

Exploring Issues and Projects for Cooperation Between East and West Punjab



World Punjabi Centre
Punjabi University Campus, Patiala, 147 002
Punjab, India

Balkar Singh • Darshan S. Tatla

EXPLORING ISSUES AND PROJECTS
FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN
EAST AND WEST PUNJAB

WORLD PUNJABI CENTRE

Monographs and Occasional Papers Series

The World Punjabi Centre was established at Punjabi University, Patiala in 2004 at the initiative of two Chief Ministers of Punjab of India and Pakistan. The main objective of this Centre is to bring together Punjabis across the globe on various common platforms, and promote cooperation across the Wagah border separating the two Punjab of India and Pakistan. It was expected to have frequent exchange of scholarly meetings where common issues of Punjabi language, culture and trade could be worked out.

This Monograph and Occasional Papers Series aims to highlight some of the issues which are either being explored at the Centre or to indicate their importance in promoting an appreciation and understanding of various concerns of Punjabis across the globe. It is hoped other scholars will contribute to this series from their respective different fields.

Monographs

1. *Exploring Possibilities of Cooperation among Punjabis in the Global Context* – (Proceedings of the Conference held in 2006), Edited by J. S. Grewal, Patiala: World Punjabi Centre, 2008, 63pp.
2. *Bhagat Singh and his Legend*, (Papers Presented at the Conference in 2007) Edited by J. S. Grewal, Patiala: World Punjabi Centre, 2008, 280pp.

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&
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@

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Map of Punjab, Punjab States and Delhi
Courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society, London

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Introduction

The establishment of World Punjabi Centre in 2004 at the Punjabi University campus at Patiala was an uncommon event. It came into being during a short period of reprieve granted to two states of Punjab in India and Pakistan who have a long history of discord since 1947. An emotional meeting between two chief ministers, Amarinder Singh of East Punjab (India) and Chaudhry Pervaiz Elahi of West Punjab (Pakistan) took place at Punjabi University Patiala in December 2004 when a World Punjabi Conference was organized at the university campus. There was large delegation of writers, and statesmen from the West Punjab eagerly met by academics and writers from East Punjab. Dalip Kaur Tiwana, a prominent Punjabi writer presented a formal welcome amidst song renditions of Baba Farid, a little of Waris Shah *ਭਾਈਆਂ ਬਾਝ ਨਾ ਮਹਿਫਲਾਂ ਸੋਹਦੀਆਂ ਨੇ*, (No gathering flourishes in the absence of kin) and Mohan Singh's poem *ਨੀ ਅੱਜ ਕੋਈ ਅਇਆ ਸਾਡੇ ਵਿਹੜੇ* (Look, someone arrived in our yard) amidst great Punjabi comradeship.

Right from its inception, there was a pertinent question of what should be the scope of the World Punjabi Centre and what could it do within its budget as also the limitations imposed by the political developments within Pakistan and India which impact upon the two states of Punjab. It is fifteen years since its launch and it is time to see what directions it could take in the future. Its first Director was Professor J. S. Grewal, a distinguished historian of Punjab, who was followed by Deepak Manmohan Singh, a don from Punjab University Chandigarh, then came a brief stint of Dalbir Singh

Dhillon. In a way, each director, more or less has worked out the programme as they found fit. In consonance with original intention of WPC each has endeavoured to thrash out common issues of two states of Punjab in India and Pakistan and to see how the Centre can facilitate further developments in this direction. Deepak Manmohan Singh focused upon common heritage of Punjabi literature by participating in various literary meetings in East and West Punjab as well as among the Punjabi diaspora.

In fact, the first director Professor J S Grewal was acutely aware of both of its limited financial resources as well as the political framework within which this Centre was to operate. Immediately after taking charge of the Centre he had called on various experts, from different fields of studies, to offer their opinions as to the best direction this Centre could take as also to set out task in their particular fields of expertise. Thus among the participants to December 2006 conference held at Punjabi University Patiala, there were historians (J. S. Grewal, Indu Banga), political scientists (Bhupinder S. Brar, Gurpreet Mahajan, Harish Puri, Neera Chandhoke); economists (Such Singh Gill, R. S. Ghuman, Raghubir Singh); linguists and writers (Rana Nayar, H. S. Mahta, Swarnjit Mehta, Satish Kumar Verma, Joga Singh, Harbhjan Singh Bhatia). As a result of conference, a document was published, titled *Exploring Possibilities of Cooperation among Punjabis in the Global Context*—Proceedings of the Conference held in 2006 (Ed. J. S. Grewal, Patiala: World Punjabi Centre, 2008, 63p). Taking up some suggestions of this conference, Grewal called for an assessment of life and times of a Punjabi hero celebrated on both sides of the border and published an edited volume as *Bhagat Singh and his Legend*, (Papers Presented at the Conference in 2007, (Ed.) J. S. Grewal, Patiala: World Punjabi Centre, 2008, 280p).

As Professor Balkar Singh became the fourth director of the Centre in May 2018, he asked Darshan S. Tatla, a Sikh diaspora specialist to join him at the Centre. They held a round of talks with various individuals, and adopted a project involving Punjabi-Sikh Diaspora Archives as a significant part of work at WPC for the next three or four-year programme. A separate paper provides the scope of that project. In their deliberations, it was felt we should undertake a survey of what are the common bonds between the two states of Punjab (India) and Punjab (Pakistan) and how these can be promoted

by the Centre.

Thus, the aim of this paper is to set out possible tasks this Centre can undertake in the light of its objectives as laid-out in the status of as a charitable society registered by the Government of Punjab, India. In order to see what possible projects can be carried at the WPC, it first undertakes a broad narrative of the shared history, language and culture by Punjabis as experienced during the period under Sikh rule when a sense of common Punjabi nationality was emerging. Then, of course, it was the colonial rule under which various events and circumstances so colluded leading to the Partition of Punjab in 1947. The great tragedy saw a genocidal destruction of homes in which at least a quarter of a million lives were lost leading to a world-record of mass migration crossing the newly demarcated border between two states of Pakistan and India. However, despite the animosity and ferocious communal riots during the partition, Punjabis on both sides of the border were keen to forget the tragic past and showed much enthusiasm to build common bridges for the future.

Out of this desire for cooperation and sharing common issues of language and culture, led to the birth led to the establishment of the World Punjabi Centre at Patiala. However, if the tragedy of the Partition somehow implicated the colonial regime, the cooperative bid of Punjabis since at least the 1970s have repeatedly been thwarted by the two new states of India and Pakistan.

Thus this survey falls into some discrete sections as follows: First it narrates how the World Punjabi centre was formed amidst appeals and bids for open border between India and Pakistan. Then follows a catalogue of events which have worked up the hostility of two states of India and Pakistan since 1947 not excluding the Wagah parade. It was during short periods of reprieve when the two states of Punjab found some means of cooperation. The rest of the paper elaborates common bonds of the two states of Punjab in Pakistan and India. This takes us to a brief survey of the issue of Punjabi language across the two states -how the common spoken language is on a path of divergence due to particular policies of federal states of Pakistan and India, Two other outstanding issues are discussed next; how trade through the Grand Trunk Road which linked the two states of Punjab can bring benefits and employment to local

Punjabis. Then the issue of religious pilgrimage is taken up -which especially affects the Sikh community as most of Sikh historical shrines were left on the other side of the border. This is followed by some commonalities of the Punjabi Diaspora which consists mainly of Sikhs and Muslims abroad.

Under each of these topics we conclude its discussion by suggesting the role of the WPC. In this was the paper supplies a brief historical context of the Punjab province, the partition, and Punjabis' urge towards cooperation since 1947. The paper pays due attention to the continued state of hostilities by federal states of Pakistan and India within which any initiatives for cooperation is circumscribed.

I. The World Punjabi Centre: A Cooperative Venture between the Two States of Punjab

Two state governments have sought for a long time to develop ties whenever the diplomatic environment in Islamabad and New Delhi was conducive to such talks. It was during such a thaw in Indo-Pak relations between 2004 and 2008, when Chaudhry Pervaiz Elahi (Chief Minister of Punjab, Pakistan) and Captain Amarinder Singh (Chief Minister of Punjab, India) sought to enhance mutual links and cultural exchanges as a result of which the World Punjabi Centre was established at Punjabi University Patiala campus; two chief ministers laid its foundation stone on the campus of Punjabi University Patiala in December 2004.

It was the auspicious year of 2004 when a World Punjabi Conference was organized at Punjabi University Patiala. The whole year saw several cooperative ventures between the two states of Punjab in India and Pakistan. A Pakistani cricket team arrived to play in East Punjab – bringing some 38 busloads (nearly 3,000) fans of Pakistani Punjabis to Mohali Cricket Stadium. Among them a young Pakistani woman talked of her impressions, “The people are so friendly wish I could stay here forever.” Punjabi shopkeepers in Mohali and Chandigarh offered many visitors discounted prices sometimes free gifts. “It is the bond of Punjabinity (broadly means Punjabiness) that binds the two states of Punjab” as the West Punjab chief minister underlined the bond between Punjabis across the border.



Captain Amritnder Singh chief minister of East Punjab attending World Punjabi Conference at Fatelti Hotel, Lahore 2004 flanked by Fakhar Zaman and Afzal Ahsan Randhawa



Exchange of Gifts at Dinner Party at Moti Bagh Palace, Patiala for Chief Minister Pervaiz Elahi and Delegated of West Punjab, hosted by Captain Amrinder Singh Chief Minister of East Punjab.
Elahi presents Portrait of Nankana Sahib



Captain Amritnder Singh presents a horse for his West Punjab Guest



Foundation Stone Laid by two Chief Ministers of Punjab in Patiala on 3 December 2004

Then towards the end of the year, 'Punjab Games' involving teams from two states of Punjab were organized at various places in Patiala. This concluded in December 2004 amidst the gathering of several political leaders of both provincial governments. This cultural diplomacy was entirely drawn upon the Punjabi tradition with an official slogan, 'Reviving the Spirit of Punjab, Punjabi and Punjbiyat'.¹ As the two chief ministers met and talked, the government of Punjab province in Pakistan promised to invest in Sikh shrines including Nankana Sahib as well improving access to some of them by laying new infrastructure and road linkages. One of other deals negotiated between East and West Punjab provincial governments was to open a World Punjabi Centre at Patiala.

The WPC is housed at Punjabi University campus near the main gate where a working office with clerical facilities to assist its Director. Punjabi University is well-known for its advocacy and commitment towards Punjabi language and culture. It has three inter-related departments, the Punjabi Department, Department for Punjabi Language Development and Department of Linguistics which was headed by Harjeet S. Gill. Among the University alumni there are well known authors such as novelist and short story writer Dalip Kaur Tiwana, others include Rattan Singh Jaggi, Satish Verma, Ravinder Ravi, and many others. The university has undertaken some publications Western Punjabi writers in Gurmukhi script as also a few literary biographies. Among such titles are a biography of Ustad Daman, critical evaluation of Fakhar Zaman's writings and an anthology of short stories edited by Karnail Singh Thind.²

II. Punjabis Appeals for Open Borders and Cooperation

In this almost continuous status of hostility between the two countries, there were short periods of reprieve also. One such interval dawned with the Shimla Agreement when a train service was started on 22 July 1976. This ran between Amritsar and Lahore, a distance of about 52 km. Following disturbances in Punjab in the late eighties, the Indian Railways decided to terminate this service at Attari, where customs and immigration clearances take place. From daily service, it was changed to a bi-weekly schedule in 1994 with other operational

1. *Times of India*, December 3, 2004

2. A publication list is available at the university press website

changes hardly conducive to passengers, with no stoppages between Delhi and Attari. In 2008 a determined effort to stop this communication was made by some terrorist outfit when bomb went off the train killing hundreds of passengers leading to another temporary stoppage.

The 50th anniversary of independence in 1997 also saw some optimism mainly due to a Punjabi Prime Ministers I. K. Gujral born in Jhelum part of Pakistan who contacted his counterpart in Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif, whose family lived in Amritsar before 1947. It is not surprising that two prime ministers of Punjabi background developed a strong chemistry and sought to revive talks and engagement, rebuffed by foreign ministry officials. Fortunately, both Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Dr. Manmohan Singh, their successors have continued to explore dialogue.

In the early years of new millennium, there was ample talk of goodwill towards neighbours. In that optimistic anticipation, it was hoped that the new century will bring the globe together. The tangled relations between two states of India and Pakistan since 1947 were expected to become amicable in the new century. This coincided with some reprieve where a change of leadership from the Congress-dominated federal government had taken place through an alliance of regional parties allied to the Bhartiya Janata Party. The new Indian Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee indicated such a departure of policy by the Indian state and launched 'Train and Bus Service' between Lahore and Amritsar. Atal Bihari Vajpayee rode on a bus to attend a summit in Lahore on 19 February 1999, who was received by his Pakistani counterpart, Nawaz Sharif at Wagah. This Delhi-Lahore bus is jointly operated by the Delhi Transport Corporation and the Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation. The bus service is operated from Ambedkar Stadium Bus Terminal near Delhi Gate in Delhi and the Lahore-Delhi Bus Terminal at Gulberg-near Liberty Market in Lahore. For a time between 2003 and 2008, Srinagar-Muzaffarabad and Amritsar-Nankana Sahib bus services were also running along with trains between Munabao-Khokhrapar.



A Bus and Rail service between Lahore and Delhi was started in 1999

End of journey The long-winding path taken by the Samjhauta Express case

Feb. 18, 2007: Successive explosions take place in 2 coaches of the Samjhauta Express near Dewana railway station in Panipat, Haryana. Sixty-eight people, mostly Pakistan nationals, were charred to death

Feb. 20, 2007: Haryana police constitutes a special investigation team

July 29, 2010: The National Investigation Agency takes over the probe. It files a chargesheet a year later in June.

June 2011: NIA's chargesheet names Naba Kumar Sarkar

alias Swami Aseemanand, Lokesh Sharma, Kamal Chauhan, Rajinder Chaudhary, Sunil Joshi, Sandeep Dange, Amit and Ramchandra Kalsangra. The last three are still at large and have been declared proclaimed offenders. Sunil Joshi, the alleged mastermind of the attack, was killed in December 2007

March 14, 2019: Special NIA court to deliver verdict



The Samjhauta Express after the 2007 blast.



Samjhauta Express derailed in February 2007 as a bomb killed many Muslim passengers returning back

As often, when relations between both countries seemed to be getting even, some unfortunate incident in Kashmir usually or elsewhere, both countries would become embroiled in a brawl and stop all communications. A case of such brawl turning into a farce was reported by newspapers in March 2018 as Pakistan stopped electricity and water supply to a residential building housing Indian diplomats for a week in Islamabad, in a retort India stopped gas supply to the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi. A video of a Pakistani diplomat showed how his family including children were harassed as their diplomat car was stopped and photographed. As a result, the Pakistan High Commissioner to India Sohail Mahmood was recalled by Pakistan for consultations with regard to the complaints, and the Commerce Minister who was to attend the WTO meeting in New Delhi cancelled his visit. Such tit-for tat gesticulations should be laughing material for evening gossip and dismissed if issues of great import were not involved.

It can be stated without hesitation that state hostilities of India and Pakistan regimes do not reflect Punjabis' will. Two Punjab provinces, through its representatives and at the level of person to person, have always got on well and demanded a better more accommodating relationship. This is despite the fact it was mainly the Punjabi population, Muslim, Sikh and Hindus who bore the brunt of 1947 upheaval and violence. Punjabis have often stressed through their local representatives and other means at their disposal that central governments should recognize the benefits of creating an environment where such linkages can flourish. Such ties developing through people-to-people contacts can be added to benefits derived from trade, this process could surely contribute positively towards reducing hostilities.

Apart from the people of Jammu and Kashmir suffering much in the last 70 years, the other state that has borne the brunt of strained relations between India and Pakistan is Punjab. However, despite the trauma, with more than 15 million people displaced, the relationship between the two Punjab states has often been better than that of two countries of which they are part.

III. The Punjabis: Divided People with Shared History, Language and Culture

A little knowledge of history can remind readers how Punjab's

geographical location meant that this large province effectively separated India's Gangetic Hindu civilisation from the Western Islamic incursions at its border with Afghanistan and the Arab Peninsula. From 11th century onwards, the incursions of Afghanis, Mughals and other Muslim invaders led to a gradual emergence of Muslim population in Punjab and nearby states of Northern India. During the early Mughal period, Punjab also witnessed birth of a new religious tradition under Guru Nanak and his successors in the fifteenth century. By emphasising the local language that was emerging in the province as the main vehicle for their message, the Sikh gurus inculcated a shared Punjabi consciousness that was much nurtured by Sufis -reformers of Islamic faith who contributed their distinct poetry to this language. Thus, by the time new followers of Sikh faith established a sovereign Punjab under Ranjit Singh reigning from Lahore Fort, a distinct Punjabi identity based upon a shared culture of Punjabi language and literature was becoming viable -with Sikhs as its leading lights. However, this experiment of an independent Punjabi nationality was lost on the battlefields of Punjab, at Subharaon in 1846 and at Chillianwala in 1849 when the greater imperial power that had conquered many provinces of India swept through Punjab also annexing the province into British Indian Empire in 1849.

The Punjab province like the rest of Indian subcontinent came under the foreign rule once again, this time it was the British trading company which had gradually acquired the rest of Indian kingdoms and territories. The new imperial rule brought with it a radically different process of government than all the previous regimes. Under the British rule, the Punjabi experience, in a sense, was unique despite being part of Britain's Indian empire. One event which brought Punjab as a special province was the 1857 -in peril account it is referred to as 'mutiny' while the new nationalist historiography of India has propagated it as the 'first war of independence.' During the mutiny, on the whole, Punjab aligned with the British administration in suppressing the revolt led by soldiers of the East India Company recruited from Eastern provinces. These soldiers rebelled partly due to new regulation requiring them to use a cartridge rumoured to be made of cow hide and the mutiny quickly spread in Northern India. In a rapid rally of events, the ageing Mughal king Bahadur Shah living as a recluse under the British rule was rehabilitated

as the full-fledged occupier of the throne at Red Fort. Eventually after nine months of fighting the rebellion was put down.

As a result of the mutiny, the East Indian Company was wound up placing India under the direct Crown rule from London. Moreover, Indian army regiments were reorganised when army experts shifted recruitment to certain tribes among the Punjab province as more suitable soldiers -under the category of 'martial races. This led to preferential recruitment from Punjabi population - and a process began whereby by the end of nineteenth century Punjab emerged as the defence arm of British India.

The period from 1890 to 1914 is often referred to as 'the Punjabization of the Indian Army'. The British divided Indian ethnic groups into two categories: Martial and Non-Martial. The following were identified as martial (military) races: Jats, Awans, Gujjars, Balochs, Gurkhas, Sikhs, Pathans and Rajputs. This period saw extensive recruitment into the Indian army from the martial races and led to accusations about 'divide and rule.' During the First World War, Punjabi martial races formed 54 percent of the entire British Indian armies. The Sikhs were a minority community in India but they featured prominently within the army and were overrepresented when compared with the numbers of Muslim and Hindu soldiers from the Punjab. During the First World War of 1914-1918, over half of the 1.4 million Indian soldiers involved were from the Punjab; of which nearly 64,000 soldiers were killed. In the Second World War of 1939-45, a third of the 1.8 million Indian soldiers who supported the British call to arms were Punjabis. This became the largest all-volunteer force in history, 35,559 Indian soldiers fought alongside Allied troops in many of the major battles during these wars. On their return home many became more politically aware and desired freedom from colonial rule.

A direct consequence of Punjabi domination into British Indian regiments in the late 19th century meant a new vista opened for Punjabis -an opportunity to travel abroad as part of colonial administration. In this way a unique formation of the Punjabi diaspora took place beyond the Punjab borders. This was a shared experience of men from Muslim and Sikh background abroad -sent as far as China, Malaya, East Africa, and several new colonies of the British imperial rule. The imperial rule in India meant of course opening

of the world to Indian men from other provinces too -but they were largely taken to new plantations as 'coolies' or indentured labourers -something Punjabi were shielded from. This was the beginning of the Punjabi diaspora. when Punjabi soldiers taken to several other British colonies as far as China, Malaya, East Africa and so on.

This was the making of the Punjabi diaspora -consisting mainly of ex-soldiers who sought different lands for permanent settlement. By early 20th century Sikhs and Muslims from Punjab could be seen in various distant lands -sometimes creating trouble for the empire also -as was the case of Sikhs in Pacific States of North America who decided to return enmasse to wage a war against the British rule. But the net result of imperial rule meant a vast scheme of land irrigation, coming together of landed class farmers to form the Punjab Unionist Party bringing together Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs -a unique but short-lived experience of provincial nationalism. However, the modernisation ushered a process of identification along religious affiliation leading to competing religious nationalisms. It meant the partition of India as the imperial rule ended in 1947 handing over power to the leaders of Indian National Congress while acceding a separate state for Muslims led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah as leader of the Muslim League. All Muslim majority provinces in the west became part of new state of Pakistan while Punjab - which had Muslims as a majority community with substantial Hindu and Sikhs was partitioned -a major portion of it joined Pakistan while about a third of this province was to join the Indian union.

IV. 1947: The Partition of Punjab: The Tragedy, Resettlements and Laments

As the decolonisation process led to the partition of Punjab in 1947 - effectively splitting a common culture based around language and daily life practices in Punjabi villages. Two provinces of Punjab emerged -which form part of new states of India and Pakistan.

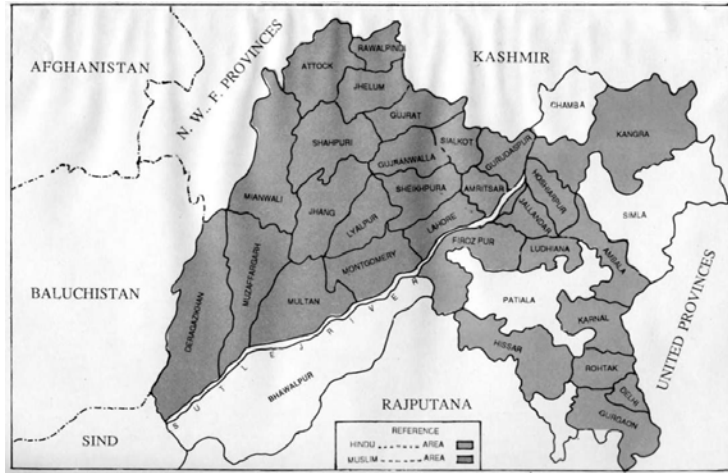
Reasons for the partition have been advanced ever since August 1947 when the division became a reality. Social scientists and historians have produced many treaties to account for the partition and the subject has remained in constant view because it continues to impact upon the two countries and even in more important ways the lives

of Punjabis across the divided frontier. Accounts vary. Some have traced this to British 'divide and rule' policies seeing a simple connection between each and every policy of the colonial regime contributing towards it.

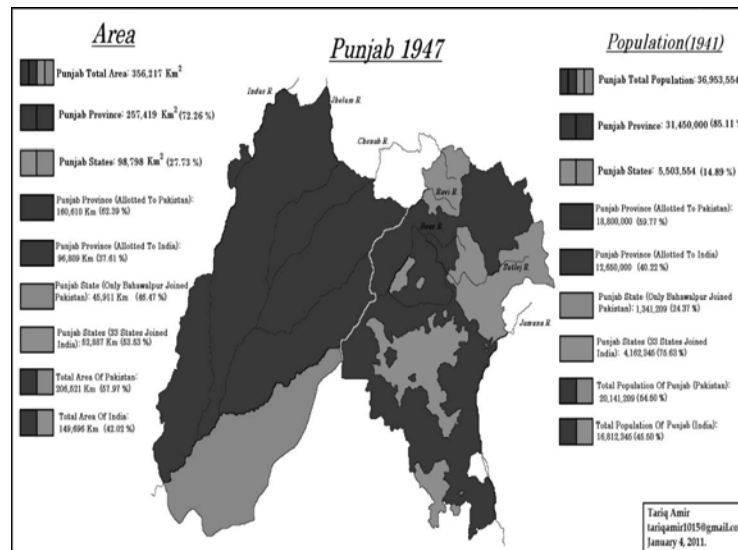
It is said, censuses collected by the British in India, which started nomenclature for the implicit social categories played an important role in the partition of India. Records maintained by the British such as first Indian census of 1871 had a role to play in the partition. These records classified people and raised awareness of religious identity. It is believed that this inadvertently led to the politicizing of the population and increased competitiveness amongst the different religious groups in India. Then there are account which emphasize high politics played by leaders of Indian National Congress, the Muslim League and their interaction with various viceroys of India. Starting in 1997, on the 50th anniversary of the Partition, there was shift to analyze it from below -with In Talbot as its major expositor. Records of refugees were given due consideration for the insight they could throw how ordinary people fared and thought about the tragedy.

Two regions felt the brunt of partition, the Punjab in the west and Bengal in the east. They were both divided by the newly drawn borders to form the independent countries of India and East and West Pakistan (later to become Pakistan and Bangladesh respectively). Partition unleashed a wave of violence, the scale of which had not been foreseen. Sir Cyril Radcliffe, a British lawyer was given the task of dividing up the Punjab and Bengal. Rushed over from London, Sir Cyril Radcliffe collected together old maps of Punjab, with its complex geography of five rivers, Sutlej, Ravi, Chenab, Jhelum and Sindh, transport system that had evolved and weighed various contending claims of the three parties to the Punjab, the Sikhs, the Hindus and the Muslims. He had never visited India and had less than 6 weeks to decide the new boundaries. The mission of the Punjab Commission was:

“To demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will take into account other factors.”



Who drew the map of Punjab with a border through its heart?



1947 Punjab Partitioned: Green part to become join Pakistan;
Red to be part of India.



Another scene of Punjabis trying to get towards the right side of the border



Overcrowded trains transferring refugees across Wagah the newly drawn border of Punjab in August 1947.



Refugees Memories: Records of Killings, Abductions and Human Sympathy



Kafalas of Refugees Moving to find New Homes



1947 The Partition of Punjab : Records of Devastation becoming part of Newspaper headlines

1947: The most crucial Year of the 20th Century for Punjab when it was partitioned into two parts



Within a day, Signs on the Roads and Railways were to Become Irrelevant

After examining various submissions, memoranda and appeals, and after hearing opinions of experts, the Radcliffe Commission announced its verdict on August 14 1947. That less than two months were needed to divide a subcontinent, it invited the English poet W. H. Auden's imagination to pen a memorable ironic poem on Sir Cyril Radcliffe's task reproduced elsewhere.

The Partition meant an unprecedented migration as people tried to cross to the right side of the newly drawn border. About 14.5 million people crossed the borders to what they hoped was safe side. Based on the 1951 census; 7,226,000 Muslims left India for the new state of Pakistan, while 7,249,000 Hindus and Sikhs moved from the newly demarcated Pakistan to India during the partition period. With so huge numbers of people moving frantically to reach safety amidst communal riots, newly formed administration of India and Pakistan were ill-equipped to deal with them; killing, abductions and rapes accompanied the general lawlessness and disorder. Estimates of the number of deaths range from 200,000 at the minimum to one million, though the true figure will never be known.

West Punjab emerged as the most populous and largest province of the new state of Pakistan as two third of the province of Punjab became part of Pakistan. Eastern districts forming less than a third of pre-1947 Punjab became part of Punjab in new India. Two new postcolonial states had much to reckon as a result of the chaos created by the Partition. The first task was the settlement of millions of refugees in new lands, other immediate responsibilities was to trace abducted women, sort out shares of rivers waters, division of assets, lesser projects being dividing and shifting of archival documents, and how to look after historic-religious places left behind. For the complex and crucial issue of water management of five rivers an Indus Waters Treaty was brokered by the World Bank that could be signed only in 1960 on September 19 as the first Prime Minister of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru flew to Karachi meeting the then President of Pakistan Ayub Khan. According to this agreement, India could control water flowing in three "eastern" rivers of India — Beas, Ravi and Sutlej (mean flow of 33 million acre-feet-MAF); while water of three "western" rivers, Indus, Chenab and Jhelum (with the mean flow of 80 MAF) was handed to Pakistan. The Treaty was to allay the fears of Pakistan that India could potentially

create floods or droughts especially at times of war since substantial water inflows of the Indus basin rivers are from India. Some of the other disputes lingered on -one of most intractable is Kashmir issue -as a disputed territory between the two states leading to several military hostilities with no end in sight.

The partition of 1947 has been tackled mainly from three aspects as yet. The literature on the partition has steadily grown into scores of volumes and numerous scholarly articles. This literature is succinctly reviewed by Talbot and Singh (2009) who have also summed up the impact as well as the current relevance of the Partition as:

...The effects of 1947 continue to impact on both state and society. India and Pakistan, two nuclear-armed states, remain in uneasy dialogue, and the 'unfinished business of partition', the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, still makes them 'distant neighbours'. Millions of families still carry the psychological and physical scars of uprooting. All major cities in the north of the subcontinent still possess their clearly demarcated refugee quarters.³

First approach is to understand the political factors responsible for the partition. Until the 1980s, this was the main and dominant aim of various research studies. This direction of research was associated with a particular ideology propagated by the Indian state. This ideology identifies Indian state as a secular state and freedom movement led by the Indian National Congress as a movement for freedom of secular groups of peoples that could not confront forces of communalism hence the Partition. In this narrative, the Partition is seen as a caution, as an outcome of which we must remain fully cautious and aware.⁴

According to eminent historian Ayesha Jalal, the Partition has not become a past event as it continues to provide a crucial role for collective identity for peoples of India and Pakistan. According to her, the Partition has become a 'foundational myth' for the continent, with individuals as well as countries defining themselves with reference to it:

3. Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh, *The Partition of India*, Cambridge, 2009, p.3

4. Bipan Chandra et al, *India's Struggle for Independence*, Delhi, Penguin, 1988.

It is important to note that Partition is a process, it is not just an event that happened, but it is also a foundational myth of the nation states of South Asia and like all foundational myths it has a lot of resilience in everyday life in the way in which people think of each other. So, it is a form of othering, it has been a form of othering, so it is not that partition happened in 1947 but the partitions we continue to create in our own myths by excluding people. So, it is a way of thinking and being.⁵

However, the Indian state in its postcolonial formation is so structured that it has been at loggerheads with the state of Pakistan over many matters, but chiefly the question of accession of Kashmir -with Pakistan claiming part of the territory of that province. The postcolonial states of India and Pakistan are trying hard to forge a new identity among the residents within their territories, emphasis being on a collective consciousness as Indians or Pakistanis.

V. Indo-Pakistan Relations: A Catalogue of Hostilities

Aware of its vulnerability, within a few months of its birth, the new state of Pakistan began to seek closer relations with the West. India, a more confident and bigger state under Nehru tried a different route - in a new role as leader of non-aligned countries. Pakistan conscious of its weakness sought membership in the western defence pacts of the Southeast Asian Treaty Organisation and Central Treaty Organisations. In the 1960s, Indian leadership went for closer ties with the Soviet Union. Pakistan also sought a packet with the People's Republic of China. In 1962, as China inflicted a humiliating defeat on India in a border conflagration, India was forced to request American military intervention, but was provided arms instead. Such has been the two states zig-zag relations with the outside world.

What is remarkable and at the same regrettable state of relations between India and Pakistan right from the beginning in 1947. The dispute over Kashmir has been a sore point since 1947, in September 1965, India and Pakistan fought a major border war over followed by another war in December 1971 as Indian armies rushed to

5. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RHeCRnKfuNA&t=1652s> (KLF-2017: The Dawn of Freedom, The Pain of Partition)

intervene on behalf of Bengalis in East Pakistan. The confrontation led to a crushing military defeat for Pakistan when East Pakistan emerged as a new state of Bangladesh in 1972.

Both states have been raising their defence expenditures over time and are now nuclear powered for vast destruction. Although even China should worry the Indian defence planners more than Pakistan, most of India's actual armed encounters and wars have taken place with the latter. Similarly, Pakistan's defence planning is based upon the assumption of major threat coming from India. During 1948, India and Pakistan fought an undeclared small-scale war in Kashmir. The United Nations-based cease-fire came into operation in January 1949. Since then, a line of control constitutes an unrecognised border between them. There is enough evidence to suggest that India did not give Pakistan its proper share of the common military assets inherited from the colonial state and generally adopted an unfriendly posture towards the latter, exacerbating its sense of weakness and vulnerability vis-à-vis its bigger and more powerful neighbour, India.

During the 1980s and into the 1990s both states spent huge sums of money to brace their military capabilities. While strengthening armed forces, race developed for nuclear arms. In 1974 India had exploded a nuclear device, Pakistan under Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto responded by vowing Pakistan to acquire a bomb even if it meant eating grass! On 11 and 13 May 1998 India detonated altogether five nuclear devices, Pakistan followed suit a few days later with a series of six test explosions on 28 and 30 May. Another major hostility was a limited war at prohibitive heights in the Kargil region of Kashmir in May 1999. Hostilities continued in other ways too, through military training and allegations of provision for bases to secessionists by two states are frequently exchanged. Two countries have vastly expanded their expenditure on armaments, intensified cross-border terrorism, connived, some would say, patronised the ultra-nationalist extremist parties and movements.

A further round of hostilities arose due to the Mumbai bomb attacks in 2008 leading to shrill accusations and counter-accusations of support for terrorist organizations. As such cooperative ventures were being considered by two states of Punjab, the Mumbai attacks in 2008 disrupted them. As soon tensions began to subside, Parkash

Singh Badal then chief minister of Punjab and his Pakistani counterpart Shahbaz Sharif were quick to rekindle linkages in 2011. A visit was arranged by Sukhbir Singh Badal to Lahore taking a number of proposals, including establishing a joint working committee for promoting closer economic and trade ties between the two states. Opening additional land crossings at Hussainiwala and Sulemanki were part of the agenda. As a result an Integrated Check-Post at Attari was inaugurated in 2012 which augmented the trade and still remains open, though the smuggling of drugs and subsequent tensions have dampened its success.

In December 2013, Shahbaz Sharif on a visit to India pledged to “promote cooperation for the common interest of peace, harmony, economic growth and leveraging each other’s potential”. In 2014, India’s new Prime minister Modi invited Nawaz Sharif to his inauguration when two Punjab states were talking about trading surplus power to Pakistan -a proposed again pursued by Captain Amarinder Singh who was re-elected as Chief Minister in March 2017. However, another deterioration in Indo-Pak relations due to tensions on the Line Of Control in Kashmir put paid to this idea. It is still fortunate that irrespective of the party in power in Indian Punjab, some of them have managed to move India’s federal government on a few occasions. Captain Amarinder Singh as a Congress leader was supported by both Vajpayee and Modi’s BJP-led governments while Sukhbir Singh Badal, a Shiromani Akali Dal Party leader received assent from Manmohan Singh’s Congress Party for his mission to Pakistan.

In 2014 as the new Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi initially made efforts to strengthen ties with the government of Pakistan, it Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif attended Modi’s swearing in ceremony in 2014, much to the chagrin of a section of the Indian establishment. Then the Indian Prime Minister made an impromptu stopover in Lahore in December 2015 to attend Sharif’s granddaughter’s wedding. Nawaz Sharif was later disqualified from office. Again, such overtures were disrupted by the Pathankot terror attack barely a week after Modi’s visit, followed by killing of 19 soldiers at army base in Uri, Kashmir. Then some pilgrims visiting holy shrine of Amarnath in Jammu and Kashmir were targeted. As usual various terrorist groups were identified supported by the state,

including the Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed. A new factor started with the road connection between China and Pakistan as this was named as Economic Corridor resulting in deteriorating relations between the two countries.

The latest round of opening dialogue by ministers of Indian Punjab with its counterpart in West Punjab came with the election of new Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan in 2018. Navjot Singh Sidhu -a cricketer turned politician and rather flamboyant character who has jumped through all political parties and still remains electable, was invited to Imran Khan's inauguration ceremony. A minister in the Congress ministry of Captain Amrinder Singh, he was subject of endless media assault for a close-up photograph with a Pakistani General in Islamabad. Drama projected by the media aside, Imran Khan, the new Prime Minister of Pakistan has shown magnanimity and statesmanship by offering his government's cooperation for 'Kartarpur Corridor' across Ravi River for Sikh pilgrims. In February 2019, 40 Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) personnel were *killed at Pulwama* yet again bringing the stand-off between the two countries. This threatened the Kartarpur Corridor project in Punjab, but some sanity has prevailed as talks and the project continues. This is being completed for November 2019 as part of 550th year of Guru Nanak birth anniversary, the founder Sikh faith who had established a small community of his followers at this village. This small village and the historic shrine can be seen just across the Ravi River from East Punjab side -it was allocated to Pakistan during the Partition.

Thus, despite being neighbours India and Pakistan share a thousand miles or more of common border, there are few gates for enabling common people on the two sides to meet each other. This despite the shared language and culture across the dividing line. Getting permission to visit the other country has been made almost impossible for most common people. Moreover, as we shall see below, trade between India and Pakistan remains negligible. While the media highlights and focuses attention on Delhi-Islamabad talks and flash photographs of diplomats engaged in some prosaic negotiations for the umpteenth time, the media forgets how local people in Ludhiana, and Amritsar feel for those in Faisalabad and Lahore.

Thus, the 70-odd year period of Indo-Pakistan relations has

seen several ups and downs of continuous hostilities between the two states -summarised below.

History of Discord: Major Events between India and Pakistan since 1947

| Year | Event | Policy/Consequences |
|------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 1947 | The Partition of Punjab | Two states of Punjab emerge, Punjab (Pakistan) Punjab (India); Riots, genocide, refugees, settlements |
| 1950 | Exchange of women | Borders almost closed |
| 1950 | Indus Water Treaty | Punjab Rivers water allocation affected |
| 1959 | Wagah Retreat Ceremony | Parade by Border Security Force and Pakistan Rangers launched Starts attracting spectators |
| 1965 September | Indo-Pakistan war | Tension around Kashmir and Punjab |
| 1966, January 10 | Indo-Pakistan war | Indo-Pakistan Agreement after 1965 war |
| 1971-72 | Indo-Pakistan War | East Pakistan becomes Bangladesh |
| 1986 | World Punjabi Congress, Lahore | Calls for cooperation between India established by Fakhar Zaman and Pakistan, open borders |
| 1998 | Nuclear tests carried out by India | Pakistan retaliates by its own |
| 1999 | Kargil war | Treaty between India and Pakistan Indian PM travels to Lahore by bus 'Lahore Declaration' 21 February 1999 |
| 2000 | Conflict over Kargil | Pakistan PM visits India |
| 2001 | Vajpayee-Mushraff talks at Agra | Talks over Kashmir and nuclear weapons |
| 2004 | India-Pakistan talks | Bus and Rail Service launched Vajpayee and Mushraf Meeting |

| Year | Event | Policy/Consequences |
|-------------------|---|--|
| 2004 | Two Punjab chief ministers meet in Patiala | World Punjabi Centre Established at Patiala |
| 2007February 18 | Bomb on Samjhauta train | Rail Service suspended temporarily killing 48 Muslims passengers |
| 2008 | Mumbai Terrorist attack | Set back to peace talks |
| 2014 | Suicide Bomb near Wagah | Wagah Noisy showy Parade at Wagah toned down Killing 80 and injuring 100+ |
| 2015 | Gurdaspur attack at Dinanagar | Seven people killed |
| 2015 | Museum for Partition planned | 2017: Museum Opened |
| 2016 | Pathankot attack | 8 people killed |
| 2016 29 September | Hostilities in Kashmir | 'Patriotism' debated, defined, redefined |
| 2017 March 5 | 350 high flag hoisted near Wagah by India | Pakistan to hoist 400 feet high flag in competition |
| 2018, November | New PM Imran Khan of Pakistan | Offers talks on Kartarpur Corridor |
| 2019 | Kartarpur Corridor for Sikh Shrine Corridor Talks begin | Navjot Sidhu visits Pakistan |
| 2019, February 14 | Pulwama suicide bomb | 40 men of Central Reserve Security Police kille |
| 2019 March 20 | Samjhauta Train Bomb Verdict | Four accused acquitted including Swami Aseemanand |

Sources: Various including Wikipedia

VI. The Wagah Parade: A Unique Ceremony of Statehood

As the above catalogue shows, how event after event has impacted upon relations between India and Pakistan resulting in a more or less continuous discord since 1947. From August 1947, the border is sealed at a small village Wagah-an artificial barrier on the Grand Trunk Road continues. One comes to a bumptious stop with no natural barrier of river or mountains -just big gates announcing

the end of India and the beginning of Pakistan. There are of course soldiers of two states manning these buildings and every evening they enact a drama which now see hundreds of spectators from both sides. This ceremony takes place every evening immediately before sunset at the Wagah border, which as part of the Grand Trunk Road was the only road link between these two countries before the opening of the Aman Setu in Kashmir in 1999.

This new ceremony is called the Beating Retreat involving the lowering of the flags and was started in 1959 and carried out by two state security forces of India (Border Security Force) and Pakistan (Pakistan Rangers). As the sun sets, the iron gates at the border are opened and the two flags are lowered simultaneously. The flags are folded and the ceremony ends with a retreat that involves a brusque handshake between soldiers from either side, followed by the closing of the gates again. The soldiers of this ceremony are specially appointed and trained, on Pakistan side those with beard and moustache are paid additionally. The drill is characterized by elaborate and rapid dancelike manoeuvres and raising legs as high as possible, which have been alternately described as “colourful” “hateful” and “masochistic” -a symbol of the two countries’ “rivalry”, as well as brotherhood and cooperation between the two nations. Similar parades are organized at Mahavir-Sadqi border near Fazilka and Hussainiwala-Ganda Singh Wala border near Firozpur.

Through this ceremony, animosity between India and Pakistan is elaborately, ostentatiously and with unmistakable pathological overtones watched by hundreds of spectators from both sides of the border, as well as international tourists who have been provided with stadium like facilities by the two states. Several spectators add ‘zest’ to the ceremony by nervous clapping, gesturing and other gesticulations -among the crowd, several grown-up men and women can be seen in exciting mood hurling abuses at the other side.



Ceremony of Rivalry and Hate?



Flag-Ceremony at Wagah Border : Social Anthropologists
call such exhibitions as Cock-Fighting



Grand Show at Wagah for Spectators Organised by two states of
India and Pakistan !

Potential visitors can read its account from a typical travel guide on the website as:

The march (by Border Security Force) is more like a charge—four giants in tight formation doing a full-throttle goose step, legs pumping, arms swinging like pendulums gone mad, with a scowl of pure, unblinking hatred fixed on their faces. The Pakistani Rangers meanwhile, are doing the same thing on their side and at the gate they meet. There's a great deal of theatrical stamping, shouting, grimacing and virtual head-butting as the two sides face off at close quarters, as well as a lusty display to which the military phrase "spitting at the enemy" applies. The whole performance is cheered on with vigour by the crowds who pack the stands on either side of the border. What you are seeing is thrillingly dangerous, and hugely symbolic. This is the one place on the planet where two nuclear-armed countries with vast armies and a deep and implacable loathing for one another, divided by history and spurred on by religious fanatics, confront one another over a land border. At this point, all their mutual animosity is distilled into this formalized ritual. It's also hugely cathartic. The mood among the Indians streaming away afterwards is every bit as jubilant as a football crowd whose team has just won the grand final.

(<http://www.traveller.com.au/top-10-changing-of-the-guard-ceremonies-around-the-world-122dtf#ixzz5r060Bq98>)

VII. Punjabis' Lament for the Partition: Literature, Museum and Lobby for Open Borders

However, this is not the way Punjabis look at the border or its ceremony. Despite the fact Punjabis and Bengalis who bore the brunt of decolonisation of the subcontinent, certainly in the case of Indian Punjab, within a few years of the partition there was no -ill-will towards the new state of Pakistan and indeed there was much nostalgia and talk of cooperation. It is difficult to understand from a Punjabi viewpoint why the two states then started on a process of defining its citizens' identities by portraying the people on the other side of the border as the 'other' or indeed as an enemy. Thus, the

contrast of thinking in two capitals of new countries, Islamabad and New Delhi could not be more different than ordinary Punjabis of two provinces going about their daily business in Amritsar or Lahore.

Before the Partition, Punjabis had travelled daily by buses or trains from Lahore to Amritsar and vice-versa. Indeed, the colonial state had devised extensive rail network extending from Calcutta to Peshawar, while the Grand Trunk Road operated in parallel with buses taking passengers around for visits, jobs or business. While the rest of Indians may indeed enjoy the ceremony, several Punjabis have protested at this outrageous display of hatred-inciting show. Some alterations were attempted in the past, for example Major General Yaqub Ali Khan of the Pakistan Rangers had decided to tone down the aggressive aspect of the ceremonial theatrics In October 2010. The show is now stringently vetted after a suicide attacker shattered the Pakistan side of the Wagah border on 2 November 2014. This happened right after the ceremony killing approximately 60 people with over 100 injured. Wagah so strictly manned with or without its evening show is a continuous reminder of bitter relations between India and Pakistan despite periodic *détentes*.

For a longtime the atrocities witnessed by Punjabis on both sides of the border went largely undocumented. In a sense this represented Punjabis desire to forget what happened during the Partition. However, in early 2015, led by Lady Kishwar Desai and Delhi based colleagues felt a museum is needed to remind people. They set up a fourteen members trust 'The Arts and Cultural Heritage Trust' (TAACHT) -among them, surprisingly none from the Sikhs or Muslims. Their efforts meant a Museum of Partition was opened in Amritsar Town Hall in 2015. It was formally opened on 24 October 2016 by Deputy Chief Minister of Punjab, Sukhbir Singh Badal who promised support of the Punjab Heritage and Tourism Promotion Board of the Government of Punjab. Other notables who have visited it include Arun Jaitley, Finance Minister of the Government of India on 1 November 2016. The Museum consists of fourteen galleries formally opened on 17 August 2017 -to mark the Radcliffe Award announcement in 1947. On this occasion, it was Chief Minister of Punjab, Amarinder Singh who visited the Partition

Museum. One hopes the Museum would not become part of the show at Wagah -where more efforts have gone to remind hostilities than the shared commonalities across the border which Punjabis would like to nurture.

The Punjabi population of Indian Punjab have generally called for removal of bureaucratic controls to ease their travel to Lahore and other places of western Punjab. It is important to remember a substantial portion of Punjabis were born in western districts of Punjab and made a living there until 1947 when they were forced to abandon their homes, shops or farms. This generation has passed away or is rapidly diminishing in numbers. For the Punjabi population, such hostile environment has meant an almost sealed border at Wagah -a half-way station on the Grand Trunk Road which connected two major cities of Amritsar and Lahore before 1947. Remember these two major cities of the united Punjab are only 30 miles apart and were connected through daily bus as well frequent rail services. With much simmering resentment of Punjabis at closed border at Wagah, there have been several protests and representations to ease travel facilities across the two Punjab states. With the coming of the new millennium, there was more optimism when a new institution was established as the World Punjabi Centre.

Moreover, the Sikhs of Punjab in the Indian union, in general, aspire to forge close links with its western part of the Province -due to a shared heritage of Punjabi language and literature and more tragically by the forced separation of historic shrines of the Sikh faith. The birthplace of Guru Nanak to which Sikhs feel a unique affinity is part of Punjab in Pakistan -the SGPC as the main Sikh organisation administering Sikh historic shrines arranges an annual pilgrim to Nankana Sahib in November every year.

Meanwhile displaced people could tell their stories how they were uprooted. Fortunately, several records of testimonies of refugees were recorded by one agency or the other -which the coming generation of Punjabis can listen to hear how many survived the communal frenzy, the failure of the state and peoples' self-help, cooperation and family strength to restart their lives.

VIII. Catharsis through Literature

Among well-known writers of the partition, one of the best

known, of course, is Sadat Hasan Manto author of classic story ‘*Toba Tek Singh*’. Manto was born in Samrala in pre-partition Punjab settling in Lahore after the partition.⁶ Other well-known writers of literature on the partition include names from both sides of the Punjab border; Ustad Daman, Rahi, Ahmad Saleem, Ahmad Nadeem Qasmi poem (*Maghvia* about wanted woman); Ashfaq Ahmad (story Gadaria), Bishan Singh Bedi (*Lajwanti*); Kulwant Singh Virk (*Khabbal*); Gulzar Singh Sandhu, Gurdev Singh Rupana (*Sheesha*-the mirror). One of the most quoted poemis by Amrita Pritam:

| Punjabi - Gurmukhi Script | Punjabi - Shahmukhi Script | English Translation |
|---|---|--|
| ਅੱਜ ਆਖਾਂ ਵਾਰਸ ਸ਼ਾਹ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਤੋਂ ਕਬਰਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਬੋਲੇ। ਤੇ ਅੱਜ ਕਿਤਾਬੇ ਇਸ਼ਕ ਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਅਗਲਾ ਵਰਕਾ ਫੇਲੇ। ਇਕ ਰੋਈ ਸੀ ਧੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਤੂੰ ਲਿਖ ਲਿਖ ਮਾਰੇ ਵੈਣੇ। ਅਜ ਲੱਖਾਂ ਧੀਆਂ ਰੋਦੀਆਂ ਤੇਨੂੰ ਵਾਰਸ ਸ਼ਾਹ ਨੂੰ ਕਹਿਣੇ। ਵੇਦਰਦ ਮੱਦਾਂ ਦਿਆਂ ਦਰਦੀਆਂ ਉੱਠ ਤੱਕ ਆਪਣਾ ਪੰਜਾਬ। ਅਜ ਬੋਲੇ ਲਾਸਾਂ ਵਿਛੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਲਹੂ ਦੀ ਭਰੀ ਚਨਾਬ। | اج آکھاں وارث شاہ نوں، کتھوں قبریں وچوں بول تے اج کتاب عشق دا کوئی اگلا ورقہ پھول اک روئی سی دھی پنجاب دی، تُوں لکھ لکھ مارے بین اج لکھاں دھیاں روندیاں، تینوں وارث شاہ نوں کہیں اُٹھ درد منداں دیا دردیا، اُٹھ ویکھ اپنا پنجاب اج بیلے لاشاں وچھیاں تے لہو دی بھری چناب | Today, I call Waris Shah, “Speak from your grave,” And turn to the next page in your book of love, Once, a daughter of Punjab cried and you wrote an entire saga, Today, a million daughters cry out to you, Waris Shah, Rise! O’ narrator of the grieving! Look at your Punjab, Today, fields are lined with corpses, and blood fills the Chenab. |

On the other side of the border, it was Faiz who expressed Punjabis’ despair at seeing so much bloodshed accompanying the freedom from the colonial rule as:

Subh e Azadi

Yeh daagh daagh ujaalaa, yeh shab gazidaa seher
Woh intezaar tha jisaka, yeh woh seher to nahin
Yeh woh seher to nahin, jis ki aarzoo lekar
Chale the yaar ki mil jaayegi kabin na kabin
Falak ke dasht mein taaron ki aakhri manzil
Kabin to hogaa shab-e-sust manj ka saabil
Kabin to jaa ke rukegaa safinaa-e-gham-e-dil

6. An admirable biography of this writer is written by Ayesha Jalal, an academic and relative; *The Pity of Partition: Manto's life, times and work across the India-Pakistan divide*, Princeton, 2013

*Jawaan labu ki pur-asraar shabraahon se
Chale jo yaar to daaman pe kitne haath pade
Dayaar-e-husn ki besabr kvaabgaahon se
Pukaarti rahi baabein, badan bulaate rabe
Bahut aziz thi lekin rukh-e-seher ki lagan
Bahut qareen tha baseenaa-e-noor ka daaman
Subuk subuk thi tamanna, dabi dabi thi thakan*

*Suna hai, ho bhi chukaa hai firaag-e-zulmat-o-noor
Suna hai, ho bhi chukaa hai wisaal-e-manzil-o-gaam
Badal chukaa hai bahut ehl-e-dard ka dastoor
Nishaat-e-wasl balaal, o azaab-e-hijr haraam*

*Jigar ki aag, nazar ki umang, dil ki jalaan
Kisi pe chaaraa-e-hijraan ka kuch asar hi nahin
Kahaan se aayi nigaar-e-sabaa, kidhar ko gayi
Abhi charaag-e-sar-e-raah ko kuch khabar hi nahin
Abhi garaani-e-shab mein kami nahin aayi
Najaat-e-deedaa-o-dil ki ghadi nahin aayi
Chale chalo ki woh manzil abhi nahin aayi*

—Faiz Ahmed Faiz

The Dawn of Freedom, August 1947

This light, smeared and spotted, this night bitten dawn
This isn't surely the dawn we waited for so eagerly
This isn't surely the dawn with whose desire cradled in our hearts

We had set out, friends all, hoping
We should somewhere find the final destination
Of the stars in the forests of heaven
The slow rolling night must have a shore somewhere
The boat of the afflicted heart's grieving will drop anchor somewhere
When, from the mysterious paths of youth's hot blood
The young fellows moved out
Numerous were the hands that rose to clutch
the hems of their garments,
Open arms called, bodies entreated
From the impatient bedchambers of beauty—

But the yearning for the dawn's face was too dear
The hem of the radiant beauty's garment was very close
The load of desire wasn't too heavy
Exhaustion lay somewhere on the margin

It's said the darkness has been cleft from light already
It's said the journeying feet have found union
with the destination
The protocols of those who held the pain in their
hearts have changed now
Joy of union—yes; agony of separation—forbidden!

The burning of the liver, the eyes' eagerness, the heart's grief
Remain unaffected by this cure for disunion's pain;
From where did the beloved, the morning breeze come?
Where did it go?

The street lamp at the edge of the road has no notion yet
The weight of the night hasn't lifted yet
The moment for the emancipation of the eyes
and the heart hasn't come yet
Let's go on, we haven't reached the destination yet

—Translated by Baran Farooqui

**A Poem by W. H. Auden on
Sir Cyril Radcliffe who drew the borderline in 1947**

Unbiased at least he was when he arrived on his mission,
Having never set eyes on his land he was called to partition
Between two peoples fanatically at odds,
With their different diets and incompatible gods.
'Time, 'they had briefed him in London, 'is short. It's too late
For mutual reconciliation or rational debate:
The only solution now lies in separation.
The Viceroy thinks, as you will see from his letter,
That the less you are seen in his company the better,
So we've arranged to provide you with other accommodation.
We can give you four judges, two Moslem and two Hindu,
'To consult with, but the final decision must rest with you.'

Shut up in a lonely mansion, with police night and day
Patrolling the gardens to keep assassins away,
He got down to work, to the task of settling the fate
Of millions. The maps at his disposal were out of date
And the Census Returns almost certainly incorrect,
But there was no time to check them, no time to inspect
Contested areas. The weather was frightfully hot,
And a bout of dysentery kept him constantly on the trot,
But in seven weeks it was done, the frontiers decided,
A continent for better or worse divided.

The next day he sailed for England, where he quickly forgot
The case, as a good lawyer must. Return he would not,
Afraid, as he told his Club, that he might get shot.
(Source: W. H. Auden, 1966. *Collected Poems* [ed.] Edward Mandelstan,
London 1976. p.604)

A wonderful poem representing the Punjabi lament, among
several more reminiscences of the shared territory of Punjab, one
should turn to Harinder Singh Mehboob:

ਵਾਹਗੇ ਤੋਂ ਪਾਰ ਵਸਦੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਨੂੰ ਅਸੀਸ

ਪਿਆ ਵਸਦਾ ਰਹੇ ਝਨਾਂ ਸਾਡਾ,
ਉਸ ਪਾਰ ਵਸੇ ਕੋਈ ਨਾਂ ਸਾਡਾ।

ਉਸ ਪਾਰ ਵਸੇ ਕੋਈ ਛਾਂ ਸਾਡੀ
ਉਸ ਪਾਰ ਵਸੇ ਕੋਈ ਬਾਂਹ ਸਾਡੀ
ਕੋਈ ਗਰਜ਼, ਕੋਈ ਚੁੱਪ-ਚਾਂ ਸਾਡੀ,
ਉਸ ਪਾਰ ਵਸੇ ਇਕ ਅਰਜ਼ ਮੇਰੀ
ਉਸ ਪਾਰ ਵਸੇ ਅਸਮਾਂ ਸਾਡਾ-
ਪਿਆ ਵਸਦਾ ਰਹੇ ਝਨਾਂ ਸਾਡਾ।

ਜੇ ਸ਼ਹੁ ਦਰਿਆ ਨੇ ਚੁੱਪ ਹੋਏ,
ਜੇ ਡੂੰਘੇ ਪੈਂਡੇ ਘੁੱਪ ਹੋਏ,
ਜੇ 'ਵਾਜ਼ ਮੇਰੀ ਦੇ ਰੁੱਖ ਮੋਏ,

ਕਦੇ ਦੇਸ ਕਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸਾਂ ਤੋਂ
ਕੋਈ ਰੋ ਕੇ ਲਵੇਗਾ ਨਾਂ ਸਾਡਾ-
ਪਿਆ ਵਸਦਾ ਰਹੇ ਝਨਾਂ ਸਾਡਾ।

(ਝਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਰਾਤ-408)



Writers from East Punjab Paying tributes to Waris in Jandiala Sher Khan (Sheikhupura), West Punjab Dr V N Tiwari bowing; Kartar Singh Duggal, Jagtar, Sadhu Singh Hamdard and others at the back



Pangs of separation : nostalgia, economic and culture. The Partition Museum was established in Amritsar in 1997 various anthologies of literature remember the Partition

Blessing for Punjab on the other side of Wagah

Let our dear Chenab flow for ever
On the other side (of the border), echoesourname

There is shadow of us on that side
Theyare part of our limbs there
Some shout, some quietness is ours
On the other side survives a lament
And the shared sky between us
Let our dear Chenab flow for ever

If deep rivers have become so silent
If long passages have become so un-negotiable
If my voice so falters

Someone from lands afar and near
Someone will remember us with tears
Let our dear Chenab flow for ever

IX. World Punjabi Centre: Assessing Possible Projects for Exploration

Through such meetings, the next logical step seemed to launch a World Punjabi Centre aiming to establish some groundwork for common concerns of Punjabis across the Wagah border. A World Punjabi Centre was established at Punjabi University, Patiala Campus in December 2004. The Centre was constituted as an independent entity managed by Governing Council who appoint a director as head of the World Punjabi Centre -usually a distinguished academic.

There seem to be five possible fields with potential projects for exploration by the staff at the centre -indeed through cooperative ventures across the border with appropriate institutions in collaboration. These are listed below along with brief details of what such task could involve in each case:

1. Punjabi Language and Literary Studies
2. Cultural Bonds: Films, Dramas and Cultural Ties
3. Exploring Trade and Economic Cooperation
4. Religious Pilgrimage, Visitors and People to People Exchange
5. Punjabi Diaspora Concerns

1. Punjabi Language and Literature as Shared Bond between two states of Punjab

When we talk of two Punjab provinces across the border, one of the most enduring and intimate bonds that holds them together is the shared Punjabi language. Both sides people speak the same language -with its common vocabulary of phrases, folktales and historical literature. The history of the shared Punjabi language starts with Baba Farid (1173-1265) and reaches the pinnacle with Waris Shah's composition 'Heer'.⁷

The earliest Punjabi literature is found in the fragments of writings of the 11th Nath yogis Gorakshanath and Charpatnah which is primarily spiritual and mystical in tone. Fariduddin Ganjshakar (1179-1266) is generally recognised as the first major poet of the Punjabi language. Roughly from the 12th century to the 19th century, many great Sufi saints and poets preached in the Punjabi language, the most prominent being Bulleh Shah. Punjabi Sufi poetry also developed under Shah Hussain (1538–1599), Sultan Bahu (1630–1691), Shah Sharaf (1640–1724), Ali Haider (1690–1785), Waris Shah (1722–1798), Saleh Muhammad Safoori (1747-1826), Mian Muhammad Baksh (1830-1907) and Khwaja Ghulam Farid (1845-1901).

The Sikh religion originated in the 15th century in the Punjab region and Punjabi is the predominant language spoken by Sikhs. Most portions of the Guru Granth Sahib use the Punjabi language written in Gurmukhi, though Punjabi is not the only language used in Sikh scriptures. The *Janamsakhis* stories on the life and legend of Guru Nanak (1469–1539), are early examples of Punjabi prose literature. The Punjabi language is famous for its rich literature of **qisse** most of the which are about love, passion, betrayal, sacrifice, social values and a common man's revolt against a larger system.

7. For a comprehensive and succinct account see Sant Singh Sekhon's 'A history of Punjabi literature' (Patiala, 1993) in two volumes that covers history from the earliest period to the end of nineteenth century.



| UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB DEPARTMENT OF PUNJABI (GURMUKHI) (ESTABLISHED IN 1879) | | | | UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB DEPARTMENT OF PUNJABI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE (ESTABLISHED IN 1970) CHAIRMEN (REGULAR) | | | |
|--|------------------------|------|------|---|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|
| S.NO. | NAME | FROM | TO | S.NO. | NAME | FROM | TO |
| 1. | Bhai Santokh Singh | 1879 | 1880 | 1. | SHAHBAZ MALIK | 13.1977 | 28.2.1979 |
| 2. | Bhai Harsa Singh | 1881 | 1885 | 2. | MUHAMMAD ASLAM RANA | 13.1979 | 24.1.1981 |
| 3. | Sadhu Dutt Singh | 1881 | 1902 | 3. | ABDUL HAFEEZ TAIB | 25.1.1981 | 6.8.1981 |
| 4. | Bhai Chanda Singh | 1883 | 1891 | 4. | DR. SHAHBAZ MALIK | 7.11.1991 | 2.4.1997 |
| 5. | Bhai Jhanda Singh | 1885 | 1887 | 5. | DR. ISMAT ULLAH ZAHID | 14.6.99 | |
| 6. | Bhai Ghulab Singh | 1903 | 1932 | | | | |
| 7. | Bhai Gurmukh Singh | 1892 | 1920 | | | | |
| 8. | Sardar Beant Singh | 1919 | 1930 | | | | |
| 9. | Baldev Singh | 1930 | 1947 | | | | |
| 10. | Giani Khazan Singh | 1932 | 1947 | | | | |
| 11. | Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana | 1928 | 1947 | | | | |

The Punjabi elite was educated at the University of Punjab established in 1882 upgraded from Government college in 1864



Drumming for Punjabi Language and Culture on the Streets of Lahore



Seeking Recognition of Punjabi Language by beating Drums and Walks through different cities of Punjab (Pakistan)



Punjabi Language Campaigners: February 2016 Protest led by Iqbal Qaiser



More Slogans for Punjabi: May 2019



Punjab ka muqaddamah an Influential book on the state of Punjabi Language in Pakistan was written by ex-chief Minister of Punjab, Mohammad Hanif Ramsey in 1985



Another Bid for Punjabi in Pakistan



First Punjabi newspaper of Pakistan; 'Sajjan'



Khabran - A Punjabi Newspaper in Shahmukhi from Lahore



Films on Partition produced both in India and Pakistan by
new number nearly two dozen titles



Another Poster for Punjabi



Map of West Punjab marked by Sufi Poets



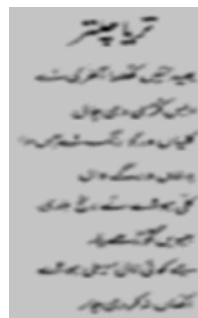
A Delegation from Indian Punjab returning from
World Punjabi Conference in Lahore in February 2019



Punjabi in Gurmukhi Script which has become standard in India

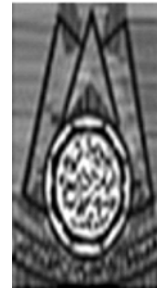
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| ਚ | ਛ | ਜ | ਝ | ਞ |
| ਟ | ਠ | ਡ | ਢ | ਣ |
| ਤ | ਥ | ਦ | ਧ | ਨ |
| ਪ | ਫ | ਬ | ਭ | ਮ |
| ਯ | ਰ | ਲ | ਵ | ੜ |

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| ੳ | ਅ | ੲ | ਸ | ਹ |
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| ਤ | ਥ | ਦ | ਧ | ਨ |
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| ਯ | ਰ | ਲ | ਵ | ੜ |

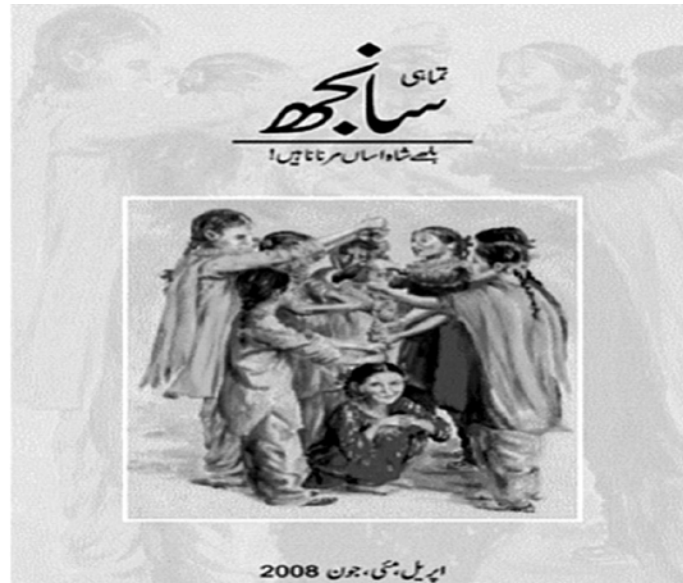


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| ਪ | ਫ | ਬ | ਭ | ਮ |
| ਯ | ਰ | ਲ | ਵ | ੜ |

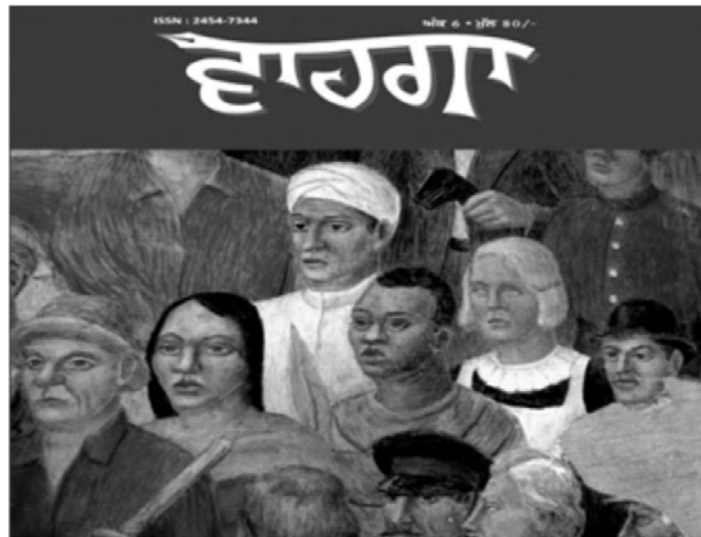
Gurmukhi Script with equivalents of Shahmukhi/Urdu/Persian Scripts



Punjabi Writers' Associations in the two States of Punjab



Saanjh Magazine announcement in Shahmukhi and Gurmukhi



Incommunicado? Two Punjabi language magazines: one in Shahmukhi from Lahore, other in Gurmukhi from Amritsar

The qissa of Heer Ranjha by Waris Shah is among the most popular of Punjabi qissas. Other popular stories include *Sohni Mahiwal* by Fazal Shah, *Mirza Sahiban* by Hafiz Barkhudar (1658–1707), *Sassui Punhun* by Hashim Shah (c. 1735–c. 1843), and *Qissa Puran Bhagat* by Qadaryar (1802–1892). Heroic ballads known as *Vaar* enjoy a rich oral tradition in Punjabi. Famous *Vaars* are *Chandi di Var* (1666–1708), *Nadir Shah Di Vaar* by Najabat and the *Jangnama* of Shah Mohammad (1780–1862) the latter echoes a shared Punjabi nationality that was forged in the state of Punjab under the rule of Maharajah Ranjit Singh. How the composite armies of the Khalsa fought with valour against the East Indian Company soldiers in battles at Ferozeshah, Mudki, Sobaraon, finally culminating in 1849 at Chillianwala as they laid their arms accepting defeat. Many Punjabis across the border can quote memorable couplets as:

Lo! the battle has begun between Punjab and Hindustan
Facing each other are grand armies of two mighty kingdoms

One can still witness the way ordinary Punjabis enjoy passages from this classic of Punjabi literature at public fairs and other gatherings.

Although Punjabi retains the same common connection between the two states of Punjab now part of two separate countries India and Pakistan, but much has changed since the partition of Punjab province in 1947. While Punjabi retains its status as a shared communication link for the people across the border, the actual position of Punjabi in each state is quite contrasting and, in a sense, on a diverging path. In East Punjab Gurmukhi is the main and fully established script for writing while West Punjab writers use Shahmukhi for their expressions in Punjabi and that makes reading incomprehensible to the other half.

As there is little discussion of comparative situation of Punjabi language in the two states of India and Pakistan, a brief survey of the position of Punjabi language in each state is necessary to highlight some of the peculiarities and issues. The following tables set out an overall profile as to the number of Punjabi speakers, and in particular about the issue of literacy.

Punjabi Speakers in India and Pakistan (in million, 1 million = 10 lakh)

| Year | Population | Punjabi speakers | Percentage |
|----------|------------|------------------|------------|
| India | | | |
| 1971 | 548 | 14 | 2.57 |
| 1981 | 665 | 20 | 2.95 |
| 1991 | 838 | 23.4 | 2.79 |
| 2001 | 1028 | 29.1 | 2.83 |
| 2011 | 1280 | 33 | 2.5 |
| Pakistan | | | |
| 1972 | 65.3 | 43.2 | 56.11 |
| 1981 | 84.3 | 40.6 | 48.17 |
| 1991 | 132.4 | 58.4 | 44.15 |
| 2000 | 144.5 | 75 | 42 |
| 2011 | 173.6 | 91 | 40 |

Sources: Wikipedia 1 million = 10 lakh

Punjabi Speaking Populations Across the World (in million)

| Year | Country | No. of Speakers | Rank |
|------|-------------|-----------------|--|
| 2005 | Total world | 130 million | 9 th largest spoken language |
| 2008 | Pakistan | 91 million | Largest language of the country |
| 2011 | India | 33 million | 13 th largest language of the country |
| 2006 | Canada | 3,68,000 | 4 th language of the country |
| 2011 | UK | 700,000 | 4 th language of the country |
| 2011 | Australia | 132,496 | 4 th language of the country |
| 2011 | USA | 253,740 | |

Source: Wikipedia

(a) Rallying around Punjabi and the Punjabinat Movement in West Punjab

Let us take stock of Punjabi language in the West Punjab -it is

the most common spoken language of its population. But when we turn to literacy, i.e. people who could read and write Punjabi, there is stark reality, few people can read or write it. Its script for writing is same as of Urdu based upon Arabic derived alphabet now popularly referred to as Shahmukhi. Apart from a handful of writers who have made a point to write in Shahmukhi script, Punjabi is not used in any written form or correspondence. There is no provision for its teaching in schools despite some vocal advocates.

The neglect of Punjabi language arises mainly due to the adoption of Urdu language as Pakistan's official language. Pakistan was created in the myth or at least that is how it is presented in its hegemonic historiography starting with 727CE to culminate in the realization of an Islamic state for Muslims in 1947. The new state has, moreover, cultivated literary-historic culture which privileges Urdu as expression of new state's national expression. As a result, the predominantly Punjabi speaking Muslims language is downplayed into a lowly status, while other Muslims speaking languages such as Pushto, Sindhi are similarly marginalised.

In a key policy statement, the founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah outlined his views on the issue of languages and why Urdu must occupy a central role in all governmental communications. In a speech made in 1948, he said:

Let me restate my views on the question of a state language for Pakistan. For official use in a province, the people, of the province can choose any language they wish... There can, however, be one lingua franca, that is the language for inter-communication between the various provinces of the state, and that language should be Urdu and cannot be another... The state language, therefore, must obviously be Urdu, a language that has been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of this subcontinent, a language understood throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan and above all, a language which, more than any other provincial language, embodies the best is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition and is nearest to the languages used in other Islamic countries...

Reading this policy statement along with the constitutional

provision (Article 251C) for the choice of a language for the province, it seems logical that Punjabi should have been adopted as the official language of Punjab province. Why Punjabi was not declared official language of the Punjab province while adopting and advocating Urdu as the national language of Pakistan? Answer should take us to the peculiar formation of the Punjabi Muslim elite in the British Punjab. Although Punjabi speaking in ordinary day to day life, the Punjabi intelligentsia inculcated Urdu as the language of Islamic heritage advocating its literacy as essential to being Muslim. During the British Punjab, it was this Punjabi speaking elite which propagated their views through Urdu. They were helped enormously by the colonial state who adopted Urdu as the court language of the province. Urdu was also, of course, a cultural linkage to other Muslims of India particularly of the United Provinces. The Urdu elite of United Provinces emphasised its unique poetry and heritage as befits a literate civilised Muslim person. The Punjabi elite cannot forget that the demand for Pakistan was articulated largely by Urdu speaking elite in British India. The Punjabi elite had joined in this campaign rather late as the Muslim League called for a separate state of Pakistan but provided crucial support in the 1940s.

With the formation of Pakistan, the new state was Punjabi dominated both in terms of its demography (Punjabi speaking population constituting more than 60 percent of the country), and geography (Punjab forming the largest province of Pakistan) and with its the numerical strength in the military. Soon in the new state of Pakistan people from other provinces, Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP, were voicing protests at the Punjabization of state's bureaucracy. At one time Pakistani army consisted of 80% of the Punjabi soldiers and with more than half of federal bureaucratic jobs cornered by Punjabis. This was one major reason leading to the issue of 'nationalities' question in Pakistan.

So, the language of Punjabi speaking elite outside their homes became predominantly Urdu -it is this contradiction which was brought by Punjabi Muslims through the migration to the province of Punjab now forming the largest province of the postcolonial state of Pakistan. This is a language that finds no official recognition despite being the mother tongue of 80% of Punjab province. Moreover, since Pakistan's 60% population lives in Punjab province it is strange

that the language has no state provision of any kind. There is no facility to learn Punjabi at the school level, currently it is only offered at college level -too few in numbers. They note amusingly how suddenly then in 1971, a Punjabi class at Master's level was offered at Punjab University Lahore.

With Punjabis forming the dominant elite of the county as a whole, why is the status of their mother tongue remains so low? There have been various explanations for this paradox. According to Tariq Rahman who had devoted much time studying the anomalous situation of Punjabi language, he finds 'cultural shame' as responsible. What it means is that Punjabi Muslims look upon their mother tongue with affection and contempt at the same time. Arguing this through historical context, Rahman finds Punjabis investing so heavily in Urdu language at the expense of Punjabi language during the colonial era. As the colonial state brought printing press to the Punjab province, Lahore being the capital of the province became the main centre of Urdu publications, newspapers, books and magazines brought out by Punjabi speaking Muslims.⁸ It was Urdu that gained the status of official communication - as the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. So Urdu came to enjoy the prestige as a language of culture, good breeding and education among the Punjabi elite. This is the reason Punjabi has low status compared to Urdu among the Punjabi elite - only a few have broken through this hold.

Other social scientists have tried to study this rather paradoxical phenomenon of Punjabiyat among a section of the Punjabi elite who are the dominant power-yielders in Pakistan and they are chief propagators of Urdu at the national level. Such Punjabi domination is often resented by other nationalities such as Sindhis and Baluchis and so on. So, why should some Punjabis promote a movement based upon Punjabi language in opposition to their own domination in central government which has adopted an official policy of promoting Urdu and Islamic identity?

In a major study of western Punjab, Alyssa Ayres tries to answer

8. Tariq Rahman has written three books discussing the position and fate of Punjabi language in Pakistan, see: *Language and politics in Pakistan*, Karachi, 1998, *Language, education and culture*, Karachi, 2003; *Language and ideology and power*, Karachi, 2002.

this contradiction of the Punjabiyyat movement.⁹ She offers a novel explanation for the hold of Punjabi language and culture; she finds the Punjabiyyat movement in Pakistan is propelled not by newly urban literate but by disfranchised individuals –coming from its rural base. Ayres explains:

‘Reaction to rather than an instance of official nationalism. It has been slowly growing out of the work of an urban cultural and political elite fluent in Urdu and English as well –some of whom have maintained comfortable positions of power for some time.

Rahman’s position comes near to Ayres when he endorses the persistence of Punjabi due to its ‘Soft Power’ a language’s hold among common folk talks.¹⁰

It is well-known how several Punjabi proponents including Fakhar Zaman, Aitzaz Ahsan, and Mohmmad Hanif Ramey have suffered for their advocacy of Punjabi language. They all spent time in jails, while Najim Hosein Syed was dismissed from his job at Punjabi Department of Punjab University by the Zia regime. Nor the movement aims at financial gain with limited publishing potential as yet. Nor Punjabiyyat, as its proponents have repeatedly stressed ‘separatism’ nor indeed conspiring with the Sikhs –a wild allegation that has also appeared in some circles, a conspiracy to collude with the Sikhs for a re-united Punjab! Nor it seeks or harks back to the Unionist Party kind political alliance of Punjab that prevailed in the 1940s as elaborated by British scholar, Ian Talbot.¹¹

Another explanation has come from Kalra and Butt emphasising ‘class’ analysis of the language. They argue Punjabi has a lowly status as mother tongue of peasants and the working-class Punjabis and it

9. See for example Alyssa Ayres, *Speaking like a state: nationalism, language and the case of Pakistan*, Cambridge, 2009; Ayres situates ‘intriguing’ Punjabiyyat movement as the importance of symbolic capital’. Pierre Bourdieu’s explanation is about the roles of symbolic domination and the workings of the linguistic market –a market in which social exchange produces distinction in social value. Also see, Farina Mir, *The social space of language: vernacular culture in British colonial Punjab*, Berkeley, 2010

10. Tariq Rahman, *Soft power of Punjabi: language in the domain of pleasure*, JSPS, 24, No.1&2, 73-94 pp.

11. Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: a modern history*, London, 2008

is shunned by the nationalist elite who are mainly Punjabi-Urdu speaking social group. Because Punjabi language is associated with working class and poor Punjabis, its cause has found sympathy from Left-wing groups and part of the elite. They trace the origins of the support for Punjabi and its subsequent transformation into Punjabiyat in the Mazdoor Kisan Party in the 1950s through its newspaper *Sajjan* and a magazine *Panchim*. Later the National Students Federation provided input. The lowly status of Punjabi was first pointed out by Shackle also, while Rahman in his extensive studies has underlined this aspect. However, In contrast to Ayres who makes Punjabi language as symbolic capital, Kalra and Butt argue that the cause of Punjabi arises from a desire to gain materially from its equality with Urdu.¹² By citing the role of Ishaque Mohammad as an activist of Mazdoor Kisan Party - who was interned and tried as part of Rawalpindi Conspiracy case in 1951, they argue how poetry of Mian Salim Jahangir offered to emotional clout for the Punjabi cause.¹³

From an earlier handful of intellectuals, who were largely ignored by the media and those in power, the protest has grown in size and is now accompanied by a celebration of Punjabi culture with dhol, music and dance. Some writers have switched from Urdu to Punjabi- and this has become known as the Punjabiyat movement. The roots of Punjabiyat movement can be traced to a few lone individuals. The Punjabiyat movement, essentially wants a recognition for Punjabi as a great language of the world. To begin with, among them was the pioneer, Najm Hosain Syed (1936-) as a predominant figure. Over the years, he was able to create new literary genre; poetry, criticism, and plays of the 1960s, altogether author of thirty books. He started participating in Majlis Shah Hussain - a Sufi poet Shah Hussain (1539-1599) in a big way. He created new narratives of traditional Punjabi heroes; a *var* around Dulla Bhatti, and also a new interpretation of Puran Bhagat. soon he was joined by some other writers.¹⁴

12. Kalra, Virinder S. and Waqas M Butt, 'In one hand a pen in the other a gun': Punjabi language radicalism in Punjab, Pakistan', *South Asian History and Culture*, DOI: 10.1080/19472498.2013.824682

13. Jahangir, Mian Salim, *Ballad of the day: Ajj dee vaar* (Lahore 1989)

14. Zubair Ahmed , Najm Hosain Syed: A Literary Profile" *Journal of Punjab Studies*, Spring-Fall 2006 (Vol. 13, No. 1 & 2)

This first major stirring for Punjabi language came in the 1970s. This was during the comparatively liberal Bhutto regime (1972-1977) when conditions for the Punjabi movement became favourable. This led to the establishment of several conducive associations, including the celebrated Lok Virsa (1974), and Pakistani Punjabi Adabi Board. During this interval, writers like Fakhar Zaman, Munnoo Bhai, and Shafqat Tanveer Mirza began writing in Punjabi -they were given a helping hand with a sympathetic chief minister of Punjab, Mohammad Hanif Ramsey. However, as the strict Zia regime came in power in 1977 –the nascent Punjabi movement was stalled. The writings of Fakhar Zaman, including his novel *Bandiwan* were banned and several Punjabi ventures closed. As a statesman-cum-writer, Fakhar Zaman found himself in contest with the government. He challenged this ruling through his lawyer, Aitzaz Ahsan by filing a writ petition in 1976. In this petition Zaman made a poignant defense of Punjabi language in the following words:

This is a literary movement, perhaps in its early stages, of the greatest significance in the historical perspective which has the potential of bringing Punjabi as a language, at par with the major contemporary languages of the world. In so far as it is a step toward the rediscovery of the rational basis of the national identity, this movement is not anti-nationalist.... yet to be a Punjabi is to be as much a Pakistani as Punjab is integral part of Pakistan (Pakistan Academy of Letters, 1996).

Other writers were also involved in this process. After the death of President Ziaul-Haq in aircraft crash, Ramsey, returned from self-imposed exile to write his much-discussed book, '*Punjab da mukaddamali*' in 1985. The same year saw the publication of 'Punjabi identity' by Fateh Muhammad Malik. Quickly, a World Punjabi Congress was set up by Fakhar Zaman who convened its first meeting in Lahore in 1986. Numerous other writers expressed desire to fight for Punjabi by pointing out the qualities of Punjabi language and its writings. In the 1980s, some writers switched from Urdu to Punjabi and a few dedicated themselves offering re-analysis of the Punjabi character and its history. A leading literary critic Ahmad Nadeem Qasmi wrote in admiration of Ahmad Rahi's poetry after the latter

switched from Urdu to Punjabi as:

“There is lot of passion in his Urdu poetry but the people are now observing that in order to present his creative skills in a more vivid manner he has chosen a new course. And his gait on this new course is so beautiful and attractive that it has surprised the people of Punjab. After reading and listening to Rahi’s poetry, they are saying that our Punjabi language is so sweet and flexible. It is due to Rahi’s Punjabi poetry that people have now wiped the dust from the books of Bulleh Shah, Waris Shah, Ali Haider and Khawaja Farid and have started reading them... It is the same with Ahmad Rahi’s *Trinjan*.

During this decade a new movement emerged through Punjabi poetry, novels, drama, giving shape to a new consciousness about Punjabi language. The young poets and writers were interpreting anew the meaning of Panjab’s classic writings. A new wave of discourse on Sufi poetry emerged replacing its earlier portrayal as poetry of resignation, now they saw in it resistance, a call against oppression and domination. A new determination surfaced to bring Punjabi language on par with other languages.” Hafiz Saeed, chief of Jama’at-ud-Da’wah has questioned Pakistan’s decision to adopt Urdu as its national language in a country where majority of people speak Punjabi language, citing his interpretation of Islamic doctrine as encouraging education in the mother-tongue. It is worth quoting a sample of such heart-wrenching outpourings of some writers and the elite who have suffered much agonising pain over the low status and non-recognition of Punjabi in the province:

For the past forty-one years...Punjabis have mixed the sweet poison of alien languages with the blood of the generations, and to kill off their own Punjabin became a participant in profiteering and opportunism, swinging their axe on their own two feet (Kammi 1988:7)

I am also a migrant. I am from Faisalabad.... We have a satellite antenna; we have lost our link and connection with our own country. (Kahut 1992: 253).

Ramsey in his book *Punjab da mukaddamah* offered a convincing

argument explaining the dissolution of Pakistan putting the issue of language at its centre as;

If the people of Punjab had demonstrated such love for Punjabi language, to which it was entitled by status of being our mother tongue, then the situation would not have deteriorated, it would have become apparent to all that Urdu, if it wasn't language of the Baluch, nor of the Pathans, nor of the Sindhis, wasn't the Punjabis' either. And the people of four provinces would have kept their respective mother tongues, then they would have been ready to accept Urdu as their national language, so then it may have been possible for the Bengalis also to accept Urdu as their national language while also having their own mother tongue. I blame myself above all, and then all the Punjabis, for having betrayed our mother tongue Punjabi. We not only erected the language problem in Pakistan, but also caused terrible damage to Urdu (1985: 93-94).

Soofi in his *Dawn* column of February 13, 2015 writes almost in exasperation:

Does our Islamic faith require or urges us to forfeit our historically born linguistic identity? If so, how we explain the phenomenon of a large number of diverse communities with diverse linguistic identities which profess Islamic faith and are accepted as such. Before the advent of Islam the Arabs were pagans and their language was Arabic. After having embraced Islam they did not renounce their linguistic and cultural identities. On the contrary, both of these identities got catapulted to the stage of history with long ranging consequences. Their language and cultural roots are the assets they are proud of till date.

Soon the Punjabi movement gathered pace and produced several publications elaborating its case. In 1988 came *Punjabi zaban nahin maregi* (The Punjabi language will never die –Kammi, 1988); in 1989: *Panjab ka maslah: Dipolitisizeshan aur awami tabrik ka na chalna* (The problem of Panjab: Depoliticization and the failure of the People's Movement, Goindi 1988); and the year 1992 saw the

publication of *Ao Panjabi ko qatl karen!* (Come, let's kill Panjabi! by Kahut 1992) and Shafqat Tanveer Mirza's *Resistance themes in Panjabi literature*.

Thus, for example, it was on February 21, 2016 when Iqbal Qaiser, independent researcher and founder of Khoj Ghar (Research Centre), stood with Sahir leading hundreds of people chanting in unison: "Read Punjabi, write Punjabi, speak Punjabi" - of course, in Punjabi. Mushtaq Soofi, President of the Punjabi Adabi Board, an organisation devoted to promoting Punjabi language and literature. The board is the main organiser of the event, bringing together over a dozen associations, activist groups and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to demand from the state the protection of their mother tongue. This rally is now an annual affair in February on the eve of International Mother Language Day, is the flagship event for all those working in their respective capacities for the cause of Punjabi language. The latest news of such protest was reported by *Dawn* (26 May 2019) by several associations among them Lahore-based Punjabi Adabi Board has a long history of campaigning playing prominent role in demanding Punjabi as the medium of instruction in schools. Another tactic, for several years now, used by Punjabi nationalists have been gathering in front of the Punjab Parliament every February 21 as part of International Mother Language Day.

The list of thinktanks, political organisations, and individuals that demand authorities at the national and provincial level to promote the use of the language in the public and official spheres includes: Punjabi Adabi Board, Punjabi Khoj Ghar (Research Centre), Punjabi Prachar, Institute for Peace and Secular Studies, Sada Punjab; Dil Darya (Pakistan); Punjabi Adabi Baithak; Adabi Sangat, Khaaksaar Tehreek, Saanjh, Maan Boli Research Centre, Punjabi Lokai; Punjabi Sangat (Pakistan); Punjabi Markaz; Sver International; and Pakistan Mazdoor Party, (Punjab). Among other supporting forums are trade unions and youth groups: Punjabi Writers Forum; and National Students Federation; National Youth Forum; Punjabi Writers Forum; National Students Federation; Punjabi Union (Pakistan), and the Punjabi National Conference.

Among the un-sung heroes of Punjabi cooperation is the pioneering effort of the world-renown author and intellectual Fakhar Zaman who had organized a World Punjabi Congress (WPC) was

in 1986. He is still working as its founder Chairman of nearly 500 members in Pakistan with chapters all over the world. From 2008 the WPC is run as non-governmental organization.¹⁵ Notable activists include Tariq Jatala, Farhad Iqbal, Diep Saeeda, Khalil Ojla, Tajammul Kaleem, Afzal Sahir, Jamil Ahmad Paul, Mazhar Tirmazi, Mushtaq Sufi, Biya Je, Tohid Ahmad Chattha and Bilal Shaker Kahaloon, Nazeer Kahut. In August 2015, the Pakistan Academy of Letters, International Writer's Council (IWC) and World Punjabi Congress (WPC) organised the *Khawaja Farid Conference* and demanded that a Punjabi-language university should be established in Lahore and that Punjabi language should be declared as the medium of instruction at the primary school level. As part of this campaign, a case was filed in Supreme Court of Pakistan in September 2015, against Government of Punjab, Pakistan as it did not take any step to implement the Punjabi language in the province. In 2018, an attempt was made by Nazeer Kahut, as the convenor of the Punjabi Language Movement to get the Punjab Assembly to declare Punjabi as the official language of the Punjab. This was rejected. Indeed, speaking in Punjabi language on the floor of Punjab Assembly in Lahore is frowned upon as all proceedings are conducted in Urdu.

But as far as Punjabi literature is concerned, alongside these papers, various literary publications have also made a great contribution since the 1970s; first is *Rut-Lekha* -an issue from 1973 with usual pattern of essays, stories and poems, with the top line reading: *Punjab University (Lahore) vich wasday likhaariyaan da Paraga* (An anthology of writings by writers at Punjab University, Lahore). The magazine mentor was Najm Hosain Syed with Azmat Qadir as managing editor supported by an editorial board. Similar effort was made after the closure of 'Aghaz' when late Zaheer Babur started a weekly Punjabi literary column in 'Imroze' until its closure in 1991.

Other titles include 'Punjabi', 'Punj Darya', 'Punjabi Adab', 'Punjabi Zaban', 'Lehran', 'Haq Allah', 'Saver International', 'Ravail', 'Waroley' and 'Seraiki Adao' from Multan. 'Punjabi Zaban', 'Haq Allah' and 'Punj Darya' ceased publication the remaining papers

15. Fakhar Zaman was honoured with "*Shiromani Sahitika Literacy Award*" by the Punjabi Languages Department of Government of Punjab (India) for the year 2008. At the same time Pakistan Government recognized his services for Punjabi literature by awarding him *Hilal-i-Imtiyaz*.

continue to flourish. However, on other fronts, journalism in Punjabi has faced far harder times. Expressions of literary journalism have continued to appear in Urdu press such the Urdu daily, 'Aghaz,' with its weekly literary supplement in 1949-50.

The first Punjabi weekly, 'Wangar' was published in the 1970s by Fakhar Zaman, but this was short-lived. Another weekly, 'Punjab di Awaz' edited and published by Dr Muhammad Amin also vanished just like another weekly, 'Neeli' the latter was published from Karachi. A more serious attempt at a daily Punjabi paper was by two journalists Husain Naqi and Zafaryab Ahmad who produced a four-page 'Sajjan' from Lahore in the 1990. Under Benazir Bhutto's regime with Nawaz Sharif as chief minister of the Punjab. Sajjan was liked by Punjabi readers with its circulation soon going up to an impressive 30 000 copies. But financial difficulties plus the provincial government's hostile attitude made its demise certain. Inspired by the story of 'Sajjan', Mudassar Iqbal Butt, a new entrant to journalism, started a Punjabi weekly 'Bhulekha' in the mid-1990s. He converted the weekly into a four-page daily in 1999 and hits the newspaper stalls each morning. However, unlike 'Sajjan' it is not considered a full-fledged paper that could satisfy Punjabi readers. A Punjabi newspaper was launched Khabran was launched by the Khabrain Group in 2004 which registered quite a lead in circulation in subsequent years.

Punjab Institute of Language, Art and Culture (Pilac) launched the Punjabi Dictionary (Punjabi into Punjabi) at Governor House on Tuesday. Governor Chaudhry Muhammad Sarwar was the chief guest on the occasion. The latest to join in 2019 magazines for Punjabi readers is an annual literary and art journal, *Baramah*. This was launched at Punjabi Complex, Qadhafi Stadium in Lahore in a ceremony presided over by journalist Hussain Naqi with Prof. Saeed Bhutta, Mazhar Tirmazi, Faiqa Khan and Zubair Ahmad, editor of the journal, among the speakers. This annual journal is a collaborative effort between Zubair Ahmad and Amarjit Chandan from London with the hope that it will both sides of the border.

On both sides there are individuals who have dedicated their lives to the promotion of Punjabi language in their own ways. Parallel to Bhai Kahn Singh's Encyclopedia of Sikh Literature which describes almost all Punjabi words and places, there was Sardar Muhammad Khan who produced a dictionary comprises two volumes of 3,600

pages and lists 64 dialects of Punjabi. It contains idioms, riddles and treatises on traditions and customs. It is undoubtedly the best Punjabi dictionary in the Shahmukhi script. Born in a Punjabi-Pathan family in Basti Danishmandan in Jalandhar district of undivided Punjab he had migrated to Pakistan as part of the Partition transfer of population. One should be grateful to Punjabi Adabi Board and Sachal Studios for financial resources to bring Sardar Khan's magnum opus to life in 2009.

Finally, it must be noted, sadly enough, that despite much ongoing efforts by Punjabi activists in contemporary Pakistan, Punjabi is still not an official language of the state or of the Punjab province. What has happened in the meantime is that urban Punjabis have developed a language mixing Urdu and Panjabi -this process suitably aided by the relatively new satellite media. Despite this, the rural Punjab remains attached to Punjabi despite the increasing penetration of Urdu through state patronage and religiously inspired education. The leftist groups have significantly shifted the so-called stigma attached to Punjabi. The resulting situation seems like Urdu becoming institutionalised in formal occasions while Punjabi is used for communication in informal settings or circles.

So, it is paradox, that being so dominant in Pakistan in all sort of ways, Punjabis could not sort out their own language issue. Still, Punjabi remains the predominant media of normal conversation among ordinary Punjabis. Indeed, linguists have affirmed that the grip of Punjabi language on people's daily lives remains as strong as ever. The official neglect since the formation of new Islamic state of Pakistan in 1947 -these 70 odd years have made no radical difference in its popularity. As a means of communication, it would not be surprising if Punjabi may well survive for several more generations even as it remains deprived of literacy facilities in formal educational institutions.

Another positive note to leave here is how the term *Punjbaityat* has been gaining ground in East Punjab too. In East Punjab it is employed by writers usually to de-emphasize religious identity on a platform that brings together Sikh and Hindu Punjabi writers. Overall, the term is used for a shared feeling for things Punjabi, language providing the strongest link, with other characteristics such as dress, style of life, culinary, and identification with the land of five rivers.

This term, in a sense, allows to emphasize a regional identity that transcends and also deemphasizes state-sanctioned Indian and Pakistani identities. In both states, Punjabinat is being discussed on various platforms with journalists, writers, theatre groups and occasionally even politicians. It also implies Punjabinat requires an open dialogue across the Wagah border and pride in the common Punjabi language and its literature as heritage of Punjabis. The phenomenon of Punjabinat meaning *Punjabinat*, in a sense, is beyond the understanding of the rest of Indians or the rest of Pakistanis.

(b) The State of Punjabi Language and Literature in East Punjab

Contrasted with West Punjab, one can make a rather triumphant boast of much better status of Punjabi language in Indian Punjab. After all it is official language of the province with a flourishing press, nearly a dozen daily newspapers, several magazines, and hundreds of writers publishing poetry, fiction and other genre of literature. Two major literary associations compete for members, of which Punjabi Sahit Academy established at Ludhiana in 1954 has 1000 plus members who contest for its executive committee and other posts every two years.

However, the story of Punjabi language becoming official language in East Punjab is also complicated one -not one-sided success story as it would appear from the above paragraph. Indian subcontinent as we know is a colossal agglomerate of peoples, tribes and social groups with a variety of languages and religions. As the British administration introduced census for counting its ruled population and their various characteristics, they found a bewildering number of religious and linguistic traditions, nearly 130 scripts for writing different languages, and over 20,000 languages spoken by its population. However major languages are 22 in number, among them the most prominent being Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, Telegu, Punjabi, Oriya, Gujarati, Marathi and so on. On the eve of independence in 1947, Punjab was divided with its Muslim population leaving for Pakistan, Sikhs and Hindus flocking to Indian side of Punjab. Indian government with its National Congress party ruling agreed to reorganise various provinces on the basis of language consanguinity. Sikhs as a community felt much beaten by the new

government of India -which simply demolished colonial provision for minorities.

In order to secure some power at least in the new partitioned portion of Punjab, they sought its reorganisation -a campaign stated by Akali Dal leader Master Tara Singh. While many other states were formed with linguistic principle, Punjabi speaking state was declined by the government saying Punjab is a border state and in any case Punjabi and Hindi are rather similar. According to Hukam Singh, an Akali Dal leader, in presenting our case of a Punjabi speaking region, we lost even our language! It took nearly two decades before Punjab was reorganised with Punjabi language as basis of its reorganisation in 1966. However, the boundary commission created further difficulties when several well-known Punjabi speaking areas were allocated to Himachal Pradesh and the newly created are, Haryana which was now to be Hindi speaking state. Thus, area of Punjabi was reduced through prejudice backed by administrative measures.

In this small state of Punjab of mere 40,000 kilometres square created in 1966, a government headed by Lachman Singh Gill passed the require legal framework to make Punjabi as official language. The Department of Languages Department was to have administrative power to monitor and implement this policy at school level as also in daily administration that was to be switched to Punjabi. This was in 1969. Since then there have been many slippages and new forceful political and social developments which have undermined the Punjabi language. In 1997, it was the education minister in the Akali Dal government, Sardar Tota Singh who announced a switch to English medium in government schools of Punjab. Why this switch? It was attributed to parental choice who were opting for English medium private schools.

The price Akali Dal paid for becoming partner with BJP in governing and gaining political power was manifest in compromising not only the Punjabi language where Hindi was now given as much recognition -emphasising its status as national language. Punjabi Hindus have never accepted Punjabi wholeheartedly - even when there are vocal Hindu Punjabi writers who are staunch advocates of Punjabi. In Punjab cities, where Hindus dominate in population, most advertisements for cultural or religious functions appear in Hindi.

The new media and technology have also brought Hindi to the

fore at the cost of Punjabi speaking households. Starting with only Doordarshan, there are 50 plus channels babbling in Hindi throughout day and night which dominate the India's broadcasting space. Like Doordarshan and Akashvani, private channels have even more an in-built tendency to discriminate against Punjabi listeners. They provide limited space for Punjabi language and its expressions. Few family sagas, worthy dramas or other genres of shows in Punjabi language are scheduled-Punjabi speaking listeners naturally tend to watch Hindi media producing such sagas and series.

The situation in education is also becoming unsatisfactory the position of strength when Punjabi was firmly adopted as the medium of instruction in all of Punjab state primary schools. Schools pupils would pick up Hindi in later years and finally learn English as they would enter a high school. This gradual implementation of three language formula no longer works in that order. Since the 1990s, the Punjab government has shed off its function as the main provider of education -with the proliferation of private educational institutions. Alongside government schools in 12,000 villages of Punjab, there are by now several hundred private schools competing for pupils - charging for education and advertising that English is the medium of instruction. Parents have a bewildering choice who somehow overpowered by the wave of globalisation whose language is supposed to be English are withdrawing children from government schools. The primary and secondary school sector education is in grave crisis as far the governmental provision is concerned. Almost all government schools are short of pupils - many villages schools have less than 50 pupils on its rolls instead of normal strength of 200-300. This has meant all infrastructure and staff costs at government schools have become financially unbearable -and government has responded with closing unviable schools of less than 50 pupils -giving rise to a further downward spiral.

Private schools as a rule have followed or are trying to adopt CBSE (Central Board of Secondary Education) syllabi - which puts regional language at a premium. CBSE in a recent policy had asked Hindi to be main subject with provision for Punjabi and other regional languages diluted to secondary importance. This provision has been withdrawn temporarily as it led to much hue and cry from non-Hindi states. Perversely even Khalsa schools and those run by SGPC

have decided to follow CBSE in place of state run PSEB (Punjab School Education Board) curriculum. The government of Punjab has offered its unique solution to bring back pupils to its doors by offering English from class 1 - that is the entrance class. It will be surprising how many parents will be persuaded by this gesture.

There is further fact of many private schools being administered by Satya Bharti -an RSS sympathetic organisations based away from Punjab who see education as part of its Hindutva agenda and teaching of Hindi in the service of a united Indian nation. Schools such as Delhi Public School now established in each large city of Punjab insist upon its largely female a dress code of *sari* -again in the service of an imagined Indian nation!

In addition to above, another adverse factor deserves attention. English is perceived to have commercial advantage as the language of the future global world. For reasons yet not fathomed by social scientists of Punjab, thousands of Punjabi pupils are sitting for examination in IELTS (International English Language Testing Service) paying hefty fees for learning English fast. Thousands of training centres are operating in various towns and cities and these are spreading into large villages too. There is a 'craze' for going abroad especially among the Sikhs, Perhaps -it is the disillusion of young Punjabis with the current political and social environment that is forcing thousands of them to leave Punjab every year.

Thus, both political factors operating in the Indian polity along with peculiar factors operating on Sikh society within Punjab have brought a decline in the prestige of Punjabi language to the level where it is on a path to become a spoken language - just as in West Punjab -but for different reasons.

Still, one should leave on a positive note -in correspondence with comparatively healthy state of Punjab language in East Punjab, there is a lot of literary activities also. Nawan Zamana in its Sunday edition reports half a dozen literary meetings or Punjabi writers going into colleges with a 'literary chat' about their recent works with students. Last but not the least, East Punjabi writers have also responded to the Punjabiyat movement of Western Punjab.

In terms of other assets which have made Punjabi what it is in contemporary East Punjab, we must refer to some institutions which have been established since the 1960s. First and foremost is the Punjabi

University established on 30 April 1962 -is only the second university in the world to be named after a language, after Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Since its inception, the university has built dedicated departments for research and teaching in Punjabi language. Hundreds of students have passed M.A. classes. Currently there are more than 50 students working for M.Phil. or Ph.D. degrees in Punjabi language and literature. Another department has staff responsible to produce Punjabi lexicons, with a record number of bilingual dictionaries - which includes Urdu-Punjab, Persian-Punjabi dictionaries. A Department of Development of Punjabi Language is translating literature from foreign languages into Punjabi as Punjabi was expected to be adopted as the medium of instruction in higher education curriculum when teachers will need standard textbooks in various subjects. A Research Centre for Punjabi Language Technology is working for development of core technologies for Punjabi, Digitization of basic materials, online Punjabi teaching, developing software for office use in Punjabi, providing common platform to Punjabi cyber community. Punjabipedia, an online encyclopedia was also launched by Patiala University in 2014.

In addition to Punjabi University, there is much older and well-endowed Punjabi Languages Department based in the city at Patiala. It is part of the Punjab Government administration which monitors the implementation of state's language policy. It has published much of classical literature in this language besides managing two Punjabi magazines, *Jan Sahit* and *Punjabi Duniya*. It also administers state awards for writers on an annual basis. Besides Patiala, Guru Nanak Dev University at Amritsar, Punjab University at Chandigarh have large departments of Punjabi and all three universities have small departments for Urdu and facilities for learning Persian also. Currently east Punjab has more than two dozen universities, though new universities have generally devoted their faculties to applied sciences and computing courses in keeping with the market trends in education.

As for a platform for Punjabi writers, there is Punjabi Sahit Academy, Ludhiana, established in 1954. This is supported by the Punjab state government and works exclusively for promotion of the Punjabi language. Punjabi writers were split into two bodies -the other calls itself more radical and known for its advocacy zeal is

called Kendri Punjabi Lekhak Sabha.¹⁶ There is a similar body for Delhi called Punjabi Academy, Delhi. There are similar associations in neighbouring states, such as the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Literature, promoting regional languages like Urdu, Dogri, Gojri etc. There is Punjabi Academy in Delhi, and a similar body for Haryana state.

One should also note other facilities for Punjabi language. Software are available for Punjabi language for almost all computing platforms. This software is mainly in Gurmukhi script. Nowadays, nearly all Punjabi newspapers, magazines, journals, and periodicals are composed on computers via various Punjabi software programmes, the most widespread of which is In Page Desktop Publishing package. Microsoft has included Punjabi language support in all new versions of Windows and both Windows Vista, Microsoft Office 2007, 2010 and 2013, are available in Punjabi through the Language Interface Pack support. Most Linux Desktop distributions allow the easy installation of Punjabi support and translations as well. Apple implemented the Punjabi language keyboard across Mobile devices. Google also provides many applications in Punjabi, like Google Search, Google Translate and Google Punjabi Input Tools

Both sides of Punjabi writers continue to produce creative writings in Punjabi language, the western side expressing them through Shahmukhi script while eastern Punjabi employ Gurmukhi script as the standard for such writings. Current and past magazines testify to the vitality of creative writings in both the Punjab states. A recent magazine started Amritsar is *Wagah* -declaring to promote dialogue across the border. It has carried several articles on the partition of Punjab and memoirs relating to the 1947 tragedy.

Another magazine which has for many years brought Pakistani based Punjabi writers to the attention of Punjabi readers in east Punjab is *Chirag* edited by Harbhajan Singh Hundal. Making several trips to Lahore, Hundal has cultivated with a wide range of writers in West Punjab. He has translated several works from their Shahmukhi

16. Tejwant Singh Mann is its general-secretary while late Sant Singh Sekhon, a prominent writer and critic was its long-serving president. For its history and operation see Tejwant Singh Mann's publications including book *Kendri Punjabi Lekha Sabha da Itihas*.

into Gurmukhi Punjabi. He has published special issue of Chirag with Punjabi creative writings from Western Punjab, then an exclusive issue on Ustad Chiragdin Daman -a highly acclaimed poet. Hundal has brought a biography of this writer published in the Punjabi University Writers Series.

(c) The Role of WPC on shared Punjabi Language and Literature

Having surveyed the state of Punjabi language in two states, we return to the question of what role WPC can play in this? The World Punjabi Centre can legitimately try to find common grounds between the two provinces as far the language and associated literature is concerned. Indeed, as a result of such endeavour, the WPC, it is hoped, can act as a catalyst in exchanging ideas for discussion on this share heritage of two Punjab now divided into Pakistan and India. Moreover, some of the ideas can also be translated into practice as far these ideas require discussion among language experts or creative writers -as these persons can be invited at the centre and given requisite facilities for interaction with their counterparts in Eastern Punjab.

One project could be to collect classics of Punjabi literature in both scripts -in Shahmukhi and Gurmukhi where scholar and visitors can compare their worth and see their evolution in historical Punjab. If such a project is adopted, we need to begin with the medieval period starting with Sufi poets. The collection should begin with writings of Baba Farid and carry on through the next four centuries coming down to the *Qissa* of Shah Mohammad. Then begins the colonial period with Punjabi becoming a vehicle for the Singh Sabha writers who propagated the Sikh history, its faith and also the Punjabi language through numerous pamphlets and other publications, not least through weekly newspapers and magazines. For the colonial era, the Punjabi material gets more diverse.

We must also note the contribution of colonial administrators who carried out many surveys on the use of language as also various translation of Punjabi folklore including valuable observations on the level of literacy among the Punjabi population. While language of the court was Persian in the pre-colonial Punjab, the British introduced Urdu as medium of its official correspondence.

First of all, the Centre needs to gather information on Punjabi

language in the two provinces. While it is not difficult task to find such material, reference works on language use, extent of its use and its provision in Eastern side of Punjab, the corresponding material on western Punjab would need some digging, planning and research of its sources and means of procuring them.

On Punjabi language apart from books of Ayesha Ayres, Rahman and others, search for other materials need to be carried out extensively to acquire such materials for the WPC Library. For instance, department of Punjabi Language and Literature of Punjab University Oriental College at its Allama Iqbal Campus publishes a journal *Khoj* in Shahmukhi while some essays in English too.¹⁷ This can be accessed at: <http://pu.edu.pk/home/journals/khoj>.

More productive ventures such as Shahmukhi-Gurmukhi font conversion programs are being devised by computer specialists at Punjabi University by a team led by Gurpreet Singh Lahil. Some publishers have experimented by issuing books in both scripts, though these titles have not gained popularity as yet. Collection of literary magazines, books, and other expressions of common bond between two Punjab can be a major project at the WPC. Its Library and indeed an archives section within it could try to bring some of these publications including relevant newspapers (or clippings) from the Punjabi diaspora spread as far as Vancouver, Toronto, Stockton, Berkeley, London, Kuala Lumpur and Sydney. It will also put some of typical material appearing in these newspapers at the WPC Website.

2. Cultural Bonds: Films, Dramas and Cultural Ties

As part of language and literature heritage shared between Punjabis of two states of India and Pakistan, there are Punjabi films, dramas that are part and parcel of such bonds. Turning to the Punjabi cinema first, before 1947, it was Lahore where the production facilities for films were established in the 1920s. A silent movie was made there in 1928. A few years later, in 1932 the first Punjabi film with

17. This biannual journal is edited by Dr Nabila Rehman with an editorial board drawing some writers from East Punjab also. Thus, in its 2018 issue of July-December, it has articles on Kite-Flying (by Amjad Parvez), and Phulkari (by Amina Cheema) while a third article introduces several local artists influenced by Lahore city's historic gates as part of Punjab architecture (Nadeem Alam & Amjad Parvez).

sound was made. Lahore city gradually emerged as the main centre for the Punjabi cinema. Bombay was yet to gain any comparable recognition. By the time events conspired to partition the Punjab province in 1947, many singers, directors, actors and actresses had become well-established names in Lahore studios. These included all famous Punjabi families associated with films as the Sahnis, Anands, Chopras, Puris, Khannas, Kapurs, Bedis, Dutts, Deols and Singhs.

Film Production by Language in Pakistan: 1948-2012

| Language | No. of Films | % |
|-----------------|---------------------|----------|
| Urdu Films | 1588 | 39.44 |
| Punjabi Films | 1347 | 33.46 |
| Pashto | 715 | 17.76 |
| Bengali | 117 | 2.91 |
| Double | 177 | 4.40 |
| Sindhi | 73 | 1.81 |
| Saraiki | 07 | 0.17 |
| Gujrati | 02 | 0.05 |
| Total | 4,026 | 100 |

Source: Reports of the Film Censor Board Government of Pakistan 1948–2012.

For the year of 2012, Punjabi cinema, called Bollywood in India is only a \$7.9 million industry compared to Bollywood's \$630 million. There were only 26 films in Punjabi versus 221 in Hindi (not counting those in its dialects which came to 152 in their own right). Yet the Punjabi presence is very prominent in films from Yash Chopra, Balraj Sahni, to Kapoor family who have created, it is argued to conceal or sidestep the trauma of the partition of 1947, "a particular kind of Punjabi world in films displaying values of Punjabinity as remembered, imagined and commercially estimated by mainstream film-makers". This Punjabinity is not even dependent on using the Punjabi Language, just a few witty lines in Punjabi or its accent will do. Punjabi films often show Punjabis to be full-blooded, passionate, romantic and loyal as lovers. For instance, the films "Shaheed-e-Mohabbat Boota Singh" and "Veer Zara" both show Indian Punjabi heroes risking their lives for the girls of their desire. In short, Indian cinema, though mostly in Hindi, shows Punjabis in a good light and their language is marked as the carrier of this soft image. Despite the fact that

nationalism -this time Indian brand of patriotism- does sneak in, but the main message of Punjabiya makes such films as popular in Pakistan as they are in India and the Diaspora.¹⁸

In parallel to propagation of Punjabi language by various activists, the Punjabi cinema unexpectedly rose to prominence. This came primarily through the iconic revenge-seeking peasant warrior 'Maula Jat' played by Sultan Rahi (1938-1996); who so over determined the aesthetic, linguistic, and narrative content of Punjabi cinema as to embody the genre. Such texts and cinema empowered Punjabi language defining Punjabi ethnicity and redefine the notion of Pakistani nation. Punjabi films in Lahore -often called Lollywood of Punjabi cinema -are produced to assert the primacy of Punjabi language and in 1979, this role was accidentally picked up by a film title 'Maula Jat'. Critics branded it as 'rough and tumble extravaganza of violence, Kamran calling it 'crude, vulgar, morally degrading and without any decorum' others have praised its spirit for rejuvenation.¹⁹ But such was its popularity that its leading star Sultan Rahi was elevated to the top of the Pakistani cinema and almost eclipsed Urdu cinema into second place in terms of total revenue generated. Sultan Rahi is now credited into Encyclopedia Britannica as someone who 'established Punjabi as the major language of Pakistani cinema'. Maula Jat has run into series of films including *Maula Jat in London*. Mushtaq Gazdar a Pakistani film director and historian has observed:

The verbal brawl *barrak*, in Punjabi slang, is the hallmark of the movie. It can be taken as comic or serious, real or grotesque, depending on the nature of the audience. But such scenes stir the audience immensely. Barrak is a high-pitched, full-throated yell, a sort of warming up, a prelude to a brawl... it is a part of Punjabi life and culture. It is a bold challenge to the opponent. (1997)²⁰.

In terms of drama production, Lahore and Amritsar show a similar portrait. Gursharan Singh (1929-2011), Ajmer Singh Aulka

18. See Kamran Rehman's elaboration in his article, In the realm of pleasure:

19. Tariq Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan* Karachi: 1996; *Language, Education and Culture* Karachi: 1999; *Language, Ideology and Power: Language Learning Among the Muslims of Pakistan and North India*, 2000

20. Mushtaq Gazdar, *The Pakistan cinema, 1947-1997*, Karachi, 1998

(1932-2017) in Bathinda have been staging dramas in Punjab villages and cities. Kewal Dhaliwal is second generation dramatist and president of Punjab Sangeet Natak Akademy, Chandigarh. A touring drama troupe from Lahore staged a production of Banda Bahadur in East Punjab a few years back. In terms of other arts, a play titled *Akbri Show*, written by philosopher and novelist Mirza Athar Baig, depicts life, sights and sounds of the erstwhile cinema culture. Some dramatists in West Punjab have experimented with 'Street theatre' debating controversial topics through such productions.²¹ A few artists have tried to capture the pain of 1947 through various media. With the partition, a lot of artists were forced to migrate to Bombay leaving Punjabi film industry in a poor shape.

On the 1947 tragedy, several films capture various aspects of the impact of the Partition of Punjab. Film titles include: *Gadar: ek prem kahani*; *Khamosh pani*; *Pinjar* (based upon *Amrita Pritam* novel); *Train to Pakistan* (on a novel by Khushwant Singh); *Dharamputra*; *Garam hawa*; *1947 Earth*; *Sardar*; and *Hey Ram*. Similar efforts Lahore have resulted in three outstanding titles: Kartar Singh, Lakho mein ek, and Teri Yaad.

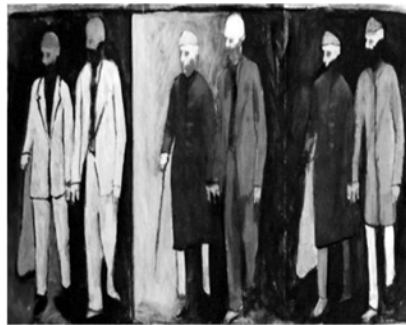
The pain of partition is depicted through other media through various paintings. On West Punjab side, Shahid Mirza has several canvasses, from East Punjab, Satish Gujral and Pran Nath Mago have exhibited their partition themed paintings at various places. Then there are other ways to remind the shared Punjabi culture. Among cultural events there is an annual *mela* (festival) devoted to Baba Farid in East Punjab besides numerous other small gatherings at various Sufi places which are reminders of composite culture of the pre-1947 era Punjab. West Punjab has many more annual gatherings at its well-known Sufi places. There was a festival in the memory of Shah Mohammad, author of 'Jangnama' in Amritsar in the recent past.

In music, there is much shared legacy between the Punjabis across the border. A notable contribution documenting how sacred and secular music was shared by Punjabis until 1947 was published by Virinder Kalra who has also written on the Pakistani diaspora in

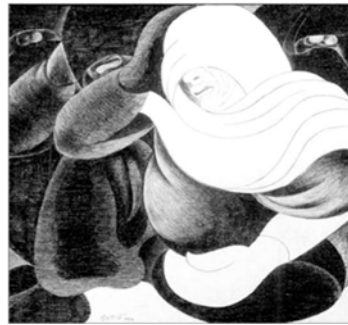
21. See for example Fawzia Afzal-Khan, 'Street Theatre in Pakistani Punjab: The Case of Ajoka, Lok Rehas, and the Woman Question', *TDR* Vol. 41, No. 3, Autumn, 1997, pp. 39-62



The Partition Museum building, Amritsar



Azadi (Freedom) Series Shahid Mirza



Mourning by Satish Gujral



Mourners by Pran Nath Mago, 1947

The Pain of Partition: Through Punjabi Artists' Paintings



Experiments in Punjabi Drama in Punjab (Pakistan)



Punjabi Lexicon Remembering 'National Poet' of Punjab:
A Gathering at Shah Mohammad Memorial at Wadala Veeran Village (Amritsar)



Baba Farid Celebrations at Faridkot:
This is now an Annual Event of East Punjab

UK.²² Kalra's book in English was released in Shahmukhi version was launched in Lahore recently while a Gurmukhi edition is being awaited.²³ It is hoped that the WPC will be making a bid to publish this book in Gurmukhi in the near future.

3. Exploring Economic Ties

Economists have long pointed out advantage of trade between neighbouring countries for obvious reasons -saving transport costs. Both states of Punjab and indeed two countries, India and Pakistan can benefit enormously by opening trade of goods and services. However, the history of trade between the two countries is quite dismal. The limiting factor is mainly political with tensions across the Line of Control (LoC); increasing violence in the state of Kashmir; and domestic instability in Pakistan that keeps trade flow almost negligible despite the huge potential. The ultra-nationalistic discourse in India, and the tendency of the political leadership to play to the gallery has usually worsened things and reduced such outreach.

After taking over in his second term as Chief Minister of Punjab (India), Captain Amarinder Singh, in March 2017, took up the issue of sale of the state's surplus power to Pakistan (another option was Nepal) and talks were held with the Indian PM, Narendra Modi. Logistically, it makes sense to sell electricity to Pakistan, given the fact that Punjab shares a border with Pakistan and the Goindwal Sahib thermal plant (near Amritsar) is located close to the international border. A report by the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad stated how given Punjab's location as well as the acute energy crisis in Pakistan, there is scope to export power to Pakistan.²⁴ The total available capacity for generation in Pakistan was only 12,361 megawatts (MW) in April 2016'. A similar effort in November 2012 by former Deputy Chief Minister of Punjab, Sukhbir Singh Badal was made during his visit to Pakistan in November 2012, with Shahbaz Sharif, Chief Minister of Punjab (Pakistan).

22. Virinder S Kalra, *Pakistani Diaspora, Culture, conflict and change*, (Oxford 2009)

23. Virinder S. Kalra, *Sacred and Secular Musics: a postcolonial approach*, London, 2014 Lahore, 2016

24. G. Raghuram and T. S. Krishnan, 'Tariff and Related Matters: The Electricity Sector in Punjab' Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, 2016

It is obvious that the state of Punjab in India has played a key role in previous thaws between the two countries (2004-2007) and (2011-2014). This reflects the desire of Punjabis on Indian side for greater people-to-people contacts, open borders with easy economic linkages between both countries. Important initiatives such as the introduction of a bus service connecting the holy cities of Amritsar (Punjab, India) and Nankana Sahib – near Lahore (birthplace of Guru Nanak Dev the first Guru of the Sikhs). In addition to this an Integrated Check Post was set up at Attari (on the Indian side of the border) to expand bilateral trade through the Wagah-Attari land route. As such whenever two countries think of engaging with each other on economic issues and people-to-people contact, Punjabis will have a dominant role to play. However, as Dr. Manmohan Singh realized the relevance of Punjab as an important stakeholder in India-Pakistan relations, it is difficult to find same enthusiasm in the Modi government.

Still, hopefully, with the second term for the Modi led Indian government (2019-) there shall be more room for Indian Punjab to engage with Pakistani Punjab. And both countries will think beyond the security narrative they have made popular for the masses to engage in.

Punjabi economists have made a strong case for trade between the two states of Punjab and indeed for the benefit of two countries. Lakhwinder Singh, a Punjabi economist in his essay 'Techno-Industrial cooperation for development in the two states of Punjab, calls for closer links between the two states of India and Pakistan by recommending:²⁵

Project oriented faculty exchange programme on regular basis needs to be established cross universities of east and west Punjab. It is also desired to establish something of the nature of Punjab Venture capital Fund to finance risk-based activities for the knowledge-based economies of both the Punjab. Punjabis living abroad who are keen to invest in their home regions should be approached with viable schemes of investment.

25. Lakhwinder Singh, 'Techno-Industrial cooperation for development in the two Punjab', *Peace and Democracy in South Asia*, vol 1 issue 2, 2005

Comparative Structure of Economy of Pakistan Punjab and Indian Punjab (in Percentage)

| Sectors | Agriculture | Manufacturing | Others | SDP growth rate |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|--------|-----------------|
| West Punjab | 27 | 16 | 57 | 4.5 |
| East Punjab | 39 | 17 | 44 | 4.6 |

Source: world bank, 2005; ESO 2002

Two other economists from Indian Punjab, Ranjit S. Ghuman and Davinder K. Madaan have argued for closer trade ties between India and Pakistan.²⁶ The potential gains from mutual trade with each other range between Rupees 15,000 and 20,000 crores for the last five decades. Such gains could be obtained through lower/competitive prices, compared to global prices with lower transport and trans-ship costs due to proximity with each other. During 1997-2004, actual imports by Pakistan from India were just less than 5% while India imported less than 7% of the potential total imports. Indeed, once trade is allowed, there could be join-venture joint marketing, joint study groups in agriculture, industry, trade and technology and other issues.

It may come as a surprise that the unofficial trade between India and Pakistan is estimated more than US \$2 billion annually. Where it is done and what is exchanged? One learns that much of this trade is in banned articles such as tyres, medicines, cosmetics, viscose fibres, textile machinery, chemicals, ayurvedic products, cashews, etc., and routed through Afghanistan, Dubai, Hong Kong, Singapore and Gulf States. Note this tortuous route costs both countries dearly in terms of foreign exchange outflows as well as third party trading commissions. Major items of import from Pakistan in this kind of trade were: cane moles of sugar, dates, oil cake, foreign cotton, Naphtha, solvent crude, raisins and sultanans etc., while India exports to Pakistan were such items: iron ores, cutch extracts, bidi leaves, vegetable seeds, tea black, ginger, Ayurvedic and Unani herbs, polypropylene etc. The chief reason for this is unofficial trade is

26. Ranjit S. Ghuman and Davinder K Madaan, Indo-Pakistan trade cooperation and SAARC, *Peace and democracy in South Asia*, vol 2 no. 1-2, 2006, pp.71-87

lack of land route which could easily be tapped by opening Wagah and Hussainiwala border posts for such import and exports.

Much of current trade takes place via sea-routes from Bombay to Karachi and back. Before 1947 a sizable amount of trade was taking place routinely via land routes. Trade via land routes would reduce enormous amount of savings in transport costs. Using Wagah-Atari and Hussainiwala-Kasur Check-Posts could also generate substantial jobs for Punjabis on both sides while saving excess costs of current odd routes of transport between the two countries.

One should note that was chief aim for establishing the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in December 1985 was to boost trade ties between India and Pakistan. Currently SAARC has among its members part from India and Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, and Maldives. SAARC had signed an agreement in 2006 for South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) to reduce trade barriers among its member countries. Earlier in May 2005, an India Pakistan Chamber of Commerce (IPCC) was established for increasing bilateral trade. Moreover, the Chambers of Commerce like the PHD Chamber of Commerce (India) and Lahore Chamber of Commerce had also signed a Memorandum of Understanding to collaborate in 2011. Trade exhibitions have been organized in both countries even during the times of tension, with the aim of providing businessmen from both sides the opportunity to exhibit commodities, and reduce misunderstandings. Chambers from both sides have also been urging their governments to mitigate tensions.

SAARC can be effective in many ways. Certainly, two Punjab states could profit from trading their goods and reap its comparative advantage. This would mean supplying various commodities at reasonable prices to consumers. There is enormous market potential for goods as dry fruit from Pakistan and primary commodities going there from East Punjab. Let the two Chambers of Commerce in Lahore and the Punjab, Haryana and Delhi Chamber of Commerce and Industry devise ways of trade. Here such bodies as FICCI and CII can play an effective role. At one time India shared the enthusiasm for the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India oil pipeline when its Minister of State for External Affairs, M. J. Akbar attended a



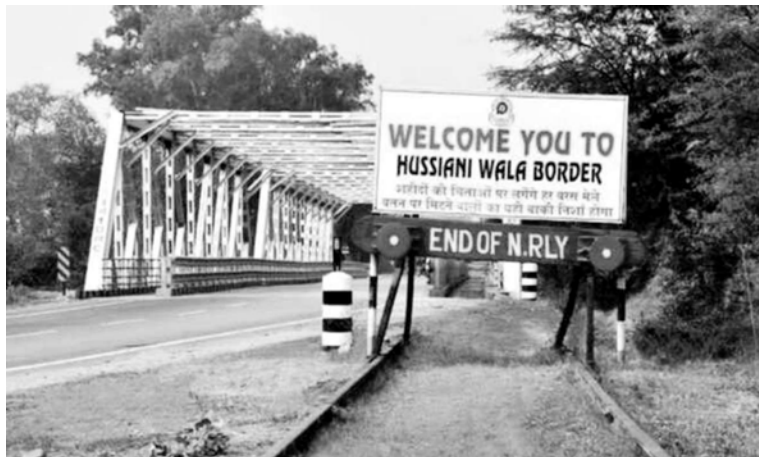
SAARC was established in 1985: Above Meeting in Progress:
High on Ceremony Low on Co-Operation?



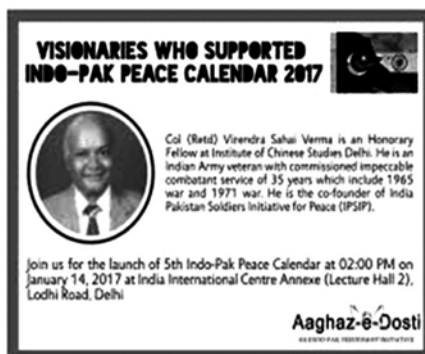
Two Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan: Deciding the Fate of
Punjab, Punjabi and Peace of this Continent



Not in Use? Two Check-Posts of the Punjab Border Meant for
Trade Facilitations



India-Pakistan Border posts separating two Punjabs :
Could be busy with Trade and People flowing daily



Vision for Cooperation! Punjabis long for open Border

formal meeting. This was a significant step as India had avoided attending multilateral summits with Pakistan. India then invited Commerce Minister of Pakistan, Pervaiz Malik, to attend the informal WTO ministerial meeting in New Delhi in March, 2018. Again, this visit was put paid due to new tension around as some diplomats were reportedly threatened.

However, such high ideals have been victims of political contingencies between India and Pakistan -two countries which dominate SAARC, accounting for 87% of total population and 90% of the total area of SAARC. Still recent developments in the context of the bilateral relationship, provide a sliver of hope. At the humanitarian level, both sides have agreed to take steps for the release of prisoners languishing in jails on either side. In this context, Pakistan accepted India's proposal to exchange women prisoners, those who are mentally challenged or have special needs and those above 70 years of age. Both sides have also agreed to the revival of a judicial commission which had been set up with the aim of expediting the speedy release of prisoners, who had finished their sentences. Finally, visits of medical experts to interact with mentally challenged prisoners for their repatriation. The Pakistan foreign minister, Khwaja Asif had proposed that prisoners over 60 and below 18 be released.

Statesmen from India and Pakistan know how high proportion of two countries' wealth that is spent on defence budgets could be reduced by resolving outstanding issues like Kashmir through peaceful means. The way ahead is not built more nuclear war heads. In nuclear armed India and Pakistan, it is Punjabis, of course, who are worst placed at the centre of such a threat from nuclear warfare. Emphasis upon common economic interests between the two countries could go a long way to help common people of both countries.

In terms of the role of WPC in this respect, lectures by prominent economists to elaborate on this theme will be encouraged in the coming years. It may also be possible to publish some core papers which have argued for close trade ties between the two states of Punjab. Some Punjabi economists based at Punjabi University, such as Lakhwinder Singh will be asked to initiate such a series of lectures. As visa conditions relax, invitation will be sent to academics from West Punjab to hear their viewpoints.

4. Religious Pilgrimage, Visitors and Scholarly Exchange

A major barrier to Punjabis exchange across the border is the way border has been so tightly controlled by the two states of India and Pakistan. The bus and rail service that has been allowed to operate remains so remote as to be useless for common people who wish to travel and see the other side. Only the very determined can undertake all the hassle that is required to get visa to travel on the scheduled bus or the *Samjhuta* Train -which has no convenient pick up points on the way up and own between Lahore and New Delhi. While it is obvious that thousands of people could travel for sight-seeing as visitors or for specific purposes as to see historic places, visit libraries, museum or the Lahore Fort -which is now a UNESCO marked historic building. It was only in 2004 when more than a handful of writers and other administrators were allowed to visit Patiala from West Punjab -and it was expected the future will see an open door at Wagah border. Such a hope has been dashed by various minor and major events.

Only exception from a firm slamming of the border for most people of India has been granted to the Sikh community -only in a limited way. This is only because Sikhs have left behind so much of its history, institutions and memories behind the other side of Wagah. far as the Sikh community is concerned, one of the most lamentable aspect of the Partition of Punjab was the loss of Nankana Sahib along with hundreds of holy places associated with various gurus. Lahore was the capital of the Sikh Empire with memorials of Maharajah Ranjit Singh and several of Sikh royals there. The gurdwara is located just outside of the Walled City of Lahore, and is part of an ensemble of monuments which includes the Lahore Fort, Samadhi of Ranjit Singh, Hazuri Bagh quadrangle, Roshnai Gate, and the Badshahi Mosque. Gurdwara Dera Sahib is associated with the fifth Guru Arjan, who was tortured by order of Emperor Jahangir in 1606. On the fifth day of torture, the Guru's request for a bath in the river was granted after intercession from Mian Mir. After submerging himself in the river, the Guru reportedly did not reappear, and a Mughal search party was unable to retrieve him.

Nankana Sahib itself some 40 miles away from Lahore has grown from a small village into a town over the past five centuries



Nankana Sahib (Sheikhupura, Punjab, Pakistan): Birthplace of the Sikh Faith, Guru Nanak



Sikh Celebration at Nankana Sahib: An Annual Event every November



Sikh pilgrims seeking the path of Guru Nanak and leaving a message for old neighbours as the second poster shows



Posters of Emotions on Display at Nankana Sahib annual Celebrations where Sikhs from all over the World Converge in November (545th Celebration in 2014)



Nanakana Sahib; Dera Sahib, Lahore, Punja Sahib, Hasan Abdal Sikh shrines left in West Punjab, Pakistan still cementing bonds with that part of Punjab



Kartarpur -A Sikh Shrine just across the Ravi River: Now Subject of Negotiations between India and Pakistan 'Kartarpur Corridor'



Shrine Across the River: Sikhs Paying Obeisance through 'Telescope



India and Pakistan officials discussing Kartarpur Corridor

and was the most frequented place by Sikh pilgrims to see the birthplace of Guru Nanak. A major building to mark this place was gradually built and expanded especially during the reign of Sikh ruler, Maharajah Ranjit Singh who endowed it with several thousand acres of land too.

During the Sikh rule major historic shrines were allocated to Udasi sect who became their custodians maintaining daily services for the pilgrims. Eventually under the colonial rule, new Sikh reformers led to a systematic dislodging of these traditional custodians. Another tragic event of Sikh history is also associated with Nankana Sahib in the 20th century. In February 1921 its custodians were the Udasis with Mahant Narayan Das as its chief caretaker. As a Sikh reform movement for the control of gurdwaras spread out when several Akali Sikhs on their own converged on to Nankana Sahib to seek control of this historic place. This jatha led by Lachman Singh was overwhelmed by armed associates of the mahant who shot them all dead and threw their bodies into open fire. After wide protests and a sustained campaign, the colonial administration conceded a legislative framework in 1925 -to transfer control of all Sikh historic institutions to an elected body of the Sikh community leading to the birth of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

The loss of Nankana Sahib and other historic shrines were reconciled in the Sikh hearts through its incorporation in the daily collective Sikh prayer as a standard passage:

ਨਨਕਾਣਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਗੁਰਧਾਮਾਂ ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰਿਆ ਤੋਂ ਜਿਹਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ
ਪੰਥ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਛੋੜਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ, ਖੁਲੇ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਦੀਦਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਸੇਵਾ ਸੰਭਾਲ
ਦਾ ਦਾਨ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਬਖਸ਼ੋ।

(Bestow upon the Khalsa, the service and control of
Nankana Sahib and other historic Sikh shrines, that have
been separated from the Khalsa Panth)

Soon after the partition became an accomplished fact in August 1947, as November 1947 approached, the situation was still not settled with refugees still continuing to flow in both directions. The entirely new post-1947 situation meant there was no free passage west of newly created check-post at Wagah. Muslims on other side face exactly the same barrier if they wished to make pilgrimage of their traditional religious places in India - such as Jama Masjid in Delhi, Hazratbal Mosque at Srinagar, Ajmer Shrif Dargah at Ajmer,

Shekh Salim Chisti's Dargah at Fatehpur Sikri, Haji Ali ki dargah, Mumbai, and many others.

On behalf of the Sikhs, it was the SGPC who took up the case through the government of India in New Delhi. A bureaucratic process involved two newly constituted foreign ministry officials working out the logistics took some years. It was a novel situation of issuing passports to people who were born in the places required to carry such documents to travel there! Then arrangements for the pilgrimage, dates, transport, and ensure security of pilgrims were to be sorted out. It took several years before arrangements for Sikh pilgrimage could be put in place. Since the late 1950s, Sikh jathas usually leave three times a year. The November Jatha is the largest contingent (2,000-3,000 men and women) going to Guru Nanak's birthday place at Nankana Sahib.

Another Sikh issue is subject of inter-governmental negotiations- a small community of Sikhs that did not leave their homes during the Partition. The government of Punjab (Pakistan) has taken some measures towards them. First a Pakistan Sikh Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (PSGPC) was formed by the Government of Pakistan and is entrusted with the maintenance of Sikh religious institutions, places of worships in Pakistan. The PSGPC works under the Evacuee Trust Property Board of Pakistan. A further concession came when Punjab Assembly (Pakistan) approved the Punjab Sikhs Anand Karaj Marriages Act, 2018 that provides legal status and recognition of traditional Sikh marriages in the province. This bill was tabled by Ramesh Singh Arora a minority member of Punjab Assembly.

These provisions in Pakistan can be contrasted to the Indian government unwillingness to extend SGPC jurisdiction over historic shrines in the rest of the Indian Union. Another instance would be how the Indian regime, despite promises on various occasions, has been willing to take Sikhs out of the provision of the Hindu Marriage Act. Indeed, in any dealings with Pakistan, the Punjab state of India or the SGPC is never included as a stakeholder. Despite the fact that Sikhs and the Punjab state of India happen to have several issues which require serious negotiation with the Government of Pakistan. In 2017, two Jathas (a group of Sikh pilgrims) which were to visit Pakistan for paying obeisance were held back at the last minute. Both the governments blamed each other for the fiasco, this is not

isolated but a growing issue. Moreover, India makes much fuss over some Sikhs showing interest in a Sikh homeland -an issue forced upon the community by India's brutal invasion of the Golden Temple in June 1984. Every year since 1984 as Sikh jathas make pilgrimage of Nankana Sahib, many Sikhs from overseas countries also join them. A few of them occasionally chant 'Khalistan Zindabad' slogans or display Khalistan flags. Almost routinely Indian diplomats in Pakistan send reports of a few Sikhs threatening them or the unity of India. Thus in 2018, it was *India Today* alleging how 'Indian official were 'humiliated' and barred from entering Gurdwara Nankana Sahib'.

Another Sikh shrine for pilgrimage is Kartarpur Sahib- the last residence of Guru Nanak, a village he founded at the bank of Ravi River. The 1947 Partition of Punjab meant Ravi River became the dividing line between two Punjab in Gurdaspur district -and the village Kartarpur was on the side of Pakistan in West Punjab. Ever since Sikhs have been going up to the River Ravi to pay obeisance from eastern side of the bank -as the shrine can be seen across the river. A longstanding demand for a corridor to this shrine remained shelved with promises by India and sometimes by Pakistan. A number of individuals and some Sikh organizations have played a key role in lobbying the Pakistan government for a religious corridor from Dera Baba Nanak (India) to Darbar Sahib at Narowal in the town of Kartarpur (Pakistan), where the Sikh founder, Guru Nanak spent the last years of his life for easier access to Sikh shrines. The Sikh demand is to have a visa-free pilgrimage, whereby Sikhs can pay obeisance and return on the same day. This was refused by India on security grounds for several years. As Imran Khan became the new Prime Minister of Pakistan in 2018, he felt generous enough to offer a corridor for Sikh pilgrims in the year of 550th birth anniversary of the founder of Sikh faith, Guru Nanak.

Pakistan has also agreed to establish a university in the name of Guru Nanak at Nankana Sahib. Its earlier initiative came from a High Court Judge Anup Singh Choudry and a group of Muslims and Sikhs based in Southall (UK) in June 2007. A World Muslim Sikh Federation was formed by them to produce a blueprint for the university. Subsequently, the Evacuee Trust Property Board of Pakistan agreed to allocate seeking 2,500 acres for the proposed institution.

The new Prime Minister Imran Khan has endorsed this plan in a gesture of great goodwill towards the Sikh community.

In the last three decades several accounts of Sikh sacred shrines in Pakistan have been published some by sympathetic Pakistanis others by eager Sikh visitors. Among them are *Haroon Khalid, Walking with Nanak*, (Delhi: 2016); Iqbal Qaiser, *Historical Sikh Shrines in Pakistan* (Lahore: Punjabi History Board, 1998) an illustrated account of some 200 historical Gurdwaras in Pakistan with many colour photographs; Hari Singh, *Sikh heritage in Pakistan, Gurdwaras and Memorials*, (1998). In a major project undertaken by a Singaporean Sikh, Amardeep Singh has travelled all over Pakistan to publish two wonderful guides to Sikh shrines; *Lost heritage: the Sikh legacy in Pakistan*, (Delhi 2015) and *The Quest Continues: Lost Heritage the Sikh Legacy in Pakistan*, (2017).

The WPC can certainly gain by an exchange of scholars and writers from West Punjab. They could meet various writers in East Punjab, gain by sharing news and views on all sort of subjects. They could go around to various associations, colleges and universities meeting students and teachers to know the state of Punjabi language and other issues. The WPC arranges lectures but unfortunately there have been few occasions when someone from West Punjab has come to address these occasions.

5. Punjabi Diaspora Concerns

During the colonial rule in India, there began a more a systematic emigration of Indian labour to certain colonies under the British domination. By the time Punjab became part of the British Indian empire, hundreds of thousand men from Southern and Eastern provinces of India had settled in several colonies including South Africa. Punjabis went abroad through a different route -recruited into police or army regiments. They were mostly rural Punjabis - Muslims and Sikh peasants. Thus a Punjbai diaspora was being formed in the 19th century in the Far East countries, especially Malaya States, later spread to Australia, and North America in the first two decades of the 20th century.

The imperatives of new state formation has meant, for example, overseas Punjabis who were until then a part of the Indian diaspora became part of the Pakistani Diaspora while Sikhs abroad started merging into a large Indian diaspora. However, despite the much-

emphasised commonness of Indians abroad, Sikhs in various countries continue to have more commonality with the Muslims originating from Western Punjab. Moreover, it is also important to acknowledge overseas Sikhs as a distinct diaspora - for as a community they cannot easily fit into the two states-formation process ushered by the decolonisation process.

Among experiments taking place abroad, an example will be of a Surrey, British Columbia based writer Fouzia Rafique who has published a novel tracing the long journey of a family from West Punjab to Canada. The book was first published in Shahmukhi, translated into as a first Canadian novel to be launched in both English and Punjabi in April 2011. The University of British Columbia where a chair of Sikh Studies and Punjabi Language was established in the late 1980s has encouraged exchange of writers from East and West Punjab. Professor Anne Murhy, the current chair-holder is carrying out a major project to record a cross section of views of writers from East and West Punjab about the state of Punjabi writing and the Punjabiyyat.

A Pakistani writer Nadeem Aslam has explored the place of subcontinental immigrants in western societies through his novel 'Maps for Lost Lovers' (London, 2004). The experience of hijr for Faiz is an ever-changing one and meaning shifts in his verse from migration to exile. In his later collection *Mere dil mere masafar* (My traveler, my heart) the title poem "*Dil-e man, musafar-e man*" composed in London reads:

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| Mere dil, mere musafir | My heart my fellow traveller |
| Hua phir hukam sadir | It has been ordained again |
| Ke vatan badr hon hum tum | That you and I be exiled |
| Dain gali gali sadae'n | We call out in every street, |
| Karen rukh nagar nagar ka | We scour every town |
| Ke suragh koi pae'n | In order to find a code |
| Kisi yar-e namabar ka | To a messenger of love |
| Har ik ajnabi se puchen | We ask every stranger |
| jo pata tha apne ghar ka | The address of our old home |
| Sar-ku-e nashanaaian, | In this town of unfamiliar people |
| Hamen din se rat karna | We watch the days go by |
| Kabhi iKabhi us se bat karna | At times talking to this visitor |
| Tumhen kya kahun ke kiya hai | At times to that one |
| Shab-e gham buri bala hai | How can I articulate to you, my friend |



A joint India-Pakistan Passport was still in use till the 1950

ਤੇਰੇ ਵਾਲ ਵਗੇ ਰਾਵੀ ਵਾਂਗ
ਤੇਰੀਆਂ ਅੱਖਾਂ ਚਨਾਬ ਵਾਂਗ ਡੂੰਘੀਆਂ
ਤੇਰੀ ਮੁਸਕਾਨ ਲੱਗੇ ਜੀਵੇ ਜੇਹਲਮ ਨੱਚਦੀ
ਤੁਰੇ ਤੂੰ ਜਦ ਲੱਗੇ ਜੀਵੇ ਸਤਲੁਜ ਦੀ ਧਾਰਾ
ਤੇ ਤੇਰੀ ਅਵਾਜ਼ ਮਿੱਠੀ ਜੀਵੇ ਬਿਆਸ ਗੋਣ ਦੀ ਹੋਵੇ
ਤੇਨੂੰ ਵੇਖ ਕੇ ਦੇਖਾਂ ਆਪਣਾ ਪੰਜਾਬ, ਆਪਣਾ ਪੰਜਾਬ...

*Your hair flows like Raavi
Your eyes are deep as Chenab
Your smile looks like Jhelum dancing
Your walk looks like the flow of Sutlej
And your voice is sweet as Beas singing
By seeing you I see my Panjab, my Panjab...*

Rupinder Kaur

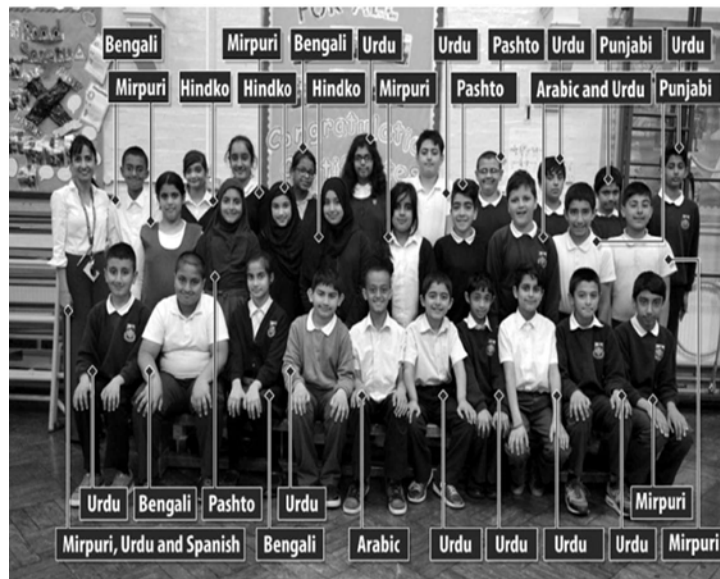
A Birmingham based poet remembers Punjab Rivers



A novel published in Gurmukhi, English and Shahmukhi scripts by a West Punjabi writer settled in Surrey, B.C., Canada.



Punjab Research Group (UK) was established in 1984, it regularly attracts UK based Punjabi scholars of East and West Punjab (Oxford Meeting, 2018: Eleanor Nesbitt (Warwick), Pritam Singh (Oxford), two longstanding PRG organisers (3rd and 4th from right)



Multilingual Punjabi pupils in Britain as part of the Punjabi Diaspora

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Hamen ye bhi tha ghanimat | The desolation of this night of loneliness |
| Jo koi shumar hota, | It would have been enough for us |
| Hamen kya bura tha marna | If there was just some reckoning |
| Agar ek bar hota! | Death would have been welcome to us |
| | If it were to come but once |
| | (Faiz 1978: my translation) |

Written in London this poem captures the essence of the poet in exile, it recalls the loneliness from “Yad” in 1958. Sentiments of forced imprisonment to the location of a voluntary exile, Faiz experiments with the detachment of modernity among unfamiliar people, a feeling of homelessness. Aslam does not refer to this poem directly but captures by quoting another poem in Punjabi as:

| | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Ki pata-tikana puchde ho- | You ask for my address |
| Mere shehar da na Tanhaii ey | My city's name is loneliness |
| Zila: Sukhan-navaz | District: The Relating of Tales |
| Tehseel: Hajar | Sub-District: Longing and its Post |
| Jeda daak-khanna Rusvaii ey. | office is Condemnation and |
| | Disrepute. |
| Oda rasta Gehrian Sochan han, | The road leading to it is Devoted |
| te mashoor makam Judaii ey. | Thought, and its famous |
| | monument is Separation. |
| Othay aaj-kal Abid mil sakda ey- | That's where Abid, the writer of |
| Betha dard di raunaq laii ey. | these lines can be found nowadays- |
| | There he sits, attracting everyone |
| | to a lively spectacle of pain. |
| | (Quoted and Translated in Aslam |
| | 2004: 27 |

While Rupinder Kaur whose is a second-generation Sikh in Birmingham, Britain feels for the beauty of Punjab rivers in nostalgia above, here is another diaspora poet, Daljit Nagra with a poem full of love, irony and wit about the land of five rivers his parents left behind to settle in Britain:

Not 'The' -just Punjab!
 was there once upon before partition
 a Punjab
 whole? A Pan-jab of Hindu, Sikh,
 Muslim, anything?
 Are Punjabis all partitioned? Are they
 puja pushers?
 How many times was my punj-land
 picked off
 so bank after river-bank got flagged
 by a clan?
 To play the pipes of a Punjamentalist
 must I pin a badge, drop my pants-
 must I join a junta and jab-jab-jab
 for my Punjab!
*That old man river calls you loud and long
 From a land that you loved in a lullaby*

Yoo Say 'Pun-jab' vee say Punjaaab-
 It's our land of five wide rivers!
 If it's five for the 'Punj' and its jaaab'
 for a river
 So you 'ii never take me from
 Ekjaab-Dohjaab-Tenjaab - Charjaab-
 Punjaaaaab!
 What a jape! Not a jape, I'm the last
 of the line.
 On the final day of my maa-baap I
 must palm
 Their ashes down the jaaab and
 watch them
 Pane gyring to their 'Om'-land...
*That old man river calls you loud and long
 From a land that you loved in a lullaby
 Where the rainbow glows from a farm
 nearby*

ਇਕਲਾ ਪੰਜਾਬ!
 ਕੀ ਕਦੇ ਵੰਡ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਸਮੁੱਚਾ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵੀ ਹੁੰਦਾ
 ਸੀ?
 ਪੰਜ-ਆਬ ਹਿੰਦੂ, ਸਿੱਖ, ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ, ਜਾਂ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ?
 ਕੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਪਾਟੋ-ਧਾਪੇ ਹਨ? ਕੀ ਉਹ ਪੂਜਾ-ਪਿੱਠੂ
 ਹਨ?
 ਕਿੰਨੀ ਵਾਰੀ ਮੇਰਾ ਪੰਜ-ਧਰਤ ਉਜੜਿਆ
 ਪੁਜੜਿਆ?
 ਕੱਢਾ, ਦਰਿਆ-ਕੱਢਾ ਕਿਸੇ ਧਾੜਵੀ ਕੋਲ, ਕਦੇ
 ਕਿਸੇ ਕੋਲ?
 ਤੇ ਮੈਂ ਹੁਣ ਪੰਜਾਬੀਪਣੇ ਦੀ ਬੀਨ ਵਜਾਉਣ ਲਈ
 ਕੋਈ ਟਿੱਕਾ ਲਾਵਾਂ, ਝੰਡਾ ਚੁਕਾਂ, ਜਾਂ ਆਪਣੀ ਪੋਟ
 ਲਾਵਾਂ?
 ਅਤ-ਗਰਮ ਟੋਲੇ 'ਚ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਹੋ, ਆਪਣੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ
 ਲਈ ਯਥਾ ਯਥਾ ਕਰਾਂ?
 ਓ, ਉਹ ਬੁਢਾ ਆਦਮ-ਦਰਿਆ ਲੰਮੀ ਹੇਕ ਲਾ
 ਸੱਦੇ, ਸੱਦੇ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ
 ਉਹੋ ਧਰਤੀ ਜਿਸ ਦਿਤੀ ਲੋਰੀ, ਸੱਦੇ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ!
 ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਹਿੰਦੇ ਹੋ, ਪਨ-ਜਾਬ, ਅਸੀਂ ਕਹਿੰਦੇ ਹਾਂ,
 ਪੰ-ਜਾਬ
 ਇਹ ਸਾਡਾ ਵਤਨ, ਪੰਜ ਦਰਿਆਵਾਂ ਵਾਲਾ ਖੁਲਾ
 ਤੇ ਇਹ ਪੰਜ ਹਨ, ਫਾਈਵ-ਪੰਜ, ਤੇ ਜਾਬ -
 ਦਰਿਆ
 ਸੋ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਖੋਹ ਲਉਗੇ ਮੈਥੋਂ
 ਇਕ-ਜਾਬ, ਦੋ-ਜਾਬ, ਤਿੰਨ-ਜਾਬ, ਚਾਰ-ਜਾਬ -
 ਪੰਜਾਬ
 ਕਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਮਖੌਲ! ਮਖੌਲ ਨਹੀਂ?
 ਮੈਂ ਹਾਂ ਆਖਰੀ ਵਾਰਸ ਇਸਦਾ
 ਮੇਰੀਆਂ ਮਾਵਾਂ ਪਿਉਆਂ ਦੇ ਅਖੀਰੀ ਦਿਨ,
 ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਰਾਖ ਮੈਂ ਲੈਜਾਵਾਂਗਾ 'ਜਾਬ',
 ਤੇ ਵੇਖਾਂਗਾ ਉਹ ਕਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ 'ਓਮ'-ਵਤਨ 'ਚ
 ਢਲਦੇ ਨੇ....
 ਓ, ਉਹ ਬੁਢਾ ਆਦਮ-ਦਰਿਆ ਲੰਮੀ ਹੇਕ ਨਾਲ
 ਸੱਦੇ, ਸੱਦੇ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ
 ਉਹੋ ਧਰਤੀ ਜਿਸ ਦਿਤੀ ਏ ਲੋਰੀ!
 ਜਿਥੇ ਖੇਤਾਂ ਚੋਂ ਦਿਸੇ ਪਈ ਸਤਰੰਗੀ ਪੀਘ!

(Daljit Nagra, pages 34-35: The Punjab, 2011)

For postcolonial period, this includes creative literature of writers who were part of emigration process. This aspect is perhaps better known in Punjab universities as these writings have increasingly become subject of higher studies in the subject of Punjabi. A score of dissertations at master or doctoral level have been presented to Guru Nanak Dev University and Punjabi University -while an odd piece at some other university too. There is a title on early Sikh settlement in Australia in '*A Man in the Red Turban*'.

Some initiatives have also come from abroad to understand differences and similarities of Sikh and Muslim sensitivities through films, dramas and of course there have been several concerts of Punjabi music and poetry at various cities in Britain, Canada and America. Mention a film of Sikh girl with a Muslim boy produced in Britain in 2004 -which initially led to quite a furore but ultimately

accepted with much appreciation by both communities. The Library can aim to collect such titles along with a list of Punjabi creative writings which were usually published from Punjab based publishers or through Navyug of Delhi. In addition to this list, there are now, a small number of works which are being published in English by non-Punjabi writers with Punjabi characters -an interesting development -these would also be acquired. An excellent example of such cross-cultural efforts is a novel 'The English Patient' by Ceylonese writer Michael Ondaatje settled in Canada about a Sikh during the Second World War -this was turned into a movie. There is moreover a sense of shared lot among migrants from East and West Punjab settled abroad as the following record of a Sikh confirms:

"It has taken me into my 40's to realize that my life has been defined by partition, not in some abstract conceptual, emotional sense... but I am a child of refugees with refugee families on both sides." (Member, UK Punjabi Heritage Association 2008).

Another initiative again with the effort of UBC Sikh and Punjabi Studies Chair is an endowment offered by a Vancouver based Sikh businessman, Barjinder Singh who has floated funds for an annual literary award 'Dhahan International Punjabi Literature Prize' for creative works. It was created award literary works produced in Punjabi around the world. The Prize encourages new writing by awarding \$25,000 Canadian Dollars annually to one "best book of fiction" published in either of the two Punjabi scripts, Gurmukhi or Shahmukhi. Two second prizes of \$5,000 are also awarded, with the provision that both scripts are represented among the three winners. The Dhahan Prize is awarded by Canada India Education Society. This is a new innovation in promoting Punjabi literature from the diaspora and the prize is especially geared at writers from both sides of the border. Both East and West Punjab writers as well some settled abroad have become its recipients.

Thus until 1947, Sikhs and Muslims of Punjabi origin shared a world away from Punjab. The Ghadar party attracted them together as was the case of Indian Workers Association in Britain before the two new states' formation split Sikhs and Muslims of Punjabi origin apart. Although religious traditions separated Punjabis in distant lands

too but it was the formation of two states that regimented this division into new boundaries. It is noteworthy that in the period since 1984, many Sikhs have tried to inculcate friendship across the religious divide. In the post 9/11 period since 2001, Sikhs and Muslims have found common causes in fighting racial violence in an alienating environment in several Western countries.

Moreover, the scale of emigration from both the states of India and Pakistan has accelerated. This has meant Punjabis (Sikhs from East Punjab, Muslims from West Punjab) are now a world-wide community with settlement in almost all continents. Thus, there is a need for documenting the presence of Punjabi communities in overseas locations. Each Punjabi community abroad calls for a proper social profile with further studies on various issues of Punjabi cultural reproduction. Then there is major issue of how migrants' families and their kin have been affected or indeed what has been the impact of the Punjabi diaspora upon Punjab have attracted little scholarly attention. Such studies assessing overall impact on the economic and social structure of the Punjabi society are vital to serve the basis for sound policy making by two states of Punjab as well as Pakistani and Indian agencies.

Considering all these aims and objectives together, there is an imperative need for a well-resourced centre devoted to the study of overseas Punjabis. This would add to resources available for the study of region's issues and perspectives. Thus, building an archival base for Punjabi emigrants during the colonial era will mean a shared resource for both states of Punjab -thus fulfilling the objective of the World Punjabi Centre. For the post-1947 period, the plan is to concentrate at this stage on the Sikh diaspora archives as the process operating for Western Punjab has substantially changed with the new state of Pakistan operating its own system of controls and also in terms of collective identity of Muslim Punjabis abroad.

There is clear need to establish Centre for Punjabi Diaspora at a University level. It can sponsor joint projects on such core subject as the state of Punjabi language among the Punjabi Diaspora. Similarly, studies devoted to literary expressions of writers from Indian and Pakistani Punjab could be subject of such projects in these centres. It will also mean overseas Punjabis will be studied through Punjabi perspective -rather than studies which are being

carried out abroad as also by a few scholars based in other provinces of India or Pakistan -whose focus is usually part of an all-India or all-Pakistan perspective.

What should be role of WPC in this field? We have already outlined a more specific project in a separate paper.²⁷ Given the need for understanding the Punjabi Diaspora, we are suggesting, in the meantime, to build a Punjabi Diaspora Archives through available means. As the establishment of a Centre for Punjabi Diaspora Studies will require a major investment through some philanthropists or an appropriate funding agency and seems a matter of distant future. Short exercises on the role of some groups such as Punjab Research Group of the Academy of Punjab in North America (APNA) based in the US can be undertaken to underline the role in promoting Punjab studies and Punjabi literature. The latter for example has organized many events and brings out a magazine *Saanjh* in Gurmukhi and Shahmukhi. This magazine is published conveniently from both Sahiwal (Pakistan) and Ludhiana (India). There were many journalist ventures among the Punjabi diaspora. For example, as soon as the Sikh community grew into a few thousand strong in and around Vancouver, Canada, a newspaper was published in 1907. Between that year early year and 1920s there were than a dozen such newspapers or magazines brought out by ambitious individuals.

As far as the Punjabi diaspora is concerned the WPC, over the passage of time, accumulate relevant resources for the study of overseas Punjabi communities. This will ensure basic documents are available at one institution. This would mean a careful collection by a specialist staff with adequate library and archivist skills. In this way, future research students of Punjab will have access to relevant documents, official and unofficial files as well books, journals and other related materials. They can, then make substantial contribution to theoretical and policy studies in his subject. Thus, the WPC can undertake a project consisting of the following elements:

- (a) Establish data base of various sources available on overseas Punjabi communities by establishing a well-stocked library with relevant, books, journals and other materials

27. Darshan S. Tatla and Balkar Singh, *Sikh Diaspora Archives: an outline of the project*, WPC: Occasional Papers Series No. 2, 2019.

- (b) Establish an archives section in the Library for official and community documents
- (c) Build and establish a permanent exhibition to highlight the role and significance of the Punjabi Diaspora through appropriate display

In some countries with substantial concentration of Punjabis in certain locations, such as Canada, and England, local religious places, the role of gurdwaras and mosques in teaching of Punjabi - Urdu language through 'community schools' is well-established practice. For instance, in Britain, the legacy of imperial rule has ensured that Punjabi, Urdu and Bengali are now part of school curriculum with examination provisions. In recent year over several thousand pupils from community and mainstream schools have sat for Urdu, Punjabi and other 'community language' examinations (known as GCSE - General Course in Secondary Education). Much greater number of pupils are learning Urdu there. What kind of teaching materials are available for such pupils? What is the history of such 'community schools'? -there are some of the issues on which materials can be gathered.

The library at WPC, as part of some project, could try to acquire various series of publications relating to the state of Punjabi language across countries with sizable Punjabi communities. Similarly, a history of community schools could be part of a project. This would mean acknowledging various issues of Punjabi language, knowing more about resources for its teaching to diverse set of readers. A shared knowledge of issues across the globe would start to accumulate. There is valuable work being done especially in Canada by Punjabi Language Association established by Sadhu Binning and associates in Vancouver, British Columbia. It offers regular updates through Facebook and is obviously undertaking a laudable objective.

Concluding Remarks

The World Punjabi Centre is trying to evolve its agenda in the light of its finance, staff resources and social and political environment. In the evolving relationship between India and Pakistan, an ideal would be to have and normal relations away from hostility towards some semblance of friendship. As an economist, R. S. Ghuman underlined at the World Punjabi Centre Conference at Patiala

in 2006, India and Pakistan are paying heavy price for their procrastination on Kashmir and other bilateral issues. Pakistan's preoccupation with Kashmir and India's rhetoric 'no talks unless cross-border terrorism stop' is leading nowhere except periodic hostilities. Instead, there is need for give and take; political leaders of both countries should start to learn interdependence through exchange of commodities and easy passage for its people. That would require relaxation of border restrictions which are currently so harshly imposed. A signal change in this direction could be indicated by curtailing or indeed stopping the 'cock-fighting' show at Wagah border.

Still, the WPC has a vital role to play within the framework of two states' diplomatic and strategic relations. The WPC can choose some of the projects as outlined above. It can provide the platform for outstanding Punjabis from two provinces to speak out on specific issues of mutual concern and contribute towards understanding of the issues involved. With this Occasional Paper as a background, the current WPC staff can work through one or two projects seeking cooperation and appropriate resources. Of course, the execution of any project will much depend upon the extent of financial resources and available staff.

It is important to leave at a positive note. Despite a long history of hostilities between the two states of India and Pakistan, Punjabis on both sides of the border have demonstrated strong willingness to collaborate through both trade and people-to-people linkages. There is immense goodwill and potential in common Punjabis towards each other which can be tapped for mutual benefits. Two state governments in Indian Punjab and Pakistani Punjab should continue to develop linkages, while central governments in Islamabad and New Delhi ought to recognize the benefit of creating an environment where these linkages can flourish. The WPC has a limited but important role to play in fostering such relations both through exchange of ideas of cooperation, through exchange of writers, scholars and artists from across the Wagah border and undertake specific projects that contribute towards this objective.

Authors

Professor Balkar Singh

Balkar Singh became Director of World Punjabi Centre in May 2018. Well-known for his much-acclaimed biography of Gurcharan Singh Tohra -an Akali leader who played crucial role in Sikh political developments since the 1970s as the longest serving president of Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. Educated at Sikh Missionary College, Amritsar, under the guidance of distinguished Sikh theologians such as Sahib Singh, Dharam Anant Singh and Taran Singh, he started his career as a lecturer at Guru Arjan Dev College at Tarn Taran. In 1970, he was appointed in the Department of Guru Granth Sahib Studies at Punjabi University as a Senior Research Fellow until his retirement. In view of his distinguished career and contributions to Sikh Studies he was honoured with the title of 'Professor of Eminence' by Punjabi University, Patiala.

Among his contributions to Sikh Studies published in Punjabi, he is author of: *Guru Tegh Bahadur Hind Di Chadar* (1974); *Gurmat Vivechan* (1995); *Bhagat Nam Dev: Jeevan Te Rachna* (1995); *Sikh Rahaswad* (Patiala, 1999) *Akal Takhat Sahib: Joti te Jugati* (Amritsar, 1995); *Punjab da Baba Bobarb: Gurcharan Singh Tohra* (Chandigarh, 2005); *Jinhan ton Vichoria Gia Hai* (2003); *Sabad- Guru Da Sikh Sidhant* (Patiala, 2012), -this last title is also available in English as *Sikh Conception of Sabad-Guru* (Delhi, 2008); Besides these, he has edited a number of volumes arising from seminars on themes bearing upon Sikh Culture and Literature.

Balkar Singh has travelled widely across the Indian subcontinent as well as among overseas Sikh communities. During 2001-2006, he was a visiting professor of Sikh Studies at Espanola, New Mexico where he had extensive exchange with Harbhajan Singh Yogi and his followers while gaining wide experience of the Sikh community settled in North America. As a prominent scholar, he has been advisor to Dharam Parchar Committee of Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and some other Sikh organisations. Currently, he is working on a manuscript examining the impact of political developments in Punjab and India on the Sikh tradition, while he writes regularly on contemporary issues facing the Sikh community through popular media.

Dr. Darshan S. Tatla

Educated at Cambridge University (M.A.) his research on overseas Sikh communities began at Warwick University with a (Ph.D.) His publications include; *The Sikh Diaspora; The Search for Statehood* (London: 1999); *Sikhs in Britain: the making of a community* (London: 2006 co-author with Gurharpal Singh); *Sikh Diaspora Philanthropy in Punjab: Global Giving for Local Good* (Oxford, 2009 co-edited with Verne Dusenbery); *Epicentre of Violence: Partition and Refugee Voices from Amritsar* (Delhi: 2005 with Ian Talbot), *Bartania vich Panjabi Bhasha* (Patiala: 1996).

As part of Sikh Diaspora Studies, he has published *Sikhs in North America* (Greenwood, 1991); *Sikhs in Britain*, Centre for Ethnic Relations, Warwick University, 1994 (with Eleanor Nesbitt); *Punjab* (World Bibliographical Series, Oxford, Clio, 1995 with Ian Talbot); *Ghadar Movement: a guide to sources* (Amritsar: 2003); *Desh Bhagat Yadgar Library: A guide to manuscripts and other materials* (Jalandhar: 2013); *Punjab Theses*, (Coventry, 1996, 2 volumes). On the Komagata Maru episode, he has edited a series of three volumes, Gurdit Singh's *Voyage of Komagata Maru or India's Slavery Abroad*; *Zulmi Katha* and *Report of the Komagata Maru Committee of Inquiry and Some Further Documents*. (2007); Gurdit Singh's two Punjabi books were published in its centenary year of 2014 (with Prithipal Singh Kapur) as *Zulmi Katha* (Patiala 2014).

Dr. Tatla is founder editor of *Journal of Punjab Studies* (now published by Institute of Global Sikh Studies, New York) and is part of editorial board of *Sikh Formations* (London, Routledge). He has been a Fellow of Punjab Historical Studies department at Punjabi University since 2012 joining World Punjabi Centre in September 2018.

