Chapter X

After Effects.

Refugee Concentration & Resettlement.

The cross migration of the population created a number of problems for the newly born states of the East Punjab and the West Punjab. The refugees were concentrated in a very large number on the both sides of the border. The refugees in the West Punjab were mostly concentrated in fourteen refugee camps located between Kasur and Attock, the main concentration camps being at Lahore, Lyallpur and Montgomery. By Jan. 1948 the number of the refugee camps rose to seventy-five. A Directorate of Movement and Quartering was organised which worked for six months in order to disperse the refugee concentrations. In the East Punjab it had been planned to have one big camp with a capacity of five lakhs at Kurukshetra and a second line of camps at Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Jullundur, Ludhiana and Ambala. The transit camps in the border districts served as feeders to second line camps and the central Kurukshetra Camp. Both the Central Governments of India and Pakistan and the Provincial Governments of the East Punjab and the West Punjab had to open Rehabilitation Departments for reception, care and rehabilitation of refugees.

The Sikhs and the Hindus left in the West Punjab extensive land which they had owned or tilled as tenants. All such land was not available for the refugees in the West Punjab as many of the evacuee land-lords had rented their land to

the Muslim tenants. The West Punjab Government adopted two expedients to settle the Muslim displaced persons - the 75% of whom were the agriculturists:—

(i) On the lands which were abandoned, agricultural refugees were settled. Each refugee family (estimated at five members) was allotted 5 to 8 acres of irrigated land or 12½ acres of unirrigated land. A formula was worked out by which the refugee owners or occupancy tenants from the East Punjab were to obtain the "land of equal produce value" and not necessarily of equal area. The maximum limit was 250 standard acres.

(ii) The Muslim tenants on evacuee land were required to give up some part of the land cultivated by them in exchange for remission in the land revenue. The land was allotted on yearly basis to those persons who were prepared to cultivate it personally. A pair of bullocks and a plough were provided to five families settled up to 60 acres of land.

In the East Punjab the agriculturists belonging to a particular district of the West Punjab were directed to proceed to the specific districts in the East Punjab under the

5. Ten years of Pakistan, page, 240
9. Ten Years of Pakistan, page 259.
following arrangement:

---|---
Lahore and non-colonists and from Montgomery Districts. | Ferozepore District.
Rawalpindi, Sheikhupura and Gujranwala Districts. | Karnal District.
Shahpur and Gujrat Districts | Ambala District.
Multan District | Hissar District.
Jhang and Muzafargarh Districts. | Rohtak District.
Dehra Ghazi Khan and Mianwali Districts. | Gurgaon District.
Sialkot District. | Hoshiarpur, Amritsar and Gurdaspur Districts. (10)

About 350,000 peasant and cultivator families from the West Punjab were moved straight to the Muslim evacuee villages by the East Punjab Government. Those families which had gone to the West Punjab as colonists returned to their ancestral villages.

The Sikh and the Hindu landholders suffered a heavy loss by migrating to the East Punjab. It was estimated that out of 18.8 million of cultivable land in the West Punjab about 6.7 million acres of land belonged to the non-Muslims who paid 34 per cent of the total land revenue. The Muslims in East Punjab owned 4.7 million acres of cultivable land out of total 14.2 million acres and paid only 27 per cent

11. Ibid, page 1. *Quasi Permanent Allotment of Land*, issued by Publicity Department Punjab Government, gives the total number of peasant families to be 500,000.
of land revenue. In this way the non-Muslims had left behind about 20 lakh acres of land in excess of what Muslims had left in the East Punjab. The East Punjab shared forty four per cent of the population of the united Punjab with only thirty eight per cent of its land. Besides this, the East Punjab got only three million acres of canal irrigated area out of a total of over fourteen million acres that is, about twenty one per cent. In order to meet the gap the Government adopted the following scheme of graded cuts in such a way that the small landholders were to have minimum cut:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area abandoned</th>
<th>Net allotment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 acres</td>
<td>7 1/2 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 acres</td>
<td>21 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 acres</td>
<td>27 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 acres</td>
<td>32 1/2 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 acres</td>
<td>37 1/2 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 acres</td>
<td>51 1/2 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 acres</td>
<td>66 1/2 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 acres</td>
<td>79 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250 acres</td>
<td>89 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 acres</td>
<td>126 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 acres</td>
<td>176 1/2 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000 acres</td>
<td>281 1/2 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4000 acres</td>
<td>326 1/2 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000 acres</td>
<td>376 1/2 acres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. Ibid.
This graded cut on land holdings had very great effect on the East Punjab economy. The disparity in area available as compared with the area abandoned and the quality of soil and irrigation sharpened a conflict between landlord and landless tenants. The graded cuts had pruned large holdings and even middle class farmers who were quite contented to get 'batai' in the West Punjab found that with their reduced holdings they could no longer afford the luxury of tenant farming and associated themselves with the farming operations.

The Hindus and Sikhs who migrated to the East Punjab had a greater urban element and they followed a higher standard of life than the Muslims of the East Punjab who had predominantly a rural character. The Hindu and Sikh urban population left behind 154,000 houses in the West Punjab towns whereas the Muslims in the East Punjab left only 1,12,000. There were 51,000 shops and business premises abandoned in the West Punjab by the Hindus and the Sikhs whereas the Muslims left only 17,000. Consequently a large number of the Hindus and the Sikhs who had very good houses to live in the West Punjab were forced to live in very poorly built houses left by the Muslims. In certain cases in the West Punjab the refugees, with ordinary status in the East Punjab villages occupied much more decent houses in towns. M. Masud had rightly stated the condition in the West Punjab "the whole populace was afflicted by a rapacious greed for property abandoned by the Hindus." In the East Punjab the

16. Economy of Pakistan, op. cited, page 392 (Govt. Publication)
18. M. Masud, Pillars of Pakistan, Lahore, page 5.
shortage of houses in the towns led to the development of township and industrial areas near the principal cities. The partition of the Punjab proved a great leveller especially in East Punjab. The millionaires were rendered paupers. The landed aristocracy and upper middle classes received a rude shock and most of them were condemned to penury and destitution. After losing their hoards the erstwhile rich had to make a new start in the struggle for existence. Only hard working, able and intelligent persons could find their feet, while the indolent and parasitic element suffered a good deal. Apart from the colonists and refugee farmers from the districts of Lahore, Sheikhpura, Gujranwala, a large number of the Hindus and Sikhs from Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions were shopkeepers-cum-money lenders who despised manual work. Deprived of their easy way of making money they were compelled to change their economy and drift towards the rank of workers.

Disparity in occupations -

According to Winifred Holmes, "A simple exchange of peasant population on equal basis would have been moderately a straight forward matter. But here everything was uneven" as there existed wide disparity in the occupations pursued by the outgoing and inflowing people. The following table gives the various occupations followed by the Muslims of the East Punjab and the Hindus and the Sikhs of the West Punjab:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hereditary occupation</th>
<th>Hindu &amp; Sikh in West Punjab.</th>
<th>Muslim in East Punjab.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>8.2 Lakhs</td>
<td>29.60 lakhs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traders</td>
<td>14.01 &quot;</td>
<td>2.79 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hereditary occupation</th>
<th>Hindu &amp; Sikh in West Punjab</th>
<th>Muslim in East Punjab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weavers</td>
<td>0.08 Lakhs</td>
<td>3.70 Lakhs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoe makers</td>
<td>1.25 &quot;</td>
<td>1.64 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>0.56 &quot;</td>
<td>0.79 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>0.57 &quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potters</td>
<td>0.45 &quot;</td>
<td>1.64 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyers</td>
<td>0.04 &quot;</td>
<td>0.41 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakers and water carriers</td>
<td>0.57 &quot;</td>
<td>1.84 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbers</td>
<td>0.17 &quot;</td>
<td>0.86 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweepers</td>
<td>2.10 &quot;</td>
<td>0.07 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washerman</td>
<td>0.05 &quot;</td>
<td>0.52 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailors</td>
<td>0.02 &quot;</td>
<td>0.08 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27.57 Lakhs</td>
<td>43.94 Lakhs (20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The exodus of the Muslim skilled labour in the East Punjab substantially crippled the industries like hosiery, metal works and railways where the Muslims formed about ninety per cent of skilled or semi-skilled labour. The East Punjab which was already backward in industrial development suffered a lot on this account. Most of the factories and workshops were closed. The textile industry, carpet and blanket weaving, foundry and engineering which were mostly in the hands of the Muslims suffered a serious set back. On the other hand the conditions were no better in the West Punjab as has been graphically described in the "First Year of Pakistan." "The disturbances forced Muslim workers of the East Punjab industries like hosiery, handloom, weaving, carpet and blanket

weaving, foundary and engineering to migrate to the West Punjab but stores and other essential material was unavailable. There was a great demand for goods but there were neither stores nor trained personnel of higher grade to produce them.... the greatest shortage was in cloth and the most acute unemployment among the weavers." The Muslim artisans suffered considerably on account of exodus of non-Muslims. They were reduced to a miserable plight "because they were illiterate, ignorant and had very meagre financial sources. They were compelled to sell their technical skill for a very poor return reducing their position to wage earners. Before partition the supply of raw material, financing and marketing of finished products were in the hands of the non-Muslims who were their financial organisers. Their disappearance completely disorganised artisans and craftsmen. The influx of uprooted Muslim artisans from the East Punjab made the difficult situation more difficult."

**Social Effects** -

As a result of partition there was a sharp decline of morals of the people. The serious economic crisis created by the forced migrations provided a climate for immorality. The lawlessness which was common in the East Punjab and the West Punjab removed all social restraints and scruples. About fifty thousand women were abducted in both the Punjabs. The violent communal riots, murders and heinous crimes brought people's moral to the lowest ebb.

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22. First Year of Pakistan, Pakistan Government, pages 131-134.
The partition of the Punjab brought an upheaval in the social structure. The refugees found themselves alien to the new surroundings. The very places, the physical and geographical environments and people among whom they were required to spend their lives and develop new relationship were unfamiliar. This brought a feeling of frustration and discontentment among the refugees. In the West Punjab, this led to the evil practices of beggary, prostitution, delinquency and crime.

The partition of the Punjab gave a severe blow to the common village traditions. The persons belonging to the same ‘baradari’ were scattered over different villages and towns with the result that social restraint exercised by the ‘baradari’ was relaxed. At places people were mostly strangers to their neighbours because persons belonging to different places had settled at one place. There was so much antipathy among the refugee settlers in the same village that it sometimes resulted in thefts and abduction of women in the East Punjab.

The partition of the Punjab and subsequent mass migrations brought a new factor of refugees in the social setup of the East and the West Punjab. The refugees from the West Punjab mingled with the inhabitants of the East Punjab and the refugees from the East Punjab and the East Punjab States with the people of the West Punjab. This mingling of population led to so many new social developments. A large number of the Sikhs and the Hindus from the Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions who

were engaged in trade resettled in the backward towns and
villages of the East Punjab. It quickened the pulse of social
life. The drab bazars with ill kept shops were completely
changed yielding place to well stocked and orderly shops. The
refugee shop-keepers have greatly increased the circulation
of goods even in the villages inhabited by parsimonious jats
of Rohtak side. The townsmen in the districts of the East
Punjab were socially backward and their women purdah ridden.
The vivacious refugee women particularly from Rawalpindi
Division brightened the town life. The free and easy culture
of the West Punjab had a liberalising influence on the women
of the East Punjab who emulating the example of their sisters
from the West Punjab began to discard "purdah".

As a result of migrations the West Punjab lost its
former cultural variety. "In the towns most of the life and
colour had been provided by the Hindus and in the countryside
the Sikhs had contributed invaluable pioneering drive and
enterprise". After partition this social and cultural variety
no longer there.

Political & Administrative Effects -

After partition, the West Punjab had an area of
61930 square miles and it formed the biggest provincial unit
of Pakistan. Its population was 15.80 million which was second
largest in Pakistan. After partition East Punjab formed one
of the smallest provinces of India. It had an area of 37428
square miles and population of 12.6 million. About one fifth

28. Hugh Tinker, India & Pakistan, page 70.
29. Pakistan Report, Food & Agriculture Organisation United
    Nations, page 3.
of the total population in East Punjab was of displaced persons in the following proportion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>51.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikhs</td>
<td>39.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harijans</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The partition of the Punjab solved the communal and minority problems in the West Punjab as all the Sikhs and the Hindus migrated to the East Punjab. Similarly it solved the Muslim and non-Muslim problem in the East Punjab as almost all Muslims migrated to the West Punjab. But the exodus of the Muslim population from the East Punjab did not solve the minority problem there. This cross migrations of population improved the position of the Sikhs as a powerful minority. In the British Punjab the Sikhs were only thirteen per cent whereas in the East Punjab after migration, they formed about thirty per cent of the population. In the united Punjab the Sikh population was so scattered that they did not form majority in any of the districts. But after partition the Sikhs formed majority in the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Ferozepur, Jullundar, Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana in East Punjab.

Regarding the Sikh concentration in the East Punjab Sir Percival Griffiths wrote, "this great concentration of very nationally minded, very martial people in a comparatively very small area must be a cause of anxiety to the Government of India." Prof. Tinker writes: "Among the military castes in

31. Ibid.
32. Sir Percival Griffith, India Revisted, Asiatic Review, April, 48
India today the most obvious political problem is posed by the Sikhs. The Sikhs lost some of their richest agricultural land by partition and have nourished a sense of grievance ever since. They would dearly like to take another crack at Pakistan and their tough bellicosity has been channelled into army service. Their sense of grievance and isolation has led to the demand of a Punjabi speaking Sikh State."

In the field of administration partition of the Punjab greatly effected the efficiency of the services. Every administrative unit in the Punjab was bifurcated resulting in inefficiency on both sides. The Secretariats of both newly born states of the East Punjab and the West Punjab had to be reorganised. The prevalent communal riots had created police and goonda 'raj' which needed strong and firm handling, whereas the administration on both sides of the border was seriously defective. None of the West Punjab Ministers had any administrative experience and they committed blunders. The Civil & Military Gazette, Lahore editorially commented on the administration in the West Punjab on 26th September, 1947, "At the moment the province is being ruled not by Khan Ifitikhar Hussain of Mamdot and his colleagues but by the police constables.... New heads of the department find that organisation has collapsed and discipline is non-existent. Magistrates and petty officials are discovering that it is impossible to implement orders which are ill-conceived and not unfrequently mutually contradictory." The conditions in the East Punjab were no better. The newly created province of

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33. Dr. Tugh Tinker, *India & Pakistan*, page 115
East Punjab had a Ministry consisting of a Premier and Home Minister. The Secretariat of the new Government was still in the process of transfer to Simla. The officers had been recently transferred who had no time to understand their responsibilities and build up contracts with the people.

The partition of the Punjab and reorganisation of Secretariats caused a number of vacancies almost in every department. In order to fill up the vacancies rapid promotions were made causing great inefficiency both in the East and the West Punjab. Accompanied by all round decline in society, corruption, which is the greatest bane of corporate life, rose its ugly head in every form and permeated even the highest circles in administration.

Since the East Punjab Government had to spend huge amounts on the refugee resettlement, a Resources and Retrenchment Committee was appointed in July 1948 which recommended increased water rates and registration fee and cutting down expenses on contingencies, travelling allowances and reduction of salaries in order to make the state financially sound. As a result of partition, Lahore, the ancient capital of the Punjab was left in Pakistan and a new seat of administration had to be found out in East Punjab. As a temporary measure Government headquarters were located at Simla. But it was subsequently found that it could never be a permanent capital on account of difficulties of transport and expensive living conditions there. It was, therefore, decided that a new capital should be raised at the present site of Chandigarh which enjoyed the advantage of being situated in a safe zone, very central about 150 miles from Delhi,

Hissar, Ferozepore, Amritsar andurdaspur. It is said that the plan when completed would result in a "new town symbolic of freedom of India unfettered by the traditions of the past."

In the beginning advisability of constructing a new capital at such a high cost was very much doubted keeping in view the shattered economy of the East Punjab. But as time passed on, the people got reconciled to the plan of new capital which provided great opportunities for planning and rebuilding life on a new pattern.

**Indo-Pakistan Water Dispute**

One of the legacies of the partition of the Punjab was Indo-Pakistan water dispute. The partition of the Punjab adversely affected the canal irrigation system developed during the British rule. It irrigated about 26 million acres of land - the largest irrigated area - U.S.A. had only 23 million acres of irrigated land. More than 26 million people - equal to the entire population of Italy - depended on the waters of Indus and its tributaries, the flow of which has been described as "life blood" of the inhabitants. Some of the canals in the Indus basin carried more water than the river Thames in flood.

The disruption of irrigation system caused by the partition of the Punjab had two aspects:

(a) Relating to the Canal Head-works.

(b) Relating the canals water.

(a) **The Canal Headworks Dispute**

As previously discussed the boundary line in the Punjab was based on the district boundary lines. The Sulemanki

37. Ibid, page 190
39. Vide Chapter VI, The Award.
Weir was in the district of Montgomery in the West Punjab and its embankment was in the Ferozepur district in the East Punjab. Since Sulemanki Weir controlled the Pakpattan canal irrigating the Montgomery and Multan districts, Fordwah and Sadiqia canals irrigating Bahawalpur State, all flowing in Pakistan – the Chairman of the Boundary Commission had stated in his award, "It is my intention that this boundary line should ensure that the headworks at Sulemanki will fall within the territorial jurisdiction of the West Punjab. If the existing delimitation of the boundaries of Montgomery district does not ensure this, I award to the West Punjab so much of territory concerned as covers the headworks, and the boundary shall be adjusted accordingly."

How much territory was to cover the Sulemanki headworks whether the protective embankment was a part of headworks – were the issues of dispute between the representatives of India and Pakistan. The West Punjab Government claimed 25 square miles in the Ferozepur district to cover the area of Sulemanki headworks as recommended by the Radcliffe Award whereas the representative of the East Punjab argued that the headworks was not to include the embankment which was in the East Punjab.

There was also a dispute regarding Ferozepur Weir which controlled three canals. The Eastern and Gang canals, irrigated Ferozepur district and Bikaner State in the East Punjab, and Depalpur canal irrigated Lahore and Montgomery districts in the West Punjab. Regarding Ferozepur headworks

40. Para 5, Radcliffe Award, Annexure A.

commonly known as Hussainiwala headworks the Chairman of the Boundary Commission had stated, "But I must call attention to the fact that the Depalpur canal which serves areas in the West Punjab takes off from the Ferozepur headworks and I find that it is difficult to envisage a satisfactory demarcation of the boundary at this point that is not accompanied by some arrangement for joint control of the intake of different canals, dependent on these headworks." The West Punjab considered that the Award had recommended a joint control of the Ferozepur headworks and in order to have the joint control the West Punjab had occupied 9.3 square miles of land or about 6000 acres of land in the Ferozepur district. The East Punjab Government maintained that the Award only meant some sort of agreement between the two governments for the supply of water to Depalpur canal and not the joint control of the headworks itself.

Both the governments continued to insist their points of view. It lingered on for over a decade. Both the issues were decided in the first week of January 1960. In the case of Sulemanki Weir the Indian Government surrendered about nine square miles of land comprising of about 7000 acres along with the left marginal 'bund' to Pakistan in order to give her effective control of the headworks. In the case of Ferozepur Weir Pakistan surrendered about 9.3 square miles of land to India. Thus the dispute regarding the canal headworks ended amicably after about thirteen years.

42. Para 10, Radcliffe Award, Annexure A.

43. Press Communique, Indian Government Press Information Bureau, Jullundur. 1950
The Canal Water Dispute -

The boundary line between the East Punjab and the West Punjab cut across the network of canals. The Upper Bari Doab Canal irrigated the districts of Lahore and Montgomery in the West Punjab; had its headworks at Madhopur in the East Punjab. Similarly, the Depalpur canal which irrigated the areas in the West Punjab was controlled by Ferozepur Weir in the East Punjab. This disruption of irrigation system had very far-reaching consequences. A dispute rose regarding the supply of water by the East Punjab to Upper Bari Doab and Depalpur canals. The East Punjab Government contended that under the Punjab Partition (Apportionment of Assets and Liabilities) Order 1947 the proprietary rights of the waters of the rivers in the East Punjab vested wholly in the East Punjab Government and that the West Punjab Government could not claim any share of these waters as a right. The West Punjab Government argued that in accordance with international law and equity the West Punjab Government had a right to the waters of the East Punjab rivers as they flowed in the West Punjab also.

The interim agreement for supply of water to the canals irrigating West Punjab from Headworks in India was signed by Chief Engineers of the East Punjab and the West Punjab in December, 1947. By this agreement supply of water was to be continued until 31st March, 1948. Since this agreement had not been renewed, the supply of water was discontinued from 1st April 1948. It was revived after about three weeks following an agreement between Chief Engineers of the East Punjab

44. Indus Water Dispute, page 6.
45. Inter Dominion Agreement of the 4th May 1948 on the Canal Water Dispute. The Indus Water Dispute, page 19.
and the West Punjab by which the West Punjab Government agreed 
to deposit immediately such ad hoc sum as may be specified by 
the Prime Minister of India. By this agreement Pakistan 
admitted India's superior claim to the rivers flowing through 
the East Punjab. In the conference in 1948 India argued, that 
it was the policy of the united Punjab to develop irrigation 
in the Western part where there was a large area of crown-waste 
land capable of yielding a quick financial return and this 
postponed development in the eastern part where no major project 
was constructed after the opening of the Sirhind canal in 1882. 
After partition East Punjab had only a small proportion of 
revenue derived from irrigation, a small share of water supplies 
of the rivers and a fraction of the canal irrigated area of the 
united Punjab. According to P.J. Fowler these arguments could 
not be assailed.

In July 1950 Pakistan refused to make payment to India 
on the plea that West Punjab had equal claims on the rivers 
flowing in the East and West Punjab. It was argued that water 
supplied to Upper Bari Doab was from the river Ravi which also 
flowed in Pakistan. Similar was the case with the Sutlej which 
supplied water to Depalpur canal. This gave rise to a complicat-
ed problem relating to the ownership of the waters of rivers of 
the Punjab for purpose of irrigation. Both sides continued to 
stress their points of view without coming to any agreement.
Later on contrary to the Indian Government's wishes this matter 
was referred to the International court of Justice at Hague. 
David E. Lilienthal, the distinguished former head of the 
Tennessee Valley Authority and of Atomic Energy Commission in

46. Para No. 5 of the Inter Dominion Agreement of 4th May,1948. 
Indus Water Dispute, page 19.

47. Some Problems of water Distribution between East and West
the United States of America suggested in August 1951 that
this unnecessary controversy can be solved by comonsense and
engineering to the benefit of the people who live by the waters
of the Indus - River.... This is not a religious or political
problem but a feasible engineering and business problem for
which there is plenty of precedent and relevant experience."

In 1952 Mr. Eugene R. Black, the Chairman of the Bank, suggested
that engineers of the two countries along with technical
representatives of the Bank should visit the irrigation works
and sites in India and Pakistan. After six weeks tour he as
"an impartial observer free to express his views on any aspect
of the matter "submitted a compromise plan on February 5, 1955.
The main points of this plan were:

1. The entire flow of the three Western rivers of the
   Indus system (the Indus, Jhelum and Chenab) would
   be available for the exclusive use of the West Punjab
   (Pakistan) except for a small volume of water for
   Kashmir.

2. The entire flow of the three eastern rivers (the Ravi,
   Beas and Sutlej) would be available for exclusive use
   of the East Punjab (India) with an exception that for
   a specified transitional period India would supply
   to Pakistan "her historic withdrawals from these rivers".
   This estimated period would be worked out on the
   basis of the time required to complete the "link
   canals" needed in Pakistan to replace these supplies.

3. Each country would construct and pay for the works

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48. J.S. Bains, India's International Disputes, page 45.
located in its territory, but India would also bear the cost of link canals in Pakistan needed to replace the supplies from India to the extent of benefit derived by her therefrom. This was expected to amount to between Rs. 40/- crores and Rs. 60 crores.

A mission from the International Bank visited India and Pakistan in March and April 1955 and toured the areas concerned in both countries together with Indian and Pakistani engineers and officials. Mr. Eugene Black, again visited India and Pakistan in May 1959 and secured agreement of both the Governments to work on his plan to a successful completion of link canals. According to Mr. Black the entire project of link canals is to cost 1000 million dollars and was to be completed within ten years. The Government of U.K., the U.S.A., Australia, Canada agreed in principle to contribute to Indus Valley Fund which would undertake the construction of the link canals in Pakistan. The Governments of India and Pakistan finally agreed to sign the Indus Water Treaty, the draft of which had been prepared by the World Bank in consultation of their representatives on the above mentioned lines. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan signed the Indus Water Treaty in Rawalpindi on September 18, 1960. In


this way more than a decade old dispute ended amicably.

In the preamble of the Indus Waters Treaty it was stated, "The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, being equally desirous of attaining the most complete and satisfactory utilisation of waters of the Indus system of rivers and recognising the need, therefore, of fixing and delimiting, in a spirit of goodwill and friendship, the rights and obligations of each in relation to other concerning the use of waters and of making provision for the settlement, in a cooperative spirit, of all such questions as may hereafter arise .... have resolved to conclude a treaty in furtherance of these objectives."

Indeed the Indus Waters Treaty was indicative of the spirit of accommodation and cooperation. India had to make a sacrifice in order to win the goodwill of Pakistan. By this Treaty, India agreed to continue status quo for the supply of water to Pakistan for ten years and also agreed to extend financial assistance for construction of her link canals. By this Treaty India got 20 per cent of the total flow of the Indus waters whereas Pakistan got 80 per cent, because the westernly rivers had much more volume of water than the easternly rivers. By this Treaty Pakistan not only secured the financial assistance from India but also from other countries like U.S.A., U.K., Australia and Canada.

52. The Indus Waters Treaty 1960, page 1.
53. The Indus Waters Treaty consisted of twelve articles and eight annexures dealing with different data relating to the waters of the rivers and their use for agricultural purposes both in India and Pakistan.
54. The Indus Water Dispute, page 15. The annual flow of the three eastern rivers (Ravi, Beas and Sutlej) is about one fourth of that of the three western rivers (Indus, Jhelum and Chenab).