Multan a few days earlier when police made a \textit{lathi}-charge injuring two or three protestors. Further it stated that Rao Khursheed had exploited the incident by visiting refugee camps. He was alleged to have told the refugees that about thirteen refugees had been killed and many injured. He also told the refugees that the medical authorities had refused to admit the wounded in hospitals.\textsuperscript{108} The authorities believed that he had incited the Ranghar refugees by saying that according to their Rajput tradition they should defy the police orders by force. In one refugee camp he was reported to have asked the refugees to attack the police even if they tried to arrest him.\textsuperscript{109} Thus the
incident at Montgomery had been a result of deliberate planning. On 25th August 1948 an emergency meeting of refugee legislators took place at Lahore which unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the arrest of Rao Khursheed and also appointed a four-man inquiry committee to investigate the Montgomery incident. Important to note here is that Maulana Abdus Sattar Niazi MLA the convener of the Muslim League Khilafat-e-Pakistan Group also criticized the arrest of Rao Khursheed Ali Khan. Niazi considered it to be a breach of the privileges of the West Punjab Muslim League parliamentary party. He urged other members of the party to convene an immediate session to discuss the privileges of the members and other problems of rehabilitation. On 26th August 1948, the police searched the camps for illicit arms but failed to recover any ammunition despite the fact that Ranghars had allowed the police to search within a 24-hour notice. The police could not even recover the rifle that had been snatched from a police constable on the night of the incident. The police believed that the refugees had buried their weapons in the camps and had been keeping a close vigil. The magistrate over seeing the operation forbade the refugees to leave the camps during the night hours.

The provincial government however accused the four-member committee of being biased. It was stated that the Ranghars had many ex-servicemen amongst their ranks and were trying to contact Ranghar soldiers in the Pakistan army in order to win support for the district-wise rehabilitation and for the release of Rao Khursheed by that time. The army had resettled 7,000 Ranghar families from the camps. Meanwhile the inquiry committee comprising four refugee legislators
retuned to Lahore from Montgomery on 26th August and submitted a detailed report to their leader Ch. Muhammad Hassan who later on released it to the press. The report concluded the firing by the police to have been unwarranted which could have been avoided. It accused the government for giving a distorted version of the event. The report stated that the refugees were unarmed and had no intention of freeing Rao Khursheed Ali Khan by force. According to that report the Ranghar refugees had buried 22 dead bodies whereas the police had buried only four carcasses.\textsuperscript{113} The over riding conclusion was that the authorities’ aggression had been “pre-arranged” and pre-planned. The report noted that all the high district officials including the Deputy Commissioner, Additional Deputy Commissioner, Additional District Magistrate, the Revenue Assistant and Colony Assistant etc were deliberately absent except Syed Irshad Hussain, a newly appointed Magistrate who made the matters worse.\textsuperscript{114} It found the accusations against the refugees to be all baseless and frivolous. The only purpose of the procession was to peacefully demand district-wise rehabilitation and to impress upon the government to release Rao Khursheed Ali Khan. The inquiry committee concluded that heavy deployment of police was a proof that the firing incident was preplanned action under the direction of the district authorities and apart from that no medical aid had been provided to the injured demonstrators till next morning. The report also mentioned that W.D. Robinson the D.I.G. West Punjab despite a thorough search of the camp for concealed weapons had failed to find any but did not share that information with the inquiry committee.\textsuperscript{115} The report was signed by Choudhary Ali Akbar, Mian Bagh Ali Sukhera, Choudhary Wali Muhammad Goheer and the
Chairman Mian Ahmad Jan. Copies of the report were distributed to the Governor-General Quaid-i-Azam, Premier Liaquat, Governor Mudie, Pakistan Minister for Refugees, Premier Mamdot of West Punjab and his cabinet members.\textsuperscript{116} The deputation was also planning to leave for Ziarat at Quetta to appraise the Quaid-i-Azam. In this connection an emergency meeting of the refugee legislators was held in Lahore on 31\textsuperscript{st} August 1948 in which the report was adopted by a resolution. It was also demanded in the meeting that strict action be taken against all those who were directly or indirectly responsible in the firing incident. A four-member delegation comprising Ch. Ali Akbar, Mian Bagh Ali, Sufi Abdul Hamid and Sheikh Sadiq Hassan left for Karachi by train the same day to meet the Premier Liaquat and the Minister for Refugees Raja Ghazanfar in Karachi. After their meeting the delegation had intended to go to Ziarat to meet the Quaid.\textsuperscript{117}

**Urban and Rural Settlement in Punjab**

With the advent of independence, the young nation was faced with a grim calamity. The holocaust of Muslims in East Punjab and Delhi and their flight into West Punjab posed three dimensional crises for Pakistan Government including humanitarian, administrative as well as financial. Appalled by colossal disaster the Quaid counseled the nation to live “on an austerity basis in respect of food, clothing and other amenities” and to “stint no sacrifice or effort” to come forward with generous contributions” to the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund.\textsuperscript{118} The Quaid was very much encouraged with the positive response shown by fellow Pakistanis and overseas residents in response to his appeal.
Muslims abroad in general and the Pakistanis in particular had donated generously in the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund (QARF) for the relief and rehabilitation of refugees in Pakistan. In order to render the whole system transparent and to let the public know that their donations were being utilized where it was most needed, the Central Committee of the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund issued a press note listing details of its expenditures. One lakh rupees had been allotted to the West Punjab Committee of the Fund to be used at its discretion, six lakh rupees to be used for the purchase of warm clothing for refugees, five lakh rupees for the import of 1, 03,000 blankets from England and one million fifty thousand rupees for local procurement of *razais*. The QARF also allocated 1, 68,000 rupees to the West Punjab for the manufacture of warm clothing etc within the province. An amount of 13, 15000 rupees was allocated to various minor projects for refugee relief. The Central Committee also sent 50,000 blankets and *razais* to the refugees in West Punjab.\(^{119}\) Apart from QARF, the people of Pakistan also donated warm clothing and blankets generously for distribution amongst the deserving refugees in camps and those en route to different places.

By early January 1948 the Refugee Relief Fund exceeded ten million rupees and the donations were still pouring in.\(^{120}\) In his message on 14th January 1948 Jinnah thanked the donors from all over the world observing:

> The response of the people of Pakistan and from outside to my appeal of September 12, 1947 for contribution to the Quaid-i-Azam Relief fund has been magnificent. The fund has already passed the one crore (ten million) mark and contributions are still pouring in. It is a matter for gratification that donations have been received from all classes and all communities.\(^{121}\)
He further stated that though the majority of the refugees had been rehabilitated, there were still many more in dire need of relief so the sympathizers and relief workers, donors should keep up the good work that they had been doing. He specially thanked the people and governments of USA, UK, South Africa and the Muslim countries for their support and generous donations.  

An Information Bureau was set up in the office of the Director of Public Instruction with a view to rehabilitate refugee teachers and educationists. Responding to the call about 3,428 refugee teachers applied for posting to local based or Islamia Schools in West Punjab. The government had managed to absorb 3,320 refugee teachers by 31st December 1947. The government also sanctioned a grant of 4,612 rupees for needy refugee teachers as interest free loans and at the same time 13 out of 16 uprooted Islamia Schools of East Punjab had been rehabilitated in West Punjab. The government was keen to utilize the buildings that had been used as refugee shelters to be used as schools for refugee students. In that regard the government also sanctioned 5,000 rupees for such type of schools to be set up. The MAO College at Gujranwala was set up to accommodate the faculty and students of three Islamia Degree Colleges in East Punjab.

In an effort to harmonize district-wise rehabilitation, Raja Ghazanfar met the West Punjab District Liaison Officers in Lahore on 22nd February 1948 to discuss refugee evacuation from small pockets in different places in India, recovery of abducted women and forcibly converted Muslims from East Punjab. Meanwhile with a view to appraise the relief work by Red Cross in India and Pakistan, Dr. O.M. Wenger, a delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross in
Geneva arrived in Karachi from Delhi during the last week of January 1948. During his short stay he called upon the Quaid-i-Azam on 26th January and Minister Ghazanfar Ali Khan on the following day. Dr. Wenger was required to stay in India and Pakistan till March and then return to Geneva to report on the refugee problem as handled by authorities in the two dominions. The object was to assess the requirement of relief items needed by the camp authorities.

The Refugee Ministry stated that by the end of January 1948 around 32 lakh refugees had been resettled in both the urban and rural areas of West Punjab. About 5 lakh refugees had been sent to villages for shelter only. About 12,000 were still lingering in West Punjab camps. In order to maintain a record of all the refugees in Sind, Bahawalpur State, NWFP and West Punjab, a census was to be undertaken from March till mid April 1948. Raja Ghazanfar observed that there was a likelihood of the West Punjab absorbing another two to three lakh refugees if needed. He stated that while acute food situation and the poor health of refugees had been aggravated by the cholera epidemic, the positive thing was that the agriculturists had sown all the wheat fields which by next month of May would yield a bumper harvest.

In a debate in the West Punjab Assembly over the West Punjab Muhajir Cess Bill on 27th January 1948, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, the President of the West Punjab Provincial League supported the bill and criticized the collection by the government agencies of QARF saying that it was against the manifesto of the Muslim League. Premier Punjab Mamdot rebutted that the people had donated voluntarily and no forced collections had been made by any government.
machinery. Malik Feroz Khan Noon also criticized the process alleging that the officials collecting donations did not give any receipts which made the whole process quite dubious. Begum Shahnawaz of the Women’s League Committee too spoke against the collection of funds by the Deputy Commissioners.\textsuperscript{128}

In the first week of February 1948 Makhdum-ul-Mulk Ghulam Miran Shah the Refugee Minister of the Bahawalpur Government had announced allotment of 25 acres of land to every refugee family in the State. He stated that out of 3 lakh refugees 175,000 had been rehabilitated on agricultural lands. He promised \textit{taccavi} loans to agriculturist refugees for buying bullocks, carts and other equipments to be used in the cultivation.\textsuperscript{129} He also announced launching of a scheme to classify refugees according to their professions so as to absorb them in the categories most suited to them.

The West Punjab Committee of the QARF arranged to manufacture and distribute around 115,000 \textit{razais} among the refugees through the Deputy Commissioners. The Central Committee had already sanctioned 12.5 lakh rupees to the West Punjab branch for relief work by February 1948.\textsuperscript{130} In addition a large quantity of blankets purchased or donated by the general public was also distributed. Keeping in view the requirement for the winter clothing the Central Committee of the QARF specially sanctioned 150,000 rupees for purchasing 45,000 items of warm clothing for distribution amongst the refugees. Besides financial support the Central Committee also allocated about seven lakh yards of coarse cloth to the West Punjab Committee for sewing clothes for refugees. In order to distribute the \textit{razais} and winter clothing to refugees outside refugee camps, the Central
Committee sanctioned purchase of 12 lorries at the cost of one lakh rupees from the Messrs General Motors along with a station wagon for relief work.\textsuperscript{131} Displaced Muslim lawyers had had to wait for their quota of evacuee houses or chambers for resumption of their professional work. However, in terms of priority they came after the government servants and even small businessmen. The West Punjab Government in its wave of educational rehabilitation allotted 13 against original 16 schools abandoned in East Punjab. The reestablished schools were given a grant of 5,000 rupees per month for a period of five months and the government also encouraged 16 local schools to accommodate refugee students by offering them incentives of shifting them to larger evacuee buildings along with the special grants.\textsuperscript{132} Two out of three Islamia Colleges that had been closed down in East Punjab were reopened in Lahore and Gujranwala along with requisite facilities.

In super-session of the Punjab Ordinance No. IV of 1947, the Governor-General of Pakistan promulgated ‘West Punjab Disturbed Areas Ordinance’ on 18\textsuperscript{th} February 1948 giving special powers to armed forces whereby any commissioned, non-commissioned or warrant officer of the armed forces was empowered to arrest any person, enter and search any building without any warrant. The Ordinance also provided that there could be no suit or legal proceedings against any authority of the provincial government for implementing the said Ordinance.\textsuperscript{133}

The West Punjab had received 59.26 lakh Muslim refugees as compared to 38.08 lakh non-Muslims evacuees who had left. The surplus Muslim refugees included 13.10 lakh agriculturists, 6.93 lakh rural non-agriculturists and about 1.15 lakh
urban non-agriculturists. As for the evacuee lands, the non-Muslims left about 48.36 lakh acres in West Punjab whereas the Muslim refugees had left 71.14 lakh acres in East Punjab and elsewhere.\textsuperscript{134} Thus the West Punjab Government was finding it difficult to squeeze approximately 12 lakh surplus refugees on land much less in area than that which they had left behind.

By first week of March 1948 the provincial government had managed to resettle approximately three million agriculturist refugees and nearly two lakh rural non-agriculturists. Most of the refugees were resettled on the evacuee property left by the non-Muslims or on the Crown cultivated land including that in Thal area. According to the official data 1,244 \textit{patwaris} and 102 \textit{kanungos} who had earlier opted for service in West Punjab were absorbed successfully.\textsuperscript{135} Similarly the lower Muslim staff from Commissioner and Deputy Commissioners’ offices from East Punjab was also absorbed in the like offices in West Punjab. The West Punjab Government also instituted a program to accommodate and feed the refugee cultivators which involved the sowing of some of the Crown land. Accordingly, the thrashed crop was to be shared between the cultivator and the government except in case of the cotton which was to be sold and the cash was to be shared between the government and the cultivators.\textsuperscript{136} Those intended farms were to be supervised by managers assisted by competent staff. Cooperative farming on the canal colonies of the West Punjab was also prioritized by the government. In this connection “\textit{chaks}” like in Nili Bar and Haveli Project Colonies were selected for the proposed scheme.\textsuperscript{137} The government also withdrew concessions to the retired or retiring civil officials for buying Crown lands in the Nili Bar on market prices.
so as to conserve agricultural lands for the rehabilitation purposes. Due to communal disturbances the supplies of unstitched cloth in West Punjab had run out. So the government imported 9,000 bales from Bombay and Ahmadabad in March 1948 for distribution amongst the refugees at the scale of four yards per person.\textsuperscript{138}

The Governor-General of Pakistan through a West Punjab Legislative Assembly Order on 11\textsuperscript{th} March 1948 announced that Muslim legislators of East Punjab constituencies before 15\textsuperscript{th} August 1947 were deemed to have become members of the West Punjab Legislative Assembly.\textsuperscript{139} These persons were required to resign from the Indian Legislative Assembly membership within twenty days of the announcement which was welcomed by the members of the Muslim League party in East Punjab Assembly who termed it as a ‘happy gesture’ by the Government of Pakistan. Rana Nasrullah Khan the Secretary of the Muslim League party in East Punjab Assembly remarked:

\textit{The Governor-General by passing the Ordinance incorporating the Muslim MLAs from East Punjab into the West Punjab Assembly has not only redeemed a long standing demand but I believe has immensely contributed towards reinforcing the morale of the refugees from the East Punjab and restoring their self confidence.}\textsuperscript{140}

Miss McQueen, Governor Mudie’s niece who was also the Secretary of the QARF in West Punjab as well as Chairperson of the Red Cross Society stated that out of seven million rupees collected by QARF about three million were utilized for providing general relief items like warm clothing, \textit{razais} etc.\textsuperscript{141} The money was also spent for purchase and manufacture of the \textit{charkhas} (spinning wheels) for the weavers. The potters were also provided with necessary tools to restart their business. In order to motivate and train the youth for social service both the Boy
Scouts and Girl Guides organizations were encouraged and inducted in the camps of West Punjab. She also acknowledged the tremendous contribution by railway department in relief work and transport of essentials to different destinations. With a view to give relief to the refugee cultivators the West Punjab Government decided to remit half the rent of the Rabi harvest of 1948 cultivated on the evacuee lands. However, the Muslim pre-partition tenants of the evacuee landowners were required to pay full rent.\textsuperscript{142}

The organizer of the West Punjab League and former West Punjab Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din had demanded the dissolution of West Punjab Assembly for government’s failure to rehabilitate refugees or to revitalize the economy and asked for holding fresh elections.\textsuperscript{143} He challenged the government’s claim of having rehabilitated five million refugees in so short a span. He termed the government claim of rehabilitation as paper rehabilitation. Mr. Fazl-e-Elahi the Parliamentary Secretary parried off that allegation by accusing Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din of not doing justice to his office in time of need by quitting the job and passing the buck on to Premier Mamdot.\textsuperscript{144}

A group of refugees who were served with ejectment orders protested outside Assembly Hall on 1\textsuperscript{st} April 1948. They criticized the government for ejecting the already settled refugees in order to accommodate the Meos who was the last community to migrate from India.\textsuperscript{145} The agriculturists complained that they had tilled the barren lands and when the time had come to harvest the government has served them with ejectment orders. The Deputy Commissioner of Lahore Mr. Zafarul Ahsan visited Burki and assured the protestors that the settlers from East
Punjab would not be ejected from the lands earlier allotted to them. The government subsequently decided to resettle the Meos on to another location. A series of five villages for Meos was established close to the Wagah border.\textsuperscript{146} District authorities were entrusted to run the domestic matters. Meos thus settled were in some cases given a cash grant of a hundred rupees to harvest \textit{Kharif} (autumnal harvest) crop. One of the Meo leaders Gulab Khan was given 590 rupees to buy bullocks for tilling barren lands. The government instructed the \textit{naib-tahsildar} not to leave Bhasin village in Lahore District until and unless the dispute over land between the Meos and Rajputs was properly settled.\textsuperscript{147} The Pakistan Minister for Refugee and Rehabilitation Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan while addressing a large gathering of refugees in Model Town Lahore demanded abolition of capitalism if the government was to restore peace and to cope with the gigantic task of rehabilitation. He warned that if West Punjab administration failed to resettle the refugees properly the central government would take the matter into their own hands.\textsuperscript{148} He pointed out that there were still five million refugees in West Punjab who had merely been given the necessary shelter but their full and proper rehabilitation was yet to take more time and effort. Besides, there still remained one million refugees in camps and on roadside awaiting rehabilitation. He assured the refugees that according to the inter-dominion agreement the government was doing her best to transfer or sell off their property. He stated that both the governments had exchanged the land records of East and West Punjab in order to verify the claims and to assess the value of abandoned lands. He assured the refugees that government was doing her best to rehabilitate them in such a way
as to maintain their racial bonds and solidarity. The Minister expressed his desire for long lasting friendly relations with India to ensure a better future for four and half crore Muslims there.

**The Thal Project**

Partition found millions of serving and retired armed forces personnel on the roadsides wanting to be rehabilitated in their chosen land. Pakistan also had its share of refugee families and their dependents. These army personnel were used to live in close proximity because of the nature of their job and for security purposes. The government being aware of these requirements was thinking on the lines of erecting special towns for the military families. But the task of rehabilitating the non-military refugees was so gigantic that on 22\textsuperscript{nd} January 1948 at a Joint Refugee Council meeting of the Central and West Punjab Governments, the suggestion to resettle the military families on priority basis was deferred.\(^{149}\) The GHQ did not come to know about the decision until March 1948 which created unrest amongst serving refugee soldiers numbering more than ten thousand along with about two lakh relatives. It was realized that until and unless some thing was done to redress this a large number of prospective recruits would be affected. Therefore, at the end of March 1948 a ‘Military Families Resettlement Organisation’ (MFRO) was set up under the command of Brigadier F.H. Stevens to access the situation arising after the decision taken at the Council meeting on 22\textsuperscript{nd} January 1948 to; work with the civil authorities in order to resettle the serving soldiers with families in the first instance, and then if possible for the ex-servicemen; and also to arrange for 
\textit{taccavi} loans for the serving soldiers.\(^{150}\)
The MFRO had planned to resettle the military families district-wise in the West Punjab by its collaboration with the local Brigade Commanders and local Deputy Commissioners. The MFRO was constantly in consultation with the West Punjab Government officials and as a result its Commander Brig. Stevens was offered three thousand acres of virgin land in Thal area of West Punjab for the resettlement of serving and ex-serving military families.\textsuperscript{151} Thal was a triangular area which extended from Khushab to Mianwali and to the South towards Muzaffargarh. The annual rainfall in the area varied from 10 inches in the north and about 05 inches in the south. The land had alluvial clay surface with sand hills and the irrigation was irregular. Having known that fact the soil was thoroughly surveyed to ascertain suitability for canal irrigation before the start of the project. In this connection experimental farming at Kundian and Leiah confirmed that most of the Thal tract was suitable for canal irrigation.\textsuperscript{152}

The Commander MFRO in consultation with GHQ about the allotment offer of the West Punjab Government decided that they would need at least 20,000 acres of land in Thal to resettle the military families in a proper manner. The new demand was accepted towards the end of April 1948.\textsuperscript{153} The GHQ also started a refugee fund generously subscribed by the military men. They were also subscribing to the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund and when the army approached the Quaid, he immediately sanctioned one lakh out of the QARF to the refugee fund established by the GHQ. After the allotment of 20,000 acres of land to the MFRO, the West Punjab Government came out with a development plan for the Thal region. It was proposed to build a road network, \textit{mandi} towns in Gunjyal with civil station, a
residential area *bazaar*, a provincial highway along the Indus and Jhelum rivers which would run from Mianwali in the west and Khushab in the east and converged at Muzaffargarh and also the inter connected railway stations. 

According to this plan a *mandi* town at Gunjyal was to be constructed between Mianwali and Khushab. The places had been connected to the Nurpur area in the heart of Thal by a metalled road and to the Sakesar area through a *katcha* road. It was also planned to connect the newly connected towns with Mianwali and Khushab. Basic necessities such as schools, hospitals, public health centres, post offices, police stations etc had also been planned. Villages in the proposed scheme were demarcated as 1000 to 1800 acres of covered areas with properly designed fields and village roads.\(^{154}\) Since the area was low on plantation which resulted in reduced rainfall it was mandatory with all government grants that the allotees would plant trees on the northern and eastern sides of their 10 acres allotted lands and also the plantation of grass in-between the allotted lands to be used as shelterbelts and windbreaks during the sandstorms. The government had decided to grant Crown lands only to the cooperative societies of the refugees. Those grants were to be supervised by a Sub-Inspector in every village and an Inspector in every five villages to assist and guide the societies. The government had also sanctioned a large amount to be loaned to refugees as *taccavi* for buying seeds, agricultural tools and livestock. The cooperative societies were to give loan to their members for construction of houses. The government also agreed to remit all the refugee rents in the Thal Project area for the first year and it was to accept one-quarter
batai in the second year. The allotment was initially for five years but societies with good reputation were eligible for renewal of their allotment.

The army however had a different plan than that of the civil authorities. According to that scheme the army had four chaks in Rukh Khushab, three chaks in Mitha Tiwana and thirteen chaks in Rukh Piplan. The army thought that chaks in Rukh Khushab and Mitha Tiwana were dependent upon Khushab Railway Station and the chaks in Piplan were dependent upon Piplan Railway Station on an altogether different line and about sixty miles far off making it difficult to implement that scheme. So they came up with an alternative plan. According to that the GHQ was made responsible for policy making, assistance especially financial, provision of agricultural tools etc where as the MFRO was to provide liaison between the West Punjab Government and other local civil officials. The chaks were to be allotted to regimental centres for actual resettlement. In this connection, initial reconnaissance of the Rukh Khushab with regimental representatives was made on 10th May 1948. Many participants were critical over the selection of area, quality of land and the hot weather. Since the success of the scheme was dependent upon the efforts of the Regimental Centre Commanders, a conference of Regimental Centre Commanders was held at GHQ on 24th May 1948. The conference stressed upon the commanders that they were responsible for the selection of suitable settlers capable of working hard; formation of the regimental chak cooperative society and also the selection of a leader for that society; providing assistance to settlers e.g. easy loans, agricultural inputs etc; making sure that the prospective members had one rupee as entrance fee and ten rupees to have a share and finally to make the
scheme work by sheer hard work and inspiration.\textsuperscript{156} Having ironed out the responsibilities of the Regimental Centre Commanders the GHQ also imposed some conditions for both the serving and veteran settlers. These conditions included:

- The in-service soldiers wanting resettlement had to provide at least one able-bodied family member for tillage.
- The relatives of serving soldiers wanting resettlement had to live and work on the land.
- The veterans were also to live and till the land themselves if they wanted resettlement.
- Officers with income exceeding 50 rupees were initially ineligible in view of the restriction imposed by the West Punjab Government but later on they were allowed the settlement on the aforementioned stipulations.
- Finally, all proposed settlers had to join the Chak Cooperative Farming Society.\textsuperscript{157}

The army was against the employment of overseers and landlords in the Thal project for the resettlement of military families. The army was aware of the fact that the resettlement would not be completed without the assistance of the civil authorities. Therefore, the army wanted to take them aboard for the implementation of the project. In this connection a Civil Rehabilitation Conference arranged by MFRO was held at Mianwali on 28\textsuperscript{th}-29\textsuperscript{th} May 1948. The Conference took the following key decisions:
• It was agreed to provide free supply of food, fodder and fuel in the refugee camps.

• The local PWD were to build 10 free huts in every chak in the proposed scheme as temporary shelters for the new arrivals.

• The T.D.O. informed the participants that the killabandi had been done for the area where army families were to be settled.

• The representatives of the Canal Department informed the participants that new water channels would be dug and a water reservoir would be made to provide drinking water to every chak.

• The P.W.D. was made responsible for the provision of material and necessary assistance for the construction of houses.

• The government agreed to provide taccavi loans up to 500 rupees per settler.

• The Railway Department agreed to provide free transportation to the nearest railway station.

• The Communication Department was asked to provide their services in the Thal project areas.

• Registrar of cooperative societies agreed to set up stores for sale of seeds and other agricultural inputs.

• For plantation in the barren areas, the Forest Department agreed to provide four trees per acres on marginal price.

• One chak was to be set up as a model farm by the Agricultural Department in every district of the Thal project for advice and assistance.\textsuperscript{158}
Despite all efforts in terms of policy making and agreements, working in Thal area turned out to be very difficult, because everything including food had to be transported there. The army however managed to make their way through. They were assisted by two workaholic individuals namely Mr. Butter the Deputy Commissioner of Mianwali and Mr. Farrent the Canal Engineer in their remarkable work of making Thal a livable area.¹⁵⁹ The army soon learnt that they would have to benefit from the local knowledge in terms of building and tillage. Both the Sappers and the Public Works Department (PWD) tried to work with sun dried bricks but they developed cracks so they had to build huts with burnt bricks at a higher cost. As for the drinking water the army had to dig three hundred feet for sweet water. Both Piplan and Mitha Tiwana had sand surface therefore only the four by four vehicles could move with ease especially in loaded condition. This sandy soil however proved to be excellent for gram and wheat cultivation.

But the most difficult part for the authorities was to persuade and convince intending migrants to till the land in Thal area. Most of the refugees were hoping for considerable land in fertile Montgomery or Lyallpur districts accompanied by pair of bullocks, a buffalo in typical village surroundings. They were not expecting to be introduced to barren land where they had to work day and night to make it livable. To make things worse one had to start the hard work in scorching heat of June. Initially even the military men were not fully convinced that with hard work and dedication they could make that barren land fertile and lush green. Another aspect was the locals who at times discouraged the refugees by portraying a picture of very harsh living conditions in Thal area but it was mainly due to the fact that
some locals did not like the idea of distributing land to refugees. Another reason was that the military wanted to resettle as many serving soldiers as possible and there by not much land was left for the relatives and according to the tenancy conditions every settler had to provide an able bodied male relative to work as a land tiller who was considered as an employee and not a share holder. Administration was done through the cooperative farming societies in terms of allotments, dwelling, plantation, breeding livestock, *taccavi* loans and even for settling local disputes.

The actual work started in Rukh Khushab where *chaks* were allotted to regimental centres. The canal was made operational on 30th May 1948 and with that the advance parties moved in on 1st June in military tents. The advance parties were confronted with lack of rations as there had been some communication delays between the government and the local Sub-Divisional Officer. However, the advance parties managed to complete the *killabandis* and demarcation of the *chaks* assisted by four *patwaris*. The irrigation *patwaris* helped the advance parties to prepare internal water courses whereas the Canal Department dug the water reservoirs and the military engineers linked them with the main canal. A portion of land was broken with the help of 44 bullocks to raise fodder crops because shortage of fodder was a concern for the authorities as without fodder it was difficult to maintain bullocks for tillage. Therefore, the army had to rely on tractors and cultivators. Fortunately, there were around 14 brand new McCormick Deering 20 H.P tractors and cultivators owned by the Farms Department that had been brought in by the British at the end of the Second World War to boost their “Grow
More Food” drive but were never used. These cultivators were bought at a price of 6,700 rupees and used in Khushab for tillage. These tools helped the army to break 30 to 40 acres of land daily. Building material was moved to Khushab and Piplan from Basal airfield via rail at the civil government’s expense. The army not only maintained a vehicle for transportation they also provided the corrugated sheeting for roofing.

Then the advance parties moved to Mitha Tiwana in July 1948. The climate was so hot that the advance parties found it difficult to start their work. The representatives of MFRO sensed the situation and threatened to discharge any serving soldiers who refuse to work. It worked for serving soldiers but their relatives left the place. In Piplan the advance parties were greeted by severe sandstorms and they threatened to walk out forcing the Commander to discharge few who walked out. But the MFRO did not send any other advance party in Piplan till August 1948 when the sandstorms had subsided but were followed by heavy rains in West Punjab. The floods proved damaging for the Thal project as Mitha Tiwana was cut off from the rest of Punjab. It was until September that more advance parties were sent in to Piplan who also brought with them tractors and cultivators and immediately started tilling the virgin lands.

In total, 14 regiments were allotted 24,256 acres of virgin land to 1,662 military families in 20 chaks. The army sensed in the middle of July 1948 that the scheme had not been received positively by the military families so they aired their concerns at a committee meeting of the West Punjab Post War Services Reconstruction Fund. Governor Mudie after being briefed about the situation
agreed to release one lakh rupees to GHQ from the Post War Services Reconstruction Fund and also indicated that a further four lakh rupees could be provided if there was improvement.\textsuperscript{164} The MFRO stated that the main reasons for the unpopularity of the scheme were that there were no houses or drinking water supply and the families had reservations about the tenancy rights. Therefore, the GHQ submitted a scheme for housing and drinking water costing five lakh rupees which was accepted immediately to boost the morale of the families. The Quaid-i-Azam just days before his death also sanctioned three lakh rupees out of QARF on the request of C-in-C for the construction of primary schools and medical facilities.\textsuperscript{165} Governor Mudie also visited the Thal area in September 1948 and agreed with the authorities that the holdings were too small in Piplan and with temporary tenancy the chances for settlement were bleak. At the same time, it was known that the West Punjab Government was introducing new charges on tenants. This was an alarming situation for MFRO therefore the provincial government was approached by the GHQ on 7\textsuperscript{th} October 1948 appraising the government about the difficulties of tilling a barren land under the then current cooperative scheme and with the fear of new charges.\textsuperscript{166} The army suggested that until and unless there was an incentive of ownership of land, it was going to be very difficult for the army to make the men work in the fields. The government discussed the problem in the Joint Refugee Council meeting and the family holdings in the Mitha Tiwana were thereby increased to fifteen acres per family and they were also promised the proprietary rights.\textsuperscript{167} The decision was hailed by the military as a great success.
For construction purposes the civil authorities had given the permission to use the building material from the fallen houses in the nearby chaks. Household items such as charpoys, cooking pots etc were provided by the Bait-ul-Mal whereas the provision of petrol, oil and lubricants on payment was the responsibility of MFRO. Hand pumps were donated either by Bait-ul-Mal or were purchased from Lahore to be installed at the scale of two pumps per chak village except Khushab where they had to rely on the canal water. The Agriculture Department had however tried a bore in Khushab where they found drinking water after digging down to 300 feet. Despite the efforts by MFRO the tillage was not satisfactory. One reason for that was lack of organization and coordination as some regiments who had been allotted lands in the area sent those soldiers who had little knowledge of agriculture or there were cases where they were least interested. Therefore, on 17th August 1948 the GHQ sent a stern warning to all regimental centres demanding swift demarcation of plots; digging of water channels; making ponds, tillage of land; making field bunds; harrowing, hoeing and building houses immediately. The warning had the desired effect and men got to work and a good Rabi crop had been planted by end of November 1948. The lush green fields invited more settlers and project gained popularity.

After the plantation of Rabi, it was time to concentrate on construction work to facilitate housing for the settlers. The government had approved a model village within 25 acres for abadi or residential area and 35 acres were approved for charahgah. The approved model village had the design for every building to be located in the village but the GHQ came up with their own plan and when shown
to the Thal Development Officer he raised no objections to that plan. According to
their plan, in a chak of one thousand acres of land, the community was to include
ninety cultivators and eight non-agriculturists including blacksmith, carpenter,
cobbler, potter, tailor and sweeper. Apart from those there was room for a maulvi,
couple of school masters and mistresses and general shopkeepers to facilitate the
settlers. According to their scheme an ideal house was to extend over the space of
one kanal and two marlas in case the settlers wanted to keep their livestock with in
the house. Space was to be provided for the construction of mosques and shops
with the model village. Outside the residential area of the village about 35 acres
were reserved for orchards, charahgah, latrines, village pond, vegetable plot,
schools, graveyard, cattle and sheep pens and provided the space the army had
planned to have the patwar khana, a sub post office and a police chowki in the
model village. In order to meet the supply of firewood and other timber needs for
next thirty years the army had proposed to plant 4,000 trees. They started the drive
by planting 500 trees in the first year. Similarly, in order to meet the fruit and
vegetable requirement the scheme introduced orchards and vegetable plots on five
acres of land which could contain 500 grown up fruit trees and vegetables. The
ideal village was to have one bullock for every cultivator and to meet the dairy
requirement a herd of 40 buffalos with two bulls was suggested. As for individual
construction, two living rooms were made compulsory that required 24,500 bricks.
The pukka bricks cost about 35 rupees per 1,000 bricks but the MFRO managed to
acquire 1,000 bricks for 25 rupees and the buildings were to be used both kucha
and pukka bricks to reduce the cost of construction. It was estimated that the cost
of constructing two living rooms was around 400 rupees out of which 200 were provided by subsidy and the remaining 200 were to be arranged by the settler’s organization. Measures were being taken for the better sanitation and hygiene in the model villages. For water supply, each village had a quota of one well and a pond for livestock connected to the canal.\textsuperscript{169}

The West Punjab Government really wanted the Thal Project to succeed therefore Governor Mudie toured the area in November 1948 to oversee the development work. During a meeting the Thal Development Officer (TDO) showed his reservations on the model village plan made by the army on the grounds that it was not approved by the West Punjab Government. It took nearly two months to get all the paper work sorted out and finally on 16\textsuperscript{th} January 1949 the plan was approved with little modifications and the army had set the deadline of end of March 1949 for the completion of the project.\textsuperscript{170} Since production of brunt bricks was the main problem in the construction of houses the MFRO somehow managed to release 300 wagons of coal for the government to be used in kilns. Again in March 1949 General Douglas Gracey, the C-in-C toured the Thal area to boost the morale of the military settlers and suggested some modifications. He also initiated the plantation with the help of Forest Department especially in Khushab. In order to create cooperation amongst the settlers the GHQ started the issuance of a fortnightly pamphlet called the \textit{Bahimi Imdad} which was positively received by the military settlers as such it was made as a regular feature in the military news paper \textit{Mujahid} to increase readership.\textsuperscript{171} As for the education the agreed plan included at
least one primary school for each village and the teachers’ salary for next two years at the cost of around two lakh rupees.

The military after having consultations with the Inspector-General of Civil Hospital submitted a proposal to the West Punjab Government to build three central dispensaries at the cost of one lakh rupees but due to the shortage of doctors the army could not get approval for that. However, there was a Civil Hospital in Khushab and improved dispensaries were located in Mitha Tiwana, Piplan and Harnoli as well. The success of Rabi crop in Thal area attracted many military families to come, settle and work on the virgin lands. The MFRO had capitalized on the late British experience of raising horse breeding tenancies for the Indian army as well as on the success of colonization in canal areas in Montgomery, Lyallpur and some adjoining districts. Its success in forming a phalanx of corporative farms was to serve as a guideline in evolution of subsequent national five year plans.

**Rehabilitation of Refugee Artisans and Craftsmen**

In a press note issued on 28th July 1948 the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan announced setting up of three organizations to serve the refugees. The first one was the ‘Refugee Artisan’s and Craftsmen’s Rehabilitation Committee’. This Committee was set up after press reports about a large number of unemployed refugee craftsmen returning to India in order to avail settlement opportunities there. The Committee was tasked to investigate those reports and to recommend measures for settlement and financing of refugee artisans so that they could set up business in Pakistan. Second organization called the ‘Refugees’
Rehabilitation Finance Corporation’ was set up by an Ordinance of 1948 with a tentative capital of ten million rupees. Its purpose was to financially assist the needy refugees financially for setting up their chosen business. The third organization known as the ‘Pakistan Spinners and Weavers Association’ was set up on the recommendation of the Economic Conference. The aim of this organization was to encourage hand spinning and weaving in order to overcome cloth shortage and to find jobs for refugee spinners and weavers. Unfortunately, all three organizations suffered from over lapping of their functions. The ‘Spinner and Weavers Association’ suffered with lack of coordination with the other two organizations. The Ministry held two meetings to discuss the problem after which it was decided that the Finance Corporation being a banking concern would work through the other two organizations and would also co-opt some representatives of the two bodies on its Board of Directors for speedy processing of applications for assistance. It was also decided that direct applications for assistance by individuals would be discouraged.

The employment exchanges also played a major part in finding suitable jobs for the refugees. In this manner out of 130,056 applicants 38,702 were provided jobs from August 1947 to 10th July 1948. In order to find jobs for the remaining applicants, the exchanges started posting the refugees for training purposes in trades in which there was shortage of employees such as accountancy, die-sinking, radio mechanics and typists.

To ensure provision of financial assistance to refugees the Governor-General of Pakistan promulgated the Pakistan Refugee Rehabilitation Finance Corporation
Ordinance 1948 on 9th April 1948. The said Ordinance envisaged establishment of a corporation to operate throughout Pakistan. The government was to subscribe 30 million rupees for the corporation which in return was required to pay 2 percent interest per annum. Refugee artisans, agriculturists, shopkeepers and cottage industry workers were to benefit from corporation’s financial aid. No individual was allowed to take more than 500 rupees and no company or firm consisting of at least four members was allowed to take more than 2,000 rupees. However, a cooperative society was allowed to take as much as 5,000 rupees. Meanwhile Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din the President of the Punjab Muslim League while addressing a large gathering of peasants at Khushab warned the government that unless they quit their “do nothing policy” they would not be able to cope with the gigantic task of rehabilitating six million refugees.

At the same time the rehabilitation of Ranghar refugees was in full swing in Montgomery District. According to the official estimate about 50,000 were resettled on land with the possibility of settling more refugees there. In this connection the Deputy Commissioner Raja Hassan Akhtar managed to recover stolen Persian Wheels thereby operationalizing 600 wells. The district administration also gave a green signal to the provincial government for rehabilitating another 10,000 Ranghar refugees from Ambala District.

The United States Government also came forward to help the refugees. They were interested in supplying medical equipment, stores and agricultural tools so that the refugees’ health could be checked and they could be provided agricultural equipment to work in the fields and earn for their families. The USA had already
given a credit of ten million dollars from its US War Assets Administration for purchasing medical stores and agricultural equipment. The Pakistan Government used the credit to purchase medicines and agricultural tools like harvesting tractors and handy machines for cottage and small scale industries. The first consignment worth a million dollars reached Karachi in September 1948. Bulk of the consignment was sent to West Punjab. Earlier the West Punjab Government had sent two officials Mr. M.A.H. Siddiqui and Mr. W. C. Wheatly to USA to assist the Pakistan Embassy in selection and purchase of such equipment. In this connection the central government also asked the provincial government for the lists of its requirements.

In order to rehabilitate the refugees on permanent basis and find suitable jobs for them the West Punjab Government started to maintain their records. In this regard the Central Refugee Census Office located at 3 Temple Road Lahore had done a remarkable job. The office had completed around 8,084 enumerations by August 1948. Those enumerations contained details about past residence, loss of lives and property and also the present whereabouts. In order to encourage their good work, Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan Mamdot visited the Census Office on 11th August 1948. Mr. M.Y. Khand the Under Secretary in the Ministry of Refugees stated that 60 persons were working on that project alone since May 1948 and their objective was to maintain a complete record of the refugees. Mamdot directed the Census Office that listing of refugees’ past residences in East Punjab with their present addresses in Pakistan be completed on emergency basis and made available for public use. Later on those lists served as ‘search bureaus’ and at the same
time refugees were advised to give their present address in the forms and in case of any change of address they were to inform the Census Office immediately.

**Demand for District-wise Rehabilitation**

While section of numerically larger communities found it easy to assimilate themselves with the locals and like minded refugees, the minor ethnic groups like Meos and the Ranghars were reluctant to undergo dispersal amongst larger groups. This paranoia led to an urge for living together in close proximity with each other. The proclivity was commonly known as the demand for district-wise rehabilitation. Meos and Ranghars being late arrivals in the province, the government was hard put to acquiesce their demand for built-in sanctuaries within a large population. This would also be tantamount to uprooting of refugees who had already been settled.

Meanwhile a staff reporter of the daily *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore reported that the Pakistan Refugee Ministry was likely to wound up till 6th June 1948 as the central government wanted to transfer full powers to the provincial governments in the matters relating to the rehabilitation of the refugees.\(^{(181)}\) Sh. Sadiq Hassan a refugee legislator however strongly opposed the demand for district-wise resettlement by some refugee legislators and stated that their demand was to disturb the whole urban population in West Punjab. He further explained that according to this scheme the refugees from an East Punjab district were to be resettled in any district in West Punjab which would eventually lead to uprooting of the already settled refugees. He felt that ejecting those refugees without using the army would be next to impossible.\(^{(182)}\)
At the request of refugee legislators, the West Punjab Government accepted their demand for district-wise settlement on 2nd July 1948. A meeting between Premier Mamdot along with his cabinet and the refugee legislators including Ch. Mohammad Hassan, Nasrullah Khan Nasir, Mirza Hamid Ullah and Rao Mohammad Khursheed was held to discuss district-wise rehabilitation and finally accepted the said scheme. The refugee legislators appreciated government’s decision and assured them that they would do every thing possible to implement that decision. They also urged the refugees to cooperate with the rehabilitation authorities and not to leave the camps unless so directed.

The West Punjab Government decided to allot lands even to those persons from East Punjab who had earlier been living in West Punjab before partition and returned as refugees. It was however mentioned by the government that their cases would only be considered after thorough investigation and also if the area still owned by them in the West Punjab was an uneconomic unit. There were plenty of refugee families that had been resettled on land but were not provided with sufficient food-grains to last for the following months. This shortage made them think about going back to camps. The authorities warned those refugees not to leave their allotted places as they would not be admitted in the camps again.

Noticing the situation, the Deputy Commissioner Revenue West Punjab immediately issued orders to provide food-grains to the settled refugee families who were in dire need of food. The refugees were advised to contact the local Deputy Commissioners in order to redress their food shortage as Deputy.
Commissioners had been authorized by the government to issue ration to the deserving families.

A group of industrialists from Lahore met with Sheikh Karamat Ali the West Punjab Minister of Industries on 7th July 1948. The Minister assured them that industrial rehabilitation was as important as refugee rehabilitation because it would not only stabilize country’s economy but would also create opportunities for refugees in the camps and those who were settled on land but without any means of livelihood. He explained the government policy of allotment of abandoned factories to the Cooperative Department. The members of the chambers argued that since there were many entrepreneurs in the province who were willing to re-operate the abandoned factories, but the government had created a direct competition between the industrialists and the Cooperative Department which also enjoyed the patronage of the government. Sheikh Karamat Ali replied that 34 out of 101 ginning factories had been allocated to the Cooperative Department and it was the policy of the government to encourage private industrialists to work for better economy and better job options for refugee communities.

The government issued strict instructions to all its officials to ensure that the minority communities were treated well and also to redress their complaints of maltreatment by any member of majority community or any government official. The provincial government was doing this because it wanted to implement the inter-dominion agreement signed at Calcutta in April 1948 over treatment of minorities. The government made it clear that it wanted to create an environment which could persuade the non-Muslims evacuees to return to their
ancestral places which they had had to abandon. The government also warned that
any official found guilty of discrimination towards the minority community would
be punishable. Meanwhile the Muslims abroad were donating generously for the
Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund. The Honorary Secretary of the Fund announced that
the QARF for West Punjab had been amounted to about 9.5 million rupees up to
3rd July 1948.\textsuperscript{188}

The government intended to disperse about four lakh refugees in West Punjab
camps in the province. It was expected that all the provinces would shoulder the
burden of refugees from West Punjab and in case of refusal by any province to
take its quota of refugees would mean that the Centre will have to pay the full
maintenance cost of those surplus refugees to the Government of West Punjab.
According to that scheme of rehabilitation, the Punjab had to absorb 1.5 lakh
refugees out of approximately 4 lakh camp refugees in the West Punjab. Further,
for those refugees who were not able to get any share of crops, the West Punjab
Government sanctioned an allowance of 25 rupees per family of five persons per
month for next three months. And for those who were not able to be
accommodated in evacuee houses, the government decided to give them timber for
building roofs and doors. Apart from that \textit{taccavi} loans up to 400 rupees per family
were distributed according to the needs of the refugees.\textsuperscript{189}

Due to the pressing demands from the refugee groups for district-wise
rehabilitation there was no question of their assimilation into a new setup. The
government was well aware of the demands but it had to consider many things
before reaching a decision. In this connection a meeting of the Pakistan-Punjab
Refugee Council was held at Murree on 12th July 1948 primarily to discuss the district-wise rehabilitation of the rural population and the question of tenant security. The meeting proposed that those refugee cultivators who had been allotted agricultural land would not be moved without their consent. Those who had proprietary or occupancy lands in East Punjab States, Bharatpur, Alwar and elsewhere in East Punjab would be given corresponding rights on the lands allotted to them in West Punjab. It was also proposed that there would be no alteration in the lands allotted to refugees where there had been new births or deaths in the families or in the case of casual employment of one member of the family who was originally considered as a cultivator. Contrary to earlier verbal commitments, the district-wise fresh rehabilitation was considered as next to impossible by the Refugee Council on the following grounds:

- In order to rehabilitate fresh refugees district-wise, it would mean that authorities would dislocate those who had been already settled in the respective districts and were not amenable to be moved again to another place. Further, the cultivators already settled in those districts had already sown the crops and by that time were waiting for harvesting the crops. Therefore, any plan of relocation of already settled refugees was not feasible till May 1949 and even after that it would have been more difficult for the authorities to ask them to pack their bags once again to be resettled in a different area and to start the process all over again.

- It was likely to create unrest amongst the refugees and would have a very bad psychological impact on the already traumatized refugees.
The strongest argument against fresh district-wise rehabilitation was that it would lead to further relocation and movement of millions of refugees which would not only exhaust the authorities but also be very expensive and time consuming. It was to affect nearly 2.5 million people having had to travel about 150 miles each way.\textsuperscript{191}

The government therefore announced that in case of refugees who were still in camps, the scheme of district-wise rehabilitation was a workable option and also in the areas where reshuffling would only involve small groups on voluntary basis. The government was to set up settlement offices in different districts to validate refugees’ proprietary or occupancy rights. The Settlement Officers were also to supervise small scale voluntary reshuffling amongst refugees who had been allotted land within the district. On the other hand, the refugee legislators including Ch. Nasrullah Khan and Ch. Akram expressed their astonishment over the criticism of the district-wise rehabilitation. They stated that the district-wise rehabilitation was to affect only the landowning refugees who were in its favour. The refugee legislators contended that the district-wise rehabilitation was the only way of rehabilitating millions of refugees and it would end the era of corruption and illegal allotments.\textsuperscript{192} They also stated that district-wise rehabilitation would obviate clashes amongst the refugees with different social and cultural mores.

In order to clinch their argument twenty refugee legislators threatened to withdraw support from Iftikhar Ministry on 17\textsuperscript{th} July 1948 if their demand for district-wise permanent rehabilitation of the landowning refugees and the inclusion of their representatives in the Cabinet were not conceded within a fortnight. On 16\textsuperscript{th} July
1948 the refugee legislators had adopted a resolution strongly resenting and condemning the Pakistan-West Punjab Joint Refugee Council’s rejection of district-wise rehabilitation and termed it as a “great betrayal of the promises made by the West Punjab Government”. Choudhary Nasrullah Khan the Secretary of the West Punjab Assembly League party who was a refugee from Amritsar in a press interview on 17th July 1948 accused the West Punjab Government of dumping the refugees wherever they found a vacant space. But after inter-dominion decisions on exchange and transfer of property most of the land owning refugees were aspiring to be resettled district-wise to maintain their social and cultural identity. He added that their demands were the only solution of the refugee problem. The charge that the refugee legislators wanted to build upon their vote bank on district-wise rehabilitation was forcefully repudiated by Choudhary Nasrullah. He declared that they would not contest the next elections if their demands were accepted. As for their second demand, he complained that it was almost a year now that the refugees were resettled in West Punjab and despite repeated assurances by the Prime Minister the refugees had not been given representations in the cabinet. The group voiced their concern over the failure of the government and the Joint Refugee Council to evacuate two lakh Meos still remaining in Gurgaon District. In another resolution the group condemned the propaganda against district-wise rehabilitation.

District-wise rehabilitation posed serious problems for the Mamdot Ministry. The landowning refugees were determined to force the government to accept that demand. After verbal acceptance by the government, things got really tough for the
Ministry as the refugees were impatient to see the verbal assurance translated into reality. The government felt that mere verbal acceptance would buy enough time for the movement to die down, but it did not so happen. The refugee legislators even formed a separate clique within the Muslim League party and started canvassing for sympathizers in order to pressurize the government. The refugees staged a rally at Barkat Ali Muhammedan Hall in Lahore on 11th August 1948 in which they demanded the resignation of the West Punjab Cabinet. A resolution called upon the Ministry either to implement their verbal acceptance of district-wise rehabilitation or to make way for other leaders with “drive and determination who may sensibly solve the rehabilitation problem”.

To negotiate and calm down the rally members Sirdar Abdul Hameed Dasti the West Punjab Minister for Civil Supplies explained that the West Punjab Government was in favor of their demand but were helpless due to Pakistan-West Punjab Joint Refugee Council’s disapproval of that demand. The rally then formed an Anjuman Muhajireen and nominated Ch. Ali Akbar Khan, Rao Khursheed Ali Khan, Maulvi Ahmad Jan, Ch. Ghulam Farid, Ch. Nasrullah Khan and Syed Jamil Hussain to lead it. The rally passed a resolution stating that district-wise resettlement was the only solution for rehabilitating landowning refugees and it further demanded speedy arrangements for exchange of prisoners, recovery of abducted women, cancellation of unauthorized allotments to the locals and non collection of house rent till payment of the compensation to refugees for Muslim evacuee property left in India. The rally also protested against the alleged stoppage of rations in camps and condemned the firing incident by police in
Multan. They also adopted a resolution boycotting the anti-refugee newspapers and thanking the pro-refugee press.

By August 1948, about 5 million out of 6.5 million refugees were settled on land in West Punjab. The remaining 1.5 million were divided into three categories. First were the unemployable refugees i.e. orphans, widows, old, injured or sick refugees in camps; secondly those craftsmen and artisans who could work provided they could be accommodated in evacuee houses and financially assisted to buy essential tools for their skills; thirdly those scallywags who never wanted to leave the camps in order to enjoy the free rations. To make it even worse they were unwilling to work even on payment.

**Evacuee Property Management**

After Jinnah’s death on 11th September 1948, Prime Minister Liaquat, his cabinet colleagues as well as the West Punjab Cabinet members were left to tackle the gigantic problem of refugee relief and rehabilitation on their own. Non-Muslim arrivals from West Punjab had the advantage of being served by a better organized bureaucracy in East Punjab. As against this their West Punjab counterparts suffered from depleted ranks and had to struggle hard to be on their feet. The Muslim refugees driven out of East Punjab were in greater number than non-Muslims arrivals in East Punjab. The problem of evacuee property management in West Punjab had thus assumed a far greater urgency as well as was much more onerous. Liaquat had to depend a great deal on the West Punjab Ministry. He found Mamdot to be staid in character and outlook whereas Daultana, the West Punjab Finance Minister was more extrovert and had a flamboyant personality.
Though Mamdot had entrusted the rehabilitation portfolio to himself, he had to depend a great deal on Shaukat Hyat, the Revenue Minister.

Sirdar Shaukat Hyat in order to eke out more land for the refugees living in camps appointed Mr. A.G. Raza as the President of the ‘Land Allotment Checking Committee’. The Committee cancelled all allotments in government’s name whether it was for army or the civil departments. Thereafter the Committee tried to take some of the allotted lands for the refugees. There were instances where the Committee reduced two kanals in an original allotment of 6 acres. There were also cases when the Committee cancelled the allotment merely because the allottee was not physically present at the time of checking. There was a feeling amongst the serving army refugee settlers that if the Committee kept on canceling their allotment they would get themselves released from the army service just to protect the allotment of lands. The way the Committee conducted the checking of allotment was quite embarrassing for some refugees as the main allottee was supposed to parade his whole family including his wife and children before representatives of the Land Allotment Checking Committee. In Okara Tehsil the refugee villagers refused the “roll call” and told the officials that they could cancel their allotment on the pretext of refused roll call drill. The Ranghars also refused to be resettled in patches and instead asked the Premier Mamdot that they would prefer to live in Thal area and be united rather than dispersed amongst the other communities and as a minor group.

In response to complaints made against the Land Allotment Checking Committee a press note was issued by the West Punjab Government on 22nd May 1948.
Explaining the policy of allotting five acres of land to a family of maximum five members, the government was to increase one acre per head for a family of more than five and up to a maximum of eight members. Widows without a family were to get three acres of land personally and those raising a family were supposed to be treated just as other heads of the families. So if the Checking Committee was to find an irregularity in the allotment of land where a refugee had been allotted more land than his due share then the Committee had the powers to cancel the surplus allotment. The press notes categorically denied the allegations that allotment of 25 acres just to breed one horse and one acre for five men had been done by the Allotment Committee.204

About the cancellation of military allotment and government service allotment it was stated that the Committee wanted to provide land to those refugees whose sole means of livelihood was cultivation of land. However, the District Muslim League Sheikhupura criticized the ejectment of refugees from land warning that it would even affect the larger settled refugee communities as refugees wandering without food or shelter could create law and order situation in the district and even for the government in general.205

The West Punjab Government in order to maintain the record of the evacuee property came up with ordinances, acts and bills from time to time. In the year 1948 the first act in this regard was called the ‘West Punjab Protection of Evacuee Property Act 1948’.206 It extended to whole of West Punjab and was enforced with the date of announcement. The Act discussed in detail the procedures to be followed for the appointment of Custodian, Additional Custodian, Deputy and
Assistant Custodian. The Act had given the Custodians the powers to assume possession and vesting of evacuee property. The rehabilitation authorities were made to request the Custodians in cases of allotment and the Custodian at the same time had the powers to treat unauthorized persons in possession of evacuee property as trespasser and serve them with ejection orders to vacate the property. The said Act also provided guidance regarding the claims, transfer of evacuee property, jurisdiction of the civil courts, restoration of property, recovery of rents etc.\textsuperscript{207} The Act really helped the provincial authorities to adjudicate quickly in cases regarding the protection of the evacuee property left in West Punjab.

In connection to provide better facilitation to the riot stricken refugees the provincial government enacted the West Punjab Social and Economic Rehabilitation Act of 1948.\textsuperscript{208} The main purpose of this Act was to empower the provincial government to appoint Rehabilitation Commissioners, Deputy and Assistant Rehabilitation Commissioners.\textsuperscript{209} The Act also highlighted the powers and duties of the Rehabilitation Commissioners such as securing the adequate absorption of the incoming refugees in the economic structure and to rebuild the dislodgment in the province because to the evacuation of the business community, abandonment of evacuee property and the migration of tenants or workmen. The Act also enabled the provincial government to set up an Allocation Tribunal consisted of Rehabilitation Commissioners and invest all the powers to make new orders or to amend the existing ones.

Another factor that caught the attention of the provincial government was the exaggerated claims made by the refugees with regard to their properties in East
Punjab, East Punjab States and the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Bikaner and Delhi Province. So in order to regularize the registration of claims the West Punjab Government through its Governor Mudie enacted the West Punjab Refugee (Registration of Land Claims) Ordinance 1948 on 11th September 1948.\textsuperscript{210} The Act categorically defined the true meaning of ‘claim’, ‘land’, ‘landholder’, ‘refugee’ and ‘Registering Office’ with regard to the registration of claims procedures. It allowed the West Punjab Government to appoint Settlement Officer and Assistant Settlement Officers. The Act explained the registration of claims procedures, important dates and also mentioned the penalties in cases of fraudulent entries.

Meanwhile, the central government also framed policies for socio-economic rehabilitation of the refugees. In order to make the central machinery work smoothly for a particular goal, it needed to have a set of rules and precedents for the officials to follow. In this connection the revival of economic life in Pakistan was crucial. Therefore, the Governor-General in exercise of the powers conferred on him by section 42 of the Government of India Act 1935 promulgated the Pakistan (Economic Rehabilitation) Ordinance 1948 on 18th October 1948 which extended to the whole of Pakistan.\textsuperscript{211} The Ordinance defined the terms to be used such as ‘abandoned’, ‘custodian’, ‘evacuee’, ‘evacuee property’, ‘prescribed’, ‘property’, ‘refugee’, and ‘rehabilitation authority’. The Ordinance gave the powers to the central government for the appointment of one or more Deputy and Assistant Rehabilitation Commissioners.

In order to manage the evacuee property left by the non-Muslims, the Custodian of the Evacuee Property West Punjab came up with an administrative plan. The
annual expenditure for the management of evacuee property was around 20 lakh rupees, which was to be raised by realizing ten percent of the annual income accrued by way of rent.\textsuperscript{212} In the said plan Justice S.A. Rahman the Custodian of the Evacuee Property West Punjab had been designated as the Head of the Administration. Districts were to be headed by Deputy Custodians and assisted by three Assistant Custodians. In order to implement that plan there were four whole time Deputy Custodians and 50 Assistant Custodians who were to be recruited from amongst refugee lawyers.\textsuperscript{213} After announcement of the plan the Custodian of the Evacuee Property took over the duty of realizing rent from the tenants of evacuee landlords. He also set up rent controlling agencies under District Deputy Custodians for the collection of rents from the refugee tenants in the name of evacuee landlords. The urban properties of the evacuees was divided into zones, each comprising about 500 houses and was put under the charge of a Rent Controller who was further assisted by four Rent Inspectors. According to the said plan rent bills were distributed just like the electricity bills and the tenants were allowed to pay rents either to the District Head Offices or the Rent Inspectors.\textsuperscript{214} The West Punjab Government had already decided that old contracts of tenants under evacuee landlords would continue as they were and the tenants would pay the same amount of the rent as had been agreed upon between the two parties without any rebate. But the new tenants or those who were allotted evacuee houses properly by the Rehabilitation Authority or by the Custodian, the rent to be charged was reducible by 33.5 percent but in cases of prompt payment there would be no rebate.\textsuperscript{215} The Custodian of the Evacuee Property engaged a group of
overseers and engineers in all districts to repair and maintain the evacuee property possessed by Muslim tenants. Repair was divided into two categories i.e. ‘normal’ and ‘special’. The tenants were allowed to get the normal repairs done provided the cost of that repair did not exceed ten percent of the annual rent. In cases where ‘special’ repair was required, it had to be done through sanction by the Custodian after consultation between the overseers and the engineers. However, any alterations or new construction had to be done at tenants’ own risk and the Custodian was not to compensate the tenant in such cases.

Agricultural evacuee lands were however managed by the Revenue Department through the village lambardars who were collecting rents on behalf of the Custodian. Rent to be paid by refugees was fixed as six times the revenue assessable on land according to the government records. The lambardars were also getting 3.5 percent commission for collecting the rent. The money realized from the tenants was to go to Custodian who was to deduct money in lieu of various taxes livable on the property. The balance amount left was to lie with the Custodian to settle pending cases on Muslim evacuee property left in India. It was estimated that the amount collected through the process was to exceed two million rupees which was payable as salaries to various employees working under the Custodian of the Evacuee Property.

Declaration of Emergency

The government wanted to resolve the issue of the surplus refugees in the camps of West Punjab but was not getting the cooperation needed from the concerned provinces especially Sind. In this connection a meeting was conveyed by Premier
Liaquat Ali Khan on 23rd August 1948. It was decided that since the Sind province was not willing to absorb two lakh surplus refugees from West Punjab camps, the Governor-General Quaid-i-Azam should be requested to assent to a proclamation of grave emergency in the country under section 102 of the Government of India Act 1935. A draft proclamation approved by the Ministry of Interior and the Law Ministry was prepared for the Governor-General to sign. The Proclamation of Emergency was to empower the central government to issue directives to both the provincial governments of West Punjab and Sind to transfer and receive the surplus two lakh refugees. The draft along with a note stating the reasons for the need of declaring emergency was sent to the Governor-General for approval. The Proclamation of Emergency was issued after a cabinet meeting on 25th August 1948 and was published in the Gazette of Pakistan Extra-ordinary by the Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation on 30th August 1948. It stated:

Whereas the economic life of Pakistan is threatened by circumstances arising out of the mass movement of population from and into Pakistan, the Governor-General in pursuance of Section 102 of the Government of India Act 1935 is hereby pleased to declare that a grave emergency has thereby arisen and does exist for the purposes of the said sections.

The proclamation of the emergency enabled the central government to issue mandatory directions to the provincial governments for rehabilitation of refugees still in camps and to speed up the recovery of the abducted women.

**Influx of Kashmiri Refugees**

Khwaja Shahabuddin in a press statement on 4th December 1948 revealed that around 3 lakh refugees had arrived in Pakistan from the Indian occupied Kashmir and more were pouring in every day. He stated that the government had
intended to settle those refugees temporarily along the border areas of the West Punjab. He said that five new refugee camps had been established for Kashmiri refugees in Rawalpindi, Campbellpur, Jhelum, Gujrat and Sialkot Districts. At the same time there were many refugees who were sent for resettlement to Azad Kashmir. A meeting of the Pakistan-Punjab Joint Refugee Council presided over by Governor Mudie was held on 1st December 1948 at the Government House, Lahore.\textsuperscript{221} Other participants included Khwaja Shahabuddin and Choudhary Ghulam Abbas Supreme Head of the Azad Kashmir Government. The Council agreed that evacuees from Bharatpur, Alwar and Bikaner would be given the maintenance allowance. The repatriation of the non-Muslim refugees in Azad Kashmir was also discussed. Choudhary Ghulam Abbas explained the position of Azad Kashmir Government in the matter. The Pakistan Minister for Refugees was expected to use his influence to convince the Indian officials to transfer the Muslim women from Indian held Kashmir to Pakistan.\textsuperscript{222} Regarding rehabilitation in the Thal area it was decided that Muslim refugees from East Punjab, East Punjab States, Alwar and Bharatpur who were not peasant proprietors would be treated as peasant grantees and would be permitted to have proprietary rights. The Council also decided that the government would take over the control of all the un-allotted or damaged cotton ginning factories in West Punjab. The participants also agreed to take the case of unpaid securities pertaining to the provident fund of the Aitcheson College Lahore to an inter-dominion level.\textsuperscript{223}
Refugee Rents

The refugee living in rented houses were perturbed over the high rents demanded by the authorities. In retaliation to the assessed house rent since September 1947 which was to be paid in lump sum a procession of refugees in Lahore led by a camel mounted speaker paraded the streets of the city on 8th December 1948.224 The camel was decorated with a placard which read “poor muhajirs” along with two drums hanging downwards. The processionists used to halt at the busiest bazaar crossings shouting slogans like “government should rehabilitate the refugees and not squeeze money from them”.225 They vehemently opposed the rise in the rent for refugees. They also held a protest meeting at Gawalmandi against the government.

Rise in rent was not the only issue of great concern for the refugees but those living in weaver’s colony were also full of complaints against the rehabilitation authorities. In this connection Begum Tasadduq Hussain MLA visited the weavers’ colony in Lyallpur on 6th December 1948 and spoke to the muhajir weavers. She heard the grievances and helped a few deserving weavers on the spot. Later, in a press statement she said “I am very much moved by the sad plight of 5,000 refugees existing in the camp. They are exposed to the biting winter winds. No arrangement had been made for their medical and maternity aid. They are on the verge of starvation and epidemics”.226 Referring to the cotton allotted to those weavers, she said that the quota allotted to them was barely to last ten days and they were to remain idle for twenty days in a month. She concluded that to make
things worse the attitude of the camp officials to the poor weavers was quite inhumane.

**Relocation of Surplus Refugees to Sind**

The bulk of Muslim evacuees comprised agricultural labor, tenants and artisans and only a small slice being that of land holders. West Punjab had a greater chunk of non-Muslims who were land holders, money-lenders, jewelers, lawyers, businessmen and traders, though less in numbers and with smaller families than their Muslim counterparts. However, with the arrival of a greater number of Muslim refugees the per capita land available to a person fell short of an economic holding. The only remedy available for the West Punjab was to absorb the surplus refugees in neighboring provinces where significant land and water was available. It had become difficult for the government to absorb all the surplus refugees in West Punjab alone. So it was hoped that other provinces should come forward and share responsibility for rehabilitating the refugees. Negotiations were going on between the Sind and the West Punjab Governments for sharing the extra burden. A national conference consisting of delegates from the respective provincial governments was held on 22\textsuperscript{nd} January 1948 at Lahore.\textsuperscript{227} The participants included Governor West Punjab Francis Mudie who also presided over the conference, Minister Ghazanfar and the Sind Prime Minister M.A. Khuhro. In that conference it was finally decided that the Sind province would absorb as many refugees from West Punjab as possible but the exact number of refugees to be absorbed was not mentioned in the conference.
According to this decision the refugees in bullock carts were to proceed to Rohri where the Sind Government was to establish a refugee camp for distributing cards to them indicating the places where they were to be resettled. Ghazanfar Ali Khan expressed his gratification over the decision and hoped that the refugees who had been held up for many months in West Punjab camps would eventually be resettled and would have fertile Sindhi land to cultivate. Though he regretted that the refugees would have to make a long journey on foot again to reach their destination but he assured them that since that was a journey within Pakistan they would be looked after by the authorities in every manner possible. Khuhro stated that they had opened their doors for the refugees and would welcome them wholeheartedly and also expected that refugees would assimilate with the local community and live peacefully for the betterment of Sind.\textsuperscript{228}

Later on, Ghazanfar Ali Khan in a press interview stressed the need for positive policy by the provincial governments in order to solve the gigantic refugee problem. He urged that “unless the provincial governments do not muster courage to face the opposition from interested persons, the problem of the rehabilitation of refugees will become an impossible task”.\textsuperscript{229} He further desired the Sind Province to play its part positively by allocating non-Muslim evacuee property to the Muslim refugees only inclusive of any livestock. As for Punjab he expressed his concern over issue of allotment as there were many cases where lands had been allocated to undeserving people at the expense of legitimate refugees. He felt the need for a re-assessment by the Punjab Government hoping that it would help in resettlement of many legitimate refugees.
In order to resettle the two lakh surplus refugees from West Punjab in Sind, a foolproof plan for their transfer from West Punjab camps was prepared and a caravan was to start from the second week in February 1948. The foot convoy had to cover about 600 miles in 45 days. The journey was to start from Arifwala in Multan Division and was to be completed in 38 stages included a rest day after every five days. The refugees were to move along with their cattle, carts etc and were to move in 12 columns with a gap of three days between them so the exact migration process was to take 11 weeks.\textsuperscript{230} The authorities had made adequate arrangements en route like uninterrupted supply of food, water and fodder for the accompanying livestock. Special attention was paid to inoculate the refugees. In addition, the railway was also employed to transport refugees to Sind. In that connection two special trains had left from Lyallpur with 4,000 passengers on 29\textsuperscript{th} January and the other started from the Bowli camp in Lahore on 31\textsuperscript{st} January.\textsuperscript{231} All the passengers were vaccinated before entraining.

The relations between Punjab and Sind were at times tense over the issue of surplus refugees. According to an estimate there were still 5 lakh surplus refugees in West Punjab camps mostly agriculturists who could not be accommodated there. In that connection an informal meeting between the Minister for Refugees Pakistan Government and the Minister of the Sind Government took place at Governor’s House Karachi on 4\textsuperscript{th} August 1948.\textsuperscript{332} Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah chaired the meeting. The Central Refugee Minister hoped that out of five lakh refugees the Sind province would absorb at least two lakh refugees whereas remaining three lakhs would be accommodated in NWFP, Baluchistan and in the Pakistan States.
In response the Sind Minister mentioned that since most of the non-Muslim evacuees were not agriculturists it would be difficult for Sind province to accommodate further agriculturists refugees from West Punjab but would be able to shelter about one lakh refugees if they were willing to work as laborers on the Lower Sind Barrage Scheme or in the Sind Irrigation Department. The central government felt that Sind should have settled two lakh refugees in the first place and still there was room for another one hundred thousand agriculturist refugees to be settled on land in Sind.233

The Punjab had been trying to convince the Sind Government to take its surplus refugees for resettlement in different areas. The situation was so grave that the dying Father of the Nations took notice of it and proclaimed a State of Emergency in the country on 25th August 1948 in order to give more powers to the Centre.234 Accordingly officials of the Rehabilitation Department met in a conference on 27th August 1948 at Karachi to discuss the absorption of two lakhs out of five lakh surplus refugees into their province. They formulated a plan for discussion by the Pakistan-Sind Joint Refugee Council to be held in Karachi on 28th August.235 The conference decided to set up a sub-committee to explore means and methods for absorption of two lakh surplus refugees. The central government representative Mr. E.V. de Moss however insisted that the Sind Government should first agree to absorb two lakh refugees and then should set up an Implementation Committee.236

On 30th August 1948, the Pakistan-Sind Joint Refugee Council agreed that Sind would absorb two lakhs out of five lakh surplus refugees, the NWFP should absorb one lakh, and one lakh should be absorbed by Baluchistan Agency and the States
of Bahawalpur and Khairpur. The remaining one lakh should be rehabilitated by Punjab.\textsuperscript{237} It was agreed that the movement of refugees from West Punjab into Sind would be completed in the forthcoming eight weeks. Atta Mohammad Khan Leghari the Refugee Commissioner West Punjab upon his return from Karachi on 1\textsuperscript{st} September 1948 stated that within next six months all the refugee camps in West Punjab would be closed down and every single inmate rehabilitated permanently.\textsuperscript{238} He declared that a well planned program to evacuate the refugees from camps and their rehabilitation into Sind, Baluchistan and States had been finalized.

A meeting of Pakistan-West Punjab Joint Refugee Council was held in Lahore on 6\textsuperscript{th} September 1948 under the president-ship of Governor Mudie.\textsuperscript{239} Other participants included Khwaja Shahabuddin the Refugee Minister Pakistan, Premier Mamdot, Mr. Karamat Ali, Secretaries of the West Punjab Government including Mr. Moss and Brigadier F.H. Stevens. The Council discussed in detail the spill over of two lakhs refugees surplus from West Punjab camps into Sind and concluded that a proposed ordinance to control the refugee movement out of West Punjab be issued. It also discussed the future of the organization specially established for the recovery of the Muslim abducted women, children and converted persons from different parts of India. The Council appreciated the central government’s stance over West Punjab Government’s plea for the transfer of surplus refugees to Sind. The Council however decided to close down the Women Section of the organization for recovery as a protest against India’s ill treatment to Pakistani women workers in East Punjab.\textsuperscript{240} It was also decided to
impress upon the West Punjab Government to establish a camp for those non-Muslim women who were not willing to go to India. Following the decisions of the Joint Refugee Council, the transfer of refugees from camps in West Punjab started by second week of September 1948. Two special trains carrying 50,000 refugees from Walton camps left for Sind on 10th September 1948.²⁴¹

Khwaja Shahabuddin and the West Punjab Premier Mamdot were also present at the send off ceremony. Earlier that day Governor Mudie visited the Walton Refugee Camp and spoke to the inmates awaiting transportation. The first train left Lahore at 1:00 pm for Rohri. The refugees were grouped village-wise in each train. The police band was also in attendance to boost the morale of the outgoing refugees. Each train had a hospital, maternity wards, kitchen, water reservoirs and a wagon full of tents for the longer stays en route. Premier Mamdot also addressed the departing refugees belonging to Patiala State. He said that he felt sorry for the refugees who had to be sent off to Sind but at the same time he was confident that the Sind Government and the people there would welcome the refugees and would extend them every possible help. He warned the police contingents escorting the refugee trains, not to mishandle or even hurt refugees’ sentiments. He remarked, “they (refugees) have been homeless for the last one year and have gone through untold misery and torture. Now they are your sacred trust and you must take them comfortably and peacefully to Sind”.²⁴²

The next train left the Lahore Railway Station at 4:00 p.m. where Khwaja Shahabuddin was present along with Sheikh Karamat Ali. Both were thrilled to notice the high spirits of the refugees who were shouting slogans such as “Quaid-i-
Azam Zindabad” and “Pakistan Zindabad”. The government had managed to run 150 such trains to shift the refugees from Walton camps. Approximately one crore rupees were spent on transfer of refugees. Within a week about 48,500 refugees, 288 cattle and 115 carts had been transferred to Sind in 16 special trains. Five camps in Lahore were therefore declared closed. The first refugee train which took refugees to Sind on 10th September 1948 was warmly received by the local people at Tando Adam Khan Railway Station. The refugees were greeted by members of local community, volunteers and officials of the camps and were offered meat salan, daal, chappatis and rice. Another Special train was received at the same station by the Deputy Collector, Municipal Officer, National Guard and Medical Officer of the Hyderabad District. The refugees were accommodated in the vacant houses and hot meals were provided to them. Refugee trains were mostly sent to Mehrabpur in Nawabshah District, Tando Mohammad Khan in Hyderabad District, and at the Malti and Pithori Railway Stations. Refugees were received by Director of Movement and Quartering Mr. M. Masud. The trains carrying refugees were fully equipped to cope with any emergency situation and all injured, sick and pregnant women were accommodated in the first class compartments to the full satisfaction of refugees with regard to travel arrangements.

By the last week of September 1948 almost all the camps in Lahore had been vacated and the remaining few were to be closed down in another week. After Lahore the refugee camps in Multan and Montgomery were scheduled to be closed and refugees were to be redirected to selected areas in Sind. Mr. A.M. Leghari was
in close contact with Khwaja Shahabuddin and both were present at Jangshai on 24th September 1948 to receive the refugees. Before departure the Refugee Commissioner stated that the largest refugee camp at Walton was to be closed down in next week whereas the Bowli and Ravi camps had already been wound up.

Upon reception at the Tando Adam Khan the refugees and the local Sindi community formed a Jamiat by the name of Jamiat-i-Muhajer-o-Ansar overriding any difference between the Sindis and the non-Sindis. The refugees were touched by the warm reception extended to them and stated that they should have preferred to come to Sind had they known about the hospitality of the Sindis. A refugee leader told the press that they had been misinformed about the Sindi community by certain leaders with vested interests. The refugees also hoped that given a chance by the Sind Government along with some easy loans and seeds; they could turn the barren lands into fertile ones with their hard work and patience. The refugees were very happy to know that the Sind Government had allotted 12 acres of land for every refugee family that had arrived from West Punjab.

Within twenty days the mass movement of one lakh surplus refugees had been completed. This information was released to the press by Mr. A.M. Leghari in Lahore on 2nd October 1948. He also disclosed that camps at Gujranwala and Bhera were also closed down and remaining camps at Multan, Montgomery, Mainwali and Sargodha were being liquidated speedily. He informed the press that after clearing the main camps, the smaller camps at Wah, Pind Dadan Khan and Gujrat would be cleared. By first week of October 1948 about 110,000 refugees
had arrived in Sind. The Sind Government also announced the arrangements made for the transfer of 18,000 refugees who were earlier located in Bhalar Camp to various parts of Larkana and Dadu Districts. The authorities of the QARF also sanctioned a gift of over 60,000 items of clothing for the refugees who had reached Sind from West Punjab.\textsuperscript{251}

A press note issued by the Ministry of Refugees’ Information Department on 11\textsuperscript{th} October 1948 stated that the Refugee Commissioner (Movement) had drawn up a plan of special trains for the continued transfer of refugees from West Punjab to different areas in Sind. Accordingly special trains left on 12\textsuperscript{th} October 1948 to Mirpur from Montgomery, Rohri from Wah; on 13\textsuperscript{th} October 1948 trains left from Okara to Ghotki, Gujrat to Pano Akil; on 14\textsuperscript{th} October 1948 from Sargodha to Rohri, Lahore to Shikarpur; on 15\textsuperscript{th} October from Montgomery to Digri, Gujrat to Pano Akil; on 16\textsuperscript{th} October from Okara to Ghotki, Montgomery to Dadu District; on 17\textsuperscript{th} October from Pind Dadan Khan to Shikarpur, Montgomery to Dadu District; on 18\textsuperscript{th} October from Montgomery to Dhoronoro, Sargoda to Shikarpur.\textsuperscript{252} Those trains carried around 2,500 passengers each and were provided with one days’ cooked food and dry ration for up to three days. On 16\textsuperscript{th} October 1948 Mr. A.M. Leghari announced through a press note that the Gujrat refugee camp had been cleared and the total number of refugees moved to Sind was 165,000. He also stated that the movement of the refugee special trains would leave from 19\textsuperscript{th} October 1948 to 24\textsuperscript{th} October from Montgomery and into Dadu, Mirpurkhas, Shadi Pale and Sinjhoro. The Deputy Refugee Commissioner Mr. Nasim Mahmood
disclosed that refugees who had arrived from Bhakar on 14\textsuperscript{th} October 1948 had been allocated lands and houses within two hours of their arrival.\textsuperscript{253}

On 18\textsuperscript{th} October 1948, the Refugee Commissioner informed the Central Refugee Ministry at Karachi that all refugee camps in West Punjab had been closed. That had all been made possible due to the efforts of the Refugee Commissioner Leghari, Governor Mudie and Khwaja Shahabuddin the Pakistan Minister for Refugees who persuaded the central government in time to send the two lakh surplus refugees accommodated in West Punjab camps to Sind. The Premier West Punjab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot who also held the provincial portfolio of the Refugee Ministry worked in close contact with other departments and managed to transfer 180,000 refugees in 71 special trains.\textsuperscript{254} The remaining 20,000 refugees were in small pockets in different areas of West Punjab and the authorities were trying to move them into Sind from Multan and Lahore. For this purpose special trains left Multan for Dadu District on 23\textsuperscript{rd} October and from Lahore to Mirpurkhas on 24\textsuperscript{th} October 1948.

The last of the 76 special trains reached Sanjoro in Sind on 24\textsuperscript{th} October 1948 which completed the task of transporting 200,000 surplus refugees to the selected areas in the Sind province.\textsuperscript{255} The Sind Government had chalked out a plan to resettle 66,000 refugees in Larkana, Dadu, Thatta and Hyderabad Districts within a period of just one month. The Districts of Nawabshah, Sanghar and Tharparkar were to absorb the remainder.\textsuperscript{256} After the arrival of two lakh refugees in Sind the West Punjab Government had to send another two lakh refugees to NWFP, Baluchistan and States of Bahawalpur and Khairpur. Arrangements for the transfer
of those refugees were finalized by the Pakistan-Punjab and Pakistan NWFP Joint Refugee Councils.

Khwaja Shahabuddin in a press note stated that the movement of surplus refugees to Sind was carried out with the help of 77 trains carrying 192,330 refugees over three years of age; 939 bullock-carts; 1,823 bullocks; 150 cows and buffaloes; 11 tongas; 9 horses; 178 camels and 351 donkeys. The total number of refugees including children below the age of three years was about 205,000.\textsuperscript{257} It was mentioned that another few thousands would be added to the list once the refugees left behind had been shifted. The Minister also mentioned that despite shortage of time and rapidity of the movement, every effort had been made to board refugees of the same place of origin together so that they might be settled en bloc.

However, Soofi Abdul Hamid MLA toured Sind province to have first hand information about the resettlement of the surplus refugees. In a statement he criticized the Refugee Rehabilitation Department for not fulfilling their promise of district-wise rehabilitation. He termed it as a “clear breach of promise” by the government. He also criticized the alleged unsympathetic behavior of the rehabilitation staff. He complained that at Padidan the police and other influential locals had occupied evacuee buildings and that no effort had been made by the provincial government to vacate those houses for refugees. He further stated that the refugee camp at Nawabshah with 900 refugees was in a mess where inmates were nearly starving and in poor condition on the verge of approaching winter.\textsuperscript{258}

As for the allotment of land he claimed that there were double standards where
some refugees were allotted land and some were kept as tenants of the local influential people. The government however did not rebut these accusations.

On another occasion Khwaja Shahabuddin appealed the press on 8th November 1948, not to exploit the difficult situation of the government on the issue of refugee rehabilitation. He stated that from 10th September to 25th October 1948 about 218,602 refugees had been transferred to Sind according to the plan therefore all the refugee camps in West Punjab had been cleared.259 He told the press that at least seven lakh refugees had been moved to Sind before the start of the planned movement. Talking about the surplus refugees, the Minister said that more than one lakh had been allotted lands in Dadu and Larkana Districts. Most of the refugees had been resettled but unfortunately there were places where the refugees had refused to be resettled. He announced that it had been decided to effect resettlement in Sind through the Directorate of Movement and Quartering (Refugees) which was a department of the central government. Earlier the resettlement was done by the provincial government whereas the central government was looking after only the refugee movement. The Directorate was tasked to organize teams to visit the concerned areas to check the movement and the resettlement of the refugees in best located areas. It was to ensure that medical and ration arrangements were available to the new settlers. Those teams had also been authorized to take necessary action on the spot and make sure that evacuee land was available for allotment. As for the housing difficulties the Minister informed the press that the government had decided to appoint an Additional-Mukhtiarkar to assist the Mukhtiarkar and Collectors who had been instructed to
open fair-price grain shops for refugee cultivators. Building materials such as mats were provided so that the refugee could build houses or huts to suit their needs.

The bulk of non-Muslim population in NWFP and Baluchistan was minimal as compared to West Punjab and Sind. As such these provinces had very little capacity to absorb outsiders. The local Muslims of these provinces gave adequate protection to their non-Muslim neighbors who saw little need to quit and move over to the other dominion. Though a limited number of surplus Muslim refugees came to these provinces they were hospitably accommodated by the locals as well the civil administration.

**Inter-Dominion Parleys 1948**

The two dominions had the clarity of vision over the humanitarian issues connected with partition, there were however differences at lower levels over modus operandi and priorities. In order to iron out these difficulties it became necessary for high officials of both the dominions to meet and work out a via media. Inter-dominion conferences were a useful medium for sorting out difficulties at ground level. It also provided the field workers to undertake their work smoothly. People on ground level were rigid in their views whereas the officials at top level were considerably liberal in their approach and accommodative of the other party’s views. The year 1947 passed mainly in the provision of relief to the riot stricken refugees but in the following year the government was faced with unforeseen hurdles which necessitated negotiation of mutually acceptable remedies. The issues to be dealt with spanned the
identification, evaluation and transfer of evacuee properties, exchange of prisoners, recovery and restoration of abductees.

The first inter-dominion conference in the year 1948 was held on 22\textsuperscript{nd} January 1948 at Civil Secretariat, Jullundur.\textsuperscript{261} The conference was chaired by Sardar Swaran Singh, the Home Minister of East Punjab and attended by high-ranking civil and military official form both sides. The agenda consisted of issues related to propaganda, information, organization of transit camps and recovery operations with special emphasis on the latter item. In the meeting it was stated that a total of 9,957 abductees from East Punjab and 1,444 from West Punjab had been recovered.\textsuperscript{262} While there was no disagreement over the ultimate objectives, there were a number of complaints by one side against the other and vice versa. Sardar Swaran Singh concluded the meeting with an assurance on behalf of the East Punjab Government promising all facilities for speedy recovery of the abductees.

The next ministerial level meeting at Lahore from 13\textsuperscript{th}-15\textsuperscript{th} March 1948 covered a wide range of issues but concentrated on recovery of abductees where “the results had fallen short of expectations” due to difference of opinion remaining “unresolved”.\textsuperscript{263} Ministers K.C. Neogy of India and Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan of Pakistan thus agreed to streamline the existing machinery and to take drastic and exemplary action against offenders. Other issues discussed by the ministers related to exchange of prisoners, transfer of evacuee property, safe deposit vaults, securities and restoration of licensed arms.\textsuperscript{264}

A high-level follow up meeting at New Delhi on 19\textsuperscript{th} March 1948 by both the Prime Ministers under chair-personage of Countess Mountbatten laid policy
guidelines for recovered abductees who had relations in either country or also those who were without any relatives. The following month another conference held at New Delhi from 5th to 8th April 1948 led by Justice Achhru Ram Sahgal of India and Justice S.A. Rehman of Pakistan examined the legal aspects of trust property and the properties of religious, cultural and educational institutions. Pakistan suggested establishment of special courts in both countries with exclusive jurisdiction to expeditiously deal with the said properties. India on the other hand favored setting up of a joint court and in the cases of differences between the representing judges, the decisions were to be taken by an arbitrator agreeable to both the dominions.

Both governments reaffirmed their undertaking to protect the lives and properties of the minority communities during a conference held at Calcutta from 15th to 18th April 1948. Both governments realized that mass exodus was not in favour of either dominion and agreed to take steps to check mass exodus and for creating an environment which would encourage the evacuees to return to their ancestral homes. The representatives agreed to ensure equality of human rights in social, cultural, religious and educational fields for all the minorities living under their domain. They agreed to discourage the propaganda for the annulment of partition and to curb the irresponsible reporting by the press which was likely to foment inter-communal and inter-dominion animosity. The Conference also considered reports of the committee on economic issues, boundary disputes and border incidents, evacuee property, provincial partition matters, stores, insurance and museums.
On 22\textsuperscript{nd} July 1948 another conference was held at Lahore to consider the draft scheme on evacuee property agreement prepared by the Joint Official Committee which had met at Lahore from 22\textsuperscript{nd} to 25\textsuperscript{th} March 1948.\textsuperscript{268} Mr. E. De V. Moss, Secretary of Refugee Ministry Pakistan and Mr. V.D. Dantyagi, Joint Secretary, Ministry without portfolio, Government of India, represented their respective countries. The conference agreed to include applicable areas in both India and Pakistan. It was decided to include Ajmer-Merwara, Malerkotla State, Matsya and Rajistan Unions, Saurashtra, Jaipur State, Jodhpur State and western districts of United Provinces including Saharanpur, Dehra Dun, Meerut and Muzaffarnagar in India. Similarly, Pakistan also agreed to provide a list of areas in Pakistan for India’s consideration. As for the agricultural property it was decided that no final decision should be taken before compiling the complete data of the land records. Pakistan suggested the appointment of Special Revenue Officers by both dominions. On the question of settlement of urban immoveable property India urged for a government-to-government basis for settlement and exchanges. Pakistan representatives though being in favour of governmental exchanges feared that it would delay the process. Finally, both parties agreed to set up a Joint Urban Assessment Board to assess the value of the property and an officer belonging to other dominion was to be associated with the Custodian of Evacuee Property in each dominion to ensure equitable management and early rental collection to the evacuee land owners. India however suggested that until and unless a final agreement was reached, free exchange of urban immovable property be allowed. Pakistan also agreed to that proposal.\textsuperscript{269} For the transfer, exchange or sale of
immovable property both governments agreed to set up a Joint Government Agency to deal with any matter arising out of such transactions. Other important issues relating to evacuee property such as customs, export and import, trust property, income tax assessment etc were also discussed in detail.

The Conference also discussed the exchange of prisoners which had been suspended since 27th April 1948. In this connection Pakistan handed over a draft which stated that they wished to resume the exchange as soon as there was an agreement for the Muslim prisoners of Delhi whose family members had migrated to Pakistan on the same terms as applied to the exchange of prisoners from East and West Punjab. In response, the Indian delegation agreed to consider the proposed scheme and send an official reply on priority basis. Another important subject under discussion was the permit system introduced by the Indian Government. The Indian representatives explained the reasons for the induction of permit system. However, they indicated that they were willing to repeal permit system provided there was a regulated system catering for two-way instead of one-way traffic. The Pakistan delegation however criticized Indian stance over the permit system and hinted that they would also introduce a permit system if the Indian authorities remained adamant.

The Conference again met at Karachi on 18th August 1948 to monitor progress on issues relating to evacuee property, permit system and exchange of prisoners. The Pakistan side was represented by Minister for Refugees Khwaja Shahabuddin and the Indian side was represented by Messrs M.K. Kirpalani and K.L. Panjabi, the High Commissioner for India in Pakistan. The meeting agreed to set up a joint
organization for evaluation and evacuation of the urban evacuee property in both
dominions. They also agreed to lay down workable procedures to implement the
decisions on exchange of prisoners. In this connection the representatives asked for
providing complete lists of exchangeable prisoners from both sides prior to
implementing the exchange. The imposition of permit system was discussed in
depth and notes were taken to raise the matter at a high level ministerial meeting.
The representatives met again at New Delhi from 6th to 14th December 1948 where
the governments acknowledged their responsibility for protecting the lives and
properties of the minority communities residing within their borders.273 The
conference assured all the citizens to be having equal rights, opportunities,
privileges and obligations. It sought wholehearted press cooperation to curb
inimical propaganda. The conference inter alia provided for setting up minority
boards and measures for implementation of existing agreements.
The year 1948 was a very difficult one for the participants comprising the leaders
of public opinion, legislators and the civil servants who had to implement the
decisions taken at the inter-dominion conferences. It was easy for one party to
blame the other for one’s own faults and failures. This led to recriminations which
could only be resolved by leaders at the helm of affairs. The higher leadership was
thus faced with an unenviable situation in which their subordinates had fed them
with parochial rather than pragmatic data. This created a difficulty in attaining
unanimity of decisions. Even when unanimous decisions had been taken at higher
level, their implementation was delayed or denied by the respective subordinates
on one pretext or the other.
The demise of charismatic leaders like Gandhi and Jinnah had led to formation of self seeking cliques within the main political parties in both dominions. There was nobody of the stature of Gandhi and Jinnah who could overrule his own supporters. However, the commonality and the magnitude of the problems facing them made the higher leadership in both the dominions accommodative towards the other’s viewpoint. The understanding thus developed did not bear any immediate fruit but was instrumental in reaching workable decisions in the long run.

**Ministerial Dissentions in West Punjab**

The West Punjab Legislative Assembly was a mixture of local members and refugee legislators from East Punjab and other states in partitioned province. The refugee legislators were more motivated and worse sufferers as well as more vocal and vociferous in airing their grievances. Whereas the West Punjab local MLAs were generally of meager education and intellect, sitters on their hunches and led by hereditary land owners, *jagirdars* and title holders. The new crop of land grabbing mafia also enjoyed the support of many of the hereditary land lords mostly ex-Unionists.

Chief Minister Iftikhar Hussain Khan Mamdot was himself a refugee land holder from Ferozepur District in East Punjab. He was liked by the League’s high command more for his loyalty than for intellectual acumen. Mamdot’s equanimity was described by his adversaries by naming him as a “dumb wrestler”\(^2\). The West Punjab Governor Sir Francis Mudie also did not think highly of Mamdot.\(^3\) Premier Mamdot also failed to adopt an avuncular stance towards his junior
colleagues like Mumtaz Daultana and Sirdar Shaukat Hyat the Finance and Revenue Minister who were prone to strain at the leash. Another important individual Mian Ifitikhar-ud-Din the Minister for Refugee and Rehabilitation till 14th November 1947 was an intellectual and pragmatic socialist who was in favour of distributing virgin lands to refugees. He resigned in the face of having differences with his colleagues over the policy for rehabilitation of refugees. He believed that the only solution for the rehabilitation of millions of refugees lay in elimination of class differences prevailing in the society. Those internal conflicts had adversely affected the core issue of resettlement. The situation created frustration amongst refugee legislators as well as ordinary refugees at large. This exacerbated interpersonal and inter-group rivalries. Even with their known idiosyncrasies and failures after failures, the ministers had the audacity to brag about their performance in the meetings and conferences that they had attended.

The triumvirate of Nawab Mamdot, Mumtaz Daultana and Shaukat Hyat which had been tireless in working for Pakistan, fell a pray to vicissitudes after independence. Daultana as Finance Minister and Shaukat as Revenue Minister criticized the Chief’s handling of cabinet decisions and threatened to resign. The conflict came to a head in April 1948 when the three ministers were summoned by the Quaid-i-Azam at Karachi and under his persuasion agreed to work as a united team. When back in Lahore, recrimination started again and the Quaid called them again to Karachi along with Governor Mudie. The squabbling ministers however refused to patch up. The Quaid then directed Mudie to handle the situation. On return to Lahore Mudie asked Mamdot to face the Legislature where the latter won
an overwhelming vote of confidence. Faced with this predicament Daultana and Shaukat had to relinquish their office on 27th May 1948, though there was no end to the Punjab tangle.

The conflict remained in doldrums during the last phase of the Quaid’s illness. The hydra raised its head again after Quaid’s demise when Prime Minister Liaquat importuned Mamdot to bring back Daultana in the Cabinet. Daultana, an Oxonian like Liaquat, impressed the Premier as an ambitious youngster with lot of initiative. Mamdot acquiesced but later on backed out of his promise. Thus humiliated Daultana started working for control of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. By November 1948 Daultana had gained an upper hand in the party and was elected its President by defeating Mamdot’s stooge Mr. Alauddin Siddique. To clinch his victory Daultana persuaded the Center to not only dissolve the ministry but also the provincial assembly. In January 1949 the Governor-General dissolved the ministry as well as the legislature and asked Mudie to take over the administration and to arrange for fresh elections.

The constitutional imbroglio put a break on the rehabilitation and resettlement process, much to the delight of the landowners who earlier on chagrined by Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din’s socialistic schemes for rehabilitation had forced his resignation. The year 1948 had been one of trials and tribulations during which the top ministers were at loggerheads with each other because of petty and personal differences. Nevertheless, teething troubles for the fledgling administration were nearing an end. During this period foundation for better working arrangements and procedures had been well laid and eventually
contributed to better amelioration of refugees’ woes during the succeeding years. However, the subsequent phase of refugee rehabilitation and resettlement had its own trials and triumphs, not without their own pitfalls and pains are discussed in extenso in the next chapter.
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One lakh refugees transferred to Sind from West Punjab.

110,000 refugees arrive in Sind.

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1,65,000 refugees moved to Sind; Gujrat camp closed.

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1,80,000 refugees arrive in Sind province; resettlement to be completed within a year; refugees' movement to Sind completed according to plan.

Refugees' movement to Sind completed according to plan.

Soofi Abdul Hamid indicts Refugee Rehabilitation Department.

Refugee problem will be settled in a very short time, says Kh. Shahabuddin.

Ibid. It was also decided by the Pakistan representatives that Pakistani troops would not operate in East Punjab after 31st March 1948 and all troops would be withdrawn from their duties with MEO from 1st April 1948. From the States they were to be withdrawn till 15th April 1948. Similarly it was suggested that all Indian troops working for MEO in Pakistan were to be withdrawn no later than 16th April 1948.

Minutes of the meeting held at Government House, New Delhi at 2:45 pm on Friday 19th March 1948, in File No. 19/CF/49, No. 50, Cabinet Division, Islamabad; Government of West Punjab, Inter-Dominion Agreements: Second Installment, ibid. The meeting was attended by Her Excellency the Countess Mountbatten of Burma, the Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan, the Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation India, the Minister for Communication Pakistan, the High Commissioner for Pakistan in India etc.

For details see Minutes of the Inter dominion conference held at New Delhi on 5th April 1948-Trust Property and the property of religious, cultural and educational institutions, in file No. 19/CF/49, ibid.

Both governments also recognized the fact that in order to get maximum results, the cooperation from the press was essential specially to create a cordial atmosphere. Therefore it was agreed to ensure that media from both sides were not indulged in any negative propaganda against the other dominion.

Government of Pakistan, Papers Relating to Inter-Dominion Conferences: July and December 1948 and January 1949 (Karachi: Governor-General’s Press and Publications, 1950), pp. 1-19. For more details see Minutes of the Inter-Dominion Conference held in Lahore on 22nd July 1948, in Papers Relating to Inter Dominion Conferences, ibid, pp. 69-71; Constituent Assembly Debates dated 20th December 1948.

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Ibid, p.3. Item 4 of the Agenda- Exchange of Prisoners.
parliamentary party demanding a vote of confidence. Mamdot was lucky enough to win the vote of confidence but only with the help of his West Punjab supporters. Especially those having plenty of resources for propagating League’s cause. After Quaid’s demise Mamdot had to face the brass tacks of the Punjab politics. He had to seek goodwill of West Punjab landed gentry who were skeptical of his bona fides. He had been inclined towards West Punjab feudal aristocracy because he had little choice in the matter. Perceived as a lukewarm supporter, Mamdot was suspected of being a stooge for West Punjab feudal aristocracy. Their patience running low the refugee legislators formed a bloc within the parliamentary party demanding a vote of confidence. Mamdot was lucky enough to win the vote of confidence but only with the help of his West Punjab supporters.


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R.F. Mudie to Khwaja Nazimuddin, dated 3rd December 1948, in Mudie Collection, IOR, MSS, Eur, F.164/51, p.15; Safdar Mahmood, Muslim League ka Daur-e-Hakumat (Lahore: Sheikh...


Chapter Five

Rehabilitation Vicissitudes in the Punjab: 1949-55

The arrival of refugee multitudes hounded out of East Punjab had mortified homfolk’s independence euphoria into a nightmare. The local people together with governmental agencies had set up refugee camps to accommodate the oncomers and direct them to houses, fields and factories vacated by out gone non-Muslims. But there was no respite to the refugee influx which threatened the very existence of the nascent country. Faced with that contingency Quaid-i-Azam had proclaimed a State of Emergency to empower the central and provincial governments to take extreme measures as called for by the situation.¹

The governmental and voluntary efforts to tackle the refugee influx during 1949-55 were spirited but notwithstanding the determined and clear minded top leadership, suffered from inexperience and inability to prevent corrupt practices. In such a situation unscrupulous locals managed to grab large asserts and properties which should have been given to refugees. However, with the passage of time good sense and strict action by the authorities prevailed and much of the illegally seized assets were recovered for allocation to rightful claimants. Government agencies and their rehabilitation projects did a yeoman’s service to the dispossessed and needy refugees.

Towards the end of 1955 much of the sufferings of refugees had been alleviated notwithstanding the continuous stream of evictees from across the border. This mass movement of a vast multitude of humanity transcends any like event in the annuals of twentieth century. The trauma of unmitigated human suffering—
physical, psychological and ideological—would endure for future generations and the wounds would fester well nigh over to the next century. The captioned chapter aims at focusing the misfortunes of the incomers, the dilemmas and predicaments of the administrative machinery exacerbated due to the uncalled for influx of Kashmiri evacuees apart from settling the partition induced Punjabi refugees. At the same time the protagonists of the two-nation theory were embarrassed by those Muslims who were lured back to the country of their birth by Indian authorities.

**On-going Muslim Eviction from India: A Continuing Travail**

By 1949 the mutual traffic of refugees between India and Pakistan had stabilized to a more or less set pattern. People wanting to go across the border were more cautious in terms of complying with the regulations pertaining to evacuee property, safe passage and proper reception at the other end. Business migrants took proper care to safeguard their leftover property and future of their business enterprise in their new destinations. However, this proved to be a lull before the storm of 1950 communal riots in Calcutta which forced another wave of “have-nots” towards their “promised land”. The Muslim eviction from India during 1949-55 outlines the circumstances which forced them to flee and face hardships en route.

According to the West Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry, approximately 4.72 lakh Muslims had lost their lives in East Punjab and adjoining States. They had died due to epidemics, malnutrition, and fatigue or were killed en route to the border. Out of a total 59.35 lakh Muslims in East Punjab about 51.93 lakh had been evacuated to West Punjab by the end of 1948. After evacuating around five million Muslims from East Punjab and adjoining states the Pakistan Military
Evacuation Organisation (MEO) was finally wound up in Lahore on 22nd January 1949.³

The Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan had informed the Pakistan Government that two ships called the S.S. Bhadravati and S.S. Natravati had left Bombay on 8th August 1949 carrying 1,200 Dhond evacuees from Maharashtra. The ships arrived at the Karachi port on 11th and 12th August 1949.⁴ They were immediately sent on to their respected destinations for settlement. By the last week of August 1,400 more Muslim refugees from Dhond reached Karachi by S.S. Saraswati. A Muslim convoy of 300 refugees in five trucks and escorted by the Punjab Police was detained at Wagah on 27th of August 1949. Five refugees were taken into custody by the East Punjab police. The Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan at Jullundur had requested the East Punjab Government to initiate a joint police inquiry but the plea was ignored. The Deputy High Commissioner reported that approximately 3,000 Muslim refugees had entered Jullundur camp during September 1949 and 2,000 had been evacuated to Pakistan. On 5th November 1949 there were 3,514 Muslim refugees in that camp.⁵ By the end of November things were getting worse in the camp as the authorities there failed to persuade the refugees to go back to Delhi and U.P. The Deputy High Commissioner in a statement clarified that evacuees from Delhi and UP would not be allowed to go to Pakistan until and unless they had secure a permit. The announcement made a large number of reluctant migrants to go back to Delhi and UP by the 30th of November 1949 in trucks and trains. The free ration supply in the camps was cut down to discourage the refugees to linger on in the camps and fresh arrivals were
not allowed to enter. By the end of December there were only 800 refugees left in Jullundur camp mostly converted and belonging to Delhi and UP.  

It was not only the Muslims from India who wanted to be evacuated and resettled in Pakistan but Muslims from other parts of the world were also interested to be repatriated to Pakistan. The Association of the Muslim Refugees in Europe based at Cairo also requested for repatriation of about one thousand Muslims to Pakistan for permanent resettlement. The request was considered in the Refugee Ministry but the decision was against the repatriation. Another such request was sent by stranded Tartar Muslims in Germany but was turned down on the grounds that there was not much space or resources to accommodate fresh refugees in Pakistan and also that it was very difficult for the Tartar Muslims to be acclimatized in Pakistan. Another appeal from the Muslims of Nahan State for evacuation was also declined by the Ministry of Refugees & Rehabilitation.

Malerkotla State was not as badly affected by the riots as some other states were. Based on a report by the Deputy High Commissioner at Jullundur stating that the Muslims were in better condition in that State, the Pakistan Government decided that there was no need for their evacuation. Similarly, the evacuation of Muslims from Chamba State was also declined. The refugees numbering 2,403 in the Dhond camp were repatriated to Pakistan and the Indian Government again asked the Pakistani Government to accept another 85 Muslims from Hyderabad State who had been earlier held at the Dhond camp. The Pakistan Government agreed to consider their applications for permits. At the same time Muslim refugees form Nahan State (Sirmur State) in the Jullundur camp waiting for evacuation to
Pakistan were persuaded by the Indian authorities to return to their ancestral homes.\textsuperscript{11}

By the end of January 1950 the local government in U.P. launched a campaign of expelling the Muslims from the province. It was learnt that the U.P. Government had ordered the district administration that all those Pakistani prisoners who had been jailed in India on the charges of overstaying or had violated the terms and conditions of the permits were to be forced to leave India forthwith. The police was also put on high alert to cope with any situation. The All-India Radio had also announced on 22\textsuperscript{nd} January 1950 that the U.P. Government intended to resettle 20,000 shernarthy (migrant) families on Muslim evacuee properties and in houses of those Muslims who intended to leave for Pakistan which created unrest amongst the U.P. Muslims.\textsuperscript{12}

According to an estimate the Calcutta riots of 1950 claimed 10,000 Muslim lives and property worth four crore rupees was destroyed during the first four days of the riots. It was also reported that the Indian Army had allegedly fired on the fleeing Muslims and some women were raped or abducted. There were only left 500 out of 6,000 Muslims in Batanagar. An estimated two hundred soap factories and about one hundred leather factories were gutted down to earth.\textsuperscript{13} All this created a new wave of eviction towards Pakistan. Both the Prime Ministers met in April 1950 and concluded an agreement known as the Liaquat-Nehru Pact on Minorities.\textsuperscript{14} The said pact softened the permit system and was conceived as a breather for the intending evacuees. It also paved way for repatriation of the migrants back to their ancestral homes.
The Minister of State for Refugee and Rehabilitation Dr. Istiaq Hussain Qureshi while speaking at the first session of the Lucknow Muslim Society at Karachi on 8th July 1951 disclosed that the arrival of refugees in Pakistan via Khokhropar created a lot of problems in the resettlement and that influx had been continuing for a long time which had created difficulties in the rehabilitation work. He said that the main problem was water scarcity and its supply to proposed colonies. He assured that “government would not spare any effort to see that every man, woman and child in Pakistan was resettled properly.” Dr. Qureshi also addressed the Central Rehabilitation Advisory Committee and expressed his great concern over the continued refugee influx via Khokhropar. He feared that it would not end and was a matter of serious attention.

On 4th September 1951 at Khokhropar Qureshi stated that rehabilitation of refugees was again becoming a great question mark due to continued influx of the refugees. From February 1950 to August 1951, about 8,318 had entered West Pakistan through Khokhropar. From 1st to 2nd September 1951 seven hundred had arrived. The sparse agricultural lands were insufficient for their absorption. The flow of evacuees from India indicated a deliberate effort to unsettle Muslims by persecution, harassment and economic boycott. 11,774 persons had entered East Pakistan from West Bengal during the first week of September 1951. The economic and other conditions were so attractive in East Pakistan that a large number of Hindus poured back into the province during the same period. The grand total from 12th April to 8th September 1951 was over 31 lakh refugees.
An official handout on 1st October 1951 stated that a large number of *muhajirs* from different areas in India were welcomed by Bahawalpur State and its people. Out of 3,70,974 arrivals 3,57,669 had been rehabilitated but about two lakhs along with their families still waited to be settled and absorbed.\(^ {18}\) On 24\(^{th}\) November 1951, Dr. Qureshi stated in the parliament that due to the mass exodus from India to Pakistan the refugee population had reached over 14 lakh since the Liaquat-Nehru Pact being 10, 88,606 in East Pakistan and 3, 19,000 in West Pakistan. The system of pre-verification by India had put a brake on repatriation of refugees. He further stated that out of 22, 500 names sent to India for pre-verification only a few hundred were cleared.\(^ {19}\)

An official report on 8\(^{th}\) January 1952 stated that during the year 1951, 103,855 Indian Muslims had entered Pakistan through Khokhropar border. Despite its efforts the government could not stop this inflow. More than 2,566 refugees entering through Khokhropar route had horrible treatment at the hands of Indian officials. They had faced many hurdles and a humiliating attitude. Their assets and valuable items were confiscated. 5272 more refugees entered via Khokhropar during month of April 1952. According to the census conducted by the government on 20\(^{th}\) February 1951, an exact figure of 66, 62,760 Muslims had reached West Pakistan through various routes up to 31\(^{st}\) March 1952.\(^ {20}\)

According to 1952 Census of Refugees held on 28\(^{th}\) February 1952 it was revealed that refugee population in West Pakistan was 64, 49,000 and including estimates of more refugees of about 1,73,769 it was stated that the figure was 66,22,760 in West Pakistan.\(^ {21}\) The estimates of refugees who entered Karachi were 6, 30,000.
Another batch of 1,750 refugees entered West Pakistan in November 1952, increasing total number of refugees to 3,070 after introduction of the passport system. In the first half of December 1952, around 900 more persons had entered Pakistan without any visa and passport increasing total number to 3,960 who had entered Pakistan after introduction of the passport system.22 After the introduction of the permit system, 1,874 persons entered via Khokhropar during December 1952 bringing the total number of refugees entering Pakistan from February 1950 to 31st December 1952 was 4,37,097. From 14th to 20th December 1953, another caravan of 868 Muslims crossed the Khokhropar border which brought the total to 4,68,181 since February 1950.23 During the week ending 17th January 1954 approximately 1,006 and earlier that week 663 Muslim refugees crossed into Pakistan through Khokhropar border which brought the total number reaching Pakistan to 471,705 since 1950. 1,209 refugees entered West Pakistan during 8th to 14th March 1954 through Khokhropar, which brought the total entrants by that route to 479,048 since February 1950. From 1950 to November 1954 approximately 5,17,200 Muslims had crossed into Pakistan through Khokhropar. The people crossing the Khokhropar stated that the reasons behind the influx were non-cordial diplomatic relations between the two countries especially after the Pak-US Military Assistance Pact as well as Shuddhi Movement and the social and economic apartheid of the Muslims.24 From 18th to 24th October 1954 approximately 2,450 Muslims entered through Khokhropar border and a week before that 2,146 Muslims had come in which brought the total evacuation since February 1950 through that route as around 5,22,236. The
Indian Government officials stated in Lok Sabha on 18\textsuperscript{th} November 1954 that since Liaquat-Nehru Agreement on Minorities in 1950, about 5, 17,238 Muslims had migrated to Pakistan through Khokhropar border. A statement showing period from 11\textsuperscript{th} May 1953 indicated that 45,000 had migrated from UP; 12,000 from Rajasthan; 7,000 from Hyderabad Deccan; 6,000 each from Bombay and Saurashtra; 2,000 each from Madras, Madhya Pradesh and about 1,000 from Delhi.\textsuperscript{25}

From January 1950 to the end of January 1955 approximately 540,000 people had migrated to West Pakistan through Khokhropar border to be settled in Karachi which meant that little over one lakh refugees had entered Pakistan through Khokhropar every year in the last five years after Liaquat-Nehru Pact.\textsuperscript{26} The Indian Rehabilitation Minister Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna had alleged in a press interview at New Delhi on 21\textsuperscript{st} April 1955 that the Pakistan High Commissioner in India was issuing emergency certificates to Muslim migrants wanting to enter Pakistan through Khokhropar border in Sind. In response to that allegation the Pakistan authorities clarified that as the issuance of emergency certificates was at a standstill the entry of persons via Khokhropar was unauthorized and without any legal cover whatsoever.\textsuperscript{27}

**Plight of the Abducted**

The recovery of abductees during 1949-55 was another bugbear which bedeviled the sincere efforts made by the two dominions. By 1949 the recovery organizations had become more effective in terms of mutual cooperation, better understanding and logistic support provided by the field staff. The legislation on this issue began
to yield results but the drive gradually lost its force thereby prolonging the agony of recovered women awaiting restoration. The sufferings of those unfortunate women from 1949 to 1955 are being highlighted in the following paragraphs.

Messrs N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar and Khwaja Shahabuddin Ministers of India and Pakistan in a joint statement in the first week of January 1949 appealed the people to intensify recovery of abducted women and children.\textsuperscript{28} They also directed the social welfare organizations and government officials to work day and night to complete the recovery work in the shortest possible time. In order to speed up the recovery effort an Indian social worker Miss Mridula Sarabhai visited Lahore in early January 1949 and met the West Punjab authorities to discuss means and methods of recovery in East as well as in West Punjab.\textsuperscript{29} With this object in view camps for abducted women and children were set up at Ambala, Amritsar and Ferozepur in East Punjab. Similarly, camps were opened in West Punjab. An inter-dominion conference was held at Ferozepur on 25\textsuperscript{th} January 1949 to review the recovery progress.\textsuperscript{30} In East and West Punjab the recovery organizations were already in existence where transport facility had been provided to police in both the provinces. On 29\textsuperscript{th} January 1949 Miss Sarabhai appealed that Muslim abducted girls be recovered and must be handed over to Pakistan authorities as it was also desired by Mahatma Gandhi that every girl be returned to her relatives.\textsuperscript{31} West Punjab Muslim League Working Committee headed by Sheikh Sadiq Hassan met Governor Mudie on 23\textsuperscript{rd} February 1949 to speed up recovery of abducted Muslim girls from East Punjab and nearby states.\textsuperscript{32} They also requested for setting up an employment committee to bring down unemployment and for formation of an
advisory committee for *muhajreen*. They also condemned corruption and black-marketing and urged protection of *muhajreen* rights in West Punjab. Meanwhile six Muslim girls who had been recovered from East Punjab were lodged in Jullundur camp from where arrangements were made to return those girls to their relatives.33

 Acting President of West Punjab Muslim League urged that Pakistan Government should have established a separate department for the recovery of Muslim abducted women and requested for appointment of an Additional High Commissioner in Jullundur who would be entrusted solely with recovery work. It was estimated that 50,000 Muslim women were in Indian Government’s custody. Major-General Abdul Rehman, Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan at Jullundur was receiving applications for recovery of abducted relations of the evacuees.34 He assured that whenever any application was received it was promptly acted upon.

In order to expedite the recovery of Muslim women in East Punjab and adjoining states, Mr. Fida Hasan, Chief Secretary West Punjab who was also the Coordinating Officer of the Pakistan Government for recovery work held discussions with his Indian counterparts at Jullundur on 5th May 1949 and evolved an agreed plan for that task.35 Meanwhile, 50 girls had by then been recovered from East Punjab. The work was speeded up in both the dominions. The recovery organization set-up in Pakistan had been a good sign but information about abducted women in newspapers did not quite serve the purpose because
newspapers did not reach the far flung areas. Announcements on radio also needed to be made.

The Governor-General of Pakistan Khwaja Nazimuddin promulgated the Pakistan (Recovery of Abducted Persons) Ordinance 1949 on 27th May 1949 and provided the police with greater powers to recover abducted persons. It was ordered that a police officer not below the rank of an Assistant Sub-Inspector was empowered to go and raid the place without any warrant and to take any person into custody.36

Provincial governments were to set up camps for receiving abducted persons.

Sheikh Sadiq Hassan presided over the meeting of recently formed Committee for Recovery of Snatched Women in July 1950 and called upon its members to work more diligently.37 He informed the Committee that the government was committed on the recovery issue and wanted to finalize it as early as possible. He added that the government would not tolerate anyone who obstructed recovery. The Committee decided to tour West Pakistan for that purpose. In a press conference at Lahore on 1st January 1951 Hassan also appealed to officials and the public of both India and Pakistan to make their utmost contribution in the campaign for the recovery and restoration of abductees. He admitted that “this is a deep moral wound which forced those innocent women to lead an existence of shame, tears and drudgery in their repulsive surroundings”.38 The Chairman called for a high level conference of representatives of the two countries to adopt a plan for the recovery of those women by initiation of a mass campaign. He urged the Frontier Government to set up a separate department for this important task under the Inspector-General of police. The conference suggested a high level meeting
between Pakistan and India in order to devise effective ways for recovery process. The number of local guides facilitating the recovery officers needed to be raised. It was also agreed that the recovered girls from one dominion should be immediately sent to the other dominion. Speaking about forced conversions Sheikh Sadiq Hassan said that Islam was against such acts and all those forcibly converted women should be brought back into the folds of Islam. He urged that a law be introduced specifying time limits for the abductors to surrender the abductees otherwise they would be guilty of a criminal offence. A press note in Lahore on 24th January 1951 informed that six Muslim women abducted in East Punjab in 1947 had been recovered and retained at Jullundur. The relatives of those women were requested to get in touch immediately either personally or through post with the Officer In-charge of the Recovery of Abducted Woman at the “Pipals”. In February 1951, Sheikh Sadiq Hassan led a six-man delegation to meet Indian officials and non-officials at Jullundur to speed up the recovery process. Mr. M.C. Sethi Superintendent Recovery India assured the delegation of his help in the recovery work. Later the delegation visited the central Muslims transit camp where the members were satisfied with camps management. They also visited the Patiala transit camp for Muslim abducted women where Hassan assured them that he would do his best to support their sacred cause. Khalifa Muhammad Saddique ex-Chief Minister of Jind State delivered a message to Their Highnesses the Maharani and Maharaja of Patiala on behalf of refugees from Patiala & East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) that they were anxiously waiting for recovery of their girls and children and that the people of Pakistan would do their duty in that noble task.
Khan Faqira Khan Jadoon of Haripur thanked the Maharani for her personal interest in the recovery work. Sheikh Sadiq Hassan declared that he regarded every abducted girl, Muslim, Hindu or Sikh, in the same light as his own daughter but that work unfortunately was not being speedily done. Mr. Bhide, the Rehabilitation Minister of PEPSU associated himself with the remarks of Pakistan leader and said that he himself would see the recovery of every abducted girl. Miss Mridula Sarabhai, an activist and politician emphasized the importance of real sincerity for that kind of work. Mr. A.S. Ayyengar, Deputy Speaker of Indian Parliament stated that Indian parliamentarians were interested in the recovery of the abducted girls.  

On return from East Punjab and Delhi, Sheikh Sadiq Hassan stated in Lahore that there was full cooperation between the recovery staff of both sides. At a press conference Sheikh Sadiq Hassan put his demand for the high level conference to implement his recovery scheme. He pleaded that the Premiers of India and Pakistan should take personal interest in the recovery work. He suggested that there should be an increase in the number of guides and drastic action should be taken against stubborn adductors. He also thanked Indian Premier and ministers for assuring the recovery of the abducted woman.  

Many of the differences between Pakistan and India had a basis in the national interests but no Pakistani could see the problem through Indian eyes and no Indian through Pakistani eyes. There was one question on which the approach of both needed to be identical and it concerned the recovery of abducted women. Hassan had been advocating the mass recovery of abductees and award of exemplary punishment for those abductors who failed to surrender their victims by a fixed date. The punishment suggested
had been soft peddled by those who feared that even such a threat would aggravate
the suffering of concerned women and children. In the last week of February 1951,
a non-official delegation from India visited Pakistan for the recovery of abducted
non-Muslim women. The delegation visited, Lyallpur, Peshawar, Lahore and some
other important places in West Punjab to speed up the recovery work.\textsuperscript{43}

It was stated in Lahore on 7\textsuperscript{th} November 1951 that the Indian courts and many
politicians had been creating difficulties in sending abducted girls to Pakistan. Mr.
Naseem Hassan who was an advocate and also ex-advisor to the West Punjab
Government addressed an appeal to the judges of Indian Punjab and PEPSU High
Courts stating that “it is no doubt, known to you that both in Pakistan and India
men are trying to undo men’s wrong by recovering for reunion with their families,
the women abducted for carnal lust, during communal frenzy of 1947”.\textsuperscript{44} But the
abductors explore every avenue for it, and the number of applications which they
made to different courts seeking injunctions and orders to stop the transfer of
recovered women and to give them back were on the increase.

The Superintendent of Police (Recovery) Pakistan Mr. N.A. Razvi filed an
affidavit before the full bench of East Punjab High Court which was hearing the
petition against the validity of the Abducted Persons (Recovery & Restoration) Act
of India on 29\textsuperscript{th} April 1952.\textsuperscript{45} The affidavit stated that there was no law in Pakistan
that tended to prevent any person from leaving Pakistan in order to settle in India.
Mr. Razvi stated that the problem lay with the Indian High Commissioner in
Pakistan as the intending repatriates had to get a special permit from the High
Commissioner before entering India for permanent settlement. He further added
that the movement of the abducted women was not governed by the Control of Entry Ordinance.\textsuperscript{46}

However, a full bench of the East Punjab High Court Simla declared the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act of India 1949 as invalid as it was inconsistent with the constitution of India. Justices Bhandari Khosla and Harnam Singh also issued orders for transfer to Pakistan of about 50 recovered Muslim girls of Jullundur camps.\textsuperscript{47} Sheikh Sadiq Hassan hoped that Indian Government would go ahead with the recovery work despite the decision of Simla High Court which had invalidated Abducted Women Recovery legislation in India. He said that the decision of Simla High Court had disturbed the work of recovery but was glad that the government had appealed to the Supreme Court against that decision.\textsuperscript{48} He put forward many points regarding abducted girls and hoped that Indian Government would cooperate with Pakistan in recovery work.

Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad visited abducted women transit camp known as Women’s Home on 5\textsuperscript{th} December 1952.\textsuperscript{49} The Home was run by Punjab Department of Refugees and Rehabilitation. Almost 16,000 women had been restored properly by that time and only 55 were waiting restoration. Governor-General was shown their work and the records of the Home about their recovery and restoration from India. He also visited the refugee orphans and unclaimed children at \textit{Milli Dar-ul-Itfal} where he also inspected the hostel and dispensary.\textsuperscript{50} Sheikh Sadiq Hassan appealed funds for maintenance of recovered women and children. He said that it was his government’s desire to return all non-Muslim girls and at the same time hoped that all Muslim abducted women should be returned to
their relatives in Pakistan. He urged the Pakistan Government to sanction special awards and medals to those police officers who had done good work for the recovery of abducted women. The Punjab Minister for Rehabilitation Mr. Muzaffar Ali Khan Qazilbash spent an evening with the recovered abducted persons at Dar-un-Niswan and Milli Dar-ul-Itfal, sharing their joys and sorrows. The recovered women looked very happy and contented in their new dresses. He also presented toys and gifts to the young children. The Minister donated 500 rupees each for both the institutions.

In order to review the recovery work in India and Pakistan a meeting was held in Punjab Civil Secretariat on 16th February 1954. The meeting was presided by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Pakistan High Commissioner in India. Pursuant to the meeting the officials and non-officials agreed to work in close collaboration with each other for expediting the recovery work. On 26th March 1954 Sheikh Sadiq Hassan appealed to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan to take personal interest to recover abducted people in both the respective countries otherwise recovery was not possible. He urged the Prime Ministers and the Refugee Ministers of both countries to recover at least one abducted girl as a token of their seriousness towards that noble cause. An Indo-Pak conference was held on 6th May 1954 to speed up recovery work. From Pakistan Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan while from India Sardar Swaram Singh led their delegations. Both parties showed determination to recover abducted persons and also reviewed and discussed specific proposals. By first week of August 1954 there were still around 40,000 Muslim women in forced captivity in India when the Indian Government
suddenly stopped their restoration on the plea that these women could not be sent back to Pakistan against their own wishes.\textsuperscript{56}

After visiting Jullundur and Amritsar, Sh. Sadiq Hassan observed at Lahore on 12\textsuperscript{th} May 1955 that the camps where recovered Muslim women were kept were in good condition and the women were properly taken care of.\textsuperscript{57} He appealed to the general public to come forward and join hands with government in the noble cause of restoration of the unfortunate women. He urged common people to contribute to the welfare fund especially set up for this purpose. However, he regretted that 50 recovered girls had been released by Indian authorities from the Jullundur camps whereas the agreement between the two countries provided that recovered women unwilling to return to their relatives were to be sent back to their home country to observe the attitude of the host community themselves and then decide whether to stay there or to go back to their abductors.\textsuperscript{58}

Again on 1\textsuperscript{st} June 1955 Hassan stated that both countries should legislate and implement severe punishment to abductors for forcing their abductees into prostitution.\textsuperscript{59} However, he suggested that the abductors should be given one month’s notice to hand over the abductees to the recovery authorities. He asked the members of the central recovery committees to extensively tour their respective countries. He suggested that rewards and punishments to be made public and stressed that special attention should be given to recovery of Muslim women from outside of East Punjab and PEPSU in India and in the frontier tribal areas in Pakistan and Azad Kashmir. He urged politicians to adopt the radio broadcasting as a medium for reaching larger audience to facilitate the recovery efforts.
By the last phase of 1955 the recovery parties had had more time and people’s support but the speed for their work was considerably slow. The Chairman Recovery Committee Sheikh Sadiq Hassan was very vocal and dedicated to the national cause. The Fact Finding Commission appointed by the two governments to assess recovery work in either country had completed its report on 6th August 1955. Hassan admitted that the recovery work was losing its spirit in both parts and sought press support in maintaining the enthusiasm for the noble cause. He expressed disappointment that the restored Muslim girls were not provided opportunities to live in the “special home” in the country of claim and pleaded that the two governments should make full use of those purpose built homes. He also appealed to the entrepreneurs in both countries to help in restoration of recovered women and children. He said that both countries had agreed to ascertain the willingness of recovered women prior to their restoration. Accordingly, the unwilling women were to be sent to “special homes” for their restoration in the country of their recovery but run by the staff of their home country. Later on the women were to be sent temporarily to “special homes” in the country of their claim for meeting their relatives and then decide whether to go back to their abductors or to rejoin their family. In December 1955, the Recovery of Abducted Women’s Committee again appealed to the general masses to help the recovery of abducted women. The Chairman of the Committee Sheikh Sadiq Hassan revealed on 5th December 1955 that about 60,000 abducted women were still awaiting to be recovered let alone their restoration. He stated that almost all the recovered
Muslim women had rejoined their families in West Pakistan and the unattended recovered women had been accommodated in the Women’s Home.

**Rehabilitative Developments: Measures and Schemes**

The resettlement of refugees got into real stride during the period 1949-55. By that time the government was fully empowered with the requisite legislation to gear up the administrative machinery. The following paragraphs aim to evaluate their performance in that regard.

The District Refugee Committee of Gujranwala met under the president-ship of Mr. Bashir Sahrai on 4th January 1949 and demanded re-settlement on the basis of acquisition of land from the local tenants so that the refugees themselves could cultivate the land. The refugees who had managed to get employment in provincial services had few reservations about their jobs. Employees doing the same jobs at provincial and central level were getting different salaries, specially engineers and doctors at provincial level. They were also facing difficulties in training and scholarships as locals of province were being preferred against the discriminated refugees. All the scholarships and rights needed be given equally. The Sind province was declared as “saturation point” by the Pakistan Government for absorption of refugees. In a press note on 17th January 1949 it was stated that there was no space available for refugees in Sind and if the people continued arriving there it would not only create problems for the provincial authorities but would also be dangerous for the incoming refugees in term of food and shelter. Therefore, it was requested that people should not come to Sind for rehabilitation.
The Government of Pakistan amalgamated the Refugee Secretariat, Rehabilitation Secretariat and Evacuee Secretariat into one Refugee and Rehabilitation Secretariat under one Secretary Mr. A. M. Khan Leghari assisted by two under-secretaries Sheikh Ghulam Mohammad and Yar Mohammad Khan. Begum Ra’ana Liaquat Ali Khan visited the refugee homes in Lahore on 21st January 1949. She appreciated the work done by the organizers and praised the selfless efforts of Mr. & Mrs. Doolittle (American Consul-General), Mrs. Craster the wife of Military Secretary to Governor Mudie, prominent Muslim Leaguers including Begum Tassadaq Hussain, Begum Fatima and Miss Rehman for their work in relief and comfort of women refugees. Those homes not only provided food and shelter but also imparted training in spinning cotton yarn which would eventually enable the inmates to earn up to 12 rupees per day. The homes also provided artificial limbs to children and women who had lost their limbs.

In order to resettle about 40,000 refugees on land in West Punjab, the Ministry for Refugees set up a huge mechanism consisting of settlement officers, settlement assistants, tahsildars, naib-tahsildars, field kanungos and patwaris in 13 districts. Accordingly, the settlement officers were to invite claims for permanent settlement on a prescribed application forms. After distributing application forms, the government was to announce a date for submission of claims from refugee landowners and property holders in East Punjab. The process was such that the naib-tahsildars in the districts (where the applicants were residing or wanted to settle) were to collect the application forms. Then the Settlement Officer was to forward the completed forms to the Financial Commissioner Resettlement and
Colonies for necessary verification. At the same time the government made it clear that in cases of registration of false claims, the applicants would be sentenced up to five years’ imprisonment and could be fined up to five thousand rupees.67

A deputation led by Choudhary M. Hassan met Governor Francis Mudie for discussing the rehabilitation of refugees in village communities and of recovering Muslim abducted girls.68 Early elections in province, re-employment of retired officers and promotion of subordinates were also discussed. It was decided to setup an “unapproachable tribunal” for allotment of registered factories, cinemas and large factories under West Punjab Rehabilitation Minister A. M. Khan Leghari. In a conference at Lahore between Pakistan Refugee Ministry and Bahawalpur State officials it was decided to rehabilitate 17,000 refugees on 40,000 acres of land in the State alongside the Abassia Canal in accordance with a plan made by State Superintending Engineer Mr. A. Hassan.69 Arrangements were made to give taccavi loans to refugees and to provide rations and food at fair prices. Addressing a gathering of ex-military men, the Deputy Commissioner Lahore, Mr. S.S. Jaffri informed that they would be settled along the border. He lauded the efforts of these men who had come forward to settle along border and undertaken protection of those areas.70 They had inspired confidence among local populace. Settlement Officer Choudhary Nabi Ahmad promised to support the new settlers.

A conference of settlement officers presided over by Governor Mudie on 17th and 18th March 1949 discussed problems relating to permanent settlement of refugees on land. Commissioners of divisions also participated. The Government extended the last date for submitting claims for grant of provisional permanent rights on
land. Government directed settlement officers to expedite registration work and even get unattested claims attested by registering officers. Land claims of mortgages and those prescribed in Indian dominion were also to be entertained. Meanwhile, a deputation of Anjuman Zamindar Muhajreen East Punjab met Refugee Minister Khwaja Shahabuddin to discuss continuance of maintenance allowance and rehabilitation plan in West Punjab.

An important meeting of Pakistan-West Punjab Refugee Council was held on 11th April 1949 under leadership of Premier Liaquat Ali Khan. The agenda included the continuation of maintenance allowance, the policy for allotment of factories and a review of rehabilitation progress. Khwaja Shahabuddin also discussed various rehabilitation issues with Pakistan-Frontier Refugee Council, Inter-Dominion Refugee Council and Sind Muslim League Council during the same month.

The Ministry of Resettlement stated that among 7,918 applicants for employment in January 1949, 1,300 were refugees, 44 women and 20 were disabled ex-servicemen.

In a meeting of Delhi and UP Local Bodies Ex-Employees Association held at Lahore, it was decided to request their absorption in Municipal Service Boards in Pakistan and to take notice of refugee employees in Lahore Corporation. 225,000 agriculturist refugees from West Punjab were brought to Sind and had been settled there. Out of these refugees 80 per cent had been rehabilitated and were tilling their lands. The authorities regretted that 40 thousand of them who had been advanced taccavi money had to be sent back to West Punjab which was a loss to
Sind Government. Most of those who went back to West Punjab were those who were dissatisfied and some had got lands which were uncultivable. 77

Khwaja Shahabuddin, Minister for Interior received six deputations of different interests from Muslims and one from non-Muslims in Larkana on 20th April 1949. During the discussions, he spoke about government’s re-allocation policy and said that refugees living on abandoned property would not be ejected. 78 He also inquired from the Sind Premier and the Home Minister about the rehabilitation program in the province. Mr. Sirumal Vishandus the Leader of Opposition in Sind Legislative Assembly had led the non-Muslim delegation. 79 On 30th April 1949, Miss Fatima Jinnah visited the two spinning centers for refugee women in Peshawar. 80 She also visited the camps in which women were spinning charkhas and spoke to Miss Jinnah about the atrocities faced by them in India. The spinning provided livelihood to the women and looted refugees.

The Sind Government stated on 3rd May 1949 that 6,000 refugees had moved on from Sind to West Punjab. 81 Governments of Pakistan and Sind were trying to overcome the exodus by sorting out the problems faced by those refugees. The West Punjab was getting saturated, so it was difficult to have more refugees and be sure of better environment. The natural factors like scarcity of irrigation and climatic changes were beyond the authorities’ hands. The process of adjustment was being attended to but was likely to take time. A meeting of the Refugees Lawyers Association on 17th May 1949 announced that its branches would be spread all over the West Punjab with its headquarters at Lahore. It was also
decided that their grievances should be addressed to the Governor of West Punjab or the Chief Justice.  

Meanwhile, the Rehabilitation Commissioner had announced a new policy for re-allotment of houses, shops and industrial establishments. The main objective of the policy was to deny that the property left behind by non-Muslims that had been allotted to the ministers and their subordinate officers were in some cases influenced by their relatives and friends as well as their own self interest. Bulldozers had been used for reclaiming land which was no longer fit for cultivation due to floods. The scheme of reclamation was also to be implemented in Attock, Jhelum and Rawalpindi districts. Bunds were also to be created to raise water level and to yield crops. One lakh applications had come out for the allotment and re-allotment of 4,000 registered and un-registered factories abandoned by the non-Muslims in the West Punjab which posed a big problem to the rehabilitation department. The Allotment Tribunal comprising Mr. A. M. Khan Leghari, Dr. Musaffar-ud-Din Qureshi and Mr. Farooq discussed the situation. By that time the early enthusiasm to evict un-authorized persons from evacuee houses had cooled down and a fairly large number continued to be occupied by locals. Applications for re-allotment of houses were pouring in at the various rehabilitation offices. Until August 1949 approximately 55,000 acres of water logged land had been reclaimed in West Punjab by the governmental authorities. The government also initiated new schemes for the supply of water to those water logged areas.
The Governor of West Punjab Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar visited two villages in *tahsil* Chonian of Lahore District on 8th January 1950. The migrants there had complained about scarcity of irrigation water and also protested against two corrupt revenue officers who were allegedly harassing them. The Governor immediately ordered their transfer and initiated an inquiry against them. In one of the *chaks* the migrants requested the Governor to withdraw the 40 percent increase in the *abiana* on the plea that there had been insufficient rain during the season.86 Complains were also registered in Gujranwala on 17th January 1950 when a procession of 300 migrant women took to streets and raised slogans against the local League and district authorities. They halted in front of the Deputy Commissioner’s office and shouted provocative slogans like “*League Murdabad*”, “*Deputy Commissioner Hai Hai*”, and “*Hukumat Hai Hai*”.87 The ladies protested against the blanket distribution procedure and the staff members who were associated with the task. The Deputy Commissioner however defused the situation by assuring the ladies that blankets would be provided to them within a couple of days.

The Interior Minister Khwaja Shahabuddin stated at Karachi on 1st May 1950 that the government was short of land and housing to accommodate any more refugees. It could not even provide employment for them. He advised the Indian Muslims that they should not migrate to Pakistan as by that time it had become impossible for the government to accommodate any new arrivals.88 The Minister for Health Dr. Maalik who was also present at the occasion stated that due to communal riots in northern India in 1950 more than one lakh Muslims had reached Sind and about
15,000 had entered Karachi alone which had worsened the hygienic conditions of the city. They advised the new comers to go back to India and even promised to facilitate their return journey.  

Mr. Shah Rehman Ansari President of the Pakistan Muhajir League met the Advisor to the Ministry of Rehabilitation Mr. Naseem Hassan on 2nd May 1950 at Lahore and spoke about the poor condition of the migrants in the Punjab. He said that more than 400 migrants in Taxila were forced to beg on the streets and there were only a couple of migrants who were running small shops. He complained about the indifferent attitude of the Deputy Commissioner and the Rehabilitation Department of Rawalpindi. He also complained about abduction of migrant women by the locals whose men-folks had been beaten up. In Lahore there were complaints about some migrants who had been served with eviction orders. In the first week of July 1950 the government had closed the Ravi Road refugee camp in which more then 10,000 refugees had been accommodated. Apart from this the entry of refugees into Sind had also been banned.

During the same week the Punjab Government had demanded from the federal government its share of seven crore rupees out of eleven crore rupees which the provincial government had spent on rehabilitation as earlier the federal government had promised to pay the Punjab Government her due share. On 6th August 1950 the Working Committee of All-Pakistan Muhajir League blamed the government for its failure to cope up with the settlement problem. Due to restrictions, temporary settlers had been deprived of their right to run their businesses. The migrant employees had been provided jobs on ad-hoc basis.
Similarly, agriculturist migrant workers had not been fully supported by the government.

The Provincial Ministers’ Conference on 26th October 1950 decided that all provincial governments would impose the *muhajir* tax whereas the federal government was to impose tax in the areas which were directly under its own administration. The tax money was to be accumulated in the federal reserves for use in rehabilitation purposes.

The Governor of Punjab promised the Punjab Provincial Muslim League deputation led by Sufi Abdul Hamid Khan to consider their demand for revision policy on rents from the refugees. In the deputation the concern was also expressed about revenues which agriculturists had to pay. Attention was also drawn towards the Bata factory’s workers strike and it was assured that the matter was under consideration. The Punjab Governor had also constituted an Advisory Committee for refugee rehabilitation. The Committee consisting of *muhajirs* was to advise the government on refugees’ rehabilitation issues. Members of the committee included Soofi Abdul Hamid (Member Constituent Assembly Lahore); Ch. Ali Akbar (Member Constituent Assembly Lyallpur); Sir Abdul Hamid (Ex Dewan of Kapurthala State, Lahore; Begum G.A. Khan, Lahore; Raja Ali Muhammad Khan, Gujrat and some others. However, the President of the Pakistan Muhajir League Mr. Shah Rehman Ansari stated on 16th January 1951 that though the refugees had welcomed the impending formation of a non-official Refugee Board to go into the affairs of the refugees, but the names of the members had dashed all hopes to the ground. He painfully noted that not a single refugee or any of their leaders had
been included in the list. He called upon all Muhajir League branches and other refugee organizations to immediately protest against the nomination of the members of the Refugee Advisory Board.94

Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Pakistan Minister of State for Refugees & Rehabilitation at a large public meeting in Sialkot on 15\textsuperscript{th} January 1951 declared that the Pakistan Government had decided to end the rehabilitation process soon.95 He stated that nations of the world were surprised to see the proper handling of the refugee problem by the government and people of Pakistan. Dr. Qureshi urged the refugees to form cooperative societies for repair of houses that were in bad condition and assured them of government’s help and support. He announced that government would allot lands to refugees shortly on permanent basis. About Kashmir he added that Pakistanis would never rest till Jammu and Kashmir State was acceded to Pakistan and the Kashmiris would decide their future according to their own will.96 Dr. Qureshi persuaded the people of Punjab to gather around the Muslim League flag and strengthen that national organization.

The Director of Public Instructions Punjab at Lahore issued a press note that all Muslim teachers, lecturers, principals, headmasters and managers of privately managed institutions situated in East Punjab and states should give necessary information on prescribed forms by 31\textsuperscript{st} January 1951. The information was required regarding the money left by them in banks, in Teachers’ Provident Fund and the Boys Fund by the respective bodies.97

In a radio broadcast on 29\textsuperscript{th} March 1951 Dr. I.H Qureshi hoped that India would see her way of handling difficulties and assessing the value of refugee property.98
He added that refugee evacuee property no longer needed any explanation. Again in a statement on 6th April 1951 he visualized that private sale or exchange was the only practicable solution of the evacuee property. He declined to agree on the “government to government” basis as suggested by India. He proposed to bring Pakistan’s legislation into line with Indian legislation. He accused Indian Government of violating the Indo-Pak Agreement of January 1949 on evacuee property by extending the application of Indian evacuee property legislation to entire country except West Bengal and by refusing private transfer of property by sale or exchange.99

Chief Minister Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Daultana stated in Lahore on 6th April 1951 that “we would endeavor to implement the manifesto of the Muslim League to the best of ability and determination”.100 He added that Islam was their way to success in all spheres of life. He emphasized on rehabilitation and promised speeding up that process. Daultana revealed on 10th April 1951 that a period of one year had been fixed for the completion of permanent resettlement on land.101 The scheme affected about one million families that owned land in the prescribed areas of India prior to partition. He said that he and his colleagues were doing their best of which they were capable of. He assured that promises made would be fulfilled.

Khwaja Shahabuddin when asked about the rehabilitation of prostitutes in Karachi during a question hour in the assembly on 10th April 1951 replied that rehabilitation of prostitutes was a social work and public organizations should take it up. He added that no steps had been taken by the government to examine the
prostitutes’ health.\textsuperscript{102} He further remarked that many people took interest in such a cause but so far did not know how far people had succeeded in that work.

Khwaja Shahabuddin rebutted the statement in the Indian Parliament by Indian Minister for Refugees Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain that Pakistan had made strict rules for entry into that dominion. Khwaja Shahabuddin added that the system for issue of permits to Indian nationals was not only fair but generous as it was not possible for Pakistani Government to grant frequent permission to travel to India. Mr. E.H. Jaffer Ahmad asked the Minister to have some amendments in rules to enable people to visit India and Pakistan frequently.\textsuperscript{103}

Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan led the first meeting of Refugee Tax Committee on 17\textsuperscript{th} April 1951, for allocating funds and appointing a sub-committee to examine schemes about satellite towns.\textsuperscript{104} The report was considered the very next day. The meeting was attended by Finance Minister Ghulam Mohammad; Minister of Kashmir Affairs M.A. Gurmani; Dr. I.H. Qureshi and Chief Ministers of all provinces. The Committee again met on 18\textsuperscript{th} April 1951 and took a number of decisions to benefit the distracted refugees.\textsuperscript{105} An All-Pakistan House Building Finance Corporation was to be setup with a branch in Dacca and to earmark one satellite town in each province for rehabilitation. The acute shortage of houses would thereby be substantially removed by relieving pressure from big towns and diverting the population to new townships. An Experts Committee had been setup for allocating grants for the proposed satellite towns. Funds were to be distributed between students, deserving refugees and for the expansion of the industrial colonies with a grant of 4, 33,900 rupees for the urban refugees.\textsuperscript{106}
By mid 1951 about major portion of the refugees had already been resettled in rural and urban areas of West Punjab. The unsettled were to be absorbed in different parts of West Pakistan. Karachi, Punjab and Bahawalpur by then had reached a saturation point in accommodating refugees. But in Sind there was still room for another 339,000 refugees while the Frontier Province was capable of absorbing 218,000 refugees. Except for some 1,000 refugees the province of Sind had resettled all other refugee arrivals from Punjab.

Addressing the first session of Lucknow Muslim Society of Karachi on 8th July 1951, Dr. Qureshi stated that the refugees had been given priority but more and more people were coming via Khokhropar and their rehabilitation was obviously not possible without the cooperation of public. Voluntary teams had helped out in the settlement of refugees. The Minister appealed them to not only build their houses but help them in the rehabilitation of their uprooted brethren. He asked for exposing corrupt officials in rehabilitation work. He revealed that the survey for the development of satellite town near Karachi had been completed where one lakh persons were to be accommodated. Three thousand houses had been built for refugees in Nazimabad and about 7,500 houses were made in Lalukhet by the end of July 1951. Sheds and shelters were also made for flood-stricken refugees. In addition to the refugee tax, a grant of 50 million rupees from the government was made for rehabilitation. One lakh rupees from the Federal Capital had been given to destitute refugee students. Minister said that Finance Corporation would be set up for the people so that they would be able to get loans on easy installments.
In the year 1951 about 28 crore rupees had been spent on the refugee rehabilitation by central and provincial governments and in the current budget a sum of 8.25 crore rupees had been allocated. Dr. Qureshi stated that East Pakistan was also confronted with the refugee problem and to cope up with the situation the provincial government there had opened a number of relief camps. Refugees had been kept in the relief camps at a cost of one lakh rupees even then there were 51,171 refugees in 45 districts dispersed all over the province. The government spent 10.5 thousand rupees everyday for arrangements and clothes. Schemes were launched for agriculturist and non-agriculturist refugees. 5,493 agriculturist refugee families were being settled in different areas, apart from that 26,48,260 rupees had also been given for land acquisition, cattle purchase and seeds. 323 non-agriculturist refugee families had been rehabilitated at an expense of 9,37,266 rupees out of which 49,100 had been expended as free grants. Dozens of new towns had been planned in different provinces including the Karachi-Drigh Village Scheme; Punjab-Lyallpur Scheme; East Pakistan-Tongi Scheme; Sind-Hyderabad Scheme and NWFP-construction of houses and shops in various schemes. Approximately two crore 94 lakh rupees was initially estimated for such schemes. There was a shortage of business accommodation, as the provision of housing and business accommodation was a great problem for rehabilitation in urban areas. All the towns of West Pakistan were nearly packed for this purpose. In this connection, the central government decided to impose refugee tax to promote rehabilitation schemes and 3.2 crore rupees’ tax was expected in 18 months. Central government had also provided in the budget a lump sum of 5 crore
rupees for rehabilitation. Apart from that, two lakh rupees each had been allocated to different provinces for rehabilitation purposes.

Economic considerations had been kept in view while selecting sites for these townships because people tended to congregate in places where there were opportunities of gainful employment. So far effective plan had been to build extensions to existing large towns. By 1950 the influx of refugees into East Pakistan and Sylhet had increased to incredible proportions. The central government made a grant of 45 lakh rupees to provincial government for expenditure on refugees. A grant of 5.5 crore rupees was provided to East Pakistan to face with difficulty. By the end of 1950 the central and provincial governments had spent about 29 crore rupees on refugee rehabilitation. A Finance Rehabilitation Corporation had been set up with a capital of 3 crore rupees out of which about 98 lakh rupees had been advanced for establishment of small industries and construction of houses. Unfortunately the members did not complete the work in time though the government had provided them all facilities.

The value of evacuee property in India exceeded from that in Pakistan. Whenever Pakistan had been forced to bring up the legal position of evacuee property into line with India its action had been belated and apologetic. The Pakistan Government could not disregard the Agreement of 1949 which was being treated as dead letter by the India Government.

Mr. Ahmad Jaffer, the Refugee Representative in Pakistan Constituent Assembly complained that great injustice had been done to the refugees in the allotment of factories and evacuee property. He observed that there were many evacuee lands in
Sind which could be allotted to the refugees. On 29th November 1951, Mr. Shah Rehman Ansari the President of Pakistan Mohajir League met Mr. S.M Rizwanullah the Chairman of Rehabilitation Planning Sub-Committee and discussed problems related to refugee rehabilitation. The points raised by Ansari related to the rent of evacuee properties and effects of currency devaluation on the pensions of refugees. It was suggested that there should be no difference between scheduled and non-scheduled refugees and the process of deciding rehabilitation should be held in rehabilitation courts.

The Refugee Tax Committee meeting on 3rd January 1952 had authorized the Prime Minister to allocate funds to various provinces out of the central government budget estimates for 1951-52. The amount available was 9.65 crore rupees representing 4.65 crore rupees through collection of refugee’s tax up to 31st March 1953 and the amount of five crore rupees marked as rehabilitation grant out of revenue receipts in the budget estimates of 1951-52. An additional 3 crore rupees was earmarked for Karachi apart from the amount of 965 lakh rupees. Governor of Punjab I.I. Chundrigar visited the refugee’s settlement at Lyallpur in chaks 66 J.B. and 67 J.B. accompanied by Mr. I.U. Khan Commissioner Multan Division and Mr. A.D. Arshad Deputy Commissioner Lyallpur. They inquired about refugees’ difficulties who demanded medical and educational facilities and reduction in the production index. Chundrigar promised to solve their problems and asked them to concentrate on the lands given to them for better production. Meanwhile on 11th February 1952 Indian Minister for Rehabilitation Mr. A. P. Jain reviewed the work done on evaluating Muslim evacuee property abandoned in
Delhi. Staff was also hired in East Punjab, PEPSU, Rajasthan and Saurashtra for evaluating Muslim properties. Evaluation of agricultural land in Delhi had also been taken in hand. In Uttar Pradesh work was to be started soon after appointing staff. Industrial assets evaluation was also under way. On the contrary, Jain was unaware if Pakistan was doing the same in respect of Hindu properties.\textsuperscript{119}

On 17\textsuperscript{th} February 1952, Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad inaugurated the township of Jauharabad. He was accompanied by the Punjab Chief Minister Daultana and Chairman Zafarul Ahsan of Thal Development Project. Jauharababd and Qaidabad were new townships planned to construct houses for the population of 90,000. Under the Interim plan the townships were built for 25,000 people each and 200 houses in Jauharabad and 250 in Qaidabad had by then been built. Governor-General also visited Chak No. 5 in the Thal area and inspected the production of oilseed grains, vegetable and sugarcane. He was informed that total area under Thal Management Development Authority during 1950-51 was 80,670 acres. An advance of 128,558 rupees for the purchase of seed and 622,535 rupees were given for house construction. He also visited the mechanical workshop at Qaidabad and met the Muslim League district members. Governor-General also visited the site for Mianwali Hydel Power Station and cement factory on 18\textsuperscript{th} February 1952. The project cost was near to 16 crore rupees and was to be completed in five years.\textsuperscript{120} Ghulam Mohammad also inspected the site for cement factory and fertilizer plant at Daudkhel.

Punjab Development Minister Syed Ali Hussain Gardezi stated in the provincial legislative assembly on 13\textsuperscript{th} March 1952 that 230,000 acres of barren land had
been brought under irrigated cultivation and 10,000 families had been settled in the Thal area. He also stated that 250 villages and four new towns with 28 new schools had been set up. He further added that over seven thousand houses had been constructed and seven new factories set up where 1,500 people had already secured employment.\textsuperscript{121} Meanwhile Dr. Qureshi said that it was envisaged in the Moveable Property Agreement of June 1950 that a joint committee would be set up for assessment of compensation for acquired moveable property but no such committee had by then been set up. The Joint Committee was to be set up for following purposes:

i. To see that the recovered amount by government was paid to the evacuee owners.

ii. In case the amount had not been recovered or partially recovered after an assessment, the committee was to lay down the manner of its recovery.

iii. If assessment had not been made, the committee was to proceed to make assessment.

iv. To prescribe the period in which evacuee owner was to exercise his right to restoration of moveable property.\textsuperscript{122}

In a written reply Minister Gardezi stated that two liaison organizations had been set up for watching and facilitating the implementation of Moveable Property Agreement of June 1950. During 1951, about 9,000 refugees were reported to have arrived in Bahawalpur State, out of which 5,356 were claimed to have been rehabilitated. Two \textit{mohajir} colonies were constructed by Bahawalpur Government at Harunabad and Bahawalnagar comprising about 855 houses. Bahawalpur
Government had also allotted 50,000 rupees for construction of houses for the refugees living in jhuggis. Stipends amounting to 30,000 rupees had been sanctioned by Bahawalpur Government during 1952 for deserving refugees studying in schools and colleges. Meanwhile a Pakistan Refugee Rehabilitation Finance Corporation Board was established to make plans for manufacture of carpets.

After successfully colonizing the chaks in Thal, Khushab and Mianwali the Military Families Resettlement Organization (MFRO) shifted their headquarters to Bhakkar for supervising the new resettlement scheme which was on regimental center basis. It was based on the government allotment of 20 chaks in Tahsil Bhakkar of Mianwali District to the defense services. Ten of these chaks mainly located near Jhang-Bhakkar road were given to Pakistan Army whereas five chaks each were given to both Air Force and Navy. The military settlers were contributing towards the “grow more food” campaign of Government of Punjab.

According to the plan made by MFRO all the proposed chaks were to be completed by the end of 1953. Mr. Fazal Elahi Piracha Punjab’s Rehabilitation Minister stated on 30th June 1952 said that surplus and uncultivated land would be given to those muhajirs for cultivation who had not been allotted lands.

According to a scheme by the Bahawalpur State it was proposed that four satellite towns would be set up in Bahawalpur State at cost of 40 lakh rupees. These proposed towns were to have more than two thousands houses to accommodate 16,000 refugees. It was stated that those satellite towns were to be fully equipped with all the essentials including electricity. These towns were to be set up
near Rahimyarkhan, Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar and Ahmedpur East. Chief
Minister of Bahawalpur Hasan Mahmud directed the officials to finalize the task of
permanent resettlement of the refugees. He said that a Refugee Rehabilitation
Advisory Council had been set up to advice the State Government on
rehabilitation. He further stated that out of 130,000 refugees, only 5,000 remained
to be resettled.128
It was estimated that up till the end of January 1953 a total of about 30 crore
rupees had been spent on refugee rehabilitation by the central and provincial
governments through budget grants, relief funds and other resources.129 The
estimate did not include the cost of evacuations and the sums advanced by the
provincial governments and Pakistan Refugee Finance Corporation. That amount
had been spent on transport, provision of shelter, food, means of livelihood, public
hygiene and medical relief.

The provincial expenditures were as follows:

- Punjab: 89 million rupees
- Sind: 6 million rupees
- NWFP: 01 million rupees

Central government grants were as follows:

- Punjab: 12.6 million rupees
- Sind: 2.6 million rupees
- Frontier: 0.6 million rupees
- East Bengal: 4.5 million and loan of 6.5 million rupees

Another grant of 5.5 million rupees had also been given.130
The central government also provided 96.5 million rupees which were distributed among the provinces for their rehabilitation schemes. These provincial grants were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Grant Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>30 million rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>10 million rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>1 million rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>1 million rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karachi</td>
<td>30 million rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>2 million rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Bengal</td>
<td>12.5 million rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>10 million rupees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Loans amounting to 30 million rupees were also allocated to provinces as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Loan Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>15 million rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>5 million rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Bengal</td>
<td>10 million rupees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The central government also established the Pakistan Refugee Rehabilitation Council with the capital of 30 million rupees. In addition a Housing Finance Corporation had also been set up by the Pakistan Government with a capital of 50 million rupees which advanced loans to the individuals for the construction of houses.

Dr. I. H. Qureshi stated in the parliament at Karachi on 20th March 1953 that nearly 95 percent of refugees in West Pakistan had been fully or partially
rehabilitated. He said that 66 lakhs had entered West Pakistan till December 1952 while during the same period 12,70,000 refugees entered East Bengal.

The number of refugees that had entered West Pakistan till December 1952 was as follows:

- Punjab: 49 lakh
- Sind: 6.33 lakh
- NWFP: 8 lakh
- Baluchistan: 3 lakh
- Bahawalpur: 3.71 lakh
- Khairpur: 11 lakh
- Karachi: 6, 59,700 135

On 24th March 1953, the Minister again stated in parliament that no progress had been made in settlement of evacuee property between India and Pakistan. The Pakistan Government had protested to India against taking over evacuee property in their country. He also stated that 20,638 houses for refugees had been completed.136

Resettlement operations in 13,575 estates in Punjab covering the period up to the end of February, 1953 had been finalized involving a total evacuee area of 23,70,216 acres and disposing of 7,91,379 claims, including 2,45,655 claims of those without land. After verification a total of 71,186 claims were verified out of a total of 1,16,653. At the same time 4,02,957 objections were raised against the claims and out of which 3,88,189 were re-verified leaving a balance of 14,768 objections.137 Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan Qazilbash, the Punjab Rehabilitation
Minister speaking to a conference of Deputy Rehabilitation Commissioner and Rehabilitation Officers on 16th May 1953 asked them to be just and honest in the discharge of their duties. The participants agreed that evacuee property survey in Punjab would be completed by 15th July 1953 and reiterated to speed up the rent realization campaign. A considerable number of evacuee colleges and school buildings in Multan, Montgomery, Lyallpur, Jhang, Muzaffargarh, and Dera Ghazi Khan which earlier had been occupied by refugees got vacated by the respective district authorities to use the buildings as educational institutions.

About 130 refugee families, who had been earlier thrown out of Mathuradas Hospital building in Shahdara, were resettled in the same building on the personal intervention of the Nawab Muzaffar Ali Qazilbash. He spent two hours making inquiries about the whole case. He not only restored the possession of the building but also allotted a plot of a land adjoining the hospital building to the refugee families for construction of houses. The refugees were not to be charged for the land thus allotted to them.

The provincial government had spent two million rupees on construction of 800 ‘C’ class houses in Lyallpur to rehabilitate 800 refugee families. In that manner three colonies were to be constructed comprising:

1. Ghulam Muhammadabad Colony consisting 360 houses at the cost of nine lakh rupees.
2. Industrial Labour Colony consisting 240 houses at the cost of six lakh rupees.
3. Peoples Colony with 200 houses costing about five lakh rupees.
The construction of these colonies was undertaken in pursuance of the satellite town scheme of the provincial government. By the end of August 1953 the settlement operation in 13,759 estates involving a 27,06,826 acres of evacuee area and disposing of 8,69,308 claims (including 2,59,526 without land) had been finalized by the Land Resettlement Department. Proposals were also submitted for resettlement operations in 6,029 estates covering an area of 8,08,095 acres and involving 2,21,968 land claims (including 50,237 without land).\(^\text{142}\)

At the end of two days long All-Pakistan Refugees Convention held at Karachi from 2\(^{nd}\) to 4\(^{th}\) October 1953, the Convention re-designated herself as All-Pakistan Muhajir Board.\(^\text{143}\) Sheikh Sadiq Hassan presided the concluding session in which the government rehabilitation policies were criticized and at the same time 13 resolutions about refugees were adopted. He also pointed out that bribery, corruption and other malpractices were spreading everywhere in a way that could not be controlled and to counter that everybody needed to reform himself and stop asking for favors. The important demand by the convention was to make Karachi a “Governor’s Province” to end the one man’s rule.\(^\text{144}\) It was also demanded that no agreement with India over evacuee property be reached without consulting the All-Pakistan Muhajir Board. The Convention also demanded that the data of the evacuee property left by the Muslims in India should also be collected and no refugee should be removed to far off places without providing him another place.

Mr. I. A Muhajir, President of the East Pakistan \textit{Anjuman-i-Muhajirin} complained that the East Pakistan Government did not care about the sufferings of refugees
who had gone there. The convention also stressed that the rate of interest charged by House Building Finance Corporation be reduced.

Makhdumzada Syed Hassan Mahmud Chief Minister, Bahawalpur State, presided the inaugural meeting of the Bahawalpur Central Refugee Advisory Council on 7th December 1953 at Baghdad-ul-Jadid. The central body of the Council had been enlarged from 21 to 36 members and comprised eight official and 28 non-official members. Three district refugee committees were also formed which were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dist. Refugee Committees</th>
<th>Official Members</th>
<th>Non-Official Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalnagar District</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur District</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahimyarkhan District</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syed Hassan Mahmud said that the main task of the Council would be to rehabilitate refugees in all possible ways and to advise the government on scheme of permanent resettlement.

On 5th January 1954, Mr. S.S. Jafri the Rehabilitation Commissioner (General), Punjab stated that around 56, 63,000 refugees had been rehabilitated in the province out of which 14, 47000 were from urban areas of East Punjab, Delhi etc. The settlement took place against 39, 50,000 non-Muslims who had left West Punjab. No formal policy for refugee settlement had been evolved till early 1949, and rough methods were used for rehabilitation. An amount of 11,799,341 rupees had been spent to settle 1,508 refugee families who had left everything in
India. Another 3, 94,594 rupees have been spent on maintenance allowances for widows etc. Annually 20 lakh rupees were being spent on rehabilitation and relief of refugees in the province. A meeting of the Refugee Consultative Committee was held in the Committee Room of the Punjab Assembly on 7th January 1954. The important issues discussed were the right of possession, allotment of less than one square of land to refugees and mortgages left in India. It was decided to charge no rent from refugees occupying evacuee shops and homes. The Committee also chalked out arrangements for refugees who had been allotted provisional and permanent land and ironed out leasing scheme for evacuee bunjar lands.

On their transfer to another station, the government servants occupying evacuee houses were directed by the Punjab Government to hand over the possession to Rehabilitation Department and not to any unauthorized person. The instruction was contained in a circular letter addressed to all Heads of Department. As these transfers aggravated problems for the Rehabilitation staff Mr. Justice Sajjad Ahmad Jan the Custodian of the Evacuee Property (Punjab) observed that the custodians would not intervene in the decisions made by the rehabilitation authorities. The decision was taken in response to a petition filed by Syed Jamil Hussain Rizvi and others of Lahore who had been sent notices by Deputy Rehabilitation Commissioner (Rent & Repairs) to pay arrears of rents even after they had done repairing work at the houses, which was also not compensated.

Mian Muhammad Shafi of the opposition party while speaking at the Punjab Assembly session on 10th March 1954 criticized the Refugee Ministry’s decision to carry on with the running of the refugee camps in the Punjab. He asked for
disbandment of refugee camps in order to stop the movement of the refugees and evacuees. He remarked that Punjab had had enough of refugees. He warned that without destroying the economy of the province it was very difficult to resettle or accommodate any additional refugees. He argued that refugee camps were an invitation to the intending migrants from India and as such they needed to be closed down. He urged the provincial government to impress upon the central government that Punjab would not entertain any more refugees therefore the government should take positive measures to stop the influx of refugees from India. He called the Central Minister for Refugee and Rehabilitation Sirdar Amir Azam Khan as a “callous dandy” and a “Phanne Khan” and accused him of taking no interest in the settlement of refugees or to stop their influx from India. Mian Shafi stated that Punjab had spent 13.5 crore rupees on the rehabilitation of refugees out of which the center had provided only 3.5 crore rupees. For recovery of abducted women, he observed that practical and more vigorous efforts should be made as current efforts were not up to the mark.

An All-Parties Refugee and Rehabilitation Board was set up in Lahore on 12th May 1954 at the Jinnah Awami League’s headquarters to deal with the complaints of realization by the Rehabilitation Department regarding rent arrears from refugees and cases of ejectment. There were several members from all parties on the Board. The members met Minister Nawab Muzaffar Ali Qazilbash on 17th May and requested that allotees should not be ejected for non-payment of rent and suggested that temporary claims be settled after verification and claims on urban refugee property should be invited by Government. The Minister assured the
delegation of his full cooperation and stated that no destitute refugee would be ejected for non-payment.

The Bahawalpur Government in order to speed up the provisional permanent resettlement of refugees in the State sanctioned a grant of 134,000 rupees on 22\textsuperscript{nd} August 1954 to be included in the Financial Budget of 1954-55 for the purpose of rehabilitation.\textsuperscript{155} The grant was added to the existing allotment of 151,000 rupees. In addition, the government also sanctioned extra staff including one Additional Deputy Rehabilitation Commissioner, three Assistance Commissioners, seven Tahsildars, eight Naib-Tahsildars, 16 qanumgos and 35 patwaris to reinforce the rehabilitation department.\textsuperscript{156}

Brigadier F.H. Vinden, a United Nation’s expert while touring Pakistan on behalf of World Veterans Federation during the second week of November 1954 promised his organization’s help to Pakistan Government in resettling ex-servicemen. According to his survey report there were about three lakh ex-servicemen in West Pakistan and about 50,000 in East Pakistan.\textsuperscript{157} He expressed his satisfaction over the steps taken by the Pakistan Government for the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen especially in the Thal Area Project. On 10\textsuperscript{th} February 1955 Mr. Shaheem Ahmed Khan the Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party criticized the central government’s policy regarding abolishing of the distinction between the agreed and non-agreed areas. He feared that it would damage the interests of the already settled refugees. He further stated that Punjab had never been allowed to fight its case before the Prime Minister or the Central Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation.\textsuperscript{158} He sympathized with the
Muslim refugees from the agreed areas but at the same time warned the central government that its decision was unacceptable to the people in Punjab who would resist such a scheme to the best of their abilities.

Seventy two influential persons from Punjab including MLAs, editors of daily newspapers, advocates and representatives of different organizations submitted a memorandum to Sirdar Amir Azam Khan the Pakistan Minister for Refugee and Rehabilitation to come up with a “fit and workable” plan of permanent land and economic rehabilitation for the refugees.\textsuperscript{159} The memorandum demanded ownership rights to refugees of their allotted houses along with rights to alienate, lease and dispose of that property. The memorandum stated that since India had done away with the inter-dominion agreement on evacuee property the Pakistan Government should not hesitate to take steps to meet her own requirements. The memorandum had following key points:

1. Priority for compensation be given to those refugees who had documentary proof of their urban immovable property ownership in East Punjab and adjoining areas but those who could not provide documents should also be compensated on basis of verbal assurances.
2. Those unfortunate refugees who had not been allotted any land till then should be compensated immediately.
3. Compensation to those locals who had lost their urban immovable properties during 1947 riots.\textsuperscript{160}

In order to complete permanent settlement of refugees in Bahawalpur, the State Government allocated an extra budget of two lakh rupees for engaging additional
staff in the rehabilitation department. It was also announced that the construction of four model satellite towns will also be completed during the financial year 1955 at the cost of 15 lakh rupees. The Bahawalpur Government also submitted a proposal to the central government for construction of 3100 two-roomed quarters at an estimated cost of about 1,39,50,000 rupees. In Bahawalpur State, out of 55,544 claims submitted by the refugees from the agreed areas for permanent settlement, 53,144 had been verified by early 1955 and the centre had already issued orders for the permanent settlement of refugees on the available evacuee lands. The State Government had also initiated a five-year mass literacy program in order to facilitate migrant orphan children. In that connection within a span of 20 months the State Government successfully established 2023 warood schools in the rural areas in which 73,823 children were accommodated. Efforts were also made to accommodate one lakh out of three lakh school-going children of the State in the warood schools in 1955.  

The Rehabilitation Department of Bahawalpur State in a report on 30th June 1955 stated that about 4 lakh Muslim migrants had entered the State since partition and out of those 3,25,000 had been rehabilitated on 31,340 acres of evacuee land on Abbasia Extension along with allotment of evacuee mills and shops. Those settled in Abbasia Extension had also been provided with free seeds, oxen and other essentials and agricultural tools for tillage and cultivation. 26,000 houses had been allotted to new settlers in urban areas of the State. The report further added that in order to accommodate homeless refugee’s new colonies were set up at Bagh-ul-Jadid, Model Town, Bahawalpur, Harunabad and Bahawalnagar. In
addition, new satellite towns were also built up at Khanpur, Ahmadpur, Rahimyarkhan and Bahawalpur. According to the report a sum of 13, 21,496 rupees had been expended by the Ameer Sadiq Abbasi of Bahawalpur, Muhajreen Relief Fund Committee and the Bahawalpur branch of Pakistan Refugee Finance Corporation. However the actual work on the semi-permanent allotment scheme was started from August 1956.

By the end of June 1955, the Government of West Punjab had decided to allot border land to the military personnel under the Indo-Pakistan Border Settlement Scheme. According to this scheme the entire area within five miles of the border in the districts of Sialkot, Montgomery, Lahore and Sheikhupura was to be allotted to the refugees or non-refugee ex or serving military personnel. However, it was also decided to prefer serving or ex-serviceman evacuees who had owned lands in India. Each family was to be allotted 12.5 acres of irrigated or 18 acres of non-irrigated land. They were allotted lands as temporary ownership for five years and during which period they were to pay rent at thrice the price of the land revenue. The allottes were bound to defend the border against any aggression and to assist the border police. They were not allowed under any circumstances to leave the land uncultivated for two successive harvests. District Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen’s Boards in the aforementioned districts were detailed to supervise the said scheme.

Sheikh Fazal Illahi Paracha Punjab Refugee Minister received a deputation from the United Refugee Front on 1st July 1955. After listening to their demands, Paracha assured the deputation that all those refugee occupants of the buildings
that the government required for its One-Unit Government set-up would not be ejected without being providing them with alternative accommodation. The deputation however complained that despite the press note issued by the government, the allottees were being served with the ejectment notices without providing them any alternative housing. The deputation also stressed that the Punjab Government’s Requisitioning of Urban Immovable Property Ordinance of 1955 was not applicable to evacuee property and therefore the notices served were illegal and demanded their cancellation. The Minister passed orders for the Rehabilitation Commissioner General instructing that undue hardships to the refugee occupants must be avoided.

In the meantime, Mr. A.R. Khan Advisor to the Bahawalpur Ameer laid foundation stone of refugee colony called the ‘Gulmarg Colony’ in Rahimyarkhan on 3rd September 1955. The colony had the capacity to provide 400 plots for construction of houses. Most of the houses were to be constructed by the government and the allottees were to pay back in easy installments. Speaking on the occasion Mr. Azad Hussain the Chief Engineer stated that the State government had spent 13 lakh rupees on the construction of four colonies with 1,102 houses in Bahawalpur and it intended to spend 15 lakh rupees during the current financial year for construction of houses. Mr. A.R. Khan warned the allottees against opportunist locals who might try to transfer ownership of the plot originally intended for refugees. He remarked that State Government would take severe action against any miscreant. Meanwhile a group of Lahore newsmen visited the site near Dharampura where about 300 refugees from Beriwala Ahata
No. 3 camp on Egerton Road had been shifted by the rehabilitation authorities. Another 200 were to be sent later. The inmates took the newsmen on a short visit and explained that they had been shifted forcibly and occasionally beaten by police. They alleged to have been promised 15 rupees per family for constructing huts and for the rations but that promises were not fulfilled.\textsuperscript{170} They however praised the hospitality provided by the locals.

Miss Fatima Jinnah while attending the annual prize distribution ceremony of Madrasah Anwarul Uloom in Karachi on 24\textsuperscript{th} September 1955 stated that “Rehabilitation of refugees required solid work and comprehensive planning. Mere sympathy would not console the uprooted”.\textsuperscript{171} She regretted that even after seven years the refugees could not be resettled and crores of rupees had been spent in one way or the other.

The West Pakistan Muhajir Convention concluded on 3\textsuperscript{rd} October 1955. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar who chaired the convention observed that the refugee problem required immediate attention as it was a problem of gigantic magnitude. Following key resolutions were adopted during the two days long convention:

1. The securitization of claims be speeded up.
2. No refugee occupant may be ejected under any circumstances.
3. The balance amount of the refugee claims and the value of the evacuee house be paid in easy installments.
4. The refugees whose value of the claim exceeded their allotted evacuee house should be compensated through other sources.
5. Steps should be taken for the provisional permanent resettlement scheme.
6. Large scale dislocations must be avoided.

7. An Assessment Board be constituted with effective refugee representation.

8. Government should provide Crown land to small holders and landless cultivators.

9. Full propriety rights should be granted to allottees of land under the provincial permanent scheme.

10. An Advisory Board be appointed and the members should be elected by the West Pakistan Muhajir Convention.

11. Recovery of abducted women should be speeded up.\(^{172}\)

After the adoption of resolutions, a meeting of the ad hoc committee was held under the president-ship of Choudhary Ali Akbar. Sub-committees were also formed to draft the constitution of the West Pakistan Muhajir Convention. Mr. Sanaullah Khan Sheikh was appointed as the Convener of the Committee.\(^{173}\)

The government had been planning to give certificates to those tenants whose lands were to be disposed of and on the basis of those certificates they were to be allotted lands in Thal area or elsewhere. In Lyallpur city alone 13,134 ejectment notices were registered till 15\(^{th}\) November 1955.\(^{174}\) Most of the ejectment notices were issued to provide land to new tenants. There were cases when considerably small landholders rejected their ejectment notices pleading that they would till the land themselves. Some tenants had persuaded their landlords to serve them with ejectment notices in the hope that they would in lieu be allotted much better lands.
**Inter-Dominion Negotiations**

During the ongoing phase the influx of refugees from East Punjab and adjoining areas had slowed down to a steady pace giving the local authorities more time to receive and attend to the new arrivals. By then both the countries had come up with refugee related legislation, rules and procedures. The staff detailed on these duties had by that time gained adequate experience to perform their responsibilities. The gradual easing up of the pressure likewise led the authorities to slacken their decision making process. The delay necessitated holding of inter-dominion talks which had normally been avoidable in the past. The implementation authorities tended to drag their heels by that time as the top leadership like Gandhi and Jinnah was no longer available at the helm of affairs. It appeared that the top executives were no longer in a hurry to take and implement difficult decisions. As a result, the process of decision making and implementation perforce continued to be slow for one reason or the other especially in case of fresh arrivals through Khokhropar and in repatriation of Muslims back to India. The following inter-dominion parleys from 1949 to 1955 highlights the aforementioned situation.

The maiden talks during 1949 started on 2\textsuperscript{nd} January 1949 at Karachi where an agreement was reached with India based on ex-parte assessments or to decide appeals in cases of evacuee assessments in West Punjab, East Punjab and Delhi provinces.\textsuperscript{175} It was stated by Finance Minister Pakistan that India had decided to consolidate cases of Muslim evacuee assesses at Delhi. Likewise, Pakistan Government was to consolidate cases of the non-Muslim evacuee assesses at
Lahore for which purpose special officers were detailed. The agreed procedure required receipt of the statements to be transmitted from Pakistan to the opposite member in India who would forward these to assessing officer to issue notices to parties. Ex-parte assessments were to be made only after the Income Tax Officer in India ascertained from the Special Officer in Pakistan that the notice could not be served at assesses’ place because it was not known if the appeal was valid or not. Facility was to be provided to assesses for re-opening of assessment on valid reasons. An ex-parte assessment made prior to the introduction of procedure on evacuee assesses to whom previous agreement had been applied was to be cancelled and revised assessment was then made according to the new procedure.

The Indian Relief and Rehabilitation Minister Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena appealed to Pakistan Government on 6th January 1949 to speed up the process of evaluating evacuee properties according to the decision reached at the inter-dominion conference in order to create cordial relationship between the two countries especially after the Kashmir ceasefire that came into effect at midnight of 31st December-1st January 1949. Another agreement was reached at the inter-dominion conference on 13th January 1949 in which both the governments agreed to allow the private exchanges and sale of urban immoveable properties. Both governments agreed to adopt a fair mechanism for determining compensation to be paid to the evacuees when lands were being acquired or acquisitioned or even when they were leased out. As for the moveable property both the governments agreed to provide assistance for removal and transfer of moveable property across the border. The delegates agreed to set up a committee comprising six members by
the end of January 1949 to discuss the issues of trust building in both dominions and to submit its report by the end of April 1949. Both the governments also agreed upon the transfer of agricultural land and urban immovable property. The agreement was to affect the urban immovable property in West Punjab, Sind, NWFP, Baluchistan and the acceding states except Bahawalpur and Khairpur. For un-administered agencies areas on the Pakistan side and on the Indian side it was to affect the province of East Punjab, Delhi, Simla Hill States, Ajmer, Merwara and Unions of Matsya Rajasthan and Saurashtra, Patiala, East Punjab States; the States of Bharatpur, Jaipur, Jodhapur and Bikaner and the Districts of Saharanpur, Dehra Dun, Meerut and Mazafarnagar. The two governments also agreed upon the transfer of petrol and other oil traffic from Karachi to different areas of India to facilitate uninterrupted traffic of East Punjab railways. The provision of facilities with tank wagons was agreed by the Pakistan Government and India had agreed to arrange quick turnabout empty tank wagons and to maintain their normal cycle.

During the first week of January 1949, Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava the East Punjab Premier gave an exaggerated estimate of the value of non-Muslims evacuee properties abandoned in West Punjab. In response to his statement two ministers from West Punjab including Sardar Abdul Hamid Dasti and Ch. Fazle-i-Elahi expressed their shock over the exaggerated value given by Dr. Bhargava. In a statement on 13th January 1949 they doubted the veracity of that figure especially when the land records of East and West Punjab had not been completed. The Ministers termed the statement as a negative gesture which could adversely effect the relations between the two dominions.
In an inter-dominion conference which was held in January 1949 and its details were released on 30\textsuperscript{th} January 1949, the issues regarding the payment of pensions and other dues to migrants were discussed. As a result, following procedure was to be adopted:

A. Pension payable by provinces:
   
i. For sanctioned payments the pension to pensioners of province in which pensioner was living, the Accounts Officer was to recover it. The pensioners of the states which acceded to either dominion, then authority would be issued respectively by the Accountants General of Pakistan and India, on the basis of a certificate issued by the authority.

   ii. Pending applications of pensioners would be expedited.

B. Provident Fund:

   Accounts Officers who were maintaining the fund accounts had the authority to deal with payment of provident funds of those who had migrated before or after retirement. The two dominions agreed to make payments to be given as early as possible.

C. Payment to those who did not get pay on time and also the leave salary.

   i. It was decided that claim forms for pension and provident funds should be addressed to Chief Secretary of province so that a proper compilation of applications should be made and forwarded to the Ministry of External Affairs and would be transmitted to High Commissioner in other dominion.

   ii. As for arrears of pay and leave salary, it was decided that the claims procedure for receiving and transmitting would be same as for pensions and
provident funds of local bodies. The money from government or other bodies like district, municipal boards and local bodies should be directly payable by them to the concerned evacuee without any custodial intervention.

A procedure for restoration of the evacuee property was worked out at an inter-dominion conference held at Karachi in February 1949 to include movable items like goods lying at railway stations, money orders lying undelivered, refrigerators and carpets etc. The evacuees had to make a complete inventory of their belongings and at location known to them along with their application addressed to Custodian of Evacuee Property. A Power of Attorney attested by a Magistrate was also required to secure the requisite permission. Three steps were needed to be taken before the property could be delivered:

i. On receipt of the permit the owner was required to come personally or alternatively,

ii. He could send his representative.

iii. He was also to send a Power of Attorney in the name of Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan duly attested by a Magistrate.

Director of Public Relations West Punjab informed that during the inter-dominion conference at Karachi on the exchange or sale of evacuee property, it had been decided to exclude agricultural lands from the scheme for permanent settlement of refugees. The decision was to be applied to all such lands which fell within the limits of corporation, municipality, notified area committee, town area, small town committee and cantonment.
On 21st and 23rd April 1949 in the third meeting of Inter-Dominion Commission at Lahore, it was decided that copies of inventories of machinery and stock-in-trade in evacuee industrial establishments be supplied on demand to evacuee owners.\textsuperscript{182} It was stated that evacuee owners of industrial establishments could in their own interest apply for copies of such inventories either to the Custodian of Evacuee Property or the state where the establishment was located or to Deputy High Commissioner for India at Lahore or Karachi according to each case. An Inter-Dominion Bank Conference was held in Lahore on 22\textsuperscript{nd} and 23\textsuperscript{rd} April 1949 in which Muslims evacuees with deposits in co-operative institutions of all types in Patiala & East Punjab States were required to address their claims to the office of the Registrar of Cooperative Societies West Punjab Lahore by 15\textsuperscript{th} June 1949.\textsuperscript{183} The Calcutta riots of January-February 1950 resulted in hundreds of deaths of both Hindus and Muslims. The frenzy triggered a new wave of Muslims eviction from West Bengal to Sind via Khokhropar border. As the protection of the minority community rested with either government they were eager to end the violence and wanted to ensure that the minorities felt to be secure. In that regard both the Prime Ministers were keen to solve the problem politically and through peaceful means. There had been long talks between them and finally on 8\textsuperscript{th} of April 1950 they signed an agreement in Delhi known as the Liaquat-Nehru Pact.\textsuperscript{184} The Pact was also termed as the ‘Pakistan-India Agreement on Minorities’ or the ‘Delhi Agreement of 1950’. Main features of the Pact were:

- Both governments agreed to protect the minorities’ rights in terms of equality in citizenship and opportunities.
• They agreed that allegiance and loyalty of the minority community was required to be to that state of which they were citizens.

In respect of evacuees from East and West Bengal, Assam and Tripura who had been affected with communal riots in January 1950, both the governments decided to allow freedom of movement across the border with adequate protection en route. Refugees were allowed to move with their personal jewelry and a maximum amount of cash up to 150 rupees for an adult and 75 rupees for a minor migrant; customs authorities were not to harass the migrants. The rights of immovable property were not to be disturbed and if the property was occupied by someone else during the owners’ absence due to riots, the government was to ensure that the property was restored to the real owner in case he decided to come back before 31st December 1950. If the migrant decided not to go back, he was allowed to retain the ownership of his immovable property for sale, transfer or exchange. The governments reiterated to do their best to maintain peace in the affected areas and to punish miscreants and also to restore abducted women. The governments decided not to recognize any forced conversions and to severely punish the abductors and converters and to curb provocative propaganda. Reputable ministers were to be assigned the task of making sure that the agreement was properly implemented.\textsuperscript{185}

Meanwhile, a Pakistan Government press report on 7\textsuperscript{th} January 1952 held India responsible for the deadlock on moveable evacuee property despite Inter-Dominion Banking Agreement of April 1949.\textsuperscript{186} It was pointed out that on one hand India was demanding that the lockers of Indian refugees to be handed over to
Indian Government en bloc, though it had not been stated in the agreement and on the other hand completely ignoring the “explicit provision of April 1949 Agreement”\textsuperscript{187} Pakistan Government took stand that any en bloc transfer should take place simultaneously on both sides as same banks had branches in either country. Indian press regarded Pakistan’s views to expropriate moveable evacuee property as an attack. This statement came from the country from which un-ending stream of refugees were daily pouring in to Pakistan. Indian press misinterpreted Pakistan Government’s proposal for the disposal of personal household effects held by evacuees in either country as a “notice” or an “ultimatum”.

Dr. Qureshi while speaking to a conference of Refugees Rehabilitation Officers and Custodians of Evacuee Property observed that after four years of negotiation and agreements the problem related to evacuee property still existed as India was hardly sincere to solve it.\textsuperscript{188} There were many Indian Muslims who did not want to leave that country and their property but had been driven out and deprived of their assets. Dr. Qureshi said that the Agreement of 13\textsuperscript{th} January 1949 provided a practical solution of that issue.\textsuperscript{189} He observed that Inter-Dominion Commission had been appointed to advise the two governments to undertake legislation for providing facilities to evacuees for disposal of their properties. But on 10\textsuperscript{th} April 1949 India wanted to settle the problem on its own.\textsuperscript{190} Dr. Qureshi was not satisfied with Indian demands and said that extension of the evacuee’s property laws to non-agreed areas was contrary to his understanding. He stated that in pursuance of the Delhi Pact Pakistan had suspended the operation of evacuee property laws pending further negotiations. But India again disagreed and went
ahead with the policy of annexing assets of her Muslim citizens. India was working on the theory of overestimating her property in Pakistan to the extent of 4,000 crore rupees and undervaluing the Muslim property in India to 400 crore rupees only.¹⁹¹

Concurrently, the Bombay Government took the initiative of enacting the most mischievous law which stated that if a Muslim citizen of Bombay went to Madras on a causal business visit he became an evacuee.¹⁹² The Bombay Act followed by an Ordinance (No. XII of 1949) which defined the brother or son or any near relation of any Muslim who had gone to Pakistan as providing sufficient evidence of his having acquired direct or indirect interest in Pakistan, he was therefore to be regarded an evacuee even though he had not even left and had never intended leaving India.¹⁹³ To stop the panic among rich Muslims in disposing of their assets the Government of India prohibited transfer of such property in certain areas.¹⁹⁴ By then India had so enlarged her pool of evacuee property by dispossessing the Muslims.

Agreement of June 1950 classified all categories of moveable property in four categories, viz; personal and household effects, seized property etc; shares, securities, insurance policies etc; lockers and other deposits in the banks; and properties of joint stock companies.¹⁹⁵ Contrary to the Banking Agreement of 1948, India refused to transfer the bank accounts and lockers of Muslims and also placed restrictions on transferring different kind of assets. India allowed her Reserve Bank to modify the implementation instructions agreed by the
governments. It further allowed the custodians to prohibit their Muslim nationals to deal with their shares or securities.

Dr. Qureshi complained against the manner in which the Custodian-General of Evacuee Property in India disposed of appeals and application by Muslim parties. This was regarded to be “devoid of all the sense of justice and humanity” leaving a relentless trail of broken lives. He concluded that agreement had worked for some time and both countries had agreed on a good deal of first category but after that India limited her interest only in lockers and joint stock companies. Pakistan had also agreed to transfer those assets but India failed to go on with agreement. He added that the correct attitude should have been in the interest of both parties and not only in the favour of one. Then again Pakistan agreed on the suggestions of Indo-Pak Secretariat Level Conference on moveable evacuee property held in Karachi on 14th February 1952. India however practically stifled the agreement on evacuee moveable property held in June 1950 and insisted the en bloc transfer of lockers left by Indians. By the end of the year the proposal for a conference was mooted after correspondence between Karachi and New Delhi. A real change in the Indian attitude was required to solve this problem.

In respect of urban evacuee property India continued to overestimate the property left by non-Muslims in Pakistan and undervalue the property of Muslims left in India. Mr. Choitram P. Gidwani, President of the All-India Refugee Association claimed in July 1949 that property left by Muslims in India was worth 600 crore rupees and the property left by non-Muslims in Pakistan was worth 2,000 crore rupees. But in January 1952 Mrs. Sucheta Kriplani had stated in New Delhi that
properties left by Muslims in India according to Bakshi Tek Chand Committee were worth 50 crore rupees against 1,000 crore rupees wroth of properties abandoned in Pakistan by Hindus and Sikhs.\textsuperscript{198}

According to a press release by Pakistan Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation the evacuees were to get their payments from the Custodians after sale of property under the Indo-Pakistan Movable Property Agreement of 1950.\textsuperscript{199} Custodians were to provide a list of such property in different cities to Pakistan Liaison Officer at New Delhi. Before 15\textsuperscript{th} April 1952 such persons who had properties in those areas were required to furnish necessary particulars to the Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation. India’s Rehabilitation Minister A. P. Jain in a Delhi broadcast blamed Pakistan for the miseries of millions of refugees by turning down India’s “fair” and “generous” offer on the settlement of evacuee claims. The offer was that the value of properties left by non-Muslims in Pakistan and those left by Muslims in India should be assessed and whichever country had property in excess should pay the difference to the other.\textsuperscript{200} Both fairness and generosity turned out to be a business proposition. India wanted to squeeze as much money from Pakistan as possible. A. P. Jain added that “no one can dispute that the properties left by Hindus and Sikhs in West Pakistan were several times worth the value of properties of Muslims left in India.”\textsuperscript{201} Dr. Qureshi exposed it as a lie to simply allege that the Hindus’ and Sikhs’ abandoned property was greater than that left by Muslims. Facts and figures led to opposite conclusions. Muslims migrants to Pakistan were close to 10 million in numbers as compared to 5.5 million Sikhs and Hindus who had migrated to India.\textsuperscript{202} In a co-operative conference between
representatives of both East and West Punjab it was decided to make payments for verified claims of evacuee property in both the provinces. It was also decided that the post office, saving bank accounts and national savings certificates would be collected by registrars of co-operative departments and would be transferred on reciprocal basis. A procedure for reconstruction of destroyed accounts was also worked out.

An Indo-Pakistan Evacuee Property Conference was held in Karachi from 27th July to 13th August 1953. The delegations were led by Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna Advisor Ministry of Rehabilitation India and Mr. E. H. Jaffar Advisor Ministry of Rehabilitation Pakistan. Agreements in those talks were reached on various matters including refund of cash, removal and disposal of contracts, disposal of evacuees and the procedure for the recovery of buried treasures. Officers were to be appointed to enable the actual work of postal accounts to start on 1st September 1953. Under the Movable Property Agreement, it was envisaged that legislation to facilitate the transfer of court deposits under the guardianship of courts and the deposit of wards under the Court of Wards Act from one country to the other be framed by both the governments. The discussions relating to the transfer of lockers, restorations of properties of joint stock companies, release of shares, debentures, securities and insurance policies held in banks were to be resumed in the near future. The problems of urban and agricultural evacuee properties were also discussed but without reaching any decision.

Mr. Shoaib Qureshi, Pakistan’s Rehabilitation Minister had proposed that India should cancel her evacuee property laws. In reply, Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain, the Indian
Rehabilitation Minister stated that the evacuee property issues should be solved first. He said that those laws were extremely unpleasant and they wanted their end as soon as possible but it was interlinked with the existing evacuee property issue, which could not be considered in isolation. Mr. Tarachand. J. Lalwani, Chairman of the Action Committee of Sindhi Panchayate Federation, described the offer of Mr. Qureshi as a trap and warned the Indian authorities that they should not fall into it.205

Government of India had approved to compensate 50,000 non-Muslim refugees from Pakistan, either in cash or in property for their losses. These refugees were selected from 4 lakh claimants in the five high priority categories. The refugees under the scheme were to stop paying rents for the government built houses or evacuee property that they occupied. The ownership was to be made permanent after the settlement of evacuee property dispute with Pakistan. The representatives of Pakistan and India had reached an agreement on the moveable evacuee property by July-August 1953 which was to be implemented by the Government of Pakistan from 1st January 1954.206 The Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation examined the detailed instructions issued by the Government of India for implementation of agreement.

A press notes by the Indian Ministry of Rehabilitation on 5th February 1954 stated that ownership of moveable property needed to be supported by a certificate from the High Commissioner for Pakistan in India confirming that the said luggage was property of the accompanying evacuee.207 The Pakistan Government had protested to the Indian Government on 11th February 1954 for auctioning of Muslim urban
evacuee property and its allotment to non-Muslims on quasi-permanent basis. It was revealed that the protest was lodged in an official letter by the Prime Minister Pakistan Muhammad Ali Bogra to Prime Minister Nehru and had proposed convening an inter-dominion conference immediately to discuss evacuee property issues. On 12th April 1954 Shoaib Qureshi stated in parliament that India had asked for a revision of Agreement on Urban Immovable Evacuee Property of January 1949 and refused to entertain any private or personal pleas to solve the cases, even after Pakistan Government had repeatedly insisted on following the agreement signed earlier. While the discussions were still in process, Indian Government announced a quasi-permanent allotment scheme to allot immovable urban evacuee property of Muslim evacuees to non-Muslims refugees as compensation which was a direct violation of the agreement signed in January 1949. However, the Pakistan Government had removed distinction between agreed and non-agreed areas in making allotments.

The Minister of State for Minority Affairs in Pakistan Mr. Ghyasuddin Pathan and his Indian counterpart Mr. C.C. Biswas met in New Delhi on 10th and 12th of July 1954 to review the working and implementation of the Liaquat-Nehru Pact on Minorities. Both the Ministers issued a joint communiqué from New Delhi in which they recognized the need for improvement in minority position in either dominion especially in implementation of that Pact. In the meantime, the Indian Government amended the evacuee laws through Evacuee Property Amendment Bill adopted by Indian Lok Sabha on 18th of September 1954 after which Muslims in India were to be treated as “Indian citizens” and were able to sell and invest
their property.\textsuperscript{213} Thus the Muslim minorities were to enjoy equal rights as the majority community. After the Movable Property Agreement of 1949 the Liaison Organisation of the Pakistan High Commission in India started excavating buried wealth of Muslim evacuees. Some property was excavated from Mehroli Town in Delhi under the protection of the local police.\textsuperscript{214} All those interested to excavate their buried properties in India were advised to write to Liaison Officer of the Government of Pakistan at Lahore.

A number of disputes and issues necessitated those bilateral talks which unfortunately have remained unresolved even after the passage of more than sixty years, with the difference between the two dominions having hardened into an impasse. Inter-dominion parleys led to a measure of understanding between the participants but not to the full satisfaction amongst the claimants on either side.

**Regulation of Evacuee Property through Legislation**

Management and allocation of evacuee property remained the most ticklish and tedious issue faced by the two governments. It was time consuming and raised many controversial issues which called for protracted formalities. As a result, there was lot of frustration between the affected and the administrators. The evacuee property legislation brought out by the government was at times difficult to understand and more so to implement. The general feeling was that only good relations with the high ups or beefy bribes to the officials could get the needful done.

One good feature of the evacuee property legislation was to put a brake on the efforts of the influential locals to grab property which could rightfully go to the
refugees. This created a natural resentment by locals against the evacuee laws and resettlement authorities. The claim procedure was such that influential politicians, educated and well informed politicians were able to raise heavy claims and earn fat rewards. Small refugee holders from East Punjab were able to make reasonable claims and even those having no documentary evidence were compensated as a bona-fide measure pending normal verification in the due course.

A meeting of Muhajir Councilors of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League was held in Lahore on 16th January 1949. A resolution restricting allocation of evacuee property to the bonefide refugees only was adopted. The participants stressed that if the evacuee property was to be allocated to the local people instead of deserving Muslim refugees it would not only damage the very interests of the stricken refugees but would also lead to a compromising situation for the authorities. The participants also demanded setting up of an inter-dominion corporation for easy exchange of the immoveable properties.

The allocation of vacant shops and factories to Muslim refugees was going at a steady pace but there were complaints about corruption and nepotism. One such case was reported by Saeed Ahmed Khan who was settled at Jhelum in West Punjab. According to him, he had the biggest ice factory in East Punjab along with other properties. Apart from his factory there were about four smaller factories of Muslims in East Punjab whereas in West Punjab the non-Muslims had left many ice factories. Mr. Khan was allotted a much smaller factory in West Punjab but even before gaining its possession he was kept busy in tedious litigation and when he finally got possession of the factory it had been badly damaged by the evacuees.
and he had to spend 15,000 rupees to get it into working condition. The moment the factory was operational the allocation authorities saddled three more partners on to that very ice factory despite the fact that many ice factories were available but Muslim migrants having experience of ice factories were only a few. He complained that two more partners had been enforced on them making six partners for a single ice factory. Another such case related to the issue was allocation of agricultural land to government officials. It was decided that government servants getting 50 or more rupees as salary be debarred from getting agricultural land. But only a few honest government officials who happened to be refugees followed that rule, others managed to get agricultural lands through misrepresentation, favoritism, corruption and even nepotism.

On 1st February 1949 Khwaja Shahabuddin stated that refugees were free to deal with the sale or exchange of their properties in the agreed areas and government would provide information about abandoned properties to the refugee applicants. There were chances that owners would charge high prices, but the government was not to interfere in matters and non-official agencies would see that the properties fetched neither very high price nor were sold off at a very low one. Those agencies were to help the refugees in such transactions. Estate agencies were to be appointed to bring transacting parties together and to help negotiate sales and exchanges. This offered a way of employment for unemployed refugees. Jullundur City had a number of agencies for such purposes. Khwaja Shahabuddin said that by following the rules individual refugees would let the government deal with housing work resulting from the agreements in general and their own
problems in particular. He was much disappointed by Dr. Gokul Chand Narang’s statement which forbade sale of evacuee property in the exchanges to be effective. \(^{219}\) The said statement was against inter-dominion agreement therefore a formal protest was lodged by Pakistan Government.

The same day the Pakistan Ministry of Finance stated that the restrictions on transfer and sale of Joint-Stock Company shares of evacuee properties had been removed by the Indian and Pakistani Governments. \(^{220}\) The shares were thereby rendered easily transferable by issuance of instructions to the companies by evacuee property owners. On 10\(^{th}\) February 1949, a committee consisting of Allotment Magistrate and three Muslim League and six refugee representatives raided local shops in Sialkot to check allotments. The party came to know that out of 183 shops, 30 were without any valid permit and only 43 were held by deserving refugees. \(^{221}\) In the meantime, Mr. S. S. Jaffri, Deputy Commissioner Lahore was appointed as Deputy Rehabilitation Commissioner. It was noted that many of occupants had been coming out and further more would follow. Mr. Jaffri was given powers to watch out those who were un-authorized to live at those places or had occupied evacuee property. Those who disobeyed the orders were to be punished under the Rehabilitation Ordinance of 1948. \(^{222}\)

Refugee government servants owning lands and residences in East Punjab, on arrival in Pakistan had become homeless and dependent on salaries only. Before partition they were well-off but after transfer their situation had become pathetic. Some people who owned nothing in East Punjab had got much more by way of houses or land allotments and even double allotments. Under new government
scheme the practice of temporary allotment was to be resumed. Re-allotment procedure for factories and cinemas in Punjab was announced and 30th April 1949 was fixed as the last date for receipt of such applications. Allotment for houses and shops was to commence from 31st May 1949. It was decided to allot these properties on a long term basis as rehabilitation of industry was government’s first and foremost concern. Due consideration was to be given to the existing allottees who were running factories efficiently. Clarifying principles were laid down for un-registered factories, evacuee houses and shops. The government desired the co-operation of press and public to complete allotment work efficiently.

The Majlis-i-Tahaffuz-i-Haqooq Awwam held a meeting on 14th April 1949 in Lyallpur. The meeting was presided over by Lt. Col. Ikram who expressed dissatisfaction over re-allocation scheme as that would have created irregularities and encouraged corruption. It was stated that people who had lost houses in India but had not been allotted any in Pakistan were paying rents for those houses in which they were presently living. A request was made to Rehabilitation Minister to help those persons. The Central Muhajreen Committee on 14th April 1949 examined the government’s policy of allotment of houses, shops and factories and decided to make no further provision for those refugees who had already been rehabilitated.

In a complaint to the rehabilitation authorities in Punjab a sufferer pointed out that personal influences had in most cases been the determining factor for the allotment of houses to government employees in Lahore. Other genuine claims were being ignored at that time and if an inquiry was held the matter could be solved.
Meanwhile, the West Punjab Government on 25th April 1949 announced that all local people who had illegally occupied evacuee property were to be thrown out.\textsuperscript{226} Any doubts in refugees’ mind regarding the scheme of provisional permanent resettlement of refugees on land would thus be removed. Refugees who had unlawfully taken lands in such areas were required to register their lands and if they wanted to go to other districts they could inform the government. No person was to be disturbed against his will. Government was to voluntarily change the lands in such cases.

A demand was made by a deputation of allowance holders that their allowances be continued in genuine cases and bogus applicants must be punished. They also requested effective recovery of abducted women. On that point Minister Khwaja Shahabuddin assured the deputation for swift action. Meanwhile, the date for submitting the application for allotments of the cinemas and factories had been extended up to 22nd May 1949.\textsuperscript{227} Some of the people had not been able to apply for the factories because of not filling up the applications properly. The policy for allotments was discussed in a meeting but the policy decision was not to be publicized. The meeting was attended by seven representatives of the Pakistan’s Government including Khwaja Shahabuddin, Mr. A.M. Leghari the Rehabilitation Commissioner and Dr. Muzaffar Qureshi the Director of Industries. It was decided by the Government of West Punjab that the Christian evacuees were to be allotted four acres of land for each family. It was announced on 11th May 1949 that Christian cultivators who had not been mentioned as tenants in revenue records could cultivate lands of those non-Muslims who used to pay \textit{abiana}.\textsuperscript{228} Captain
Sharif Ghaznvi, Secretary of Refugee Industrialists Association complained that the Rehabilitation Commissioner had failed to remove the refugees’ grievances. He stated that:

1. Partnership between locals and refugees would create exploitation.
2. Allotment for maintenance of economic life to be done by locals.
3. Ten percent of all houses and shops, 50 percent of mandi-shops to be reserved for locals.\footnote{229}

The \textit{Anjuman Muhajireen} held a public meeting at Krishan Nagar in Lahore on 17\textsuperscript{th} May 1949 which was presided over by Sardar S. Jamil Husain.\footnote{230} The meeting protested against the provincial government’s decision for disregarding the continuation of allowances. A resolution was passed asking the government to resume the allowances. On 26\textsuperscript{th} April 1949 it was announced by the Government of Pakistan that applications relating to provident fund, leave salary, security deposits of provincial and state government servants and servants of local bodies be submitted to Officer In-charge of Claims Section in Ministry of Finance by 31\textsuperscript{st} May 1949.\footnote{231}

The President of the Pakistan Muslim League Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman directed provincial Leaguers on 9\textsuperscript{th} September 1949 to call on all refugees coming from outside the agreed zones i.e. East Punjab, Punjab States, Delhi, Alwar, Gorkhpur and North Western districts of U.P. The government wanted to compile a complete data of the evacuee property abandoned by Muslims for exchange and sale of properties which under the new ordinance of evacuee property had been taken over by the Indian Government.\footnote{232} On 22\textsuperscript{nd} February 1950 Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi
stated at Lyallpur that Pakistan Government had decided that the sale and transfer of urban immovable property would be on person-to-person basis and not on government-to-government basis. He said that Indian demand for sale and transfer on government-to-government basis was not workable and needed establishment of another organization for that particular task which Pakistan could not afford at that time. He observed that non-Muslims who had left properties in Pakistan had exaggerated while filing claims for their losses in Pakistan. It was therefore necessary for the Indian Government to lift ban on the sale and transfer of evacuee property on individual basis.

Under the Governmental Rehabilitation Settlement Scheme, about eight lakhs out of ten lakh claims for land allotment had been verified by the end of January 1951. This speedy pace of work was made possible through a new system devised by Chairman of the Rehabilitation Advisory Board where the verification had been done and sent to different districts as earlier it was considered impossible to meet the claims of non-allottees in the congested districts of Lyallpur and Montgomery. To ensure uniform treatment and to check against multiple allotments a Settlement Officer had been appointed to deal with the claims of all persons whose revenue records had not been received from India. The said Officer was empowered to settle claims of people on spot so that they were given equal or less allotted area and for larger areas he had to hold further inquiries. Under the Rehabilitation Settlement Scheme along with the Pakistan Joint Refugee Council, it was decided that the areas up to 250 acres were to be met in full and 50 percent would be deductible if area exceeded that limit. The ban on the registration of fresh claim
forms was relaxed in case of refugees coming from the prescribed areas through Jullundur camp and their claims were to be registered in all non-congested districts.\textsuperscript{235}

Refugees in some areas in the Punjab had been ejected from the land temporarily allotted to them under Rehabilitation Scheme which created unrest amongst them. Therefore, the Land Resettlement Department directed local officers that no allotment be canceled. Steps were taken in April 1950 for provisional permanent allotment of land to refugees. After Independence in 1947 the scheme for town expansion in Punjab was considered essential because of growing population. Instructions were issued for final reservation of evacuee land for town expansion. The resettlement staff was directed to keep sufficient area in reserve adjacent to proposed area and that allotment should also be made to imams of mosques in the evacuee villages at the scale of two to three acres of irrigated and four to six acres of barren land per family.\textsuperscript{236}

By an agreement between the two dominions on 27\textsuperscript{th} June 1950 the sale or disposal of all movable evacuee property in Pakistan and India had been stopped to enable its removal by owners to other country.\textsuperscript{237} It was decided that all possible steps be taken to restore the status quo ante. In cases where action had already been taken after signing of that agreement the disposal of property was to be made according to the wishes of the evacuee owners. Five joint committees were to be appointed in each dominion to assess compensation for movable evacuee property. Instructions had been issued to Custodians of the evacuee property to expedite immediate implementation of agreement to enable the owners to exercise their rights. The
categories of the property to be allowed for removal to other country without import and export restrictions were:

a. Machinery and their parts  
b. Prohibited articles like cash  
c. Merchandise and trade goods  
d. unsown cloth  
e. Livestock cattle  

It was stated that evacuees on move to the other dominion could bring their movable property and if they returned with that property, they will have to get an endorsement by their diplomatic representatives. The luggage accompanying the owner or his agent was to be certified by the diplomatic representative of evacuee’s country of residence. A luggage certificate granted by a diplomatic representative was to be accompanied with a list of that luggage. In the absence of such a certificate the customs authorities were to decide whether the luggage could be taken by the owner or not.

The disposal of articles deposited in the bank by the persons residing in the country where such articles were located was to be governed by special instructions. The two Deputy High Commissionaires at Jullundur and Lahore worked out arrangements for facilities to be given to bank evacuees. Seized articles like firearms and money were to be restored to the owners. The local authorities had been instructed to prepare lists of such articles. The respective Deputy High Commissioners were to make arrangements for recovery or removal of buried treasures. All Custodians had been directed to prepare lists of moveable properties the sale proceeds of which had been deposited with them. The Governments of India and Pakistan had decided to assume legal powers to enable transfer of
records and deposits lying with the courts and deposits of wards under the Court of Wards Act.\textsuperscript{240} In the meantime instructions were to be issued to appropriate authorities to compile lists of deposits transferable to the other country. The work on verification of claims was also preceded with.

The Indian Parliament passed a bill on 23\textsuperscript{rd} April 1951 which empowered the government to declare joint stock companies as evacuee properties if the majority of the shareholders had migrated to Pakistan.\textsuperscript{241} India’s Minister for Refugees Mr. Ajit Jain said that if Pakistan was willing to declare all shares of joint stock companies as non-evacuee property, his ministry would declare every share in India as non-evacuee share. During the debate Syed Hussain Imam, an Indian parliamentarian stated that “India professed to be the friend of the minorities in other countries but was doing a great disservice to her own”. He further stated that “evacuees were being manufactured in India”.\textsuperscript{242} Many Indian parliamentarians regarded him as a Pakistani or an advocate of the Pakistan’s case. Mr. Ajit Prasad said that the bill would not affect the rights of non-evacuees as the government would manage the companies herself and allot them to some refugees. He further said that the bill contained a perfectly good amendment to evacuee property and if Syed Hussain Imam wanted to exchange his property then no one would come in his way.\textsuperscript{243} The Indian Government had banned private exchanges of evacuee property as agreed in January 1949 Agreement. Pakistan had honored the exchange of evacuee property in the agreed areas. Political and commercial circle in Karachi on 25\textsuperscript{th} April 1951 strongly denounced the new Indian legislation which enabled Indian Government to treat the property of joint stock companies as evacuee
property. According to those circles the new law would not only affect India-Pakistan relations but would be very unhelpful towards the Liaquat-Nehru Agreement.

Dr. Qureshi said that Pakistan would always be there for settlement of refugee’s property as a whole. Mr. A. P Jain had stated that India would be prepared to restore property of all joint stock companies and treat them as evacuee property if Pakistan undertook to do the same. According to Dr. Qureshi the joint stock companies question was related to many other questions. Mr. Jain claimed that Pakistan’s action in matter of joint stock companies had been “illegal” which was rebutted by Dr. Qureshi stating that the “allegation had no grounds”. He emphasized that Pakistan had never taken any action illegally in regard to the joint stock companies and added that provincial government had agreed to adjust 3,000 refugees in the Frontier Province. He added that Pakistan’s attitude in regard to evacuee property had always been “consistent, fair and responsible”. The January 1949 Agreement between the two countries with regard to evacuee property was being followed by Pakistan but was being violated by India by extending the application of the evacuee property legislation to the joint stock companies.

A press report from Lahore on 3rd September 1951 stated that the property obtained from evacuees after 1st March 1947 would continue to be evacuee property unless the transfer was confirmed under section 16 of the Pakistan Administration of the Evacuee Property Ordinance of 1949. It was stated that this condition would be there even on the transfer of the property. It was added that “such transferors” needed to apply in their own interest for confirmation. Out of
evacuee property left behind by the migrating non-Muslims in Bahawalpur State.

24,297 houses had been allotted resettling 1,85,460 refugees. The State Government had absorbed refugee craftsmen in cottage and large scale industries and also sanctioned 50,000 rupees for construction of houses for refugees of the labor class and loans of 30,000 rupees and 15,000 rupees to the Bahawalpur Cooperative Hosiery Works Ltd. and Makhdoomia Wollen Industries were granted. At the same time an expenditure of 400,000 rupees was incurred on building of two *mohajir* colonies at Bahawalpur and Harunabad. 125,000 rupees had been sanctioned out of Mohajir Fund for payment to a similar scheme.248

Dr. Qureshi informed the parliament on 18th March 1952 that government proposed to give the provisional permanent rights to the refugees over evacuee agricultural land on basis of their verified claims.249 He stated that central government intended to spend 23,115,851 rupees during 1951-1952 on refugee rehabilitation. Out of that amount 2,05,00,000 rupees were for housing; 19,00,000 rupees on relief; 6,00,000 rupees on education and 11,000 rupees were to be spent on technical and vocational training. Qureshi stated that there were 767 displaced families in Punjab refugee camps and 4,454 in camps in East Bengal.250

The Punjab and East Bengal Governments had many schemes in hand for provision of houses, financial assistance and settlement of land for rehabilitation. He said that a system of private exchanges and not on government level was the best solution to evacuee property problem. The stand taken by Indian Government on settlement at governmental level was not only impractical but also against cannons of justice.251 Pakistan Government had no compensation for those who
had left their properties in urban areas. There was no lack of activity or sympathy but the continued exodus of Muslims from India made all plans of rehabilitation useless. The Pakistan Government prohibited the transfer of agricultural as well as urban immovable evacuee property. The prohibition had been ordered under section 15 of the Pakistan Administration of Evacuee Property Ordinance 1949 and operated in areas where ordinance was in force. No transfer of property or creation of any right in immoveable property was to be made for a period of one year.252

Dr. Qureshi had stated in Parliament on 20th November 1952 that Pakistan would do away with legislation on all evacuee property if India would agree to withdraw its measures against Muslim evacuee property.253

By February 1953 the Punjab Government had approved a scheme, according to which the land rendered surplus after meeting the requirements of claimants was to be distributed among displaced locals and refugees. The allotments were to be made on a scale of eight acres of irrigated or ten to twelve acres of non-irrigated land and the rent was to be six times the land revenue for the allotted area. The following categories were eligible for the scheme:

a. Tenants who had left their tenancies as a result of the agrarian legislation.

b. Landless refugee tenants holding temporary allotments of evacuee land.

c. Pre-partition tenants of evacuee land whose holdings had been reduced to eight acres irrigated and up to 12 acres of non-irrigated land.254

However, allotments made under the scheme were liable to resumption if the land was required for any purpose which the concerned Rehabilitation Commissioner
considered it necessary for central resettlement or found any irregularity in the allotment.

It was stated in press on 8th April 1953 that Government of Bahawalpur was considering the cancellation of allotments of all evacuee industrial concerns in the State and to rearrange re-allotment on annual basis which had been allotted to them during the last year for a three-year period. This step was taken because the government felt that a considerable number of people had succeeded in getting bogus claims and a quite large number of factories were rendered defunct or were being damaged.255

The occupants of evacuee properties which had been allotted under the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of 1948 to locals and refugees for a fixed term were required to pay due rent. The refugees had represented to the Punjab Government that the issue of evacuee property between Pakistan and India had been hanging for several years. If it could not be resolved in the near future, the least government could do was to suspend the rent collection from such refugees who had left behind the properties in urban areas. The Punjab Government sympathized with their demand and proposed a scheme to the central government which the latter agreed to but required further details to decide on its implement-ability.256 The Punjab Government had then submitted a proposal but pending its approval all allottees of evacuee properties in urban areas were required to continue paying rents to the Deputy Commissioner Rehabilitation.

However, in response to Mr. Shoaib Qureshi’s press interview seeking replacement of evacuee property laws, Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain, India’s Rehabilitation
Minister replied that issues like immovable and moveable property agreements were also covered by these laws but reiterated his government’s willingness to discuss the question of termination of property laws. Meanwhile, the West Punjab Government decided to give all un-allotted evacuee bunjar areas in the province on lease. The scheme was offered to the refugee claimants under the rehabilitation policy so that they could be resettled satisfactorily and was in connection with the “grow more food” campaign. The Financial Commissioner had indicated that 59,875 acres of bunjar land was available in Montgomery; 23,888 acres in Nili Bar Colony; 1,15,597 acres in Sheikhpura; 40,164 acres in Rawalpindi and 60,380 acres in Mianwali District.

The last date fixed for the allotment of building sites (measuring 5 to 9 marlas) and commercial sites in the new satellite towns of Lyallpur, Multan, Montgomery, Jhang, Sargodha, Rawalpindi and Gujranwala was extended up to 30th September 1953 when allotments were to be made to deserving refugees. Only actual costs of land and development charges were to be charged. The eligibility was limited to those refugees with monthly income up to 150 rupees. Commercial sites were to be allotted at a rate of 100 rupees per marla. A press note at Lahore on 9th July 1953 directed refugee allottees whose claims had been partially met in congested districts and non-allottees who were still waiting to get land in congested districts to get their registration transferred to non-congested districts. They were advised to transfer their claim forms to the places of their choice in non-congested districts within one month failing which their applications were not to be entertained.

The next day Mr. Shoaib Qureshi stated that in order to detect any miss-allotments,
the Pakistan Rehabilitation Board would review cases of industrial allotments by the end of the year 1953.

The Urban Allowance Holders Association, Punjab expressed deep concern over the resolution of Bakshi Tek Chand Committee on 9th July 1953 which sought to auction the Muslim properties and its sale to the highest bidder without the consent of original owner. The Association further stated that it was not only contrary to the Government of India Act of 1935 but was against the very principles of fundamental human rights. The Association resolved that as law and order had been restored in the agreed areas of both East and West Punjab, the respective governments should consider the possibilities of repatriation of refugees to their original homes. It also criticized the termination of their maintenance allowances and appealed to the Pakistan Government either to restore their maintenance allowances or to authorize them to realize the rent of the evacuee shops in Lahore or in any other city. In order to facilitate the awaiting claimants, the Punjab Rehabilitation Consultative Committee decided pending the allotment of bunjar land to evacuees till 31st December 1953. It was also decided that the sitting tenants should pay their rents to their allottee landlords failing which they were to be ejected. The refugees who had not registered their claim forms due to illness, old age or under age were given another chance to register their claims.

The Refugee Minister Punjab Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan Qazilbash informed the provincial assembly on 10th March 1954 that resettlement of urban refugees with industrial experience was under active consideration. He further stated that preference would be given to those who had owned lands in agreed areas or had
industrial experience. In such cases both urban and rural refugees were to be given top priority. He stated that until January 1954, the Ministry had received 9,89,760 claims of land in response to which 30,70,902 acres of land had been allotted. The collection of rent was agreed on basis of the policy that rent was to be recovered from those with profit yielding lands and not from the destitute ones. He however admitted that some refugees had been ejected from their houses in the past due to non-payment of rents but he had put an end to that practice. Minister Qazilbash stated again on 9th June 1954 that as India had decided to dispose of Muslim evacuee property in violation of agreement between both countries Pakistan was now free to deal with the evacuee property in the best manner suited to permanent resettlement of refugees. He hoped that the said task would be completed in next three years. During the second week of June 1954 about 3,000 acres of Crown land was acquired in Multan and placed at the disposal of cooperative farming societies to rehabilitate 200 landless refugee families and local tenants.

The Punjab Government had decided to reserve 5,000 acres of land in Thal area for allotment to persons who had rendered meritorious services in the fields of art, literature and religion etc. A block of 50 acres each was to be allotted to such persons on special reduced rates. Towards the end of June 1954 the Rehabilitation Commissioner Punjab Syed Saeed Jafri stated that Claims Commissioners would examine urban property, refugee claims and further valuation of property would be undertaken in cases of quasi-permanent allotments. He also stated that since 1, 40,000 rupees had been spent on destitute allowances
therefore due to shortage of funds the occupants of the evacuee houses were asked to get the repairs done pending adjustments later on.\textsuperscript{268} Meanwhile, Minister Qazilbash while visiting *Karachi Abadi*, a satellite town for refugees at Lyallpur on 28\textsuperscript{th} June 1954 assured refugees that they would not be ejected from their allotted houses unless they had been provided with alternative accommodation.\textsuperscript{269} Qazilbash again stated on 27\textsuperscript{th} August 1954 at Karachi that Punjab province would implement the Quasi-Permanent Rehabilitation Scheme for urban refugees in about two years as that scheme drawn up by the provincial government was under consideration of the central government. He also mentioned that he had spoken to Mr. Shoaib Qureshi and hoped that necessary legislation would be enacted shortly.\textsuperscript{270} Then on 28\textsuperscript{th} August 1954 he reiterated his government’s commitment on quasi-permanent rehabilitation of urban refugees. He also mentioned the possibility of an ordinance if no legislation was forth-coming by that time. He stated that the Punjab Government had directed all Deputy Rehabilitation Commissioners not to eject any local allottee of a shop or a house who was abiding by the rules and regulations agreed at the time of allocation.\textsuperscript{271} As per the Indo-Pak Agreement on evacuee property of June 1950, the Ministry of Refugee Rehabilitation Pakistan had received a list of personal and household moveable property lying with the Custodian of Evacuee Property in India on 26\textsuperscript{th} February 1955.\textsuperscript{272} The Pakistan Ministry therefore formulated a procedure for restoration of the listed property provided by the Indian authorities for those wishing to regain their properties. However, if the owners of such properties did not show wiliness to acquire back their movable property then after six months
from the date of the notice, the Indian Government had the right to dispose of the property in the presence of a Pakistani diplomat. The Indian authorities whereby were required to pay him the amount after deducting 10 percent as custodian’s fee. The money was then to be transferred to Pakistan for disbursement to the owner at the official rate of exchange.

While addressing refugee MLAs and other influential leaders at Lahore on 6th April 1955, the Pakistan Minister of State for Refugee & Rehabilitation Sirdar Amir Azam Khan stressed that in order to serve the country selflessly there should be no distinction between the local and migrant communities. He chalked out the aims and objectives of the Claims Ordinance and informed the audience that legislation plan comprised four stages including registration of claims, verification of claims, and evaluation of evacuee property in West Pakistan and preparation of a distribution scheme. He hoped that all four stages would be completed within three years. He however explained that agricultural claims were not included on the present plan as they had already been covered by the West Punjab Act of 1949. He mentioned that according to the reports of the West Punjab Government almost 80 percent of the work had been completed. He advised the refugees not to file any bogus claim as that would be punishable with a fine or imprisonment or both. He reiterated his government’s decision not to eject poor refugees from allotted houses on the pretext of non-payment of rents.

The government also announced rules for submission of claims for the recovery of immovable property on 11th April 1955. The completed claim forms were to be sent to the Registering Officers through registered post or to be presented
personally or through an authorized agent. For the registration of claims of property claims whose value did not exceed 10,000 rupees, a fee of two rupees was to be paid; for property exceeding 10,000 rupees but less than 25,000 rupees, an amount of three rupees was to be paid; for property between 25,000 and 50,000 rupees the applicant was to pay five rupees; for property worth 50,000 to 100,000 rupees the fee was ten rupees and for the property whose value exceed one lakh rupees the applicant was to pay fifteen rupees as registration fee.275

On 28th April 1955 the Pakistan Government received list of the personal belongings of the Muslim evacuees sent by the Indian authorities in accordance with the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of June 1950 in respect of movable properties of evacuees. The list included the names of Muslim evacuees from Amareli District, Kaire District, PEPSU, Sangrur District, Patiala District and Kapurthala District.276 The evacuees whose names were mentioned in the list were advised to obtain the particulars of their movable properties from Ministry of Refugee and Rehabilitation at Karachi. It was then up to the owner to either to apply for the restoration through Pakistan Liaison Office in India or by directly contacting the Indian authorities or to dispose of that property within India.

The Claim Commissioner for West Punjab, NWFP and Bahawalpur Mr. Khurshid-uz-Zaman stated on 5th May 1955 that government had finalized arrangements for registration of Muslim urban immovable evacuee property abandoned in India. He further stated that Registering Officers had been appointed in the districts and tahsil headquarters in NWFP and Bahawalpur. Apart from that 21 Registering Officers had also been appointed in the province of West Punjab including three at
Lahore, two each at Rawalpindi, Multan and Lyallpur and one each at the remaining 12 districts.\(^{277}\)

With a view to settling claims of immovable evacuee property in India, the West Pakistan Refugee Claims Advisory Council urged the central government to reinstate the distinction between Muslim refugees from agreed and non-agreed areas.\(^{278}\) The Council emphasized on the priority to be given to refugees from agreed areas and all those government servants who had opted for Pakistan. Members of the Council including Mr. Abdul Majid Salik and Dr. Jan Muhammad Alvi in a press conference on 7\(^{th}\) May 1955 urged upon the government to set up a Rehabilitation Advisory Board consisting of refugee representation and people from the Rehabilitation Department under the direct control of the Secretary In-Charge of the Rehabilitation Claims Commission. The Council also requested the government to provide claim forms in Urdu instead of English and further demanded that refugees may not be ejected unless they were provided with alternative accommodation. The Council however demanded that compensation for claims should not exceed the limit of two lakh rupees.\(^{279}\) The members reiterated that as the Council had been setup to work for the uplift of the refugees it should not indulge itself in any political ventures.

The West Pakistan Minister for Rehabilitation and Revenue Mr. Ayub Khuhru told the press on 19\(^{th}\) October 1955 that rehabilitation of refugees was the top priority of his government. He further stated that he had directed West Pakistan Rehabilitation Commissioner to submit a detailed report about all illegal occupants of evacuee property.\(^{280}\) He warned that such occupants would be given a chance to
vacate the property voluntarily otherwise strict action was to be taken against them.

The Ad Hoc Committee of the All-Pakistan Refugee Convention led by Sanaullah Khan Shaida met with the Claims Commissioner Mr. Khurshid-uz-Zaman on 28th November 1955. The deputation submitted a seven-point memorandum which included the following:

• As Indian Government was not facilitating the Muslim evacuees in obtaining documentary proof of their properties left in India therefore that document should not be treated as essential evidence.

• Muslim evacuee properties in rural areas were in small holdings which were not worth 10,000 rupees. They should be treated as one unit and lesser claims should also be entertained.

• It was learnt that the Pakistan Government proposed to levy a verification fee, if that so, the fee should not be charged more than the rate fixed for claim forms.

• Appropriate arrangements should be made for the collection of claim form’s fees.

• The government should publicize the procedure of claim registration even to the far flung areas.

• It was requested that the procedure for the verification of evacuee claims should be made simple and swift. The All-Pakistan Refugee Convention which claimed to represent 125 refugee organizations had offered to assist the authorities in the said task even in far flung areas.
It was hoped that the refugee authorities must have learnt a lot because of their eight years’ experience in the field, therefore the refugee interest especially their claims of losses in India would be taken care of properly.\footnote{281}
The Claim Commissioner gave the delegation a patient hearing and assured that their reservations would be properly dealt with in any legislation proposed for property claims.
Different refugee organizations approached the government with regard to the last date of the submission of claim forms which was 31\textsuperscript{st} December 1955. In this connection the government decided to extend the last date up to 31\textsuperscript{st} March 1956.\footnote{282} However, Minister Sirdar Amir Azam Khan warned that this date would not be extended so the migrants should take full advantage of it and submit their claim forms as early as possible.
By and large the evacuee property legislation was able to do something for the refugees and did no harm to any one except the unlawful seizures. Evacuee legislation remained open to amendments and was thus a practical assignment to be undertaken by the government in the subsequent decades.

**Refugees Influx from Jammu & Kashmir**

Kashmiri influx took place while rehabilitation authorities in Punjab were heavily burdened with refugees from East Punjab and nearby areas. Jammu massacre from November 1947 onwards emanated from deaths and abductions. Even the daughter of Choudhary Ghulam Abbas, President Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference was one of the abductees at Amritsar.\footnote{283} The Muslims from Jammu area were first driven out in trucks, robbed and transported away from populated areas to be put to
death with firearms and sharp edged weapons. Only those who were walking wounded staggered on to Sialkot and adjoining areas. A number of telegrams from Kashmiri refugees at Sialkot were also sent to the Quaid-i-Azam. Muslim refugees from Kashmir valley also reached Murree, Rawalpindi and Wah camps in large numbers. Some refugees also managed to reach Jhelum, Gujrat and Gujranwala Districts. Despite the fact that the arrival of Kashmir refugees had further aggravated the difficulties for administrative bodies, the Punjab Government somehow made arrangements for their reception, temporary housing, relief and maternal health care. Government’s help in that regard during 1949 to 1955 is detailed in the following paragraphs.

Colonel Shah the Defense Minister of Azad Government of Jammu & Kashmir along with Mirwaiz Maulvi Mohammad Yousaf visited the Mansar and Wah refugee camps on 31st December 1948. At these camps about two lakh Muslim refugees from Mendhar, Haveli, Rajauri and Poonch had taken shelter. The refugees requested the Defense Minister for arms to fight the invading Indian forces in the State. In reply the Minister advised the refugees to stay calm and assured them that the government would do everything possible for their comfort and early repatriation back to Kashmir. About 18,000 Kashmiri Muslim refugees were housed in Wah refugee camp in Rawalpindi District. Khwaja Sanaullah Shamim, the General Secretary of All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference protested against the district authorities for lack of food supplies to Kashmiri refugees who sometimes had to go without food for more than four days. Choudhary Ghulam Abbas Supreme Head of Azad Kashmir Government voiced
the matter to the Refugee Minister West Punjab Mr. A. M. Leghari which resulted in un-interrupted supply of food to Kashmiri refugees. Choudhary Ghulam Abbas also appealed to the Government of Pakistan to do the needful in resettling the Kashmir refugees. He said that about 7.7 lakh Muslims had been driven out of Indian held Kashmir. He appealed to the people of Pakistan to come forward and help the Kashmiri refugees. In response a delegation of Military Account Department employees paid a three day visit to Wah refugee camp and distributed 3,000 items of warm clothing amongst the inmates.  

The Kashmiri refugees were a matter of great concern to the government notwithstanding the fact that the authorities had limited resources to maintain them. Pakistan Finance Minister Mr. Ghulam Muhammad paid a visit to the Kala Refugee Camp in Jhelum District on 11th January 1949. Accompanied by the Supreme Head of the Azad Kashmir Government Choudhary Ghulam Abbas and Nawab Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani he assured inmates that they themselves would not spare even their own wealth and resources to bring comfort to them. The party also visited the Ali Beg Refugee Camp where they met the Kashmiri Hindu refugees. They assured them that the government would try for their early repatriation to Jammu. The next day the Pakistan Finance Minister also accompanied the Frontier Chief Minister Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan to Wah Refugee Camp.  

The West Pakistan Government sanctioned 10,000 rupees for each of the Kashmiri refugee camps in West Pakistan on 12th January 1949. The same day both Nehru and Liaquat sent messages to U.S. Secretary of State Robert Lovett expressing
their interest and desire for a peaceful solution of the Kashmir dispute. The Pakistan Minister without portfolio Nawab Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani while visiting the Kashmiri refugees at Wah camp on 14th January 1949 assured them that the Government would do every thing possible to ease their sufferings. He emphasized that the Kashmiris should consider Pakistan as their own country and should prepare themselves for the upcoming plebiscite so as to decide for themselves and with a free will to accede to Pakistan. On the other hand the Indian Government on 18th January 1949 agreed to recover abducted Kashmiri women in the Maharaja-held Kashmir under the supervision of Dr. Otto Wenger of International Red-Cross.

In Sialkot District the authorities had set up a camp for Kashmiri refugees. The Public Relations Directorate of the Azad Kashmir Government in a press note on 24th January 1949 had acknowledged the authorities’ efforts inclusive of scholarship grants to students and distribution of quilts worth about one lakh rupees. The Wah Refugee Camp housed approximately 20,000 Kashmiri refugees and was under the control of Major-General S.M.A. Faruki of the Army Medical Corps. The camp hospital was equipped with 300 beds with all the modern medical facilities. About five lakh Kashmiri refugees in Pakistan were being cared for by the central and provincial governments and the Pakistan Army. The government also made arrangements for housing those families which were not accompanied by their men-folk. Kashmir refugees were advised to apply to Lahore Branch Office of Muslim Conference for relief goods.
On 27th January 1949, the First Lady Begum Liaquat while addressing Kashmir refugees at Rawalpindi assured them of the full support of Pakistani people. She said that Muslims had faced many difficulties but it was shown to the world that they were a live nation which had attained Pakistan with strong efforts. She also appealed to the refugee women to help the authorities by having first aid training. She also visited the Mansar Camp which had accommodated more than 20,000 refugees from Islamabad (Anantnag) in Kashmir. She was accompanied by Minister Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Commissioner Rawalpindi Mr. Inamur Rahim and Colonel Jaffery. Begum Liaquat was impressed by the dedication of the management and the volunteers working there.

A press notes by General Headquarters stated that Commander-in-Chief had agreed to distribute gifts for Kashmiri refugees including clothing, footwear, blankets and other items that were received at Central Ordnance Depots at Lahore, Karachi and Rawalpindi. In that manner the distribution of such items was to be made more effective. The central government on a representation from West Punjab had also agreed to settle 50,000 Kashmiri refugees in the province under its supervision. The provincial government represented that a lot of expenditure had been incurred on refugees from East Punjab and an additional financial burden would have to be borne on account of the Kashmiris. The rehabilitation of 65 lakh Muslims who had entered since independence had become the biggest economic problem of Pakistan. In response to an inquiry from the United Nations, Pakistan stated that the migration to that country had been left with 16 lakh refugees in excess of those non-Muslims who had migrated out. Government had to spend
most of its time, energy and attention on refugee resettlement which was the greatest problem at that time. With a view to fight the rigorous winter conditions, the Pakistan Aniline and Chemicals Company at Gujranwala presented chest boxes of tea to Commanders of Azad Jammu & Kashmir State refugee camps for distribution amongst the inmates. A caravan of trucks was sent to Azad Kashmir territory which was carrying relief goods worth 40,000 rupees. Kashmir Refugees had started returning to their homes after liberation of Bhimbar. It was estimated that by 15th April 1949 about 60,000 refugees had come to that area and had been distributed among different refugee camps and provided with rations. Choudhary Ghulam Abbas, the President of All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference along with A. R. Saghar and M. I. Qureshi visited Kashmir refugee camp containing 9,000 refugees. They visited various schools, hospital and stores in the camp. Abbas assured the refugees that they were going to be resettled in their original homes within liberated areas and also thanked the Pakistan Government for her help. While visiting Mansar camp Azad Kashmir President Barrister M. Ibrahim Khan told the refugees there that after going through the hardships they were then free to choose their homes and vote for their future. Meanwhile, a census of Kashmir refugees was held in Sialkot by the local Employment Exchange. The work was done in Dar-ul-Mahajrin and Pakka Garha camps. This was done in anticipation of the announcement for the forthcoming plebiscite.

Donations and relief goods were pouring in for the Kashmir refugees. Azad Kashmir Government announced in rehabilitation scheme that $taccavi$ loans would
be granted to the Muslim as well as Hindu refugees who would also be provided with clothing and rations. A gift of about 5,000 items of clothing from provincial Relief Committee at Lahore was distributed by Mrs. C. W. Tressler. Meanwhile, 28 trucks transported 300 Hindu families including men, women and children to Kotli from Ali Beg on 12th May, 1949. Remaining 1,500 were to stay in camps for transportation back to their villages in Mirpur District in Azad Kashmir. Because of the heat in the West Punjab plains many Kashmiri refugees were moving to Murree. The population of Ghora Gali camp by then increased up to 1,500. A local official later on warned them that they should stop going to the Murree because of saturation there.

After detailed talks between Choudhary Ghulam Abbas, Supreme Head of the Azad Kashmir Government and Brig. Stevens Director General of Refugees Rehabilitation on 20th May 1949 it was agreed that free rations were to be provided to deserving Kashmiri refugees only after their registration. Mr. S. S. Jaffri had already asked all Kashmiris to register themselves at the local Employment Exchange offices. Miss Fatima Jinnah also visited the Wah camp on 24th May 1949 and assured the Kashmiris that the entire country was standing by them at that difficult juncture. She added that no one was to rest until the Kashmiris had got back their lands and lived as free human beings. She added that everyone had passed through difficult situations during the emergence of Pakistan.

The Government of Pakistan had directed all the employment exchanges to register Kashmiri refugees. The All-Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference directed the party office bearers to co-operate with Pakistan officers in speeding up that task.
Mr. A.R. Saghar the Acting President of All-Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference visited Rawalpindi on 27th May 1949 for re-organizing Muslim Conference branches that had been dislocated. During a visit to Wah and Mansar Camps he received complaints about the inmates’ difficulties and assured them all possible redress.

Kashmiris who had escaped from the clutches of Indian and Dogra troops had started returning to their homes in the liberated territory by first week of June 1949. Several thousand refugees were shifted to Tahsil Bhimber in the Mirpur District. Tents, small transit camps were set up in Bhimber and wells were cleaned, small lamps and water pitchers were also provided. The home-ward movement of the refugees involved a large number of people and their livestock. For that purpose, many of the refugees had been sent to the Sadabad valley and adjoining areas. A deputation of the Muslim Conference Lahore branch led by Sirdar Mohammad Alam, met with Minister Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani at Lahore on 10th August 1949. The delegation spoke about the provision of facilities to the Jammu & Kashmir refugees in Lahore. Gurmani assured the deputation that free rations would be provided to 3,000 deserving Kashmiri refugees in Lahore and promised that the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs would shortly launch a scheme for financial aid to Kashmir refugee students in Pakistan. He further assured the deputation that jobs would be provided to the Kashmir refugees through employment exchanges and advised that Kashmiri youth should apply for jobs in Pakistan without any reservation. The rehabilitation of Kashmiris in Pakistan and Azad Kashmir was to proceed steadily during the next year. By early 1951 about
10,000 Jammu and Kashmir refugees had been settled in the Bajwat area of Sialkot near the India-Pakistani border. Anwarabad located near the border was a model village built by the refugees themselves with the timber provided by the government and a loan up to 60 rupees for house maintenance.\textsuperscript{311} When the construction started in July 1951 a total of 10,000 acres were allotted to the refugees. The allotted lands were fertile for crops like maize, sugarcane and ground nuts. The government had also provided 350 rupees and 100 rupees per family for the purchase of bullocks and seed corn respectively.\textsuperscript{312}

Over three and half lakh refugees from Kashmir were to be settled in Punjab and their cost of settlement was borne by central government and for that purpose negotiations were held between Centre and Punjab Government on regular basis. The committee appointed by Ministry of Kashmir Affairs prepared a report on all the work done for refugee camps in Gujranwala, Sialkot, Kala, Wah and Mansar and put forward a number of recommendations most of which were later implemented. Pakistan’s Refugees and Kashmir Affairs Minister Mr. Shoaib Qureshi stated in Lahore on 11\textsuperscript{th} July 1953 that the settlement of refugees expelled from occupied Kashmir State could be done only on temporary basis.\textsuperscript{313} He urged all the migrants from valley and Jammu to go back after the final settlement of the Kashmir dispute. However, he declared that the West Punjab and Central Government would continue to help the Kashmiri refugees in future. On 17\textsuperscript{th} January 1954, the Kashmir Refugee Council meeting presided by Choudhary Ghulam Abbas held at Rawalpindi discussed the powers and policies adopted by Council to rehabilitate Kashmir refugees. The Council also administered financial
expenses and provided budget for rehabilitation. Choudhary Ghulam Abbas also met with Punjab Chief Minister Firoz Khan Noon who assured his government’s full support to settle the refugees and considered it to be a moral and humanitarian duty.\textsuperscript{314}

A meeting of the Jammu & Kashmir Refugee Council was held in Lahore on 8\textsuperscript{th} and 9\textsuperscript{th} February 1954.\textsuperscript{315} The Punjab Government agreed to issue clear instructions on reserving land for Kashmir refugees. Evacuee Trust land was also to be made available for refugees. It was also decided that lands allotted to the Jammu & Kashmir refugees even outside the prescribed areas would not be cancelled. All these measures were being taken to ensure adequate share for Kashmir refugees in settlement and rehabilitation. Another meeting of Kashmir Council was held in Rawalpindi on 18\textsuperscript{th} March 1954 chaired by Choudhary Ghulam Abbas who expressed satisfaction on steps taken by Punjab Government to settle the Kashmir refugees.\textsuperscript{316} The government also decided that evacuee land allotted to Kashmir refugees would not be a part of the general rehabilitation settlement scheme. In addition, the government had instructed to extend leases of certain class of land and also allocate that land to Ministry of Kashmir Affairs for resettlement of Kashmir refugees.

As per decisions made by Refugee Council, further district rehabilitation committees had been set up in different parts of Punjab for allotment of three acres of irrigated and six acres of evacuee land per family to Jammu & Kashmir refugees.\textsuperscript{317} A further meeting led by Pakistan Minister for Rehabilitation and Kashmir Affairs Mr. Shoaib Qureshi was held on 29\textsuperscript{th} July 1954 to speed up
recovery of non-Muslims abducted persons in Azad Kashmir and NWFP. Other
participants included the President of the Azad Kashmir Government Colonel Sher
Ahmad Khan; Secretary of Refugee and Rehabilitation Mr. M.W. Abbasi;
Financial Commissioner Revenue West Punjab Mr. I.U. Khan; Joint Secretary
Ministry of Kashmir Affairs Mr. F.A. Karim. The participants from Azad
Kashmir welcomed the help of Pakistan Government to recover and restore the
abducted people.

The next meeting of the Jammu & Kashmir Refugee Council was held at
Rawalpindi on 6th August 1955 under the Chairmanship of Choudhary Ghulam
Abbas Khan. The Punjab Rehabilitation Minister Sheikh Fazal Illahi Piracha
while addressing the meeting offered to resettle the Jammu & Kashmir refugees in
the Satellite Towns of Lahore, Montgomery and Jhang on similar terms as applied
to other refugees from India. He also mentioned that land had been reserved in
Satellite Town in Rawalpindi for the settlement of Jammu & Kashmir refugees.
Similar facilities were proposed for Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat. The
stakeholders agreed not to disturb the already settled refugees even if they were not
from the prescribed areas.

The Claims Commissioner Northern Zone Mr. Khursheed Zaman told the press on
11th August 1955 that the government had decided to accept and register the claims
of Jammu & Kashmir refugees then residing in Pakistan. He further stated that
instructions had been issued to all the Registering Officers of West Punjab, NWFP
and Bahawalpur State not to insist on documentary proof of their claims at the
registration stage. However, if the claimant was not able to provide documentary
evidence by the time of verification, the oral evidence supported by any respectable witness was also to be taken into account.\textsuperscript{320} He also informed that for the convenience of claimants, application forms printed in Urdu were soon to be on sale in post offices in West Punjab and NWFP.

During the third week of September 1955 more than 600 Jammu & Kashmir refugees from Wah camp were transported by railways to Hafizabad and Akalgarh in Gujranwala District for rehabilitation. They were warmly received by the local community who also served them with cooked rations. Huts were constructed for their resettlement and special staff was dispatched to look after the refugees and to help them in getting possession of their allotted lands and taccavi loans. It was learnt that many refugees had written back to their relatives at Wah camp eulogizing the housing arrangements and the attitude of the rehabilitation department and civil administration.\textsuperscript{321} This led to increased desire amongst the Wah camp refugees to be considered for rehabilitation in Gujranwala. Similar arrangements and facilities were provided in the liberated areas of Azad Jammu & Kashmir including food stuffs, winter clothing and tent-age.

In addition to facilitating rehabilitation and resettlement of people dislocated after partition, the provinces of West Punjab and NWFP had to unreservedly cater for the additional burden of refugees expelled from Indian occupied Jammu & Kashmir. This extended the general time frame for the permanent rehabilitation of people from India. The staff and officials who by then were trained and experienced on general relief work had to be detailed on to similar duties for
Kashmir refugees. The resultant shortfall of trained staff for general relief work inevitably delayed the overall permanent rehabilitation in the country.

**Dissent and Agitation in the Punjab**

The period of 1949-55 especially in Punjab was characterized by personal differences and inter-party disputes resulting in instability. The decisions taken by one administration were not implemented or even reversed by the successor government. Situation became even worse after the murder of Liaquat Ali Khan in October 1951.

**Refugee Grievances**

Many refugees were disillusioned by the treatment meted out to them in the “promised land”. The President and General-Secretary of *Anjuman-i-Muhajrin* Sialkot met Mian Abdul Bari President Punjab Provincial Muslim League demanding one third of the representation in the West Punjab Assembly and other local bodies.$^{322}$ They complained that the rights of the refugees had been neglected. In order to protect the rights of refugee officers, an association was formed at Lahore on 14th May 1949 with Khan Bahadur Muhammad Zaman, Deputy Rehabilitation Commissioner as President and Rana Mahmood Khan as Transport Officer.$^{323}$ Meanwhile, a refugee deputation comprising Soofī Abdul Hamid, Choudhary Ali Akbar and Sheikh Mehboob Ilahi met Mian Abdul Bari and bemoaned about the inadequate representation of the refugees in the party’s Working Committee.$^{324}$ They demanded that the Committee should be reshuffled in proportion with the Muslim population of East Punjab.
However, the President of the All-Pakistan Muhajir League Sirdar Abdus Sattar Faruqi stated at Lahore on 17th January 1951 that his organization would support the Muslim League at all costs. He acknowledged that the central and provincial governments had put in sincere efforts for rehabilitation of refugees. He nevertheless pleaded exemption of refugees from paying rents as they had not been paying any rent in India and moreover many refugee families had lost their earning members during the communal disturbances. In respect of allottees of factories and shops, he urged that rent should be proportionate to their present income. He complained that some refugees had managed to get multiple allotments. He asked the Pakistan Government to opt out of the Commonwealth as it had failed to persuade India to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir. He suggested that Pakistan Government should not sign any trade agreement with the Indian Government unless they agree to the new ratio between Pakistani and Indian currencies.325 However, Mr. Shah Rehman Ansari, the President of the Pakistan Muhajir League criticized Faruqi’s statement about Muhajir League intending to support Muslim League in the elections to be misleading and aimed to get party tickets for the Eminabad constituency in Gujranwala. He promised Muhajir League’s support for muhajir sympathizers in the opposition blocs like Jinnah League or Azad Pakistan Party particularly on seats for which the Muslim League had not nominated any candidates. He directed all the branches of the Muhajir League to nominate their candidates and inform the party leadership by 28th January 1951.326 The policy and working of provincial rehabilitation department came under scathing criticism in Punjab Legislative Assembly on 10th March 1952. Different
members spoke against the government’s demand for a grant of 3, 36, 31,100 rupees in respect of miscellaneous expenditures. Speakers accused the government of being feckless and called for a realistic approach. Choudhary Ali Akbar Khan (Muslim League) moving his cut motion on that issue threatened that “unless the produce index was revised and amended the refugee problem would remain unsettled”. Mr. C. E. Gibbon regarded the rehabilitation procedure to be a blunder and a deception on the intelligence and consciousness of the people. In the last cut motion Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi (Independent) berated the expenditure incurred on the rehabilitation process. He said that the government policy lacked planning and cohesion, and for that reason the evacuee property in the province was not being dealt with by trustworthy hands. He added that the government should admit its fault and make a clear cut plan in that regard. Mr. Shamim Ahmad Qadri of Jinnah Awami League supported the motion, accused the rehabilitation department of corruption and inefficiency and demanded to be wound up lock stock and barrel and the responsibility entrusted to the Custodians. Despite such criticism the Punjab Legislative Assembly voted for the government’s demand for 33,641,100 rupees as a miscellaneous grant. The criticism centered on government’s rehabilitation policy and the bone of contention was the defective produce index due to which refugees were facing hardships. Choudhary Mehtab Khan of Muslim League also criticized the government’s rehabilitation policy and said that there were thousands of cases where refugees had been allotted lands but not given possession. Speaking about produce index he declared that the index as the basis on which land was allotted to refugees was faulty itself. He also criticized
the verification of claim forms as being slow and tedious and asked the government to improve it for permanent settlement of the refugees.\textsuperscript{329} Dr. Khursheed Ahmed Qureshi of Muslim League said that so long as the claim forms of refugees remained unverified they should not be ejected from the land in their possession.

The Pakistan Muhajir League took out a procession led by Syed Shah Rehman Ansari in which about a hundred persons marched through the street carrying nearly a dozen hunger strikers on beds and about fifty in \textit{tongas} on 23\textsuperscript{rd} May 1952.\textsuperscript{330} The procession shouted slogans for a change in the rehabilitation policy and acceptance of their demands about continuation of temporary allotments, compensation of losses etc. President Ansari threatened to go on hunger strike till death if government failed to accept those demands.

On 15\textsuperscript{th} August 1954, the refugee MLAs of the West Punjab Assembly strongly criticized and opposed the recommendations of the Delimitation Committee for abolition of reserved seats for refugees in the forthcoming general elections. The refugee legislators adopted two resolutions opposing abolishment of reserved seats at a meeting held at Mr. Shamim Ahmad Qadri MLA’s residence which was presided by Nawab Sajjad Ali Khan. The participants favored the reserved seats for refugees on the grounds that refugees from urban and rural areas had not been properly and permanently rehabilitated and as such they should be allowed to be a part of the legislature to air their grievances. In the second resolution they protested against the removal of distinction between the agreed and non-agreed areas. The participants also decided to send an eleven-member delegation to meet
the Prime Minister Bogra and central ministers from Punjab to appraise them of the situation and concerns of the refugee politicians. Mian Muhammad Shafi who himself was a refugee legislator however opposed the reservation of seats for refugees as it was only a device for the elite to enter the House and not for the welfare of the refugees.\textsuperscript{331} He brought the attention of the House to such refugees who had lost their bread earners and till then had not been taken into account for resettlement.

By the end of August 1955 nineteen refugee MLAs including two ministers from West Punjab demanded effective representation in the proposed One-Unit setup. They issued a joint statement from Lahore demanding:

\begin{quote}
We the undersigned refugee members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly resolve and convey to the Central leadership, the Governor designate, West Pakistan and the Chief Minister-designate West Pakistan, our firm faith in the merger of provinces and states of West Pakistan and request that the One-Unit may please be implemented at once and further resolve that proportionate and effective representation should be given to the refugees in the proposed Cabinet and the proposed assembly of West Pakistan in view of the fact that the task of resettlement of the refugees is still incomplete on rural side and the rehabilitation on the urban side has not been touched at all and without this effective, the refugees viewpoint can not be expressed before the government.\textsuperscript{332}
\end{quote}

Apart from man made difficulties, the refugees in makeshift camps were also prone to natural calamities like floods. The rivers most affected were Bias and Ravi. The watery onslaught would take its toll by drowning, disruption of communication, damage to standing crops and spreading epidemics such as cholera on account of bad sanitation. West Punjab had to suffer extensive damage during 1950 and 1952. Preventative measures to remedy those disasters were often inadequate or too late and highly expensive. The district authorities in the affective areas were not only poorly equipped to meet such disasters; they also did not
receive timely flood warnings from the Indian side. The army had perforce to be called upon to meet the calamity. Another detriment was disruption of food supply chain from its source to the relief camps. The inmates and the management often had to go without meals or to restrict themselves to short rations. This resulted in demoralizing them and causing doubts about the newly found freedom.

As peace gradually returned to East Punjab and adjoining areas a number of people from divided families wanted to go to India to meet their relatives. But a much larger segment wanted to go back with the intention to dispose of their immovable properties as well as movable assets retained by banks, insurance companies, post offices and co-operations. Having got back to India they had to face difficulties due to the attitude of the local officials who treated them as Pakistanis rather than returned Indians. This caused a lot of disappointment and the issue then had to be brought up at the inter-dominion level. It is a misconception that the majority of the intending returnees to India included those Muslims who had been unhappy with their reception in Pakistani camps or with the alienating attitude of the host community and officials. In fact, many of them were Muslim residents from West Bengal who had fled to Pakistan via Khokhropar after the Calcutta riots of 1950. Had there been no disturbances in Calcutta they would have continued their normal occupation and would have stayed on in India where they had chosen to stay at the time of partition. Although the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement on Minorities did provide such transfer opportunities but in fact to the intending returnees it proved little satisfaction or relief. Notwithstanding government’s palliative efforts
the refugee grievances were to surface time and again even with an increased intensity.

**Anti-Qadiani Movement**

Another issue which jolted the very foundations of the province was the Ahmadi-Ahrar controversy in the 1950s. The anti-Ahmadi sentiments were being motivated by the *fatwas* especially the reprint and widely circulation of Maulana Shabir Ahmad Usmani’s pamphlet *Ash Shahab* in the Ahrars’ public meetings. The Ahrars in their attempt to recoup their reputation damaged by their anti-partition campaign started using street power against the Ahmadis. Their prominent speakers including Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari publicly abused the Ahmadi leaders especially the Foreign Minister of Pakistan Choudhary Zafrullah Khan. Their agitation had been aggravated by the passage of the Objective Resolution by the Constituent Assembly in 1949. They started a mass movement for the declaration of Ahmadis as non-Muslim minority, resignation of Choudhary Zafrullah Khan and other Ahmadis on important posts. Their provocative speeches led to public resentment against the Ahmadi community. The police officials time and again warned the high officials about a possible uprising in the province.

When the matter came to the notice of Punjab Governor Sirdar Abdur Rab Nishtar he warned Master Taj-ud-Din Ansari the President of *Majlis-e-Ahrar* against spreading hatred towards a community and slandering a high ranking official. He further stated that if they did not stop their campaign they would be severely dealt with. On 1st October 1950 an Ahmadi named Maulvi Nur Din along with his followers went on a propaganda mission to Chak No. 5 in Okara District where
they were surrounded by orthodox Muslim mob who made them walk through filthy water, blackened their faces and threw mud on them. When the incident was reported the police arrested Maulvi Fazal Illahi under clauses 147 and 342 of the Pakistan Penal Code. The locality protested against the arrest and subsequently a meeting was held on the night of 3rd October 1950 where fundamentalists spoke their hearts out against the Ahmadis and also provoked the youth to get rid of the Ahmadi protagonists. The following morning Muhammad Ashraf, a 19 year old Muslim followed and stabbed an Ahmadi named Master Ghulam Muhammad. The murder was followed by another one in the same month when one Choudhary Badar-ud-Din was shot dead by Wilayat Khan at Gawalmandi in Rawalpindi. The Ahmadiya Muslim Association of Karachi sent a protest letter to the Chief Secretary of Punjab Government on 20th October 1950 in which they blamed the fiery and provocative speeches made by Ahrar leaders for the murders of Ahmadis. Then in March 1951 another scandal known as the Rawalpindi Conspiracy was uncovered which was allegedly a failed coup attempt. Major General Nazeer Ahmad was thought to be one of the master minds of that attempt to overthrow the Pakistan Government with the collusion of Foreign Minister Choudhary Zafrullah Khan and others. Meanwhile, the election results were announced in March 1951 in which Muslim League had won the clear majority but all their Ahmadi candidates had lost the elections. The defeat of the Ahmadi candidates further strengthened the Ahrars propaganda against the said community. They observed a *Yaum-i-Tashakkur* (thanks-giving day) on different days from March onwards to May 1951. On these occasions fiery speeches were
made which resulted in attacks on Ahmadi community and their properties. The Amir of Jama’at-i-Ahmadiya of Bhera sent a telegram to the Governor-General Pakistan about the burning of the Ahmadiya Mosque at Sumundri and beating of the peaceful worshippers there. In retaliation to these attacks a tabligh conference of Ahmadiya Jama’at was held at Sialkot on 16th and 17th February 1952. The delegates were harassed by the Ahrars who shouted provocative slogans like “Banaspati Nabi murdabad” and “Kufar ka Jalsa band karo”. The protestors also brick batted the participants. The Ahrars held another Istehkam-i-Pakistan Conference at Sargodha on 24th and 25th March 1952. During the speeches Maulvi Mohammad Ali Jullunduri termed the Ahmadis as “zindiqs” who according to Islamic Shariah were liable to death. It was interesting to note that the crowd was also shouting pro-League slogans and the President of the District Muslim League Mian Muhammad Said Qureshi was made to preside a session of the Sargodha Conference as they desperately wanted to gain the sympathies of the ruling Muslim League. After the conference a crowd of about a thousand youths paraded in the streets of Sargodha shouting anti-Ahmadi slogans. However, Choudhary Zafrullah Khan participated in the meeting of Anjuman-e-Ahmadiya Karachi held at Jahangir Park on 17th and 18th of May 1952. Earlier Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin had asked Zafrullah not to attend any sectarian meetings but Zafrullah refused and instead offered his resignation. He spoke on the second day of the conference. The title of his speech was “Islam as a live religion” and touched mostly the non-controversial issues but for the tajdid-i-din (renewal of religion) he stated that such a symptom had been visible in the
personality of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. His speech created unrest amongst the orthodox Muslim community in Karachi where a group of rioters raided Shezan Hotel and Shahnawaz Motors both owned by Ahmadis. In response to his comment on the *tajdid-i-din* an All-Pakistan Muslim Parties Convention was held in Karachi on 2\textsuperscript{nd} June 1952 under the presidency of Maulana Sayyed Suleman Nadvi. The speakers reiterated the demands that Ahmadis be declared as a non-Muslim minority; Zafrullah be removed from his office along with other Ahmadis on key governmental posts. Another All-Muslim Parties Convention led by Ahrars was held in Lahore on 13\textsuperscript{th} July 1952 in which almost same demands were repeated.

On 18\textsuperscript{th} July 1952 a public meeting in defiance of section 144 was dispersed by the police at Kup in Multan. The use of force infuriated the crowd and the next day a much larger assembly numbering more than five thousand gathered around the Kup Police Station and demanded the transfer of the police officer who had ordered *lathi*-charge the other day. The processionists turned violent which made the police to use force but police was soon overpowered by the mob. They also attempted to set the police station on fire which forced the police to open fire in self-defense killing five and injuring a dozen protestors. The Ahrars organized a meeting on 29\textsuperscript{th} August 1952 to celebrate the *chelum* of the deceased protestors. By this time certain Punjabi Muslim Leaguers also started to take part in the anti-Ahmadi movement and joined hands with the Ahrars. Not only that they also started to preside the Ahrar meetings which infuriated the President of the Punjab Muslim League Mumtaz Daultana. The Ahrars were responsible for 167 out of
390 public meetings against the Ahmadis in the Punjab alone till the proclamation of martial law on 6th March 1953.358

On 21st February 1953 a deputation of ulama led by Maulana Sayyed Suleman Nadvi met with Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin at Karachi. When their demands were not met, a meeting of Central Majlis-i-Amal was held on 26th February 1953 which was presided by Maulana Abu Hasanat where it was decided to chalk out a plan for a possible direct action.359 The next day the members of the Action Committee were arrested. After this the protests and arrests became order of the day. On the night of 3rd March 1953 a fiery speech by Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi was reported from Masjid Wazir Khan. Thereafter, an order for his arrest was made under section 3 of the Punjab Public Safety Act but it could not materialize due to the mob strength at the masjid.360 Several processions were taken out on 4th March 1953 and were dispersed by mild lathi-charge. However, volunteers were pouring into Lahore from adjoining areas. A procession refused to disperse and reached Chowk Dalgran. The police used teargas and lathi-charge. The rumor spread that police had profaned the Holy Quran and had beaten to death a young protestor. The rumor spread like wildfire and more crowds began to form in different parts of the city. It was also alleged that about one thousand protestors were killed in Jhang and Sargodha and the Ahmadis riding in cars were shooting protestors indiscriminately. The rumors were also spread that government officials had joined the movement and the district police had refused to open fire on the protestors and it was the border police who was engaged in the brutal acts against the protestors.361
Another public meeting of about five thousand protestors was held at Delhi Gate in Lahore on 4th March 1953. The D.S.P. Sayyad Firdus Shah along with his police force tried to disperse the crowd but was beaten and stabbed by the mob and died on the spot. The murder of D.S.P. Shah alerted the high authorities to the gravity of the situation and they started considering possibility of mobilizing the army to control the rioters. Section 144 was imposed but defied by the mob on the streets. An Ahmadi teacher Manzur Ahmad was stabbed to death at Baghbanpura.

Attacks on government buildings, police installments, Ahmadis and their properties accelerated during the day. Even a military patrol party was brick batted near Lahori Gate which retaliated and opened fire. The students were also on the streets but the police had orders not to clash with them. Curfew was imposed on 5th of March 1953. On 6th March however people were out on roads in support of the Khatm-i-Nabuwwat movement creating a chaotic situation in Lahore. The Home Secretary Punjab suggested to the Governor I.I. Chundrigar and the Chief Minister Daultana that Majlis-e-Ahrar and the Jama’at-i-Islami be declared unlawful organizations; Ulama in support of the government policy should be encouraged to condemn the disturbances in the name of Khatm-e-Nabuwwat movement and the city should be handed over to the army. In the same meeting a statement in Urdu was drawn up for circulation and broadcasted requesting the masses to stay calm as the government was willing to negotiate with the leaders of the movement and even to suggest the withdrawal of Choudhary Zafrullah from the Foreign Minister-ship. The Martial Law was however imposed at 1:30 pm on 6th March 1953. But on 10th of March after the army had taken control of the
city Mian Mumtaz Daultana again made a statement in which he stated the reasons behind his appeal of 6th March 1953. He declared that his government would not negotiate with any law offenders and the law enforcement agencies had been empowered to maintain law and order and to protect the lives and properties of the Pakistani citizens. With the military in control of the city the otherwise alarming situation was brought under control.

**Tug-of-war in Muslim League hierarchy**

After the death of Jinnah, the rift between Mamdot and Daultana, two pillars of the provincial Muslim League as well as members of the provincial cabinet widened. At Daultana’s insistence Liaquat urged Governor-General Nazimuddin to dissolve the Punjab Cabinet and Legislature. The power was taken over by Governor Francis Mudie on 24th January 1949 and he was instructed to hold fresh elections in the province. Mamdot and Daultana being eclipsed out of the power were by then on an equal wicket. Mudie being a seasoned administrator directed his subordinates to pay no heed to any politician and carry on their professional duties. The loss of administrative prerogatives scared the hitherto influential Leaguers who were no longer in a position to tempt their voters with favors. Mudie also wanted to probe into Mamdot’s conduct as Premier and some other prominent leaders under the Public Representative Offices Disqualification Act (PRODA). This brought the Mamdot and Daultana factions together in the common cause of toppling Mudie. The Punjab Muslim Leaguers chalked out a detailed charge sheet against Mudie accusing him of pro-British, anti-Pakistan and anti-Muslim League stance, administrative malpractices, corruption and treacherous conduct and
demanded his exit. Mudie being Liaquat’s trust worthy supporter in the Punjab, the latter also did not want to remove him from that position. But after being pressurized by the Punjab League Liaquat proposed that the party might appoint its own advisors to the Governor. Mudie offended by the proposal offered to resign his post. His resignation was accepted by Governor-General Nazimuddin and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, a member in the central cabinet was appointed as the new Governor of West Punjab on 2nd August 1949. Meanwhile, Daultana started strengthening his position in the party council and managed to bring his stooge Sufi Abdul Hamid as the president of the party. In the elections of March 1951 Daultana gained an upper hand over his rivals and was elected as Chief Minister. Following Liaquat’s murder in October 1951, Nazimuddin came into the central cabinet as Prime Minister. Daultana through his land reforms inclination and penchant for abolition of jagirs alienated the land lord group in the assembly. His position as Chief Minister was further weakened due to his inability to control the anti-Ahmadiya agitation led by Majlis-e-Ahrar. The situation came to a head in March 1953 and the Governor-General persuaded Daultana to resign from Chief Minister-ship. Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon the then Governor of East Pakistan was brought in as the new Chief Minister and Daultana sent out to work at party’s grass roots. In November 1953 Daultana group brought up a no-confidence motion against Noon which ultimately failed. In December 1953 the Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League dissolved the Punjab League and desired holding of fresh elections. This cat and mouse game went on till May 1955 when M.A. Gurmani then Governor of Punjab ousted the Noon Ministry
asking Abdul Hamid Dasti of Daultana group to form the new cabinet. In
August 1955 the Punjab League expelled Noon and his supporters which resulted
in Noon group quitting the party and Daultana group resurfaced in the party as
well as in the provincial government.
Despite failures, the administrative machinery had managed to resettle nearly six
million refugees in Pakistan with inadequate resources, corruption, incompetence,
lack of leadership, nepotism and internal rifts etc. The Punjab had to bear most of
the burden. Punjabi speaking migrants into West Punjab eventually got assimilated
with the local element and with the passage of time it was hard to differentiate
between them whereas Urdu speaking migrants found it difficult to assimilate with
Sindi locals as they had no Urdu constituency of their own in Pakistan. Punjab
imbroglio characterized by the feudal elites to mastermind the administration
against their liberal rivals continues even today.
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8. F.K. Khan (Deputy Secretary) to Cabinet Secretariat, dated 11th February 1950, in File No. 21/CF/50, X, ibid.

9. F.K. Khan (Deputy Secretary) to Cabinet Secretariat, dated 11th February 1950, in File No. 21/CF/50, X, ibid.


13 Roznama Jang, 24th February 1950, ‘Calcutta main das hazar Musalmaan shaheed: pachas crore ki imlaq tabah’.
14 Roznama Jang, 9th April 1950, ‘Aqliayatoon key baray main’; see also footnote no. 184.
16 Dawn, 6th September 1951, ‘Dr. Qureshi Says: Rehabilitation again becoming big question mark’.
17 Dawn, 19th September 1951, ‘Exodus of Muslims from Bharat continues unabated’.
18 The Civil & Military Gazette, 2nd October 1951, ‘Bahawalpur’s role in settling uprooted humanity’.
20 The Civil & Military Gazette, 8th January 1952, ‘Huge Muslim exodus from Bharat in 1951’; The Civil & Military Gazette, 18th February 1952, ‘Fresh influx of refugees from Bharat: harrowing tales’; The Civil & Military Gazette, 7th May 1952, ‘5,272 refugees from India enter West Pakistan in April’; The Civil & Military Gazette, 8th August 1952, ‘66, 22, 760 refugee Muslims in West Pakistan: influx still continues unabated’. The evicting Muslims had to face humiliation and at times were stripped of their valuables during searches at the check posts. One such incident was reported involving Munabao Check post in the Indian territory where Musammat Hamida Bi wife of Abdul Rehman originally from Jubbulpore was allegedly deprived of sixteen tolas of gold jewellery worth about seventeen hundred rupees and another women named Musammat Jamila was deprived of jewellery worth thirteen hundred rupees at Barmir Check post in India. For details see The Civil & Military Gazette, 18th February 1952.
23 The Civil & Military Gazette, 24th December 1953, ‘Khokhropar refugees influx continues’.
24 The Civil & Military Gazette, 19th January 1954, ‘Rise in influx of refugees from India’; The Civil & Military Gazette, 19th November 1954, ‘5, 17,238 Muslims migrated from India through Khokhropar: only 117 leave for East Bengal’; The Civil & Military Gazette, 28th July 1954, ‘Further rise in refugee influx into Pakistan’; The Civil & Military Gazette, 26th October 1954, ‘More refugees enter Pakistan through Khokhropar’. The Pakistan Premier Muhammad Ali Bogra met with the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on 20th August 1953 at Delhi and both agreed that Kashmir issue should be settled through bilateral talks and plebiscite would be held to decide the Kashmir issue according to the wishes of the Kashmiri people. They also agreed to appoint plebiscite administrator from an Asian country. In February 1954, the Americans announced that they intended to provide military assistance to Pakistan and on 2nd April 1954 they signed a Military Assistance Pact with Pakistan and Turkey. Another pact was signed with Pakistan on 19th May 1954 which aimed to provide military equipment and military training to Pakistani troops. India was perturbed over this Pact and in order to redress their concerns the American President Dwight Eisenhower wrote to Nehru and assured that the military equipment would not be used against India. He also offered to sell the same military equipment to India. The Pact however, forced Nehru to reject the plebiscite in Kashmir which resulted in worsening the Indo-Pak relations. For more details see Sumit Ganguly, Conflict Unending: India Pakistan Tensions since 1947 (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 24-25. As for the Shuddhi movement, the word Shuddhi is a Sanskrit word meaning purification. In Hindu religion Shuddhi is referred to converting back to Hinduism from any other religion such as Islam or Christianity etc. The movement was started by Arya Samaj in 1920 but after partition it became bloody when the minority communities were threatened by a section of the majority Hindu community either to convert back to Hinduism or to migrate from India.
27 The Civil & Military Gazette, 23rd April 1955, ‘Influx of Migrants through Khokhropar: Indian Rehabilitation Minister’s allegation refuted’.
28 The Pakistan Times, 4th January 1949, ‘Joint Indo-Pak appeal to intensify recovery of abducted women’.
29 The Pakistan Times, 5th January 1949, ‘Inter-Dominion efforts for women recovery’.
30 The Pakistan Times, 27th January 1949, ‘Abducted women’s recovery: Indo-Pak meeting at Ferozepur’.
31 The Pakistan Times, 3rd February 1949, ‘Miss Mridula urges return of Muslim abducted girls’. She made the statement after meeting Congress workers and Ward Presidents of the City Congress Committees in the Amritsar Hotel on 29th January 1949.
33 The Pakistan Times, 9th April 1949, ‘Six Muslim girls recovered from East Punjab’.
35 The Pakistan Times, 8th May 1949, ‘Recovery of abducted persons in Pakistan: ordinance promulgated’.
38 The Civil & Military Gazette, 2nd January 1951, ‘Step up recovery work plea by Sadiq Hassan’.
40 The Civil & Military Gazette, 25th January 1951, ‘Six abducted Muslim recovered’.
41 The Civil & Military Gazette, 14th February 1951, ‘Pakistan Mission’s successful tour of East Punjab & PEPSU: Recovery of abducted women’.
43 The Civil & Military Gazette, 21st February 1951, ‘Recovery of abducted non-Muslim women’.
44 The Civil & Military Gazette, 8th November 1951, ‘Injunction detaining Muslim abducted girls increasing: Lahore advocate informs Indian Judges of practices in Pakistan’.
45 The Civil & Military Gazette, 30th April 1952, ‘Validity of India’s Abducted Persons Recovery Act disputed: Pakistan officials files affidavit in East Punjab High Court’.
46 The Civil & Military Gazette, 30th April 1952, ibid.
47 The Civil & Military Gazette, 12th June 1952, ‘Abducted Persons Act declared invalid: East Punjab High Court judgment’. Justice Bhandari was reported to have stated that:

It is fundamental right of every citizen of an independent democratic country to move freely in any part of the State for the right of citizens carry with it corresponding rights of locomotion and residence and right to carry on business and to practice profession. This right to live and move in State which in true sense helps to constitute and is inherent in all citizens of free government. The right of free movement had been expressly recognised by constitutions in various civilized countries of the world. As the constitution does not contemplate that innocent persons should be deprived of their liberty, the detention of
abducted persons cannot be regarded as being in accordance with the procedure established by law.

In September 1951 Mr. Raghbar Dyal of the Ambala District filed a writ petition in East Punjab High Court under the article 226 of the Indian Constitution in which he had appealed to the High court for the issue of a “habeas corpus” and praying for the release of his wife from the abducted persons’ camp at Ambala. The details of the case revealed that a Muslim woman was recovered from petitioners’ custody and was sent to the camp. The practitioner argued that since the woman was his lawfully wedded wife since 1944, therefore the act of the police was illegal. The State Councilor Mr. H.S. Gujral admitted before the court that after a detailed police enquiry it was evident that the woman in question was not an abducted person as she had embraced Hinduism long before March 1947 disturbances. For details of the case see


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50 The Civil & Military Gazette, 6th December 1952, ibid.


52 The Civil & Military Gazette, 15th June 1953, ‘Qazilbash spends Id evening with abducted persons’.


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The Civil & Military Gazette, 14th January 1954, ibid.
The Civil & Military Gazette, 8th January 1954, ‘Refugee body meeting: important decisions’.
The Civil & Military Gazette, 24th January 1954, ‘Possession of evacuee houses: Govt. servants asked not to transfer; The Civil & Military Gazette, 28th January 1954, ‘Rent arrears settlement case: power delegated to rehabilitation authority—custodian not to interfere with decision ordinarily’.
The Civil & Military Gazette, 11th March 1954, ibid.
The Civil & Military Gazette, 11th March 1954, ibid.
The Civil & Military Gazette, 13th May 1954, ‘All-Parties Refugee Body set up in Lahore’. The members of the All-Parties Refugee and Rehabilitation Board included Mr. Mustafa Sadiq, Secretary Jama’at-e-Islami Lahore circle; Hakim Ghulam Nabi, Convenor Pakistan Muhajir Federation; Khwaja Muhammad Rafiq, Councilor-Convener Azad Pakistan Party Lahore City; Mr. Qaiser Mustafa, President Islam League Punjab and Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan, President Lahore City Muslim League.


Jawaharlal Nehru & Liaquat Ali Khan, ‘Agreement between India and Pakistan on Minorities’, ibid; Government of Pakistan, *Inter-Dominion Treaties, vol. I*, ibid; For a detailed study of the Pact please see a sixty pages long ‘The Review of the Delhi Agreement’ prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Government of Pakistan in File No. 61/CF/50, NDW, Cabinet Division, Islamabad. The said Review was specially prepared for the use of Prime Minister of Pakistan during his forthcoming meeting with the Indian Prime Minister at Karachi. This review is available in Inter-Dominion Conference (Prime Ministers Meeting) in File No. 61/CF/50, Cabinet Section, Government of Pakistan, NWD, Islamabad. The Pakistan Cabinet approved the Agreement (Liaquat-Nehru Pact) in its meeting held on 9th April 1950 (Case No. 179/23/50) at Karachi. Apart from Hon’ able Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan, prominent ministers including Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs; Minister for Law & Labour; Minister for Commerce and Education; Minister for Food & Agriculture; Minister for Interior, Information & Broadcasting and Refugees & Rehabilitation; Minister for Industries; Minister for Communication; Minister for Health & Works; Deputy Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Commonwealth Relations; the Secretary of the Cabinet and the Joint Secretary of the Cabinet attending the meeting. For details of the meeting please see ‘Minutes of the Meeting’ in File No. 61/CF/50, ibid; *The Pakistan Times*, 9th April 1950, ‘Indo-Pakistan Pact on Minorities Signed: successful end of Delhi talks’; K. Sarwar Hasan, ‘The Foreign Policy of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan’, ibid, p.194; Government of Pakistan, *Pakistan Treaty Series, 1947-53, Vol. I*, ibid, pp.268-272.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 8th January 1952, ‘Movable Evacuee Property Act: India responsible for deadlock—Bank accounts’ transfer not effected’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 8th January 1952, ibid.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 13th February 1952, ‘Dispute over evacuee assets with Bharat: No hope of settlement says Dr. Qureshi’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 13th January 1952, ibid.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 13th January 1952, ibid.
The authorities who had been assigned the task kept all the precautions in order to keep the exact location of the buried wealth completely secret. The owners were supposed to identify the exact spot on the arrival at that very place.

215 The Pakistan Times, 21st January 1949, ‘Sale of evacuee property: only muhajirs should be allowed to buy’.

216 Saeed Ahmad to Editor, The Pakistan Times, 22nd January 1949, ‘Evacuee Property’.

217 Abdul Majid (Montgomery) to Editor, The Pakistan Times, 22nd January 1949, ‘Agricultural Rehabilitation’.


219 The Pakistan Times, 2nd February 1949, ibid.


The Pakistan Times, 12th February 1949, ‘Jafri appointed Dy-Rehabilitation Commissioner’.

The Pakistan Times, 13th March 1949, ‘Refugee Govt. servants’.

The Pakistan Times, 15th April 1949, ‘Re-allotment plan resinent in Lyallpur’.

The Pakistan Times, 16th April 1949, ‘Rehabilitation cases: refugees complain of delay in disposal’.

The Pakistan Times, 23rd April 1949, ‘House Allotment’. The complaint was made from Lahore but the complainant did not disclose his identity or exact location; The Pakistan Times, 27th April 1949, ‘Locals to be ejected from evacuee lands: West Punjab Govt.’s assurance’.

The Pakistan Times, 8th May 1949, ‘Applications for allotment of factories & Cinemas: Date of submission extended to May 22’.


The Pakistan Times, 13th May 1949, ‘Re-allotment plan will not improve refugees’ lot’.

The Pakistan Times, 19th May 1949, ‘Refugees demand continuance of allowances’.

The Pakistan Times, 19th May 1949, ‘Refugee claims for pensions: application’s date extended’.

The Pakistan Times, 10th September 1949, ‘Refugees asked to give statement of property in India’.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 26th January 1951, ‘8 lakh claim forms for land allotments verified: resettlement work in Punjab in 1950’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 26th January 1951, ibid.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 26th January 1951, ibid.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 8th February 1951, ‘Movable evacuee property to be restored: Indo-Pakistan Pact terms announced: compensation set out—procedure outlined.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 8th February 1951, ibid.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 8th February 1951, ibid. Court of Wards was created by the East India Company in order to protect legal heirs and the hereditary land holdings, where the heir had not reached the age of majority to act independently. For details on Punjab Court of Ward Act of 1903 please see, Sh. Shaukat Mahmood, Fifteen-Year Digest 1946-1960: With Appendix for 1961, Vol. IV (Lahore: Pakistan Law Times Publications, 1962), p.587.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 24th April 1951, ibid.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 24th April 1951, ibid.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 24th April 1951, ‘Bharat goes back on 1949 Agreement: Ban on exchange of evacuee property—a clear breach’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 30th April 1949, ‘Pakistan always willing for settlement on evacuee property as a whole—Ishtiaq Qureshi’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 30th April 1949, ibid.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 2nd October 1951, ‘Bahawalpur’s role in settling uprooted humanity’.


Ibid.


Government of Pakistan, Constituent Assembly Debates, Thursday, the 20th November 1952 (Karachi: Government of Pakistan, 1952), pp. 396-397. The matter was raised by Mr. Nur Ahmad
through question no. 230; The Civil & Military Gazette, 21st November 1952, ‘Evacuee Property Bill passed: Pakistan will do away with legislature if Bharat soften policy, says Dr. Qureshi’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 10th March 1953, ‘Evacuee land allotment to displaced tenants’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 8th April 1953, ‘Evacuee Industrial Concerns in Bahawalpur: Re-allotment on yearly basis under active consideration of state Govt.’. Corruption in the claims for evacuee property was so casual that the cartoonist even sketched the people with education sitting on the roadside inviting the proposed claimants for registration of bogus claims. See Appendix-ii, page. 586.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 10th March 1953, ‘Evacuee land allotment to displaced tenants’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 8th April 1953, ‘Evacuee Industrial Concerns in Bahawalpur: Re-allotment on yearly basis under active consideration of state Govt.’. Corruption in the claims for evacuee property was so casual that the cartoonist even sketched the people with education sitting on the roadside inviting the proposed claimants for registration of bogus claims. See Appendix-ii, page. 586.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 22nd October 1953, ‘Let evacuee property issue be settled first: Jain’s reply to Shoaib’s offer for repeal of laws’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 9th May 1953, ‘Evacuee banjar land to be leased out: Punjab govt.’s “Grow More Food” drive’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 9th May 1953, ibid.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 5th July 1953, ‘Date for allotment of land extended’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 10th July 1953, ‘Transfer of refugees’ claim forms’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 11th July 1953, ‘Auction of Muslim evacuee property: concern at Bakhshi Tek Chand Committee move’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 18th September 1953, ‘Evacuee ‘banjar’ land allotment scheme to be held in abeyance’.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 10th June 1954, ‘Qazilbash criticises India’s decision to dispose of evacuee property: Pakistan free to pursue independent policy’.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 30th June 1954, ‘Whole-time DRCs for all Punjab Districts: Quasi-permanent urban resettlement scheme with Centre for approval’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 30th June 1954, ‘Qazilbash assurances to Lyallpur refugees’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 28th August 1954, ‘Quasi-permanent rehabilitation of urban refugees in Punjab; Govt. to implement scheme with in two years’.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 27th February 1955, ‘Movable lying with Indian custodians: Pakistan Govt. receives another list’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 7th April 1955, ‘Serve Pakistan Selflessly: Distinction between locals & refugees should disappear—Amir Azam addresses MLAs’.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 12th April 1955, ibid.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 29th April 1955, ‘Movable property of Muslim evacuees: lists of personal belongings received’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 6th May 1955, ‘Registration of Claims of refugees: arrangements for urban property completed—officers at districts and tehsil headquarters appointed’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 8th May 1955, ‘Reinstatement of refugee area distinction urged’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 8th May 1955, ibid.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 20th October 1955, ‘Illegal occupation of evacuee property: Govt. to take stringent action says Khuhrro’.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 29th December 1955, ‘Evacuee property claims: Govt. to extend last date till March 31’.
The Pakistan Times, 1st January 1949, ‘Kashmir refugees demand arms to fight against Dogras’.

The Pakistan Times, 5th January 1949, ‘Wah camp refugees in sad plight’.

The Pakistan Times, 5th January 1949, ‘Warm clothes for Kashmir refugees’. Ch. Ghulam Abbas, the chairman of the Kashmir Central Relief Committee wrote a letter to Kwaja Nazimuddin the Governor-General of Pakistan on 9th October 1948 in which he stated that Kashmir Refugees Central Relief Committee was constituted at the instance of M.A.Jinnah and it was Jinnah himself who made him the Chairman of that Committee. He also complained that it had been more than a year that they were being accommodated in Pakistan but were not been provided with the status of refugees. He requested that the Kashmiris should be temporarily accommodated in Pakistan as refugees. For details see, File No. 343/CF/48 entitled ‘Temporary rehabilitation of refugees from Kashmir’, in NDW, Cabinet Division, Islamabad.

The Pakistan Times, 12th January 1949, ‘Finance Minister assures Kashmir refugees of help’.

The Pakistan Times, 12th January 1949, ibid.

The Pakistan Times, 12th January 1949, ibid.

The Pakistan Times, 13th January 1949, ‘Rs. 10,000 for each refugee camp’.

The Pakistan Times, 13th January 1949, ‘Nehru & Liaquat reaffirm desire for settlement’. Both the telegrams were in response to the message sent by the Acting Secretary of State Mr. Robert Lovett in which he had shown his gratification over the acceptance of both India and Pakistan for a plebiscite in Jammu & Kashmir. Liaquat in his telegram stated that:

Our desire for a peaceful and just solution of the Kashmir dispute has throughout been very firm and constant. We have pinned our faith all along on the democratic methods of a free and impartial plebiscite to determine whether Jammu and Kashmir should accede to Pakistan or India.

The telegram sent by Jawaharlal Nehru stated:

India is happy to have given fresh proof of its steadfast desire for a peaceful solution of the dispute between member nations of the United Nations through the recognised agencies of that organization. I share your hope that the cease-fire in Kashmir may create greater friendship and goodwill between India and Pakistan and thus facilitate the solution not only of the difficult Kashmir issue but closer and lasting co-operation in all matters of common interest and in particular in the promotion of world peace.

The Pakistan Times, 16th January 1949, ‘Refugees asked to prepare for plebiscite’.

The Pakistan Times, 19th January 1949, ‘India to recover abducted Kashmiri women’.

The Pakistan Times, 15th January 1949, ‘Relief measures for refugees at Sialkot camp’.

The Pakistan Times, 25th January 1949, ‘20,000 Kashmir refugees in Wah camp’.

The Pakistan Times, 28th January 1949, ‘We are prepared to stake all for your cause—Begum Liaquat Ali addresses Kashmir refugees at Pindi’.


The Pakistan Times, 23rd February 1949, ‘Kashmir refugees to become Centre’s responsibility’.

The Pakistan Times, 23rd February 1949, ‘Rehabilitation of refugees is our biggest problem: Pakistan’s report to United Nations—Need for foreign capital and equipment stressed’.


The Pakistan Times, 19th April 1949, ‘Refugees return to liberated areas: 6,000 already resettled in Bhamber’.

The Pakistan Times, 19th April 1949, ‘Go back to your homes with new hopes: Abbas’s advice to Kashmir refugees in Gujranwala’.


The Pakistan Times, 3rd June 1949, ‘40,000 Kashmir refugees return home: Taccavi loans by Azad Govt.’.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 28th November 1951, ibid.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 14th July 1953, ‘Settlement of Kashmir refugees to be on temporary basis: Shoaib Qureshi leaves for Pindi’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 18th January 1954, ‘Rehabilitation of Kashmir refugees: council meeting in Lahore’.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 19th March 1954, ibid.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 30th July 1954, ‘Pace of recovery of abducted persons to be speeded up’.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 1st October 1955, ‘Wah Camp refugees to be resettled in Gujranwala’.

The Pakistan Times, 22nd May 1949, ‘Refugee leader meet Bari’.

The Pakistan Times, 17th May 1949, ‘Refugee Officers’ Association formed in Lahore’.

The Pakistan Times, 15th May 1949, ‘Refugees demand reservation of seats in Assembly’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 18th January 1951, ‘Muhajir body’s support for League pledged’.

The Civil & Military Gazette, 19th January 1951, ‘Muhajir League to back opposition bloc—Shah Rehman Ansari’.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 11th March 1952, ibid.


The Civil & Military Gazette, 31st August 1955, ‘Refugee representation in One-Unit set up: Punjab ministers and MLAs demand proportionate seats’.


Golam W. Choudhury, *Pakistan: Transition from Military to Civilian Rule* (Essex: Scorpion Publishing Ltd, 1988), p.113; Damodar P. Singhal, *Pakistan* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1972), p.79; Khalid B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), p.68. The popular demand for an Islamic state was indicated in the Objective Resolution of 1949. The minority communities in Pakistan were alarmed due to the Islamic contents of the said resolution which was later on made a part of the 1956 constitution of Pakistan as a preamble. It stated that:

Whereas the sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Allah Almighty alone, and the authority to be exercised by the people of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust...wherein the principal of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed; wherein the Muslims of Pakistan shall be enabled individually and collectively to order their lives in accordance with the teaching and requirements of Islam, as set out in the Holy Quran and *Sunnah*; wherein adequate provision shall be made to safe guard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes.


The D.I.G. C.I.D. Mr. Anwar Ali after receiving reports submitted by his subordinates on 19th June 1950 forward the reports to Advisor for Law for the consideration of Governor West Punjab Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar. The Governor wished to see the D.I.G. C.I.D. who responded by writing a detail accounts of the reports received from the field staff. On the basis of that note the Chief Secretary West Punjab decided to proscribe the pamphlet *Ash Shahab* and to take necessary action under the Punjab Safety Act.

The Governor also recorded a note in which he stated the details of his meeting with the Ahrar President and his commitment to maintain peace by avoiding any provocative speeches against the Ahmadis.

According to Pakistan Penal Code (PPC), Section 147 deals with punishment for rioting. It states that:

Whoever is guilty of rioting shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.


Whoever wrongfully confines any person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or with both.


The murderer was sentenced for life but the widow of the murdered teacher Mst. Daulat Bibi filed a petition for the enhancement of life imprisonment into death sentence. The judges after considering the impressionable age of the assailant dismissed the petition.
The Munir Report, ibid, p.28.


344 M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, ibid, p.139. Major General Nazir Ahmad was arrested on 20th May 1951 and was reverted to Lieutenant Colonel with effect from 10th June 1951;


347 M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, ibid, p.139.


349 Zindiq (heretic) is derived from a Persian word ‘Zand’ meaning ‘free interpretation’ or heresy. It is an Islamic term which is used for individuals who are known to have views that are contrary to orthodox Islamic doctrine. For details see Cyril Glasse, *The New Encyclopedia of Islam* (London: Stacy International, 2002), pp.491-492. For a detailed study on the Islamic punishment for heretics please see, Khaksar Shair Ali, *Kia Islam Main Murtad ki Saza Qatal Hai?* (Qadian: Manager Book Depot Amritsar, 1925).

350 The Munir Report, ibid, p.43.


353 *The Munir Report*, ibid, p.77. The conference was convened by Maulana Lal Hussain Akhtar and under the chairmanship of Maulana Sayyad Suleman Nadvi a board was constituted consisted of Maulana Abdul Haamid Sahib Badayuni, Allama Ahmad Nuri Sahib and Maulana Ehtisham ul Haq etc to chalk out the agenda and instruction for the next convention.

354 *The Munir Report*, ibid, p.78. The participants decided to send invitations to different socio, religious Muslim parties to attend the next meeting of the convention in order to strengthen their cause. The parties included Majlis-i-Ahrar, Jami’at-ul-Falah, Jami’at-ul-Arabiyya, Jami’at-ul-Ulama-i-Pakistan, Jami’at-ul-Ulama-i-Islam, Jama’at-i-Islami, Tanzeem-i-Ahli-i-Sunnat-wal-Jama’at, Jama’at-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat, Jama’at-i-Ahl-i-Hadith, Motamar-i-Ahl-i-Hadith Punjab, Idara-i-Tahaffuz-i-Haqq-i-Shia Punjab, Safina-tul-Musimeen, Hizbullah, East Pakiatan and Majlis-i-Tahaffuz-i-Khatam-i-Nubuwat.

355 *The Munir Report*, ibid, p.92.


360 *The Munir Report*, ibid, pp.154-155. The Punjab Public Safety Act 1951 was published in the *Punjab Gazette (Extra Ordinary)* on 10th February 1951. The Section 3 of the said Act stated as:

The Government, if satisfied that with a view to preventing any person from acting in any manner prejudicial to public safety or the maintenance of public order, it is necessary so to do, may by an order in writing direct the arrest and detention in such custody, as may be prescribed under subsection (9), of such person for which period as may, subject to the other provisions of this section, be specified in the order, and the government, if satisfied that for the aforesaid reasons it is necessary so to do, may subject to the other provisions of this section extend from time to time the period of such detention.

361 For a detailed account of the events please see *The Munir Report*, ibid, pp. 151-167.
Sir Morrice James, *Pakistan Chronicle* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.14; *The Munir Report*, ibid, pp.156-157. At the meeting the speakers were making fiery speeches about an alleged killing of a teenager and the disrespect of the Holy Quran at the hands of the local police at Chowk Dalgran. The processionists then marched toward the Wazir Khan Masjid kidnapping two Assistant Sub-Inspectors of police including Manzur-ul-Haq and Muhammad Sadiq. When Deputy Superintendent of Police Sayyad Firdaus Shah came to know about the incident he rushed to the scene along with some police officer to inquire about the kidnapped police officers he was fatally stabbed many times by the infuriated mob who also snatched the weapons from the police.

*The Munir Report*, ibid, p.158.


*Munir Report*, ibid, pp.164-165.


For a detailed study of the Charge Sheet please see “Charge Sheet against H.E., Sir Francis Mudie, Governor of West Punjab” in File No. 2(5) - PMS/49, Prime Minister’s Secretariat Branch, indexed on 9th February 1950, Government of Pakistan. It was a 26 pages long charge sheet which accused Sir Francis Mudie of promoting the British interests in Pakistan. He was alleged to have inducted many British nationals on lavish salaries in the provincial administration specially Mr. Hearne, I.C.S. who was retired from service before partition was reemployed in the Punjab administration as Financial Commissioner Development for one and half years on fixed salary of 3500 rupees per month apart from his pension from the former job. He was also accused of trying to restore the Makerwal Colliery to a British named Mr. Pitman despite the fact that Refugee Council had decided not to restore that colliery to Mr. Pitman. Mudie was also accused of abolishing the Islamic Reconstruction Department, Panchayat Department, Civil Defence Department, closure of the Government Experimental Emergency Factory at Shahdara in Lahore which was manufacturing small arms and ammunition to be supplied to the Kashmiri mujahideen, allowing the Indian Union and the East Punjab Authorities to move from their positions at Pakka Chisti to just the other side of the Sulemanki Head Bridge in the Montgomery District. Mudie was also made responsible for the massacre of Muslim and abduction of women in East Punjab as according to the charge sheet he was asked by Lord Mountbatten
whether to take any action against the Sikhs who were planning for the massacre and he had advised Mountbatten not to take any action against the Sikh leaders. Mudie was also indicted of treason by cooperating with the British Deputy High Commissioner in Lahore and Mr. Bustin the Editor of the *The Civil & Military Gazette* in sending anti-Pakistan, objectionable and provocative articles to be published in *London Times*. As for his anti-League activities the Punjab Muslim Leaguers were of the view that Mudie was deliberately trying to defame the Muslim League and its leaders in the Punjab especially when the *abiana* was increased by 40% without consulting with the ruling Muslim League party. The increase was considered to be harsh for cultivators including refugee farmers. The Council of the West Punjab Muslim League adopted a unanimous resolution on 17th April 1949 demanding the abolishment of that increase in the *abiana* but was turned down by the Governor Mudie. The Muslim Leaguers from Okara and Montgomery Districts felt disgraced and humiliated when Sir Francis Mudie refused to accept a salute from the ‘Quami Razakars’ because the Muslim League had a hand in the establishment of the *Quami Razakars* Organisation. He was thought to be the mastermind behind the reemployment of anti-Muslim League and pro-Unionists locals and foreigners in the central and provincial governments including Sardar Said Zaman Khan, Sir Sher Mohammad, Choudhary Ghulam Ahmad, Mr. Howe, Mr. Pearson, Mr. Howroyd, Mr. Hearne, Mr. Hardy, Mr. V.S.K. Fazal, and Mr. Mellor etc. Mudie and his niece Miss McQueen were also blamed for misappropriation in the administration of the Red Cross Fund. When the allegations came to surface the central government ordered to get the funds audited through an official agency which was resisted by Governor Mudie. Muslim Leaguers were also paranoid that he was trying to revive the Unionist party and its leader Sir Khizr Hayat Tiwana to the extent that he was thinking about contesting the next elections; M. Rafique Aftal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, ibid, p.56. Mian Abd al-Bari who was elected as the President of the Punjab Muslim League in April 1949 after receiving complaints from his party workers started a campaign against Governor Mudie and demanded his removal from the office; “Review of Events in Pakistan for April,1949” in Mudie Collection, MS Eur. D 1033/16, NDW, folder no. 8563, p.33.

372 Lipquat Ali Khan to Governor Mudie, dated 22nd June 1949, in File No. 2(5)-PMS/49, ibid, pp.243-244. The letter was sent through Foreign Office Karachi in which the former tried to explain the appointment of advisors to the latter. Lipquat mentioned in the letter that there would be five advisors to the governor and the names of those advisors would be proposed by the President of the Punjab Muslim League but the Prime Minister had the authority to reject any name. The advisors were to enjoy the powers as that of the ministers and were to function as a cabinet. The Prime Minister assured the Governor that he would consult him before approving the advisors and that he had no intension to replace him from his office; Humayun Adeeb, *Punjab aur Mamdot*, ibid.p.339. The appointment of the advisors to the Governor was suggested through “Liaquat-Bari Formula” in the Punjab; “Review of Events in Pakistan for June,1949” in Mudie Collection, MS Eur. D 1033/16, NWD folder no. 8563, pp.50-51.

373 In reply to Lipquat’s letter dated 22nd June 1949, Governor Mudie tendered his resignation from Murree on 24th June 1949. In his telegram he stated:

I am afraid that your scheme is one which I could not possibly hope to work with success. 
In spite therefore of the last sentence of your telegram I regret I must hereby tender my resignation of my post as Governor of the West Punjab and ask you to forward it to proper authority for acceptance.

Lipquat was not expecting a resignation from Mudie so he sent a telegram on 25th June 1949 with just a sentence that “your telegram of 24th June, please await my letter”. Then on 28th of June Lipquat wrote to Mudie and tried to explain to him the motives and necessity for the appointment of advisors to the governor. He stated that he had met with the President and other prominent members of the Punjab Muslim League and was assured that they meant to help and not to create problems. He further stated that final selection of the advisors rested with the Prime Minister and as he had assured the governor before that he would not agree to any advisor without consulting with the governor. He wrote:

I feel confident that we should be able to find five good men who would serve Pakistan faithfully and honestly and who would co-operate with you in the discharge of your duties and I am sure that you would unhesitatingly place your great experience at the disposal of
the Advisors….personally I am very hopeful of the success of the scheme and I must really urge you to stay on and at least give it a trial.

Mudie responded by writing a private letter No. 51-P.S. to Liaquat on 2nd July 1949 and reaffirmed his decision to resign from his post. He wrote to the Prime minister that the President of the Punjab Muslim League Abdul Bari had no intention to cooperate with him and was responsible for an agitated campaign against him. Mudie also accused Mamdot for his media trial through his newspaper the Nawa-i-Waqt specially their personal attacks on Mudie’s niece Miss McQueen for her role in the Red Cross Fund. He asked Liaquat to make the scheme workable with a new governor of west Punjab who was acceptable to the Punjabi Muslim Leaguers and finally asked to forward his resignation for acceptance. Further correspondence between the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and Sir Francis Mudie can be seen in File No. 2 (5)-PMS/49, ibid, pp. 243-262; for Mudie’s resignation please see “Resignation of Sir Francis Mudie” in File No. 2(6)-PMS/49, Prime Minister’s Secretariat, indexed on 9th February 1950, Government of Pakistan, National Documentation Wing (NDW), Cabinet Division, Islamabad; M. Rafique Afzal, Political Parties in Pakistan, ibid, p.56; Anwar H. Syed, ‘Factional Conflict in the Punjab Muslim League’, ibid, p.58; Zarina Salamat, Pakistan 1947-1958, ibid, p.75; “Review of Events in Pakistan for June,1949” in Mudie Collection, MS Eur. D 1033/16, NDW folder no. 8563, p.51. Mudie’s resignation was accepted by Governor-General of Pakistan on 10th July 1949.
Conclusion

The early post-colonial Pakistan represents a saga of unprecedented vicissitudes which influenced the very foundations of the young State. This took the shape of visible and invisible opposition by the provinces against the Centre and at the same time generated a spirit of hostility between them under the guise of increased provincial autonomy. The Central government well represented by refugees from India was keen to resettle those refugees who were surplus in the Punjab. As against this the Sindhi waderas as well as the peasantry were keen to grab the land abandoned by the non-Muslims. The Sindhi landlords had held their estates on hereditarily basis as against this many of their counterparts in the West Punjab being refugees from East Punjab had a better claim on lands vacated by non-Muslims in West Punjab as well as in Sindh. But these Sindhi landlords had formed a major pressure group in the provincial legislature and wielded a clout against the redistribution of surplus refugees from the Punjab camps to Sindh initiated by the Central government. In order to achieve this end, the local elements highlighted the linguistic disparity and non-accessibility of refugees. They launched a smear campaign against those refugees with full backing of the provincial government. Though all the Muslim majority provinces had fully backed the demand for Pakistan, yet once Pakistan had been achieved they found it convenient to oppose the Central government’s policies on linguistic, cultural, ethnic and socio-economic grounds. This led to a conflict of interests between Centre and the Sindh provincial government.
The wartime shortages and difficulties in postwar reconstruction had created an environment of corruption in pre-partitioned India which unfortunately tricked on to Pakistan as the players of the game had the same mindset. The government of Pakistan was obliged to introduce various anti-corruption rules and legislations but before these measures could become effective; the bureaucratic and social damage had already been done. The army’s resettlement authorities, however, were free from such corrupt practices and at the same time they managed to earn the respect and support from the Father of the Nation. The army’s success in turning the vast desert of Thal into a productive land became a shining example for other civilian departments to follow. The army had established its credibility in rescue, relief and resettlement operations and therefore received full cooperation from the Centre as personified by the Quaid-i-Azam and also by the Punjab provincial government as led by the Governor Mudie. The army was also busy in the Kashmir War (1947-49) especially along the border areas between the state and the West Punjab. This war however served as a worsening factor in the Indo-Pakistan relation especially on the diplomatic front where inter-dominion conferences were being held to negotiate the evacuee property, recovery of abducted people and other related issues. But following the truce brokered by the United Nations, both the dominions set about the task and were by 1951 able to negotiate the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement on minorities. This has brought into focus a number of exigencies which had hitherto been overlooked by early academia but with the passage of time these become equally worthy of attention. As such it was essential to study
such factors in-depth because new inroads on the said issues keep on cropping, thus the sequels are as important as the resettlement measures initially adopted.

The resettlement of nearly six million Muslim refugees in West Pakistan was a gigantic task for the central and provincial governments. Many international relief organizations worked day and night for the relief, rescue and rehabilitation of refugees in Pakistan especially in the West Punjab. Initially, the refugees were housed in temporary shelters in the make shift camps all over the province where they were provided shelter, food and clothing etc. Eventually the government managed to resettle them into the evacuee houses, towns and colonies specially built to accommodate the surplus refugees. Evacuee properties including the shops, factories etc were also made available for the refugees for allotment so that they could begin a new life in Pakistan.

At the time of partition in 1947, Pakistan had very limited resources to run the affairs of the country and to make it even more difficult it had to accommodate and resettle a huge number of destitute Muslim refugees. In addition, feeding six million people was a task beyond the capabilities of any single agency. Besides the government and the international community, ordinary locals also did everything in whatever capacity they had for the relief of their Muslim brethren. People started relating the refugee arrival with the Muslim migration from Makkah to Medina under the guidance of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). History reveals how the locals of Medina known as Ansars welcomed and accommodated their *muhajir* brethren from Makkah.
Likewise, the spirit of the locals in Punjab was initially very high and they wanted to do everything for the refugees and in fact they did so in the early years after the partition. People used to bring home the refugees and proudly cooked for them. But during the later phase the problems between the locals and the refugees started when the assimilation of the refugees became a burning issue. The Punjabi refugees who were lucky enough to resettle in West Punjab close to the localities where they could find their distant relatives or even friends never had to face the assimilation issue. They were so integrated with the local community that it became very difficult to clarify any individual as a local or a refugee. But those Punjabi and non-Punjabi Muslim refugees who were sent to other provinces such as Sind, NWFP or even Baluchistan started facing an identity crisis and it became very difficult for them to assimilate with the local community. There were many reasons behind this tense atmosphere and the most important was the difficulty in communication due to language barrier. Those refugees who were sent to Sind and other provinces were not familiar with the local language and to make it even worse they had a different cultural background than their hosts. So this cultural, linguistic and social disparity paved way for a gulf between the communities. Those refugees who were called as muhajireen in the early days were now known as the strangers, Urdu speakers and Bahiays. They were looked down upon by the local community despite the fact that these were mostly educated refugees and many of them were running the affairs of the newly created state. They were also the ones who had struggled and suffered the most for the demand for a separate homeland for Muslims. The refugees and their resettlement made a large impact on
the socio-economic pattern of the country especially in West Punjab where about 80 percent of refugees had to be absorbed.

The refugee settlement in the Punjab and some other provinces was a cataclysm which had deep rooted repercussions. It shook the society to its very roots in family, assimilative inter-caste relations and ensuing political, administrative and economic aftereffects as described hereunder.

Pakistan was created through a gigantic political struggle by the Muslims of India under the elite leadership of those who were well educated and knew to fight on the political battle grounds. Though the Muslims of the Bengal were in the forefront of political struggle but the Punjabi Muslims especially those from East Punjab did not lag behind. These Punjabi refugees had seen the brutalities at firsthand and many had lost their loved ones during evacuation to the West Pakistan. Muslims hailing from non-Muslim majority areas of East Punjab had a higher literacy rate than their co-religionists of West Punjab. Even when living in camps in West Punjab, the refugees had organized themselves politically and protested every now and then for expediting the rehabilitation process. They importuned the rehabilitating officials to concentrate the refugees close by in such a manner as to ensure a majority status in their given locality. For that purpose, they staged rallies demanding district-wise rehabilitation backed by their refugee legislators.

The government in order to provide a voice to the refugees allowed incorporation of the elected members of the East Punjab Assembly into the West Punjab Legislature through an ordinance by the Governor-General of Pakistan in 1948.
These refugee legislators soon after their induction into West Punjab Assembly started taking sides and began criticizing the rehabilitation policies of the government. In this manner they paved the way for opposition blocks in the newly created legislative assemblies of Pakistan. Thus it was a positive sign of their accepting Pakistan as their new home and a wish to play their due share in the political process. It was also beneficial for the refugees and the general public to keep a check on the government’s administrative policies. The ministers were to be answerable to the observations raised by the refugee MLAs. But the negative aspect of this was that these MLAs were always preoccupied with the affairs of the refugee ministry only and the gap between the government and the refugees was widening because of these refugee politicians. The refugees desired their legislators to be more loyal to their kin folks than to the state itself. However, on a larger canvas most of the important positions were held by refugees and even the Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan himself was a refugee. Before Independence those Muslims who held higher posts in the government had earned their positions on merit. Most of the Muslim ICS officers were manning different government organizations. The government had also provided these refugees with airlift support from Delhi to Karachi to makeup shortage of qualified and experienced people in West Pakistan to run the governmental machinery.

Being on top at the Centre and in the Punjab the legislative hierarchy had natural leaning towards their erstwhile electorate and made no secret about that attitude. Notwithstanding their impeccable credentials Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and the Chief Minister of West Punjab Nawab Mamdot were occasionally branded as
refugee empathizers to the detriment of the locals. Deprived and less vocal refugees as well as local critics were quick to accuse these worthies of nepotism especially in the allocation of evacuee properties. Liaquat and Mamdot were even alleged to have the choicest land allotted to themselves and their relatives. The rift developed between the refugee and local hierarchy in which each faction blamed the other for favoring vested interests led to indecision and uncertainty at the implementation levels. Liaquat himself was chary of the local elements and had to depend upon the support of the refugee legislators. Despite his liking for Daultana, Liaquat had no option but to support Mamdot in the Punjab. The arrival of refugee legislators created bad blood with the local ones. Amongst the local legislators there were many feudal lords who because of their family constituencies considered themselves to be superior to refugee MLAs. Having higher educational and professional edge the refugee element in the assembly posed a threat to the feudal elite. This fear was further cemented due to inevitable leaning upon the refugee legislators by Liaquat at the Centre and Mamdot in the Punjab. The provincial assembly instead of being fulltime and wholehearted attendance to the refugee problem fell a prey to factional imbroglios. The refugee group being in minority had perforce to play the part of an opposition party. This tug of war augmented the misery of the unsettled refugees in the Punjab and also made them a laughing stock across the border as seekers of the “promised land” of Pakistan. The inter-group rift thus created remained unhealed and continues to fester in the social and political fields even today.
The legislative grouping in the provinces also invited the ire and criticism of the non-party governors. The corrective hand of Governor Mudie in the Punjab who enjoyed a direct approach to Jinnah and Liaquat was resented by both the legislative factions. They conspired together in framing charges against Mudie who was compelled to seek a safe exit. The formation of the landed elite and their refugee counterparts in the assembly constituted a two party situation which made the entry of middle class local element next to impossible. The socio-religious parties like the Jamaat-i-Islami and the Majlis-i-Ahrar in the meantime were busy repairing their dented reputation for having opposed Pakistan in the offing. The happenings in the Punjab Assembly led to formation of refugee grouping in the other provinces especially in Sind. The muhajir factor in Sind maintained its separate identity which eventually gave birth to the Muhajir Quami Movement (MQM) at the national level.

The evolution of Muslim society in the region comprised two distinct elements vis-à-vis those who had come along with the invaders and those which had been converted from other faiths. Refugees in West Punjab were mainly from non-Muslim majority areas of East Punjab and had the social and cultural imprints of the majority community. Their only concern at the time of partition was the safety of their lives, honor and property. Their social and cultural mores were not then apparent. With the passage of time and gradual settlement their social and cultural outlook began to reassert itself. The local population found it difficult to relate themselves to the refugees’ distinct festivities. As soon as the euphoria was over this non-relation between the host and the new arrivals resulted in antipathy. All
cultural or religious rituals different from the local community were interpreted as offensive and even abusive. Refugee women lacking washing facilities in their allotted huts had to take bath in the open by using charpies as curtains. This practice was misconstrued as a taboo and some times as a libidinous enticement. The dissimilarity in attire and dressing code of refugee women from arid areas at times gave the impression of an immoral invitation.

Affluent local families used to think of refugee women as tainted and were reluctant to have social relations or to initiate marital approaches to them. Another reason for this attitude was the unfamiliar caste, sect and social status of the migrants in their ancestral homeland. Stigma was another reason attached to refugee women for possibly having suffered molestation and rape during abduction. The locals preferred to have ties with higher Muslim castes amongst the refugees like Syeds, Pathans, Khwajas and Mughals. Refugees with low caste backgrounds therefore tended to adopt the preferred castes in order to secure better marital prospects and proprietary rights. Refugees who had maternal and paternal blood relations with aforementioned castes before partition found it easy to assimilate and be respected. The middle classes amongst the refugees were ready to accept brides from a caste lower than their own but insisted on offering good featured and well meaning brides to the people of higher castes in order to improve their social standing. For good looking women from lower classes of refugees, questionable factors like abduction, rape, conversion and forced marriages were ignored.
The new comers brought with them different linguistics, dialects and accents and therefore were castigated as ‘Bahiyas’, ‘Mutorwas’, ‘Tilier’, ‘Biharis’, ‘Hindustani’ and ‘Panahgirs’. These people generally had better education and there were sections of refugees who having lived as a minority with stricter religious practices were some times labeled as bigots by the orthodox local ulama. Academia from Aligarh, Lucknow and Hyderabad who came to Pakistan reinforced the depleted teaching community. Ulama who had maintained a strict religious regimen in non-Muslim majority areas when came to Pakistan bolstered systematic instruction in madrassas. Urdu literati from India like Quratulain Haider, Rais Amrohi, Aziz Ahmad, Ada Jafri etc brought in new light to the readers. People of music schools like the Patiala Gharana invoked a new spirit amongst Pakistani public. Painters like Sadquain and sculptors like Guljee enlivened the art lovers.

By the end of World War II the relation between Pakistan designated territories and the rest of India had become that of a raw material supplier and an industrial producer. Pakistan areas were mostly producers of agricultural crops while those on Indian side were industrial producers. The League being well aware of this situation established a wide based Economic Planning Committee with a large number of subcommittees dealing with various facets. Though the Pakistan areas were more underdeveloped and poorer than rest of India, the Congress had little doubt about the economic viability of the Muslim State. To this end there was a massive flight of capital, moveable asserts and professional expertise from the Pakistan areas. It was not the fear of expropriation that precipitated the Congress
move but the belief that Pakistan’s economic downfall would be assured if the nascent State were to be pressed sufficiently hard in the economic field. The value of Muslim assets and capital that was transported to Pakistan was a meager fraction of the non-Muslim assets transferred to India.

A large chunk of Pakistan resources and capital had to be sunk in relief and rehabilitation of refugees. Evacuation, housing, relief, medical attendance and provision of food entailed a back breaking burden on the new State. Pakistan’s determination to stand on her own feet and to free herself from the stranglehold of the Reserve Bank of India led Jinnah to establish the State Bank of Pakistan in July 1947. The establishment of the Bank was a great shock to India who had all along been hoping for an economic collapse of Pakistan. Out of all other provinces Punjab was hardest hit from India’s economic onslaught and the greatest sufferer in that regard. As such it perforce had to utilize most of the budgetary funds and grants made to it by the Centre.

The economic recovery of the province took off its feet as the refugees gradually settled down in gainful employments and trades. As the refugees became more and more productive it eased the budgetary constrains on the provincial government. With the progressive widening up of the refugee camps in the province the money thus saved on that account was utilized for physical rehabilitation of defunct and damaged industrial concerns. The factories having become productive lessened the province’s economic burden by providing employment for unskilled and semiskilled migrants and locals as well. With the passage of time the economic recovery process gained impetus and the province could thus maintain its existing
administration and live within its own means but was left with little else for nation
building developmental activities. This called for a rationalization of revenue
distribution between Punjab and the central government. Capital for balancing
modernization and operation of unproductive industrial units was provided by the
central government through loans provided by the United States and other donors.
To that end an Industrial Finance Corporation had been set up by the government
making Punjab a trend setter of economic development by setting an example for
the rest of the country to follow.

The refugee members who were inducted into Punjab Assembly in the winter of
1947 had a mixed reception from their West Punjab colleagues. Though ostensibly
welcomed they were regarded as intruders and pariahs by the feudal faction of the
Punjab Assembly. In terms of education, organizational ability and political
flexibility they had better experience than their feudal counterparts. With the
gradual easing up of rehabilitation and recovery process they turned their minds to
form independent groups in the assemblies. In order to maintain their identity, they
coalesced with like minded people to form a politically viable base by helping and
supporting each other in pursuit of their common objectives. While the local
element was plagued with many individual seekers, the refugee faction enjoyed a
lot of solidarity and a unified voice. Their staunch following propelled the refugee
leadership to the forefront and a force to be reckoned with. The feudal elite
retaliated by bonding together in a similar but less vocal stance.

The refugee arrival from East Punjab to West Punjab had little difficulty in
amalgamating themselves with the general public. The recovery process in Punjab
notwithstanding the claims, counter claims, corrupt practices and similar pitfalls was on the way to completion by end of 1955. Refugee arrivals in Sind via Khokhropar were to remain unchecked for the next decade. Whereas the bulk of refugees from East Punjab found sanctuary in the abandoned properties and lands of West Punjab, a large percentage of migrants from rest of India flocked Karachi which had by then become the seat of federal government and was also the provincial headquarters of Sind. Karachi also had the distinction of the country’s largest port and one closest to Middle East and Europe. It was thus a natural choice for migrant business and commercial magnets. Liaquat Ali Khan being himself a migrant had a soft corner for them. On the analogy of migrants from Makkah to Madena during the time of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) the new arrivals preferred to be designated as ‘muhajirs’. The transition of Karachi from a maritime port to a federal metropolis offered gainful employment to anyone arriving there. Tea pickers of Assam were equally welcomed at Karachi as were fishermen from Makran.

The *muhajirs* with Urdu as their mother tongue insisted on being treated separately from the locals which eventually led them to band together and demand their rights from the local Sindis who had grabbed properties and lands of departed non-Muslims. The chasm between the two groups could not be bridged by any social or governmental authority. There was far more unity amongst the *muhajirs* than any other pressure group. The sense of unity between a *muhajir* in the street and one in administration cemented them together. As a natural consequence *muhajirs* in administration favored the new arrivals as opposed to locals.
Liaquat’s demise was a great shock to the elite *muhajirs* who had by then adopted an anti-local stance both in public as well as in the administration. The murder had put brakes on the *muhajirs*’ ambitious designs. The situation in the provinces was no better where squabbling politicians were busy playing game of snakes and ladders. The military was neither restive for having been disgusted with politicians’ antics nor been complacent with the situation in Kashmir. When Field Marshal Ayub Khan assumed the reins of power he noticed the *muhajir* clout in the government as well as in the public. He adopted an anti-*muhajir* policy. He appointed a commission headed by General Yahya Khan for shifting the federal capital away from Karachi. Yahya chose the outskirts of Rawalpindi under the nose of Army GHQ as the site for new capital. In order to offset *muhajirs*’ hold on power in industry Ayub favored the Punjabis and Pathans in land settlement and industrial establishments in the “Green Revolution”. Ayub also weeded out a number of bureaucrats from key governmental positions including senior *muhajirs*. Yahya continued the same policy when he assumed power after ousting Ayub.

The shifting of federal capital hardened Sindhi bias against the *muhajirs*. There were clashes between local Sindhis and *muhajirs*. After the East Pakistan debacle Bhutto came to power after having kicked out Yahya and some other Army Generals. Bhutto adopted a pro-Sindhi policy and wiped *muhajirs* out of key positions. This encouraged G.M. Syed to come out with his ‘*Jiay Sind*’ slogan and soon gained support for that demand.

In West Punjab the Punjabi speaking *muhajirs* did not suffer any repercussion as by that time they had become more or less assimilated with the locals. Bhutto’s
anti-

muhajir policies did not do any significant damage to muhajirs’ identity but they were denied any further opportunities for advancement. In the meantime, Zia had ousted Bhutto and become Chief Martial Law Administrator. Zia himself a muhajir from Jullundur reversed Bhutto’s pro-Sindhi policy. He encouraged muhajirs in Punjab to establish industrial concern like Itifaq Foundry of the Sharif family etc. Nawaz Sharif was first appointed as the provincial Finance Minister and later on as the Chief Minister.

In order to upset the Jiay Sind movement, Zia encouraged muhajirs to get themselves consolidated in to a single entity. In Sindh Mr. Altaf Hussain formed the Muhajir Qaumi Movement later re-designated as Mutahida Qaumi Movement (MQM). Zia’s policy succeeded in combating Bhutto’s Peoples Party to the extent of a pliant group in the Punjab led by Mian Nawaz Sharif and a well organized pressure group in Sindh chaired by Altaf Hussain. The Afghan War from 1979 onwards resulted in infiltration of military weapons and narcotics into Pakistan which still today are a major headache for any party which forms the government. Zia’s brain children—the Sharif Group in the Punjab and the Altaf Hussain Group in Sindh till today remain the major political players in the country.

In the dominant provinces of Punjab and Sind the leaders who call the shots are from a muhajir background. They have reached their present preeminence through a long struggle and it is highly unlikely of them being weeded out of the political power game by any existing or rising political force. In the annuals of the 20th centaury Punjab also remains a shining example of having welcomed, accommodated and resettled over six million bedraggled refugees. The example
thus set up was to prove an eventual guideline for the Pakistan Government to offer sanctuaries to uprooted Afghans, Uzbeks, Kazaks and Bosnians etc.
Glossary

Aabiana - Water rate
Abadi - Village area
Aftari - To break a fast in the evening after fasting all day
Ahmadiya - Relating to Ahmadi community
Ahmadiya Anjuman-i-Ashaat-i-Islam - Ahmadi Association for the propagation of Islam
Ahrar - The ingenious; liberal; free-born; the generous
Ain-e-Akbari - Constitution of Akbar
Akhbar - Newspaper
Akhbar-i-Anjuman-e-Punjab - Newspaper of the Association of the Punjab
Amir - Commander; chieftain; ruler
Anjuman - Society; association; congregation; organization
Anjuman-e-Ahmadiya - Association of Ahmadis
Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam - Association to patronize Islam
Anjuman-e-Islamia - Islamic Association
Anjuman Ittihad-o-Tarraqi - Association for solidarity and development
Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Masjid Shahidgunj - Association for the Protection of Masjid Shahidganj
Anjuman Tarraqi-i-Talim-i-Musalmanan-i-Hind - Society for the development of education for the Indian Muslims
Anjuman Zamindar Muhajreen - Society of landlord (agriculturist) refugees
Anna - The sixteenth part of a rupee
Ansars - The inhabitants of Medina who welcomed Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and his followers when they had to flee Makkah
Arya Samaj – Nobel Society; a Hindu movement founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswati in April 1875 in India
Arti - Some thing that removes darkness (a Hindu ritual of worship)
Ashaat - Circulation; publication; propagation; spread
Atta - Flour
Aub - Water
Awwam - Masses
Azad - Liberal; free
Azan - The summons to prayer
Bahiyas - Brothers (refugees)
Bahimi - Mutual
Baisakhi - The crops of Baisakh; festival after the harvesting of crops in April-May
Bait-ul-Mal - Muslim Treasury
Banaspati Nabi murdabad - Death to spurious prophet
Barani - Arid land
Batai - Division of crop between the landholder and the tenant
Bayaz-i-Rawalpindi - A Notebook of Rawalpindi
Bazaar - Market
Bhishties - Water carriers
Brahmo Samaj - Society of Brahma; a theistic movement founded by Ram Mohan Roy in 1828 in Calcutta, India.
Bunds - Embankment
Bunjar - Barren land; unproductive land
Burqa - A kind of veil with eye holes to it, covering the whole body from head to foot
Chahi - A land irrigated from a well
Chaks - Blocks of land; holding; landed estate
Chalo Delhi - A political slogan literally meaning ‘let’s go to Delhi’ for a procession or a protest
Chappatis - Thin cakes of unleavened bread
Chaprasi - Peon
Charahgah - A meadow; grazing ground; a pasture
Charkhas - Spinning wheels
Charpies - Bedsteads
Chaudhry - The headman of a village
Chaukidar - A watchman
Chelum - 40th day of mourning in Islamic culture
Chhatank - The sixteenth part of a seer; two ounces
Chowki - A guard’s post; a police station; an outpost
Crore - Ten million
Daal - Scab; pulses
Danda Fauj - A band of volunteers armed with wooden clubs
Darbar - Royal Court
Darbaris - Courtiers
Dargah - Shrine
Dharmsala - Shelter for devotees at temples or gurdwaras
Dhobi - Washer man
Dhobies - Washer men
Durries - Small carpets of cotton
Ehsan - Local newspaper; a favour;
Eid - A great festival; a Muslim feast day
Eid-ul-Azha - A festival observed on the tenth of Zilhij — The last month of Islamic calendar
Eid-ul-Fitr - A festival observed on the first of Shawal after Ramadan
Faqir - A religious devotee; a mendicant; a beggar
Fatwa - A judicial decree; decision; the written verdict by the officer of a Muslim court according to the sharia.
Fauj - An army
Firman - Royal decree
Gauraksha - Protection of cow
Ghrana - House of; family of
Granth Sahib - The sacred book of the Sikhs; final Guru
Granthi - One who recites Granth Sahib-ji
Gur - Molasses; treacle; raw sugar
Gurdwara - Sikh Temple
Haa da naara - A gurdwara in Malerkotla, India
Hai Hai - Alas
Hakims - Traditional doctors
Hartal - Strike, suspending business in protest
Haram - Unlawful; forbidden
Harijan - Children of Hari/Vishnu; Gujarati poet-saint Narasimha Mehta coined this word for the untouchables but Gandhi was credited for popularizing it; also a weekly publication by M.K. Gandhi.
Hijrat - Migration
Holi - Hindu festival held in the month of Phagun (twelfth and last month of Nanakshahi calendar in Sikhism)
Hukumat - Government
Imams - Prayer leaders of mosques
Imdad - Donation; help; contribution
Imroz - Today (an Urdu newspaper from Pakistan)
Inamkhors - Those who take cash allowances for services rendered; a title
Inquilab - Revolution
Ittehad - Unity
Jagir - Feudal land grant; land holding; land revenue in lieu of salary
Jagirdar - Holder of a jagir
Jamia masjid - A mosque having the facility of Friday congregational prayers
Jamiat - A group of People; a socio-political body
Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Hind - A group of Muslim scholars of India
Jamiat-i-Muhajer-o-Ansar - Association of muhajireen and Ansars (the locals of Medina that welcomed the Prophet Muhammad PBUH and his companions)
Jang - War; Urdu daily newspaper founded in 1939 and currently based in Pakistan
Jatha - An assembly of volunteers for a specific cause usually associated with groups of Sikhs
Jathadar - Leader of a jatha
Jatka - Animal slaughtered by a single blow; a Hindu way of slaughtering
Gauraksha Sabha - Society for the Protection of Kine/Cows
Jhuggis - Slum dwellings mostly made of mud bricks
Jiay Sind - Long live the Sind (province)
Jihad - A Mohammedan religious war
Juma - Friday
Kafirs - Infidels
Kafla - Foot convoy of refugees
Kalyan da Khuh - Kalyan is a city in Thane District of Maharashtra; well of the Kalyans; good fortune
Kanal - One-eighth of an acre
Kanungo - Revenue official who supervises the local patwaris
Karamat - Miracle
Katcha - Mud houses or roads
Khaddar - Homespun cotton cloth from India
Khaksars - Humble persons; Member of the Khaksar Movement
Khan Bahadur - A title of honor
Kharif - The autumnal crops
Khatm-i-Nabuwwat - Finality of prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH)
Khowanchan Farooshan - Relating to street venders
Khudai Khidmatgars - Servants of God; non-violent reform movement for NWFP led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
Khutba - Sermon
Killabandi - Rectangular measurement (land)
Kirpan - A long dagger carried by Sikhs
Kucha Kaurian Wala - Crawling lane
Kufar ka jalsa band karo - ‘Stop the assembly of unbelievers’, provocative slogan
Lambardar - Officially appointed headman of a village community
Lathi - A stick; a wooden club
Lihaf - A coverlet; a counterpane; quilt upper garment
Madrassas - Islamic schools
Majlis - An assembly; a council; a party
Majlis-i-Amal - Party of Aspirators/Hope
Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam - Party of the Islamic Liberals
Majlis Ittehad-i-Millat - A council of brotherhood (Muslim)
Majlis-i-Tahaffuz-i-Haqooq Awwam - Council for the protection of masses’ rights
Mandi - Town market
Mandir - A Hindu Temple
Marla - Area equal to 1/160 of an acre
Masjid - Mosque
Maulvi - A Muslim doctor of law; a learned Muslim
Maund - Weight equal to 40 kg
Milliat - Nation
Milli Dar-ul-Itfal - Community house for children
Mohallah - Residential locality of a town
Mohallahs’ Choudharies - Influential leaders of the locality
Momins - Practicing Muslims
Muharram - The first Muslim month, held sacred on account of death of Hazrat Imam Hussain (RA); venerable
Muffasil - As distinguished from the town
Muhajir - A refugee
Muhajireen - Refugees
Mujahid - Local newspaper; a religious warrior; endeavourer
Mujahideen - Freedom Fighters
Mukhadum - Teacher of Sunnah
Mukhtiarkar - An agent; a manager
Munshi - An accountant
Murdabad - Death to; down with; a provocative slogan
Murids - A disciple; a follower
Musalli - A low caste laborer
Musalmans - Muslims
Muturwas - A derogatory name given to Urdu-speaking refugees
Nahri - Land irrigated by canal
Naib - Assistant
Naib-Tahsildar - The assistant sub-collector of revenue
Nawab - A nabob; a lord; a governor of a town or a district; hereditary title
Nawa-e-Waqt - Urdu newspaper from Lahore; voice of the time
Niwar - Tape of a coarse kind
Numbardars - See Lambardar
Paisa - A copper coin; money; wealth; here name of a Urdu newspaper
Panchayat - A meeting of any particular society; a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members especially in villages of Punjab; a council
Pashtoons - Pathans; a race of about sixty tribes primarily in the tribal areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan
Patwaris - One who keeps accounts of land; a land steward
Patwar Khana - Office of the Patwari
Phanne Khan - A colloquial phrase for someone who thinks highly of himself
Pir - Saint of a Sufi Order
Panahgirs - Migrants; refugees
Pukka - Fully developed; made with brunt bricks; strong; solid; firm
Punj - Five
Purna Swaraj - Complete Independence
Qadiani - Follower of Ahmadiya faith
Qamis - Village menial
Qasr-e-Istiqlal - Palace of stability
Qawali - Singing and playing; singing Sufi songs
Quaid-i-Azam - The great leader; Muhammad Ali Jinnah
Quami - National
Quami Razakars - National volunteers
Rabi - Winter or spring harvest
Rakhibandhan - A Hindu festival that celebrate the love between brothers and sisters
Ramadan - Muslim month of fasting
RamLila - Name of a Hindu festival; the play performed during the festival
Rangila - Gaudy; a man of pleasure; airy; showy
Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh - National Voluntary Service Association
Rasul - A messenger; a prophet; Muhammad (PBUH)
Razais - Quilts
Risala - Magazine
Roznama - Daily (newspaper)
Roznamcha - A diary; daily police record
Sahukar - Money lender; a banker
Sair-e-Dozakh- A Walk through the hell
Sajjada Nasheen - A Muslim shrine keeper
Salaam - A common greeting of the Muslims; a gesture of respect with a low bow of the head.
Salan - Meat, fish or vegetable curry
Salar - A general or a commander of an army
Sanads - Deeds granted by the British to the princes of the state confirming their status after securing their allegiances.
Sangathan - Companionship
Sarbans - Camel drivers
Sarson - A species of mustard
Sehri - Food taken before dawn as amongst Muslims in the month of Ramadan
Shahbaz - Local newspaper; an eagle
Shahidi Jatha - Suicidal jatha (of Sikhs)
Shariah - Islamic law
Shernarthy - Migrant (Hindi)
Shuddhi - Purification
Sirishtedar - A superintendent of a vernacular office
Subedar - A historical rank in Indian and Pakistani armies below a British Commissioned Officer and above a non-commissioned officer
Sunnah - Teaching, sayings and deed of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)
Swadeshi - Foreign
Swami - Master; lord
Swaraj - Independence
Tabligh - Proselytization; preaching; convincing; patronizing
Taccavi - Pecuniary advance especially to cultivators for implements, digging wells etc
Tahaffuz - Protection
Tahsil - A tier of a local government and is a part of a larger District
Tahsildar - A sub-collector of revenue
Tajdid-i-din - Renewal of religion
Talab - A pond
Talim - Education
Tanzim - Organisation
Tarikh-e-Sher Shah Suri - History of Sher Shah Suri
Tarraqi - Prosperity; promotion; improvement; progress
Tilier - Seasonal migrating birds
Tola - Unit of mass equal to 11.663 grams; 3/8 troy ounce
Tonga - Horse carriage
Tuzk-i-Jahangeeri - Memoirs of Jahangir
Ulama - Learned Muslim doctors of law and religion
Vaidas - Traditional doctors
Vartman - Present; existing
Warood - Arabic word for Rose
Ya Ali Ya Ali - A war clarion (Muslim)
Yaum-i-Ghaddaran-i-Islam - Traitors Day
Yaum-i-Tashakkur - Thanks-giving day
Yom-i-Wiladat - Birthday
Zaildar - Local notable appointed to the charge of a group of villages
Zamindar - Owner or an occupier of land
Zanana - Feminist; relating to woman (women branch)
Zindabad - Long live; a slogan
Zindiqs - Heretics
Appendix-i

Appendix-i is a cartoon sketch from weekly *Nusrat (Urdu)*, Lahore of 5th July 1959. The title of the sketch is *Talab Ka Pehmana* (Scale of Need). It shows a single refugee on left hand side who has had his entire family killed in East Punjab and needs to be fed, whereas the character on the right hand side who has been lucky to bring his family alive from East Punjab needs his eight children to be fed as well. According to some news, a number of feckless refugees had resorted to begging.
Appendix-ii is a Cartoon Sketch published in the weekly *Nusrat* (Urdu), Lahore of 5th July 1959 special issue. Corruption was ripe amongst claimants of evacuee property. The sketch depicts a writer of spurious claims at his desk advertising a rate of two rupees for a claim of property worth a hundred thousand rupees.
Appendix-iii is a light hearted satire titled *Khaad* (Manure) by Saadat Hassan Manto published in the weekly *Nusrat* (Urdu), Lahore of 5th July 1959 in its special issue on the refugees. It narrates the fate of a Sikh refugee who had committed suicide after having his hair cut off by Muslim hooligans. A period of deceased had tried to console him that there had been no loss of faith as by massaging with curd the hair was likely to be restored within a year.
The elegy titled *Muhajireen Kaho Ya Panahgir* (Call us Migrants or refugees?) was published in the weekly *Nusrat* (Urdu), Lahore of 5th July 1959 in its special issue on refugees. The Poet Hafeez Jullunduri who was also the author of the national anthem of Pakistan complains on behalf of the migrants and at the same time urges the local communities not to look down upon the refugees. He argues that the migrants are not gold seekers but have undergone a blood bath to reach the “Promised Land” and for that reason they should be respected and allowed to resettle.
This elegy titled Muhjir (Refugee) was authored by Mr. Sharif Kunjai and was published in annual Adab-e-Lateef, Lahore, 1949. It’s a dialogue between a local and an old aged refugee who is asking for some financial help. The local argues that instead of begging the migrants should start working as labor but then he feels sorry for the old man as he was not fit enough to do the physical work. He empathizes with the poor migrants and tries to relate his ancestors with the current partition refuges. He argues that his ancestors were migrants too who had travelled to India via Khyber Pass and had to face many problems. They were not received by any refugee camp and the locals were their worst enemies but they survived and had done well for themselves as they were hard workers and not beggars.
Appendix-vi

Courtesy, *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore, 29th June 1947

**RELIEF BY WEIGHT**

Talk to Tonga Association has decided that every driver who overloads his tonga will pay one rupee for the League Relief Fund. —News item.
Appendix-vii/a

Refugee relief and rehabilitation in pictures. Courtesy of the National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad.

Drinks being offered to refugees

Refugees making arrangements for their meal
Appendix-vii/b

The particulars of refugees are being registered in Lahore.

Quaid-i-Azam at a Refugee Camp.
Appendix- vii/c

Medical aid to Refugees.

Refugees waiting to be taken to Camps.
A painful scene of Muslim victims of the Punjab riots in 1947

Crowds of migrants are waiting at a railway station to be taken to Pakistan.
Refugees are coming to Pakistan by buses.

Refugees en route to Pakistan on trains
Large number of refugees travelled from Amritsar to Lahore.

Refugees at a Railway Station waiting to board the Pakistan Special trains.
Citizens of Lahore provided relief to destitute refugees.

All sections of the Lahore public offered their services for the relief of refugees.
Appendix-vii/h

A caravan of refugees near Wahga Border.

Quaid-i-Azam listening to camp refugees
Appendix-vii/i

Refugees from Amritsar at Lahore Railway Station.

A view of a refugee camp.
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Manzur-ul-Haq Siddiqui Collection
Ministry of Rehabilitation Records
Mountbatten Papers
Mudie Collection
Pakistan Punjab Refugee Council Papers
Private Papers of Jenkins
Private Papers of Mudie
Punjab Disturbances
Punjab Governor’s Fortnightly Letters addressed to the Viceroy
Punjab Police Abstracts of Intelligence
Prime Minister’s Secretariat Files
Quaid-i-Azam Papers (QAP)
Shamsul Hasan Collection
US National Archives Papers
Wavell Collection

All these official records are preserved in:
Bahi Gurdas Library, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar
Central Museum Library, Lahore
National Documentation Centre (NDC), Islamabad
National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad
National Archives of India, Delhi
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