Chapter – II
Riots and Migration in Punjab and Princely States

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

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

On Direct Action day August 16, 1946 in Calcutta\(^1\) the violence had begun and it spread to the Bengal countryside resulting into large number of deaths. From there it moved on to Bihar, then on to the United Province and finally to the province of Punjab, where the scale of the violence and the extent of the killing exceeded even the horrors that had preceded it.

According to the fortnightly report of October 1946,

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\text{Most district officers in Punjab continued to sound a grave note of warning and to say that a situation which is so essentially unstable may deteriorate quickly and dangerously without any adequate warning being given.}^2
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Yet another disturbing development during this time was the rapid growth of volunteer forces of various political parties, which

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

\(^2\) *Home Political (I)*, File No. 18/10/1946.
were called private armies by the British, and open defiance of law by them in several provinces. There was marked increase in the activities of both the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and the Muslim League National Guards (MLNG) in the Punjab. The strength of the latter had increased from 3,000 at the end of 1945 to 10,000 in July 1946. The announced aim was to increase it to half a million by the end of 1946. The government of Punjab was of the view that “both these were trouble-spreading agencies and for this reason and others which are obvious, are potentially very dangerous”.4

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

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

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

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

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3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., File No. 18/7/46.
5 The Eastern Times, February 2, 1947.
6 Home Political, File No. 18/8/1946.
and order concern on January 24, 1947, the Government of Punjab banned the Muslim League National Guard (MLNG) and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). The Punjab government had inadvertently offered a challenge to the League without the strength to go through with it.\textsuperscript{8} Viceroy Wavell noted in his journal on January 27: the action taken in the Punjab against the Muslim Guards seems to have raised a storm.... The Muslim League leaders in Punjab seized the opportunity to stir up agitation.\textsuperscript{9}

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

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

\textsuperscript{8} Penderal Moon, Divide and Quit, op. cit., p.75.
\textsuperscript{10} TOP, Vol. IX, pp.556-557; See also, N.N. Mitra and H.N. Mitra (eds.), \textit{The Indian Annual Register (1940-47)}, Vol. II, Gian Publishing House, New Delhi, 1990, p.275 (Hereinafter quoted as \textit{IAR}).
\textsuperscript{13} \textit{The Tribune}, January 26, 1947.
Of course, the problems Khizar faced at that time were awful. The Premier headed a non-Muslim Government in a province where a large number of officers and employees were Muslims and had secret or even open sympathy for the League. An overwhelming number of officers and men in the police force being Muslims, were also more loyal to the League than to the government and thus Jinnah’s mass movement received indirect support from all such quarters.14 Keeping in mind the gravity of these problems, the Premier held a conference on the January 26, with his colleagues to discuss the situation arising out of the ban on the National Guards and also on the RSS. On that day, many Muslim League leaders were released to pacify the Muslim masses.15 After consultation with his ministers, he issued a statement on the January 28, withdrawing ban on the MLNG and RSS.16 But he made it clear that the ban on processions and meetings would continue as the government in the present state of situation considered it essential.17 He further appealed to the members of all communities to support the Punjab Government in maintaining peace and communal harmony.18

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

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

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

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

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

Jenkins was also of the view that,

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

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

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


25 Ibid.

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

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

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

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29 He stated that he had the support of 90 members in the Assembly including Muslim League 80, Other Muslims 93, Schedule Castes 4, Indian Christians 2 and European 1. TOP, Vol. IX, pp.866-867.
30 The Tribune, March 5, 1947; See also, Ian Talbot, Khizr Tiwana: The Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India, Curzon, Richmond, 1996, p.161.
private information suggests that Mamdot commands only three votes outside the League including, Muslim and two Scheduled Castes. Risk of installing a League Ministry of this kind with parliamentary majority is enormous... (and would) be a fraud on the constitution.32

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts or States</th>
<th>Percentage in total population of</th>
<th>Districts of East Punjab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>Sikhs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Hissar</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Rohtak</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Gurgaon</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Karnal</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ambala</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Simla</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Kangra</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Hoshiarpur</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Jullundur</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ludhiana</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>41.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Ferozepur</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Amritsar</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Gurdaspur</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>19.1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

33 Ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>East Punjab States</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Sikhs</th>
<th>Rest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kapurthala</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Faridkot</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Patiala</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Jind</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>74.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Nabha</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**SECTION – I**

Riots\(^{35}\) broke out in Lahore on March 4. The Hindu and Sikh Students of Lahore took out a big procession to demonstrate their resolve not to tolerate a Muslim league ministry. This perfectly non violent procession was fired on by the Muslim police, which had stood hooliganism and law breaking from Muslim mobs for over a

\(^{35}\) Word “Riot” is derived from the old French ‘Rioler’ which means debate, dispute, quarrel, from which is derived the verb ‘riol’ which means to quarrel and which is diminutive of huir which means to make an uproar. It is the element of quarrel that leads to the disturbance and the disturbance is uproarious. Being uproarious it eventuates in violence against person or property.
month in the province. In this firing on procession of Hindus and Sikhs, 125 were injured and 10 were killed.\textsuperscript{36}

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

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

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

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


\textsuperscript{38} \textit{The Tribune}, March 6, 1947.

\textsuperscript{39} \textit{Ibid.}; \textit{The Hindustan Times} and \textit{The Civil and Military Gazette}, March 6, 1947.

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{The Dawn}, March 8, 1947.

\textsuperscript{41} \textit{The Tribune}, March 8, 1947.

\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Ibid.}, March 14, 1947.

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{The Dawn}, March 17, 1947; See also, Patrick French, \textit{Liberty or Death; India’s Journey to Independence and Division}, Harper Collins, London, 1997, p.334.
murdered by Muslim gangs in the villages including Thamali, Doberan and Choa Khalsa.\textsuperscript{45}

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{46} Gurcharan Singh Talib, \textit{Muslim League Attacks on Hindus and Sikhs of Punjab}, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, 1950, p.122
\textsuperscript{47} On March 7, savage communal rioting in the Punjab was reported in which 1036 killed, 1110 injured and 40,000 rendered homeless. \textit{TOP}, Vol. IX, p.879.
\textsuperscript{48} \textit{The Tribune}, March 9, 1947; See also, Durga Das, \textit{India: From Curzon to Nehru and After}, Rupa and Co., New Delhi, 1975, p.239.
\textsuperscript{50} \textit{TOP}, Vol. IX, pp.897-899.
division of Punjab into two provinces, so that the predominantly Muslim part may be separated from the predominantly non-Muslim part.\textsuperscript{51}

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

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

Nehru after going through their stories of violence remarked,

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

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

\textsuperscript{52} \textit{The Tribune}, March 12, 1947.
\textsuperscript{53} Many villages in the police station of Multan, Sadar, Shujabad and Malchunpur Rashid reported incidents. Nearly 164 goondas were rounded up in Lahore city. \textit{Ibid.}, March 15, 1947.
\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{56} \textit{TOP}, Vol. IX, p.969; See also, \textit{The Dawn}, March 15, 1947.
indicated that the Government was not too keen to see Nehru in this part of the country. In fact, Nehru had met Jenkins in Lahore on March 14, and even as the meeting was on, a message was received at Government house, Lahore from the Viceroy for Nehru requesting, him not to visit Peshawar. Nehru agreed not to go, but only grudgingly.57

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

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

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

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

57 Ibid., p.953.
60 The Dawn, March 17, 1947.
61 The Hindu, March 24, 1947.
62 Penderal Moon, Divide and Quit, op. cit., p.83,94.
63 The Civil and Military Gazette, April 13, 1947.
64 Ibid., April 3, 1947.
injured. On May 19, 1947, the early hours of Sunday, saw most serious incidents which had taken place in Lahore since disturbance took place on May 14. The entire province of Punjab had declared a disturbed area on May 31, 1947.

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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71 By July 20, the figure of riot affected refugees, who had come over to India, was assessed in the neighbourhood of one million. Gurcharan Singh Talib, Muslim League Attacks on Hindus and Sikhs of Punjab, op. cit., p.124.
72 Madhav Godbole, The Holocaust of Indian Partition: An Inquest, op. cit., p.12.
74 Kirpal Singh, The Partition of Punjab, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972, p.103.
As the date on which Pakistan was to be established that was August 15, was drawing nearer Muslims everywhere in the Muslim majority districts and in some places even in the East were growing aggressive. With the line of demarcation between Eastern and Western Punjab still unknown and uncertain Muslims of districts like Amritsar, Jullundur and Ferozepur held strong hopes of these districts or anyway some portions of them, being awarded to Pakistan. The attitude with which the Muslims looked upon non-Muslims was that the latter were to be held by them as a subservient people from whom a less than human treatment would just be good enough. Shri Kiron Shankar Roy, the well known leader of Bengal, in a statement to the press on July 22nd said about the temper of East Bengal Muslims:

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

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

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

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77 Ibid., pp.124-125.
But the west Punjab government was determined to drive them out. Giani Kartar Singh stated that Jinnah had instructed the Governor of west Punjab to expel all the Sikhs from Pakistan. This was confirmed by the letter Sir Francis Mudie (Governor, West Punjab) addressed to Jinnah and interpreted by the East Punjab police. Sir Mudie frankly declared that he was telling everyone not to care how the Sikhs get across the border, the great thing was to get rid of them as soon as possible.\textsuperscript{79} The Muslim refugees in order to avail themselves of houses and business of the non-Muslims created panic and disorder to turn out Hindus and Sikhs.\textsuperscript{80} On August 14, Pakistan was officially born. The advent of Pakistan was signalled by hundreds of fires raging in various parts of the city.\textsuperscript{81}

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

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

In his book \textit{An Australian in India}, Mr. Casey, the ex-Governor of Bengal, writes:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{79} \textit{Ibid.}, p.118.
\item \textsuperscript{80} Allan Campbell-Johnson, \textit{Mission with Mountbatten}, Jaico Publishers, New Delhi, 1951, pp.131-132.
\item \textsuperscript{81} A Sikh Gurudwara, which had been especially preserved for this day was set alight as morning heralded the first day of freedom. Numerous places of Hindus and Sikhs had been burnt of which one finds no records in daily newspapers. K.L. Gauba, \textit{Inside Pakistan}, Raj Kamal Publications, Delhi, 1948, pp.2-3.
\item \textsuperscript{82} \textit{The Hindustan Times}, September 2, 1947.
\item \textsuperscript{83} Durga Das, India from Curzon to Nehru and After, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.263-264.
\end{itemize}
In other words I believe that the principal present day motive behind Pakistan is the economic urge on the part of the Muslims (particularly in the cities) to advance themselves economically.... I believe that when the Muslims in a village or a small town think of Pakistan, they think in terms of the little village or town store being owned by a Muslim and not by a Hindu. When the city Muslims think of Pakistan, I believe he thinks largely in terms of the mills and shops and business houses being owned by Muslims instead of by Hindus.... But the fact remains that Pakistan or no Pakistan, Hindus and Muslims have got to continue to live together.... Pakistan would not result in the village store being owned by a Muslim. It would not put the mills and the business houses into Muslim hands. The only way Muslims can advance themselves economically is to achieve education, and to learn how to complete successfully with the Hindus, which means a vast amount of hard work and the passage of time. It can not be achieved by political means.\footnote{J. Nanda, \textit{Punjab Uprooted}, op. cit., p.36.}

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

\begin{quote}
I have feared of men and women who were hidden under haystacks or cold ovens by kind neighbours. I can picture the scene when the hooligans arrived to check-up; the beating hearts in the oven and the hay stack must have stilled as the assassins suspiciously scored the place for the ‘condemned’ men; the protectors, perhaps a little pale, are likely to have put on a considerable amount of bravado and righteous indignation at not being taken at their word. Such steadfastness was, however, the exception because the hooligans were better organized and better armed than the majority of peaceful citizens in villages and towns; neighbours are generally kind folks but not of the stud from which martyrs are made.\footnote{Ibid., p.54.}
\end{quote}

Some raiding parties brought camels, donkeys and carts to carry off the booty. Inevitably, old personal scores were paid off in a few cases, but as a rule the raid on the minority of a village was not made by the majority community of the same village, but of a different village. In the district of Western Punjab it was not uncommon for a false alarm to be raised in the villages that a Sikh
band (Jatha) was around the corner; and this alarm signal was doubly useful in collecting women and children in one place and in forming the male adults into a party for raiding villages in the vicinity.86

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

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

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

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86 Ibid., pp.18-19; See also, M.L. Darling, At Freedom’s Door, Oxford, Bombay, 1949, p.78.
87 Escorting troops killed 78 attackers and wounded about same numbers. Despite heavy fighting by escort, the mob attacking from the rear forced its way into the last four bogies. The attack lasted 40 minutes. The Tribune, September 26, 1947.
88 On September 25, figures of exchange of Muslims and Hindus issued by West Punjab:
Montgomery: 3,25,000 Sikhs and Hindus evacuated and 4,50,000 Muslim settled.
Lyallpur: 1,75,000 Sikhs and Hindus evacuated and 2,50,000 Muslims settled.
Sheikhupura: 3,50,000 Sikhs and Hindus were evacuated and 4,75,000 Muslims settled.
Sialkot: 1,25,000 Sikhs and Hindus evacuated and 2,15,000 Muslims settled.
As regards the killings of the non-Muslims, till September 25, 1947, about 1,98,000 non-Muslims had been killed 100,000 converted to Islam and 12,000 women were abducted. There were still about 10 lakh non-Muslims who wished to be evacuated to India. Durga Das (ed.), Sardar Patel’s Correspondence, 1945-50, Vol. IV, op. cit., pp.278-279.
89 Ibid.
Bahawalpur is 80,000”. During the debate on refugee matters repeated pleas were made by the members to the government to take speedy measures to ensure early evacuation of refugees from that state.\textsuperscript{90}

In October 1947, the refugee population from West Punjab in Indian camps was well over 7,20,000.\textsuperscript{91} On October 3, 1947, according to the government’s report following number of refugees were awaiting for evacuation.\textsuperscript{92} Hindus and Sikhs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rawalpindi</td>
<td>3,66,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzaffargarh</td>
<td>1,05,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sargodha</td>
<td>32,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Ghazi Khan</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sialkot</td>
<td>90,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>1,48,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujranwala</td>
<td>32,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>8,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheikhupura</td>
<td>2,59,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyallpur</td>
<td>1,67,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhang</td>
<td>59,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{SECTION – II}

After the resignation of Khizar Hyat Khan, riots broke up in United Punjab’s two main cities – Lahore and Amritsar. Amritsar was the main affected city from March onwards. It faced huge communal massacres in its inner area. This was the second most populous and commercially developed city after Lahore of the colonial Punjab. From March to August 1947, it experienced endemic communal conflict.\textsuperscript{93} The Muslim League’s six week agitation from January 24, 1947\textsuperscript{94} ostensibly in the name of civil liberties, but in reality designed

\textsuperscript{91} *The Tribune*, October 4, 1947.
\textsuperscript{92} *The Hindustan Times*, October 11, 1947.
\textsuperscript{93} *The Tribune*, March 5, 1947.
to unseat the Unionist coalition government\textsuperscript{95} heightened communal tension in Amritsar. This had already been raised by the election campaign which the Muslim League had presented as a referendum on Pakistan. The death of a Sikh constable in the city on February 24, led the Akali leader Master Tara Singh to claim that the Muslim League was fighting a communal, rather than a political campaign.\textsuperscript{96}

Rioting begun in Amritsar on March 5, and rapidly became more serious than Lahore.\textsuperscript{97} By the evening of March 6, the city was completely out of control.\textsuperscript{98} The SGPC report blames the Muslims. It was in Chowk Moni in Hall Bazaar that the first Sikh, Bhai Mangal Singh got killed. The report maintains that Muslims from the neighbouring areas congregated at the Khair-ud-Din Mosque and at the nearby MAO College before setting fire to Hindus and Sikh shops in the Hall Bazaar and the adjoining Katra Jaimal Singh. Students and the Muslim National Guards\textsuperscript{99} organisation which boosted some 8,000 numbers played a leading role in orchestrating the violence. Weapons were stockpiled in Muslim schools and colleges, notably at MAO College and at the textile mills of such notables as Shiekh Sadiq Hasan, the President of the Amritsar District Muslim League.\textsuperscript{100}

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{97} \textit{The Tribune}, March 6, 1947.
\textsuperscript{98} Ian Talbot, Violence, Migration and Resettlement: The Case of Amritsar, \textit{op. cit.}, p.82.
\textsuperscript{99} The Muslim National Guards recruitment proceeded with very increased speed during all the months after the Direct Action Resolution of the Muslim League was passed. So great and ubiquitous was the organisation of the League Private Army, the Muslim National Guards, that every Muslim Mohalla, every small town, sometimes very considerable village, had its own National Guard contingent and its commander called \textit{Salar}. The guards collected arms and petrol almost everywhere. They received secret instructions from headquarters and had a quasi-military, fascist kind of organisation, with the rule of implicit obedience to the orders of the leader. G.S. Talib, Muslim League Attacks on Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab, \textit{op. cit.}, p.57.
\textsuperscript{100} \textit{The Tribune}, March 6, 1947.
In his report dated March 7, to Wavell, Jenkins (Governor) gave horrendous accounts of communal conflagration in Amritsar,

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

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

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

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

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102 Ibid., April 9, 1947.
103 Ian Talbot, Violence, Migration and Resettlement: A Case of Amritsar, op. cit., p.84.
104 The Tribune, March 6, 1947.
105 In 1943, one of the biggest Muslim Conference, presided over by Mr. Jinnah was held in Jullundur. Sharifudin Pirzada (ed.), Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah’s Correspondence, Metropolitan Book Company, New Delhi, 1981, p.88.
away from fighting and try to save Punjab from destruction. This appeal fell flat on Muslims, who continued their shouting and attacks, and stabbed Babu Labh Singh to death.\footnote{Darbara Singh, \textit{Punjab Tragedy}, Amritsar, 1949, p.84.} His murder sent a wave of horror among the Hindus and Sikhs of Jullundur and the situation became tense. Incidents of loot and murder took place. The Governor of Punjab accompanied with Inspector General, visited the Northern areas of Jullundur, withstand by order to military to meet any emergency.\footnote{Gurcharan Singh Talib, \textit{Muslim League Attacks on Hindus and Sikhs of Punjab}, \textit{op. cit.}, p.48.}

He underlined that in the past, communal trouble had seldom occurred in two important places at the same time Lahore and Amritsar. He also brought out two special factors in these riots. The first was that the Sikhs were likely to retaliate for the losses they had suffered when they were taken unaware. The second was the Congress Working Committee’s resolution demanding the partition of the Punjab which was likely to be treated as an affront by the Muslims.\footnote{TOP, Vol. IX, pp.901-906.}

In the northern Mewat, the trouble started about March 26, when some Meos stole a buffalo from Nurpur, a Hindu Ahir Village. When they recovered buffalo, they were attacked by the Meos, on their way back. On March 29, Hindus assembled in large number near Hasanpur. An attempt to hold a \textit{Panchayat} on March 30, failed and burnt the Gujar village of Koha Khandelwala. Next day the Hindus retaliated by burning four Meo villages – Sakatpur, Ghairatpur, Dehri and Gangani. On the April 1\textsuperscript{st}, the Meos responded by burning Badgujar, Bisal, Akabarpur, Kharki and Baghanki. Up to the point all villagers had been evacuated before being burnt.\footnote{Francis Tucker, \textit{While Memory Serves}, Cassell and Company, London, 1950, pp.164-165; See also, Madhav Godbole, \textit{The Holocaust of Indian Partition}, \textit{op. cit.}, p.79.}
By the end of April, over 50,000 refugees had reached Haridwar and every major railway station in East Punjab bore the look of a refugee township. Shortage of food and clothing and lack of sanitation were acute. Before the national boundaries were drawn, Hindus and Sikhs had starting leaving the areas that had witnessed the worst violence.\(^{110}\)

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

\(^{111}\) G.D. Khosla, \emph{Stern Reckoning}, \textit{op. cit.}, p.116.
\(^{113}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p.213.
The Commissioner, Ambala Division, reported on June 10, that, strength of the troops... (was) inadequate to deal with armed bands roaming about the district.\(^{114}\)

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

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

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

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

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


\(^{116}\) The Hindustan Times, July 20, 1947.


Auchinleck said that protection of railways was imposing a heavy strain on the troops. In the Jullundur, Hoshairpur and Gurdaspur rural areas the situation had deteriorated. August 15 was strongly celebrated in the Punjab, during the afternoon a Sikh mob paraded a number of Muslim women naked through streets of Amritsar, raped them and then hacked some of them to pieces with *Kirpans* and burnt the other alive... Wolpert had stated,

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

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

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

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120 Madhav Godbole, The Holocaust of Indian Partition, *op. cit.*, p.142.
123 Penderal Moon, *Divide and Quit*, *op. cit.*, p.293.
weeks in riot affected areas in the Punjab, sent the following cable to his newspaper on August 24, 1947:

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

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

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

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

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

128 Ibid.
Lahore by train. In the way, 3000 Muslims were mercilessly killed.\footnote{Zia-ul-Islam, Eastern Bloodbath, \textit{op. cit.}, p.22; See also, The Tribune, December 27, 1992.} In Gurdaspur district a village was attacked by a Muslim mob, including men in police uniform. Several looters were arrested in Hoshiarpur. A refugee camp was attacked between Doraha and Sahnewal. The escort shot dead about 150 attackers, two sub-inspectors were suspended for failing to protect Muslim refugees in Ferozepur district. A large number of illicit weapons were recovered at Karnal district.\footnote{Ibid., September 26, 1947.} After the communal broke up of the provincial services the police force in East Punjab had divided from 17000 to 3000. It could not protect refugee camps like the one at Kurukshtretra with 2,70,000 refugees from Pakistan.\footnote{Durga Das, India from Curzon to Nehru and After, \textit{op. cit.}, p.265.}

The movement of Hindu and Sikh refugees coming on foot from Pakistan to India had been seriously affected by the floods that had breached roads and damaged bridges. Nearly 2100 Hindus and Sikhs were brought to Amritsar from Khanewal and 100 Muslim refugees left Beas on October 3.\footnote{There were also reports that 100 Muslims from Sewami, i.e., 8 miles South-West of Hisar attacked a village and killed 15 Hindus and Sikhs. On October 3, 1947, according to the government’s report following number of refugees were awaiting for evacuation.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Delhi</th>
<th>1,60,000</th>
<th>Hoshiarpur</th>
<th>2,88,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patiala</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Simla</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jullundur</td>
<td>3,89,300</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ludhiana</td>
<td>1,04,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amritsar</td>
<td>42,300</td>
<td></td>
<td>Faridabad</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambala</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On October 12, 1947 Lady Mountbatten concluded her two days tour in the East Punjab. She saw herself the pitiable state of sufferers coming from Pakistan. At the Indo-Pakistan borders, she complained to the Pakistan authorities of searches carried on and properly snatched by them. She learnt that Muslims from across Pakistan side made 27 raids and 16 minor attacks on Indian villages with the help of Pakistan police, army and national guards.\footnote{Ganda Singh, A Diary of Partition Days, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.470-71.} On
October 13, about 500 Sikh and Hindu refugee were killed out of the convoy of 2400 refugees bound for the East Punjab.\textsuperscript{135}

On 1\textsuperscript{st} week of October, an attack was made on a Muslim foot convoy in Ferozepur. Casualties were 500 and 1000.\textsuperscript{136} The Government of Punjab by its telegram dated October 23, 1947, conveyed their anxiety to Government of India at the increasing number of reports of Muslim passengers being thrown out of trains on Bina-Katni and Jhansi-Itarsi railway lines.\textsuperscript{137} According to Hodson, in four days (22-23 September), 2700 Muslims and 600 non-Muslims were killed or injured in railway trains alone.\textsuperscript{138}

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

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

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{135} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{136} G.D. Khosla, \textit{Stern Reckoning}, \textit{op. cit.}, p.286.
\textsuperscript{137} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{139} Madhav Godbole, \textit{The Holocaust of Indian Partition}, \textit{op. cit.}, p.189.
\textsuperscript{140} \textit{The Tribune}, October 16, 1947.
\end{flushright}
that telephone calls from Simla could be put through to Amritsar.\textsuperscript{141} A transmitter of the All India radio became operational in Jullundur from November 1.\textsuperscript{142} Interestingly on many occasions the government of East Punjab began conveying orders to its field officers through the radio, with officers being instructed to keep their sets tuned for messages between regular radio programmes. Governor Trivedi even believed that one fallout of the poor communications was that peace appeals made by senior leaders did not reach the grass-roots workers in time.\textsuperscript{143}

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

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

\textsuperscript{141} \textit{Ibid.}, November 7 and 17, 1947.
\textsuperscript{142} \textit{The Civil and Military Gazette}, November 4, 1947.
\textsuperscript{143} Trivedi to East Punjab Home Minister Swaran Singh, September 4, 1947, Mountbatten Papers, File No. 129.
\textsuperscript{144} \textit{The Tribune}, October 5-6, 1947.
\textsuperscript{145} \textit{Ibid.}, November 5, 1947.
\textsuperscript{146} \textit{The Civil and Military Gazette}, October 12, 1947.
It was only towards the end of November 1947 that Swaran Singh, Home Minister of East Punjab, could declare in a press conference that there was complete peace in East Punjab. Any man can go about anywhere in East Punjab without any escort or fear. We have fully recovered from the shock of partition and our administration is now well tuned. He said (of the thirty-two lakh non-Muslims in West Punjab and NWFP) only 2,58,000 Hindus and Sikh evacuees were left in West Punjab. Some of them desired evacuation and some did not. He emphasised that no one will be forced to evacuate in spite of the formal decision for total exchange of population between the two Punjab. The Governor of East Punjab assured that evacuation would be over by the end of November 1947. A broadcasting station started functioning in Jullundur on November 1, 1947, followed by a relay station in Amritsar thereafter. All schools and colleges in East Punjab reopened on November 17, 1947.

SECTION – III

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

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

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

149 The Hindustan Times, November 25, 1947.
the course of which the lands of weaker neighbours could be grabbed as had happened in the 19th century.\textsuperscript{150}

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{150} TOP, Vol. X, p.184.
\textsuperscript{151} G.D. Khosla, Stern Reckoning, \textit{op. cit.}, p.289.
\textsuperscript{152} Zia-ul-Islam, Eastern Bloodbath, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.11-22; See also, \textit{Ibid.}, p.288.
\textsuperscript{153} Copy of Letter dated 22-8-47, from Vice President City Muslim League to His Highness Maharaja Patiala. \textit{Ijlas-i-Khas}, File No. 2014, Basta No. 169.
\textsuperscript{154} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{155} All India States Muslim League to Patel, dated 26.8.47. \textit{Ijlas-i-Khas}, File No. 2010, Basta No. 170.
\textsuperscript{156} Office Copy of the Sub-divisional Magistrate Bhatinda, \textit{Ibid.}
“As regards minorities I have assured them many times that their interests will be safeguarded and they shall be protected but what are we to do with certain people or groups who always want to create mischief and want nothing settled”.157

On August 29, Ghazanfar Ali expressed anxiety to Patel,

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

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

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

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157 Correspondence with the Government of India regarding communal situation in the states. Ibid., File No. 2029, Basta No. 171.
159 Ibid.
160 Copy of Letter No. 2172, Camp-47-oct, 1947 from Chief Secretary to East Punjab Jullundur to Maharaja Patiala. Ibid.
widespread rioting and military action several hundred persons were killed and wounded. Patiala state forces also sustained casualties. It was decided that small pockets of one community should be segregated to places predominantly inhabited by their own community. This was execute by the military authorities, with the result that no further loss of life and property was reported.\textsuperscript{161} In the 2\textsuperscript{nd} week of September, Maharaja Patiala issued ordinance in Punjab States Banning Assembly of more than five armed persons and giving authority to escorts both army and police whether of Indian or East Punjab States to shoot those who contravene this regulation.\textsuperscript{162}

Of the total of 24,000 Muslims, nearly 18,000 were evacuated to Bahadurgarph fort, where a refugee camp was opened under military guard. Arrangements for free board and lodging were provided by the state. More than 2000 persons left Patiala on their own. A few reported missing.\textsuperscript{163} A Pakistan special was attacked by a Sikh armed band near Sirhind on September 21.\textsuperscript{164}

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

\textsuperscript{161} The Civil and Military Gazette, September 17, 1947.
\textsuperscript{162} Maharaja Patiala issued following orders to prevent the state from disturbance:
\begin{enumerate}
\item An assembly of more than five persons in any public place, through fare or public building is prohibited for any purpose except for religious worship or a marriage or funeral procession.
\item Carrying of all unlicensed arms in public except sheathed kirpans by Sikhs is prohibited.
\item Any one refusing to surrender such arms may be shot.
\item All public servants and army personnel acting bonafide for enforcing the provisions of this ordinance are indemnified from all criminal and civil liability for their such acts.
\end{enumerate}
Patiala State Public Safety (2\textsuperscript{nd} Amendment) Ordinance, Ijlas-i-Khas, Vide order no. 1112/X/446AR of 13.9.47.
\textsuperscript{163} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{164} Secretary Governor East Punjab to Maharaja of Patiala, in Kirpal Singh (ed.), Select Documents on Partition of Punjab, op. cit., p.523.
\textsuperscript{165} Private Secretary to State Hind, New Delhi. Ijlas-i-Khas, File No. 2008, Basta No. 170.
one with fire arms.166 Near about 15,000 Muslims collected in villages Shergarh, Galauli, and Thana Arno. 50 armed Muslims attacked Bareta village. Muslims of Daska attacked villages in small parties resulting looting murder.167 Mohammedans also burnt and ruined the village Lehra Mohabbat.168

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

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

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

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

A Madras based weekly observed that:

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

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166 Copy of Telegram, 13.10.1947 from Master Mangathai Ramdhorai, Headman Kaithal to Maharaja Patiala, No. 2535, dated 16.10.47. Ibid.
168 Ibid.
169 Ibid., p.533.
171 The Swatantra Weekly, October 4, 1947.
The worst sufferers of partition were women. The attacks on the women were made on two levels: firstly, women as an embodiment of the community honour and secondly, their bodies as the site of community reproduction. The modus operandi included gang rapes, stripping, parading naked women through the town, branding the breasts and genitalia with slogans like Pakistan Zindabad or Hindustan Zindabad, amputating the breasts, knifing open the womb and killing the foetuses. The rape especially was used as a weapon not just to humiliate the ‘other’, but also to sow one’s own seed in the enemy womb. Thus each community acknowledged the role of women as the bearers of future generation. Those women who were impregnated with the ‘bad seed’ were at timed forced to undergo abortion to maintain the purity of the community. It has, however, been pointed out that women were not only victims but also sometimes provided “moral support or backing for at least a proportion of the violence that occurred.”

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

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

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173 Sometimes retaliation was a motive: for instance, in Sialkot district, women were abducted by refugee men whose own women had been taken by Sikhs in East Punjab, while Sikh leaders asserted that Sikh atrocities upon Muslim women and children were revenge attacks. Kirpal Singh (ed.), Select Documents on Partition of Punjab, op. cit., p.231; See also, “Joint Statement by Master Tara Singh and Oodham Singh”, n.d., Mountbatten Papers, File No. 131B, NMML; Urvashi Butalia, “Community, State and Gender, on Women’s Agency during Partition”, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XXVIII, No. 17, April 1949, p.14; Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, Borders and Boundaries: Women in India’s Partition, Kali for Women, New Delhi, 1998, p.36.
inmates men, women and children. Two dainty teenaged girls, daughter of a well known Muslim lawyer of Hissar were on their way to Delhi by train, expected to be included in refugee convoy going to Pakistan. The lustful gang attacked the train and dragged the girls out. The two were then taken to P.W.D. rest house where they were repeatedly raped by Magistrate and his accomplice.174

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

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

174 Anis Kidwai, Azadi ki Chhaon Mein (Hindi), New Delhi, 1990, pp.139, 309-10; See also, S.P. Mookerjee Papers, 2nd Instalment, No. 95, p.1, NMML; The Tribune, December 27, 1992.
175 Ganda Singh, A Diary of Partition Days, op. cit., p.463.
176 Ibid., p.465.
177 The Tribune, October 3, 1947.
178 S.P. Mookerjee Papers, op. cit.; See also, Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha Papers, M-17, 1947, NMML.
179 Mountbatten Papers, File No. 129, NMML.
The ‘better stuff’ would be distributed among the police and army while the ‘small coin’ would be given to the rest (of the attackers). After this the girls would go from one hand to another, and after being sold four or five times would become showpieces in hotels, or they would be kept in safe-custody in the house for the enjoyment of police officials.180

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

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<tr>
<th>Abducted</th>
<th>West Punjab</th>
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<tr>
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<td>East Punjab</td>
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<td>Raped</td>
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<td>East Punjab</td>
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<td>Children</td>
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Murders, abductions and conversions became common scene. No community lagged behind. Ethics and morals took the back seat and criminalization of human instinct assumed prominence. Figures can only give flash but these figures represented living human beings.

180 Anis Kidwai, Azadi ki Chhaon Mein, op. cit., pp.141-142; See also, Police Section Reports, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, File No. 8/22/48-police, NAI.
181 Ibid.; See also, After Partition, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Publication Division, Government of India, Delhi, 1948, pp.45-46.
182 Ganda Singh, A Diary of Partition Days, op. cit., p.460.
183 G.D. Khosla, Stern Reckoning, op. cit., p.288; See also, Zia-ul-Islam, Eastern Bloodbath, op. cit., p.22.
According to Mosley, in the nine months between August 1947 and the spring of the following year, over 600,000 Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were killed.\textsuperscript{185}

Ian Stephens believes that 500,000 persons died in the 1947 holocaust. This death toll is comparable with the official tally of commonwealth deaths (in World War II), civilian as well as military, between September 1939 and August 1945 of about 5,40,000.\textsuperscript{186}

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

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

\section*{IV}

The displacement of over twelve million people at the time of partition remains the largest migration in contemporary history. There are countries where a mass of humanity has been deported for forced labour or even exterminated. At times war has been resulted in exchange of population as a repatriation movement. Invariably a forced migration\textsuperscript{189} of population results in loss of citizenship to the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[185] Leonard Mosley, \textit{The Last Days of British Raj}, \textit{op. cit.}, p.244.
\item[186] Ian Stephens, \textit{Pakistan}, \textit{op. cit.}, p.107.
\item[187] Penderal Moon, \textit{Divide and Quit}, \textit{op. cit.}, p.293.
\item[188] Sumit Sarkar, \textit{Modern India (1885-1947)}, Macmillan India Limited, New Delhi, 1985, p.434.
\item[189] Forced Migration is the migration caused by compulsion or coercion like separation, political or religious persecution, eviction etc. Francis Cherunilam, \textit{Migration – Causes, Correlates, Consequences; Trends and Policies}, Himalaya Publishing House, New Delhi, 1987, p.5.
\end{footnotes}
refugees. But when men and women from Pakistan sought refuge, they met neither with hostility nor coolness or reserve. They were hailed as co-religionists, “Compatriots re-entering the fold.” They were integrated at once in the country of their refuge. Their integration was almost instantaneous and complete. Hence, to call such persons, “refugees” is inaccurate to a certain extent.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{191} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{193} Administration of Evacuee property Act 1950 and Displaced Persons Act 1954, where the term ‘evacuees’ and ‘displaced persons’ are used; See also, U. Bhaskar Rao, \textit{The Story of Rehabilitation}, Department of Rehabilitation, Government of India, New Delhi, 1967, p.8.
\end{itemize}
statelessness is a prime factor in the legal and conceptual understanding of refugees.\textsuperscript{194}

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

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

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

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{194} Ravinder Kaur, \textit{Since Partition; Partition Narratives among Punjabi Migrants of Delhi}, \textit{op. cit.}, p.9.
\textsuperscript{195} It derived from Islamic tradition, when Mohammed fled from Mecca to Medina to escape religious persecution in 622 A.D. The idea of undertaking journey to realize true Islamic society, is therefore, inherent in the Muslim belief and expression Muhajir includes suggestions of persecution, escape and periods of temporary shelter before the ideal society is achieved. David L. Sills (ed.), \textit{International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences}, \textit{op. cit.}, p.362.
\end{flushleft}
Sitaramayya made the same plea in his presidential address at the session of Indian National Congress at Jaipur on 18 December 1948, when he said,

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

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

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

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

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

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

200 CAIL Debates, GOI, op. cit., p.875.
201 Ibid., pp.867,874,905; See also, Patrick French, Liberty or Death, op. cit., p.348.
Hindus and Sikhs from the Lahore and Rawalpindi Divisions.\footnote{203} The third wave after July 21, became a panic flight. Wholesale shooting and murder of minorities with the active help or connivance of the Muslim Police and Balochi troops became the chief task of the Muslim League in all the Districts of Lahore division.\footnote{204}

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

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

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

\footnote{203} A.N. Bali, \textit{Now it Can be Told}, Akashwani Parkashan, Jullundur, 1949, p.104.\footnote{204} \textit{Ibid.}\footnote{205} \textit{Ibid.}\footnote{206} \textit{Ibid.}
exodus, but the internal class hierarchy among Hindus and Sikhs that also shaped how migration took place.207

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

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

207 The Tribune, August 28, 1947.
208 Their modus operandi was to halt the whole convoy either near the Shalimar Garden or well in Pakistan side near the border and then to organize a minute search of the road and ask the people to voluntarily their gold, silver and ornaments etc as the export of these without a permit was prohibited. There was no notification to that effect but the pointing out of a loaded rifle towards any person who showed the least reluctance to comply with the orders was a good enough hint to submit meekly to the illegal demand. A.N. Bali, Now It Can be Told, op. cit., p.104.
209 Ibid.
togetherness. The reconstruction of the journey shows a class divided process which could not be abridged by as momentous an event as partition migration. The duration of journey, and the means of transport used to undertake the journey, were crucial indicators of the class differences that significantly after the experience of displacement. The clusters of differing migration experiences can be built around the:

(a) **Foot Columns**: Those who walked hundred of miles over several days or weeks.

(b) **Railway Journey**: A shorter journey but undertaken in highly cramped and difficult conditions.

(c) **Military Trucks**: used for short distance travel but not available easily and finally.

(d) **The Air Travel**: That was swift, safe but available only to those who could pay the exorbitant price. The level of danger also increased dramatically as the mode and duration of the journey become shorter.

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

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{213} The trail of dust which the column was raising had pretty nearly blotted out the midday sun and the sky was overcast with clouds. The convoy had followed by countless swarms of persistent flies which kept settling on the dirty, dusty bodies of men and sores with which the cattle were covered. The cattle were too tired and weak even to flick their tails to remove the flies with their bodies. Madhav Godbole, The Holocaust of Indian Partition: An Inquest, \textit{op. cit.}, p.549.
route. The Lyallpur-Balloki-Chunian-Ferozepur road was the funnel through which approximately 50 to 60 thousand evacuees poured in to Ferozepur every day.\textsuperscript{216}

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

It seemed as if nature too had decided to teach the people a lesson. Many of the central districts as the catchments areas of the rivers \textit{Sutlej} and \textit{Beas} received heaviest rainfall in the year 1947.\textsuperscript{219} \textit{Hindustan Times} report said, \textit{“Today the attacks and the attacked are alike in flight from the waters of the Beas, Sutlej and Ravi.”} The report said over 1,00,00 evacuees were seen waiting in miserable conditions on the eastern mudbanks of the \textit{Beas}, with another about 300,000 standard on the bank of the \textit{Ravi}.\textsuperscript{220}

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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{216} Thus in 42 days (September 18 to October 29) 24 non-Muslim foot columns 8,49,000 strong with hundreds of bullock- carts and other heads of cattle, crossed the border into India under difficult and hazardous conditions. \textit{Ibid.}; See also, \textit{After Partition, op. cit.}, pp.50-55; U. Bhaskar Rao, \textit{The Story of Rehabilitation, op. cit.}, 1967, p.23; Satya M. Rai, \textit{Punjab since Partition, op. cit.}, p.110; M.S. Randhawa, Out of the Ashes \textit{op. cit.}, p.26; Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, \textit{Mountbatten and Independent India, 16 August 1947 – 18 June 1948}, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1984, p.111.
\item \textsuperscript{217} \textit{The Tribune}, October 22, 1947.
\item \textsuperscript{218} \textit{The Civil and Military Gazette}, October 8, 1947; See also, \textit{The Dawn}, October 8, 1947.
\item \textsuperscript{219} \textit{The Hindustan Times}, September 16 and 28 and October 1, 1947; See also, \textit{The Tribune}, September 28, 1947.
\item \textsuperscript{220} A large number of Muslim lives were in fact saved in the area between the Beas and the Sutlej with the help of local Sikh villagers who provided drinking water. With wells having been flooded, drinking water was more difficult to come by than even food. \textit{Ibid.}, October 2, 1947.
\item \textsuperscript{221} \textit{The Dawn}, October 2 and 3, 1947.
\item \textsuperscript{222} \textit{Ibid.}, October 3, 1947.
\end{itemize}
120 villages were completely washed away. Because of the flood damage, in the Punjab the net value of rice was expected to fall from Rs. 20 crore to less than Rs. 10 crore in 1947.

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

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

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

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223 A report said that 2,000 bodies were recovered in the Jullundur area alone after the floods had receded. In Delhi the flooded Yamuna caused another unique problem: cattle from the flooded villages marched into Delhi and settled down on the vast expanse of India Gate. Pakistan Times, October 9, 1947.
224 The Hindustan Times, October 9, 1947.
225 Ibid.
226 In Kasur alone over 1,000 people were reported to have died by September 3. In the central districts Amritsar was also among the cities seriously effected by cholera. Ibid.
229 Joint Evacuation Movement Plan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Non-Muslims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At Present</td>
<td>32 Lakhs</td>
<td>18 Lakhs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On completion of non-Muslim foot convoy</td>
<td>24 Lakhs</td>
<td>12 Lakhs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On completion of Muslim foot convoy</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On 15 December</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On 31 December</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

230 The Hindustan Times, September 2, 1947.
233 On October 21, 1947, a refugee train at Kamoke was attacked by a mob of 10,000 to 12,000 persons armed with deadly weapons. On October 15, 1947, a refugee Muslim train was attacked at Shahdara near Lahore by Muslim military men, killing 10 and wounded many of Sikhs and Hindus. Again on October 22, a Muslim mob attacked the Bombay mail carrying Hindu and Sikh evacuees to India. On 23, a special train carrying Hindu and Sikh refugees coming from Jassar was attacked by a huge Muslim mob. Ganda Singh, “A Dairy of Partition Days”, op. cit., p.472; See also, The Tribune, October 26, 1947; Kirpal Singh (ed.), op. cit., pp.550-552; Urvashi Butalia, “Community, State and Gender: Some Reflections on the Partition of India”, in Mushir-ul-Hasan (ed.), Inventing Boundaries: Gender, Politics and the Partition of India, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, p.178.
acquaintance in the railway department could prove to be valuable in such circumstances as some refugees experienced.  

By the first week of September, the evacuation of displaced persons from West Punjab was taken over by a new command of the Army - the Military Evacuation Organization with its headquarter at Amritsar under Brigadier Chimni. By the end of October, the MEO were using nearly, 1200 military and civilian vehicles for the movement of refugees. Of the ten Motor Transport Companies each consisting of 150 vehicles, which were raised for the MEO. There were four main routes from Pakistan Punjab to India Punjab: Narowal-Dera Baba Nanak, Lahore-Amritsar, Kasur-Ferozepur and Montgomery-Fazilka.

Military trucks were used for short distance. In order to facilitate the speedy clearance of refugees on both sides, the East Punjab Government and the West Punjab Government entered into an agreement by which no train or motor vehicle was to cross the border without evacuees. It implied that no Indian Motor Vehicle or train could enter Pakistan without Muslim refugees, nor could any Pakistan motor vehicle or train enter Indian territory without Hindu and Sikh refugees. This naturally implied the control and checking of such vehicle. The Indian motor convoy commandant complained that, "the convoys from the East Punjab with Muslim evacuees first

234 It was important to get into the train, then it was even more vital to keep the engine driver in good humour, the driver could decide to stop the train at a hostile place or just abandon at midway. The special trains were packed to capacity and the refugees had to fight their way in. This also meant that it was not possible to keep the customary distance between the two sexes. The separate compartments or exclusive spaces for women had no place in such an emergency. Ibid., See also; Partition Branch Records (A Note of Refugee Situation in East Punjab), File No. CF(101)-(a)E-49.
236 The first convoy of 50 civilian buses left Amritsar on Sep. 5 for Sacha Sauda, 17 miles beyond Sheikhupura, and returned with about 3,500 refugee men, women and children to Amritsar on the following day. The Hindustan Times, September 3, 1947; See also, Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs: 1839-1988, op. cit., p.283; Tushar A. Gandhi, Lets Kill Gandhi, op. cit., p.473.
237 Ibid.
go to the Walton Training School. There they were made to wait for a considerable time and were asked to carry other Muslim evacuees to the districts where they might be going. In this way, about six hours were spent at the Walton Training School. Again at the bridge of River Ravi, they were not allowed to cross unless every truck was full to the maximum capacity and if any vehicle was found to carry a smaller number of evacuees than the expected number, the passengers of those vehicles are transhipped to other vehicles and empty vehicles sent back. This procedure was repeated at many places on the way.238

But trucks were important source for short Journey. Around 1,200 military and civilian trucks were deployed by the MEO (India) with an additional pool of 1,000 trucks at the peak period. By the middle of November, around 3,13,400 non Muslims and 2,09,440 Muslims had been transported in this way. Military trucks also became victims of violence in several places.239

While all the means of surface transport were prone to risks of one kind or another, air transport was free from all such dangers to life and property.240

The Rehabilitation Ministry set up a transfer Bureau, an agency specially created to cater to the state employees, who were affected by the violence and population movement. The migration course followed by the Government employees was different from ordinary people since their travel, stay and continued employment

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238 Millions on the Move, op. cit., p.8; See also, Partition Branch Records, File No. CF 386.
239 On October 1, 1947, refugee convoy that started from Risalpur in Military Trucks was suddenly attacked by a mob near Khairabad, 240 women were abducted. The Tribune, October 3, 1947.
240 The safest and quickest means of transport was also the least widespread. It was available exclusively to the upper crust of society mainly high-ranking bureaucrats or rich people who could afford to pay their passage. Air transport was also meant to be for ordinary refugees from certain inaccessible points in Pakistan. The Hindustan Times, September 1, 1947.
was arranged by the state. “The staff that come to Delhi were of three categories; those who were posted permanently to Delhi, those who were to posted elsewhere in India: and those who had left Pakistan on account of disturbances. Each category was being dealt within an appropriate to receive all those who arrived by air and to look after them and sent them to allotted residences.241

Evidently, the Government as an efficient guardian of its employees was able to transfer them out safely. For this purpose as early as the end of August 1947, 10 air craft were mobilized from various transport companies for six to seven daily trips between India and Pakistan. The scheduled flights between Delhi, Karachi, Quetta, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Peshawar were intensified.242 Facilities were provided for private individuals to charter planes to evacuate refugees from Sialkot, Sargodha, Lyallpur and Dera Ismail Khan. For the organisation and coordination of the air services the Government appointed a special officer called the controlling authority, ‘Air Transport for Refugees’. In October 1947, maximum aircrafts were used for the evacuation of refugees R.I.A.F. squadrons, retained in the country at the request of both the disturbed areas in the East and West. About 1200 Royal Pakistan Air Force Personnel were flown out of the NWFP. In addition, many special flights were undertaken to fly important government official on their various missions. Also senior Commanders of the Armed Forces of the two dominions were provided with aircrafts to meet their requirements.243 A total of 12,769 passengers were carried. The aircrafts of these squadrons had flown a total of 6,43,000 miles.

241 Ibid., October 4, 1947.
243 The Hindustan Times, August 28, 1947; See also, Ibid., October 9, 1947.
In addition, a fleet of British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) was added to the available air resources. The BOAC fleet consisted of 18 Dakota and two York Aircrafts and could carry out 962 flights at the height of evacuation between September 15 and December 7. During this period it transported 28,000 people from Pakistan and 18,000 in the reverse direction. In one day alone these aeroplanes flew 13,000 miles between the two dominions with full loads in each direction. However these official figures exclude larger unaccounted estimates of passengers carried by companies such as Indian National Airways. From August 31 onwards, the company promised that one of its Delhi-Lahore flights, could call daily at Amritsar in both directions. The passengers could obtain information from Faletti’s Hotel at Lahore, an elite spot for the rich.

Thus the displaced persons moved their new created dominion with different means of transportation. Kirpal Singh gives the table to show their evacuation with different means.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modes of Transportation</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foot Columns</td>
<td>1,036,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Trains</td>
<td>10,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor Transport</td>
<td>31,34,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Transport</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

244 _Millions on the Move, The Aftermath of Partition_, Delhi, n.d., p.6; See also; Tushar A. Gandhi, _Let’s Kill Gandhi_, op. cit., p.474.
246 _Millions on the Move_, op. cit., p.16.
247 The Royal Indian Air force set up a fine record of achievements. Officers and men were subjects to prolonged fatigue, to moral and physical strain, and frequently to a not inconsiderable measure of physical danger. Joint Evacuation Movement Plan, October 20, 1947, in Kirpal Singh (ed.), Select Documents on the Partition of Punjab, op. cit., p.548.
The evacuation of non-Muslims from Sindh has been proceeding by sea and rail. In addition to the regular Persian Gulf Line steamers of the British Indian Steam Navigation company, pick up evacuees from Karachi on their way to Bombay, nine steamers had chartered by the Government of India, but clearance from Karachi was restricted to only 2,000 a day, as the port authorities had pleaded inability to handle more. By November 21, nearly 133,000 non-Muslim evacuees had been cleared from Sindh by Steamers and country craft.248

On September 3, 1947, a conference in Lahore met to work out camps. This was attended by Sardar Patel Ghazanfar Ali, the commander in chief of the Indian Army, General Rob Chart, General Kiani of Pakistan, the Governor and all the Provincial ministers of the East and West Punjab. It was decided that the entire responsibility of the Evacuees Camps249 would be of the Government in whose territory they were situated.

The main concentration of evacuees was in East Punjab, Delhi, U.P., Bombay, the East Punjab States, Bikaner, Jodhpur and other Rajputana states. It was estimated towards the end of November that the total number of evacuees in camps all over India was about 1,250,000 including 5,00,000 in East Punjab, 2,50,000 in Kurukshetra, 1,50,000 at Delhi, and the rest in camps of other parts of the country. The daily expenditure on camps runs into several hundred thousands of rupees. During 1947-48 a budget of ten crores of rupees had been sanctioned for relief. 78

248 Millions on the Move, op. cit., p.16.
249 The refugee camps developed into temporary townships with straight and wide road crossings, streets and planned pitching of tents, but at some places, these were ill-managed. Indian Army supplied 181,548 tents to various camps in East Punjab.
There were several non-Muslim evacuees camps functioning in East Punjab accounted for 721,000 evacuees towards the end of December 1947.\textsuperscript{250}

The displaced persons in East Punjab were to first report at the transit camps opened at the entry points like Fazilka, Ferozepur, Khemkaran, Attari, Amritsar and Dera Baba Nanak, from where they were to proceed to the areas allocated to them under the central plan. They could stay in the relief camp of the area till alternative arrangements for their settlements were made for them either by the state or by their friends or relations. A separate rescue home for women was also set up at Jullundur, with accommodation for 800 to 900 women.\textsuperscript{251} Displaced persons were also lodged in localities evacuated by Muslims, in Charitable and religious institutions and in schools and colleges, some of the localities having been declared as “relief camps”. Some camps were larger than even some of cities.\textsuperscript{252}

As per the 1951 population census in India and Pakistan, the total number of displaced persons in the two countries was found to be 15.63 million. The evacuees population in India was estimated as 7.48 million against 7.15 million in Pakistan.

The responsibility of resettlement of the million of uprooted people, both urban and rural and unattached women and children, presented a colossal problem of providing immediate relief finding housing accommodation lands, shops, business concerns, factories and in large number of cases new vocations. Accordingly, the plan for rehabilitation was divided into three stages. Immediately after

\textsuperscript{250} Different sources give varying numbers about the refugee camps set up in the province. The refugees in the West Punjab were mostly concentrated in fourteen refugee camps being at Lahore, Gujranwala and Montgomery. After Partition, \textit{op. cit.}, p.56; See also, \textit{Facts at a Glance}, Simla, n.d., pp.1-2; Millions on the Move, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 11-12; M.S. Randhawa, Out of Ashes, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.30-31; Kirpal Singh, The Partition of Punjab, \textit{op. cit.}, p.180.

\textsuperscript{251} L.R. Nair, Relief and Rehabilitation in Punjab, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.10-11.

\textsuperscript{252} \textit{Ibid.}
evacuation the evacuees were put up in relief camps. Afterwards, there was a gradual dispersal of the camp residents to the rural or urban areas as the case might be. A large number were still left in the camps for whom no source of income could be found. They constituted the third group. Apart from this general programme of relief to the incoming evacuees, there was a group of unattached and recovered women and children which offered a formidable problem.