Preface

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

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

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

Rehmat Ali’s Pakistan scheme, published in Cambridge in January 1933 caused much political embarrassment back home and was dismissed as impracticable. The experience of contesting the elections of 1936-37, revealed the inner dynamics of Indian politics. Jinnah and Muslim League went into elections as idealists but emerged as political realists. Of the 1585 seats, the Congress won 716 of the Muslim seats, Muslim League only secured 26 of the total. On the basis of the results, neither the Muslim league nor the
Congress could be regarded as the sole representative of Muslims. The results further showed that Congress had little control or influence on Muslims. No Muslim candidate got elected on a Congress ticket from Muslim constituencies in Bengal, Sindh, Punjab, Assam, United Provinces, Bombay, Central Provinces and Orissa. The election results had proved the belief that Congress party was a predominantly Hindu party only to serve the Hindu community, was widely held by the Muslims. It was in this atmosphere that in March 1940, in Lahore session the claim for a separate homeland for Muslims was resolved. By 1942, Jinnah actually assumed a position like Gandhi as far as Muslims were concerned. He was a sword of Islam resting in a secular scabbard.

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

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

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

As an ideology, communalism refers to the belief that people belonging to one religion also share common socio-economic, political and cultural interests.
The nation-state system often ignores the emotional bonds which unite citizens of particular nation states with some of the sub-state national communities. This alienation among the minority Ethnic group gives rise to Ethno-Nationalism.

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

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

The rehabilitation and resettlement of refugees raised several complex problems. The occupational structure of non-Muslim refugees was completely dissimilar to that of the Muslim emigrants to Pakistan. Out of the 5½ million refugees who arrived in India from Western Pakistan about 3½ million were from rural areas and the
rest from urban areas. East Punjab could not absorb more than three million evacuees; and as the standard of living of the Muslims who lived in this region before migration was much lower than that of Hindus and Sikhs pouring from West Punjab, it was felt that even the settlement of that number would create difficulties. The East Punjab Government set up 21 refugee camps in different districts in the state. Several plans were made for the welfare of refugees. Rehabilitation was going on for several years.

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

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

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

The present study is in the shape of four chapters and conclusion. First chapter is about **Ethnic Violence, Communal Frenzy and Partition of India** the political and religious struggle of communities which resulted in partition. Second chapter **Riots and Migration in Punjab and Princely States** deals with the communal massacres and evacuation of refugees from disturbed areas of both sides and also discusses the means of communication adopted during the partition. Third chapter **Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons** concentrates on the critical process of rehabilitation of the
different strata of society. Fourth chapter **Impact of Rehabilitation: Social, Cultural and Economic** discusses the Punjab’s prosperity and changed patterns of society, and also highlights the positive and negative effects of partition. Last but not least is the **Conclusion**, based on the findings in the above chapters.

The objectives of the study are:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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


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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tushar A. Gandhi, Let’s Kill Gandhi: A Chronicle of His Last Days, The Conspiracy, Murder, Investigation and Trial, Rupa, new Delhi, 2007. It deals with facts gleaned from verbal history from books earlier published, records of murder, trial and investigations, books written by defence lawyers, and judges and from what the author grew up hearing in the family and from witnessing the bewilderment of Gandhi’s loved ones. It thoroughly discusses the
political upheavals in 1940s, violent conflicts, independence and conspiracy of Gandhi’s murder and trials.


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

To pursue this research, I started with studying the secondary books, which are listed in bibliography. I also studied the government records such as Rehabilitation Ministry Branch Records, Liaison Agency Records, Punjab Administrative Records, Partition Branch Records, East Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Pamphlets by Rehabilitation Branch, Five Year Plans and other official documents. I also consulted various newspapers such as The Tribune, The Civil and Military Gazette, The Statesman, The Times of India, The Hindustan Times, The Dawn, etc. They are housed in NMML, Tribune Office, Chandigarh, The SGPC Golden Temple
During the course of the study, I was fortunate to have immense cooperation and inspiration from various sources and I take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to the concerned persons and agencies.

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